

THE FIRST FLEET PIANO

A Musician's View

Volume One

THE FIRST FLEET PIANO
A Musician's View

Volume One

GEOFFREY LANCASTER



Australian
National
University

P R E S S



Published by ANU Press
The Australian National University
Acton ACT 2601, Australia
Email: anupress@anu.edu.au
This title is also available online at <http://press.anu.edu.au>

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

Creator: Lancaster, Geoffrey, 1954-, author.

Title: The first fleet piano : a musician's view. Volume 1 /
Geoffrey Richard Lancaster.

ISBN: 9781922144645 (paperback) 9781922144652 (ebook)

Subjects: Piano--Australia--History.
Music, Influence of--Australia--History.
Music--Social aspects--Australia.
Music, Influence of.

Dewey Number: 786.20994

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Cover based on an original design by Gosia Wlodarczak. Cover design by Nic Welbourn.

Layout by ANU Press.

Printed by Griffin Press.

This edition © 2015 ANU Press.

Contents

List of Plates	xv
Foreword	xxvii
Acknowledgments	xxix
Descriptive Conventions	xxxv
The Term 'Piano'	xxxv
Note Names	xxxviii
Textual Conventions	xxxviii
Online References	xxxviii
Introduction	1
Discovery	1
Investigation	11
Chapter 1	17
The First Piano to be Brought to Australia	22
The Piano in London	23
The First Pianos in London	23
Samuel Crisp's Piano, Made by Father Wood	27
Fulke Greville Purchases Samuel Crisp's Piano	29
Rutgerus Plenius Copies Fulke Greville's Piano	31
William Mason's Piano, Made by Friedrich Neubauer(?)	33
Georg Friedrich Händel Plays a Piano	36
Johann Christoph Zumpe	43
Zumpe's 'Small Piano-Forte'	43
What or Who Inspired Zumpe to Invent His 'Small Piano-Forte'?	43
Krämer's <i>Tafelklavier</i>	43
The Pantalón	45
Herman Vietor	47
Zumpe's Genius	48
No Escapement	49
Mutations	49

Zumpe's House	51
Johann Christian Bach's Support	56
The Bach-Abel Concert Series	58
Gabriel Buntebart.	62
Frederick and Christian Schoene	62
Zumpe's Pianos are an Inspiration	63
Zumpe's Pianos in England and Abroad	66
The Professional Class: Piano music and hedonism	66
Zumpe's 'Small Piano-Forte' Copied Abroad	71
The Cost of Zumpe's Pianos	72
The Popularity of the 'English' Piano in Paris	73
<i>Un Inventaire sous La Terreur</i>	75
The First Pianos in America.	85
The Triumph of the Piano in London.	89
Chapter 2.	91
Surgeon George Worgan's Square Piano (Frederick Beck, London, 1780/86?)	91
Frederick Beck	92
Frederick Beck: A time line	110
Beck's House	111
Beck and Square Piano Production.	115
George Worgan's Piano (Frederick Beck, London, 1780/86?)	117
Date	117
Serial Number: Frederick Beck's estimated output— What five serial numbers suggest	124
Serial Number: George Worgan's square piano	129
A Unique Stand.	130
The Advantages of Beck's Unique Folding Stand	153
Trestle Stand	153
French Frame	154
Campaign Furniture	155
Extant Pianos by Frederick Beck	157
The Stands of Extant Beck Instruments	163
Storage Box	176
Mahogany Veneer	178
Beck's Inlay	180

Frederick Beck and Christopher Fuhrlohg	185
Dampers	192
Beck's Absorption of Zumpe's Ideas	193
Chapter 3.	195
George Bouchier Worgan: The owner of the first piano to be brought to Australia.	195
The Life of a Surgeon	198
What Did George Worgan Look Like?	204
George Worgan's Father, Dr John Worgan	209
George Worgan's Father, Dr John Worgan, the Harpsichordist	220
George Worgan's Father, Dr John Worgan, the Organist.	222
George Worgan's Father, Dr John Worgan, the Teacher	229
George Worgan's Father, Dr John Worgan, the Composer	232
The 'Ancient' Style	233
The 'Scientific' Style	237
Compositional Output	239
Keyboard Music	246
Chapter 4.	251
Surgeon George Worgan Purchases a Square Piano	251
When Did George Worgan Purchase His Piano?	251
If the Instrument Dates from 1780	252
If the Instrument Dates from 1786	253
How Much Did George Worgan's Piano Cost?	253
When was George Worgan's Piano First Brought on Board the <i>Sirius</i> ?	260
Why Did George Worgan Purchase a Piano to Bring with Him to Botany Bay?	260
The <i>Sirius</i>	263
The <i>Berwick</i>	263
After Refurbishment	266
The Wreck of the <i>Sirius</i>	267
Housing George Worgan's Piano on the <i>Sirius</i>	269
The Great Cabin	269
The Ward Room	270

George Worgan's Square Piano Heard in the Ward Room of the <i>Sirius</i>	270
Chapter 5.	273
The First Fleet Departs from England	273
George Worgan's Piano Heard on the <i>Sirius</i> as a Solo Instrument.	275
<i>Liebhaber</i> and <i>Kenner</i>	278
Music for the <i>Liebhaber</i>	280
The Battle of Prague	282
Music for the <i>Kenner</i>	287
George Worgan Plays Music Written by English and/or London-Based Non-English Composers	290
George Worgan Plays Music Written by Continental Composers	293
Music Publishing in Late Eighteenth-Century London	297
George Worgan's Piano Heard on the <i>Sirius</i> as an Accompanying Instrument	301
Canons	302
Catches and GleeS.	302
Accompanied GleeS	308
Playing with the Lid Closed.	310
Tuning George Worgan's Square Piano:	
A keyboard all at C	317
Fixing the Basic Pitch.	319
Dividing the Octave into its 12 Constituent Notes	322
The 'Common Established Temperament' ('Well Temperament').	323
Maintaining George Worgan's Square Piano	325
String Breakage.	325
Re-Leathering Hammerheads.	328
Chapter 6.	333
George Worgan Plays His Piano in Rio de Janeiro	333
What Feelings were Engendered by George Worgan's Recital?	342
The Effect of the Weather on George Worgan's Square Piano: Weather during the First Fleet's voyage	347
Portsmouth to Tenerife.	348

Tenerife to Rio de Janeiro	348
Rio de Janeiro to Cape Town	350
Cape Town to Botany Bay: Ferocious storms, violent extremes	351
Van Diemen's Land	356
The South Coast of New South Wales	356
A Recalcitrant Goat	357
Botany Bay	357
Port Jackson	359
The Voyage of George Worgan's Piano: Particulars	359
Chapter 7	361
George Worgan's Piano Arrives at Sydney Cove	361
Jean-François de Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse	364
Increasing Disillusionment with Captain Cook	368
Spanish Imperial Designs	370
Where was George Worgan's Piano First Housed?	371
The Hunter/Bradley Map, 1 March 1788	371
The Hospital and the Barracks	373
Francis Fowkes' Drawing, 16 April 1788	374
The Dawes/Medland/Hunter Map, July 1788	376
Newton Fowell's Letter, 12 July 1788	376
Reverend Johnson's Letter, 15 November 1788	377
George Worgan's Piano Remains on the <i>Sirius</i>	379
George Worgan's Piano is Taken Ashore	380
The <i>Sirius</i> Circumnavigates the World	380
The Wedgwood Medallion	383
George Worgan Puts His Piano on Land	385
Was George Worgan's Piano Placed in Governor Phillip's House?	387
The King's Birthday Celebrations, 4 June 1789	387
George Farquhar's <i>The Recruiting Officer</i>	389
Incidental Music for <i>The Recruiting Officer</i>	392
The Effect of the Weather on George Worgan's Square Piano: Weather at Sydney Cove	397
1788	401
1789	403

1790	403
Summer 1790–91	404
1791	405
1792	406
The Drought Breaks	406
1796	407
Protective Measures for Pianos	407
Chapter 8.	413
Some of the Music Heard during the Fledgling Colony’s First Two Years.	413
The Official Reading of Governor Phillip’s Commission, 7 February 1788	413
‘The Rogue’s March’, 9 February 1788	415
The King’s Birthday Celebration, 4 June 1788.	417
Repertoire Played at Social Functions.	417
The Quadrille in Sydney	418
Mr Girard	421
‘National’ Airs.	424
A Dinner Party, 1 January 1789	428
The Kinds of Music Predominantly Played at Social Occasions in the Colony.	429
The ‘Subscribers’ Ball’, 20 October 1810.	429
The Ball Held at ‘Bellmont’	430
‘The Band’	430
Lieutenant-Governor Erskine’s Concert, September 1818.	432
The Queen’s Birthday Ball, 23 January 1819	433
‘The Band’ at St Mary’s Cathedral in 1825.	434
Chapter 9.	437
Women and the Piano	437
Learning the Piano.	442
1) Private Lessons Given at Home throughout Childhood	442
2) Intermittent Periods of Intensive Application	448
3) Being Perceived as an ‘Accomplished’ Player	452
4) A Protracted Decline	452
Performances Given by Women Virtuosi.	454

Chapter 10	461
George Worgan and the Macarthurs	461
Elizabeth Macarthur	461
John Macarthur	462
The Macarthurs Sail to Sydney Cove with the Second Fleet	464
What Did John and Elizabeth Macarthur Look Like?	465
Two Authenticated Portraits	465
Two Unauthenticated Portraits	470
The Macarthurs at Sydney Cove	471
Initial Accommodation	472
Elizabeth Macarthur Seeks Company	473
The Macarthurs' New Thatched Wattle-and-Daub Hut	475
George Worgan's Piano in the Macarthurs' New Home	477
When Did George Worgan Place His Piano into the Macarthurs' Thatched Wattle-and-Daub Hut?	478
Elizabeth's Piano Lessons	479
George Worgan Gives His Piano to Elizabeth Macarthur	481
'God Save the King' and 'Foot's Minuet'	483
Elizabeth Macarthur, the Piano Student	490
Elizabeth Macarthur, the Socialite	491
Rose Hill	492
Who Tuned George Worgan's Piano for Elizabeth Macarthur?	493
Professional Piano Tuners in Sydney	495
Chapter 11	499
Why Did George Worgan Return to England?	499
George Worgan's Return Journey to England	500
The Colony's First Pipe Organ	502
George Worgan in England	504
George Worgan is Embroided	505
George Worgan, the Farmer	512
Liskeard	514
At the Inn	519
George Worgan Marries	525
George and Mary Worgan's Children	528

George Worgan, the Published Author	529
George Worgan, the Inventor	533
George Worgan, the Schoolmaster.	534
George Worgan, the Church Organist.	540
Financial Hardship	543
Wadeland House	549
The Service Cottage	563
Chapter 12.	569
George Worgan's Youngest Son, John Parsons, Immigrates to Sydney	569
John Parsons, His Father's Journal and Dr John Lhotsky . .	571
George Worgan's Eldest Son, George William, Immigrates to Sydney	576
George William Performs	578
Francis Ellard's Piano-Tuning Tours	580
W. J. Johnson's Piano-Tuning Tours	581
George William, Organist of St Mary's Cathedral	583
George William is Declared Insolvent	586
George William Marries	587
Further Performances.	587
Scandal and Public Ridicule.	588
'Grocott's Dissolving Views'	589
George William Leaves Sydney	591
Sydney's Prodigal Son Returns	592
George Bouchier Worgan Dies in Liskeard.	594
Whispers and Rumours: Who was Charles Parsons Worgan?	600
i) Charles Parsons' Mother	600
ii) Charles Parsons' Father	603
George Bouchier Worgan's Character and Personality.	610
Significant Events in George Bouchier Worgan's Life: Summary	614
Chapter 13.	617
Elizabeth Farm Cottage, Parramatta	617
Worgan's Piano at Elizabeth Farm	622
Alterations Made to Elizabeth Farm Cottage	625

John Macarthur's Duel	629
John Macarthur's Happy Sheep.	632
John Macarthur Returns to New South Wales	634
George Bouchier Worgan's Piano in Elizabeth Macarthur's Life	636
George Bouchier Worgan's Piano Escapes Destruction for the First Time	638
The Convict Uprising is Defeated.	641
Elizabeth Macarthur at Leisure	645
Two Hundred and Seventeen Years Later, Worgan's Piano Returns to Elizabeth Farm	647
Mrs Macquarie's Piano: An anecdote	650
George Bouchier Worgan's Piano Escapes Destruction for the Second Time	652
Elizabeth Macarthur Purchases Thomas Laycock's Piano . . .	652
Thomas Laycock	658
Thomas Laycock's Estate Auction	659
Music Books	662
Why Did Elizabeth Macarthur Purchase Thomas Laycock's Piano?	663
Pianos 'with additional keys'	664
John Macarthur Dies	668
Elizabeth Macarthur Dies	669
Chapter 14.	671
George Bouchier Worgan's Piano Offered for Sale?	671
Simeon Lord	671
1810: David Bevan	673
1813: Robert Jenkins	674
1814: David Bevan	674
1815: Mr Charters, 68 George Street, Corner of Market Street	674
George Chartres	676
1817: Simeon Lord	677
1838: John Blackman	678

Chapter 15	685
That Accounts for the Coke in the Milkanut: William Bradshaw's stock book entry and three differing provenance versions	685
William Bradshaw's Stock Book: The entry dated 29 October 1973	685
Provenance Version 1: George Bouchier Worgan's piano at a farm '30 miles out of Sydney'	690
George Bouchier Worgan's Piano in Windsor	690
John Blackman in Windsor	693
Windsor, Floods and the Absence of Water Damage	693
Provenance Version Two: William Bradshaw purchases George Bouchier Worgan's piano in London	696
Provenance Version Three: William Bradshaw purchases George Bouchier Worgan's piano from a vendor who had purchased the instrument in London	698
Another Path of Investigation: Kenneth Muggleston's memories and George Worgan's piano in Windsor	700
New Horizons: Stewart Symonds	704
An Instrument 'Drained'	707
Bradshaw is Caught Out?	708
Intersections	710
Varney Monk	711
Varney Monk's Piano is Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck.	713
Varney Monk in Windsor	714
Far from the Public Eye	715
Chapter 16	719
The History of George Bouchier Worgan's Piano: A speculative summary	719
Provenance Continued: Alternative one	720
Provenance Continued: Alternative two	721
Provenance Continued: Alternative three	722
Bibliography	723

List of Plates

Plate 1	The first-floor drawing room in William Bradshaw's home, view into the room from the entrance.	4
Plate 2	The first-floor drawing room in William Bradshaw's home, view towards the entrance from the front left-hand corner of the room.	5
Plate 3	The first-floor drawing room in William Bradshaw's home, view towards the entrance from the front left-hand corner of the room.	6
Plate 4	William Bradshaw's Parianware statue of Hebe, the goddess of youth (detail).	8
Plate 5	Grand piano by John Broadwood & Sons (London, 1834).	8
Plate 6	Grand piano by John Broadwood & Sons (London, 1834).	9
Plate 7	William Bradshaw's Matthew Boulton (1728–1809) teapot.	10
Plate 8	Diary entry dated 29 May 1756, written by George William Harris (1717–69).	37
Plate 9	Sutton Nicholls (fl. 1680–1740): <i>Hanover Square</i> (1754).	53
Plate 10	Johann Zumpe's house.	54
Plate 11	The first-floor drawing room in Johann Zumpe's house.	54
Plate 12	The view of Hanover Square from the first-floor drawing room in Johann Zumpe's house.	55
Plate 12a	Hanover Square and surrounds (detail).	55
Plate 13	Johann Christian Bach's house.	60
Plate 14	The security alarm labelled 'Abel' located directly opposite Johann Christian Bach's house.	60
Plate 15	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca. 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?).	91
Plate 16	Marriage bond between Arnold Frederick Beck and Rose Ann Shudi, 7 September 1779.	93
Plate 16a	Marriage bond between Arnold Frederick Beck and Rose Ann Shudi, 7 September 1779: Frederick Beck's signature (detail).	93

Plate 16b	Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): handwritten inscription on the soundboard—'A. F. Beck. 1790 Patent.'	94
Plate 16c	Frederick Beck's address as recorded by the City of Westminster Coroner's Court, 20 November 1765 (detail).	94
Plate 16d	Broad Street (detail): Frederick Beck's house is number 10 Broad Street.	103
Plate 17	Square piano by Frederick Beck and George Corrie (London, ca 1790?; serial number 2505): nameboard inscription.	106
Plate 17a	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard inscription.	106
Plate 17b	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard inscription—street numbers (detail).	107
Plate 17c	Square piano by John (?) Simpson (fl. 1767–95) (London: 1770s?): elaborately decorated nameboard inscription.	107
Plate 18	Frederick Beck's house.	112
Plate 19	'Sounds of the Universe' in Duck Lane.	112
Plate 20	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard—'1780' (detail).	119
Plate 20a	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1786): nameboard inscription.	119
Plate 20b	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1786): nameboard—'1786' (detail).	120
Plate 20c	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1774): nameboard inscription.	120
Plate 20d	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1777): nameboard inscription.	121
Plate 20e	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1778): nameboard inscription.	121
Plate 20f	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1778): nameboard—'1778' (detail).	122
Plate 20g	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783): nameboard inscription.	122
Plate 20h	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?).	123

Plate 20i	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?): nameboard inscription.	123
Plate 20j	Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): nameboard inscription.	124
Plate 21	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): five lapped dovetail joints at the bass corner of the spine.	129
Plate 22	Square-legged trestle frame: the frame belongs to a square piano by John (?) Simpson (fl. 1767–95) (London: 1770s?).	135
Plate 23	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783): simple French frame.	135
Plate 23a	Square piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London: ca 1805): French frame with under-tier.	136
Plate 23b	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?): French frame with under-tier.	136
Plate 24	French frame, Muzio Clementi & Co. (London: ca 1805): treble-end front—a slender, straight square-tapering leg, fitted at its termination with a brass cup castor (detail).	137
Plate 25	French frame, Muzio Clementi & Co. (London: ca 1805): treble-front corner—the bolt head holding the frame together is visible because a brass patera has not been rotated into its rest position (detail).	137
Plate 26	French frame, Muzio Clementi & Co. (London: ca 1805): treble-front corner—the bolt head holding the frame together is concealed by a brass patera (detail).	137
Plate 27	French frame, Muzio Clementi & Co. (London: ca 1805): mahogany under-tier (shelf) with a serpentine front.	138
Plate 28	Square piano by John Broadwood & Sons (London: ca 1817): lathe-turned legs terminating in brass cup castors.	138
Plate 29	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): four square-tapered cabriole legs.	140
Plate 30	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end of the instrument—stretcher let into the lower part of each leg.	143
Plate 31	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end of the instrument—stretcher let into each leg.	143

Plate 32	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): detachable lower stretcher running the length of the case.	144
Plate 33	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end of the instrument—the protruding dovetail at the end of the detachable lower stretcher has sunk into a socket that has increased in depth because of wear.	144
Plate 34	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end of the instrument—the legs are joined at the top edge by a bar, the ends of which curve into the legs.	145
Plate 35	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—iron butt hinge attaching the top of the rear leg to the case.	148
Plate 36	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): top front of the 'frame'—detachable stretcher running between the top of each front leg.	149
Plate 37	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—slot in the top of the front leg for the detachable front stretcher.	150
Plate 38	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—the detachable front stretcher tapers off into the curve of the front leg.	150
Plate 39	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—brass swivel hook on the back of the detachable front stretcher.	151
Plate 40	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—brass swivel hook and catch (in situ).	151
Plate 41	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—square brass catch (for the swivel hook) protruding from underneath the case.	151
Plate 42	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the front stretcher creates the illusion that the instrument, legs and detachable front stretcher are one article.	152

Plate 43	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—legs folded underneath.	152
Plate 43a	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1773).	165
Plate 43b	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1774).	166
Plate 43c	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1774): round-tapered, fluted screw-in leg.	166
Plate 43d	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1777).	167
Plate 43e	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1777): lid removed—trestle stand.	167
Plate 43f	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1778).	168
Plate 43g	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?).	168
Plate 43h	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?, serial number 5008).	169
Plate 43i	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783).	169
Plate 43j	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1785).	170
Plate 43k	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1786).	170
Plate 43m	Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate).	171
Plate 43n	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783): French frame. The square-tapered legs are original; the apron is not.	171
Plate 43o	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783): nameboard decoration.	172
Plate 43p	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783): nameboard decoration (detail).	172
Plate 43q	Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): nameboard decoration.	173

Plate 43r	Square piano by Frederick Beck and George Corrie (London, ca 1790?, serial number 2505).	173
Plate 43s	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1776).	174
Plate 43t	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1776): nameboard.	174
Plate 43u	Square piano by Longman, Lukey & Co. (1769–73), reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1772–73).	175
Plate 44	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): lockboard, decorated with a simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay.	181
Plate 45	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): outside of the lid, decorated with a simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay running parallel with the edge.	182
Plate 46	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): front of the case—decorated with a simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay running parallel with the edge.	182
Plate 47	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument, front leg.	183
Plate 48	Unknown artist, engraved from a sketch by John Hunter (1737–1821): <i>Governor Phillip, John White and George Worgan [?] Visiting an Aboriginal Woman, Who is Recovering from Illness.</i>	206
Plate 49	Unknown artist: <i>Captains Hunter, Collins & Johnston, with Governor Phillip, Surgeon White, etc Visiting a Distressed Female Native of New South Wales, at a Hut Near Port Jackson.</i>	208
Plate 50	Dr John Worgan's house, in which he died on 20 August 1790.	216
Plate 51	The Church of St Andrew Undershaft.	218
Plate 52	Brass plaque commemorating Dr John Worgan in the Church of St Andrew Undershaft.	219
Plate 53	Organ by Renatus Harris in the Church of St Andrew Undershaft.	224

Plate 54	Organ by Renatus Harris, dating from 1704–05, in the Church of St Botolph, Aldgate.	226
Plate 55	Dr John Worgan: title page from <i>Pieces for the Harpsichord, Composed Purposely for Forming the Hands of Young Pupils to that Instrument, with the Help of a Proper Instructor</i> (London: W. Owen, 1780).	230
Plate 56	Dr John Worgan: title page from <i>Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord</i> (London: Mrs Johnson, 1769).	247
Plate 57	Dr John Worgan: <i>Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord</i> (London: Mrs Johnson, 1769)—Sonata No. 5 in E-flat Major, i (<i>Larghetto</i>), p. 22.	248
Plate 58	Jan Ladislav Dussek: title page from <i>The Sufferings of the Queen of France...</i> , Op. 23 (Edinburgh and Soho: Corri & Co., 1793).	281
Plate 59	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): lockboard music desk—right-hand front lid flap closed.	312
Plate 59a	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?): lid open.	312
Plate 59b	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?): lid open.	313
Plate 59c	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?): lid standing open, revealing the hinged lockboard music desk.	313
Plate 60	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): right-hand front lid flap open.	315
Plate 61	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): entire lid held open (manually).	316
Plate 62	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): witness marks indicating the (missing) lid-stick's arc of rotation.	316
Plate 63	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): leather-covered hammerheads of the first four bass notes (FF–GG [#]).	329
Plate 63a	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1778): leather-covered hammerheads of the first six bass notes (FF–AA [#]).	330

Plate 64	Josiah Wedgwood (1730–95): medallion made from clay collected at Sydney Cove (1789).	384
Plate 65	'The Rogue's March.'	416
Plate 66	Unknown artist: <i>John Macarthur</i> (n.d., ca 1850s). Authenticated portrait.	466
Plate 67	Unknown artist: <i>Elizabeth Macarthur</i> (n.d., ca 1850s). Authenticated portrait.	467
Plate 68	Unknown artist: <i>John Macarthur</i> (?) (n.d.). Unauthenticated portrait.	468
Plate 69	Unknown artist: <i>Elizabeth Macarthur</i> (?) (n.d.). Unauthenticated portrait.	469
Plate 70	'Foot's Minuet'.	487
Plate 71	'God Save the King. Harmonized by Jon ^m Battishill Org ^t of St Pauls.'	489
Plate 72	Liskeard: view of the town centre from the top of the tower of the Church of St Martin.	515
Plate 73	The Fountain Inn, Liskeard (as it appears today).	522
Plate 74	Webb's Hotel, Liskeard (as it appears today).	522
Plate 75	The Barley Sheaf Inn, Liskeard (as it appears today).	523
Plate 76	The White Horse Inn, Liskeard (as it appears today).	523
Plate 77	The Red Lion Inn, Liskeard (as it appears today).	524
Plate 78	The Albion Inn, Liskeard (as it appears today).	524
Plate 79	The Church of St Martin, Liskeard.	526
Plate 80	The site, if not the building, of the Liskeard Grammar School (as it appears today).	536
Plate 81	The site of the National Society Boys' School, Liskeard (as it appears today).	538
Plate 82	Dean Street, Liskeard (as it appears today).	548
Plate 83	West Street, Liskeard (as it appears today).	549
Plate 84	Wadeland House (as it appears today).	551
Plate 85	The service cottage attached to Wadeland House.	551
Plate 86	The separate privy at the rear of Wadeland House.	552

Plate 87	Wadeland House: at the back of the house, a single-room pantry wing extends behind the kitchen.	553
Plate 88	Wadeland House: the hipped concrete-tile roof.	553
Plate 89	Wadeland House: projecting eaves at the front.	553
Plate 90	Wadeland House: in typical Cornish fashion, the roof sweeps lower at the rear than at the front.	554
Plate 91	Wadeland House: symmetrical three-window front.	555
Plate 92	Wadeland House: original small-horned sashes and glazing bars.	555
Plate 93	Wadeland House: original four-panel central doorway.	556
Plate 94	Wadeland House: original panelling of the left-hand vertical section of the wall lying between the doorframe and the outer wall.	556
Plate 95	Wadeland House: distyle Roman Doric porch.	557
Plate 96	Wadeland House: each of the porch's plain columns has a moulded base and a Doric frieze to the entablature.	557
Plate 97	Wadeland House: the original exterior bell-pull.	558
Plate 98	Wadeland House: the original bell-pull (lever) (detail).	558
Plate 99	Wadeland House: original moulded plaster ceiling cornices in the ground-floor right-hand front (drawing) room (detail).	559
Plate 100	Wadeland House: original moulded plaster ceiling cornices comprising the right-hand rear corner of the ground-floor central entrance hallway (detail).	559
Plate 101	Wadeland House: top-floor original moulded plaster cornice (detail).	560
Plate 102	Wadeland House: original internal window shutters (right-hand, half-closed) in the left-hand ground-floor front room (detail).	560
Plate 103	Wadeland House: original internal window shutters (closed) in the left-hand ground-floor front room (detail).	561
Plate 104	Wadeland House: the original open-well stair.	561
Plate 105	Wadeland House: the original mahogany handrail, scrolled over the newel post (detail).	562
Plate 106	Wadeland House: the original mahogany handrail, scrolled over the newel post (detail).	562

Plate 107	Wadeland House: the original laterally sliding pantry window (detail).	563
Plate 108	Wadeland House: attached service cottage.	564
Plate 109	Wadeland House: attached service cottage—the original ground-floor window's slate windowsill.	565
Plate 110	Wadeland House: attached service cottage—original slate ground floor (detail).	565
Plate 111	Wadeland House: attached service cottage.	566
Plate 112	Wadeland House: attached service cottage—the external stairway's original iron balustrade (detail).	566
Plate 113	Wadeland House: original front gate piers and screen walls.	567
Plate 114	Wadeland House: original right-hand front gate pier and screen wall (detail).	567
Plate 115	George Worgan's grave, Church of St Martin, Liskeard.	596
Plate 116	The inscription on George Worgan's headstone.	596
Plate 117	The brass plaque affixed to George Worgan's headstone.	597
Plate 118	The brass plaque on George Worgan's headstone (detail).	598
Plate 119	Mary Worgan's headstone.	599
Plate 120	Charles Parsons Worgan's headstone.	600
Plate 121	Portman Square, London (as it appears today).	602
Plate 122	The Royal Society of Musicians, London (as it appears today).	605
Plate 123	Joseph Lycett (1774? – ca 1828): <i>The Residence of John McArthur Esqre. Near Parramatta, New South Wales</i> (1825).	620
Plate 124	The unveneered spine of George Worgan's square piano.	625
Plate 125	Elizabeth Farm cottage.	626
Plate 126	Unknown artist: <i>Major Johnston with Quarter Master Laycock One Sergeant and Twenty Five Privates of ye New South Wales Corps defeats Two Hundred and Sixty Six Armed Rebels 5 March 1804</i> (1804).	644
Plate 127	Elizabeth Farm cottage: 1826 dining room.	648
Plate 128	George Worgan's Beck piano in the 1826 dining room of Elizabeth Farm cottage.	648

Plate 129	George Worgan's Beck piano in the 1826 dining room of Elizabeth Farm cottage.	649
Plate 130	Upright grand piano by John Broadwood & Sons, (London, 1815).	654
Plate 131	Upright grand piano by John Broadwood & Sons, (London, 1815): door open.	654
Plate 132	Cabinet piano by John Broadwood & Sons (London, ca 1810).	655
Plate 133	The left-hand page of William Bradshaw's handwritten entry in one of his stock books regarding acquisition of the 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano (detail).	687
Plate 133a	The right-hand page of William Bradshaw's handwritten stock book entry regarding acquisition of the 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano (detail).	687
Plate 133b	George Worgan's Beck square piano nestling against the bent-side of a grand piano by Joseph Kirckman, dated 1809?.	717

Foreword

Whoever would have imagined that the chance meeting of a 19-year-old student and a venerable Sydney antiques dealer and keyboard instrument enthusiast in 1974 would lead nearly 40 years later to the writing of this book, undoubtedly destined to become the classic of its kind? And who better to produce this than a performer/scholar whose writing, particularly in the extensive Introduction, conveys the same passionate eloquence that illuminates his playing? The author has established an international reputation as a leading fortepianist, his playing informed by a deep knowledge of musical style—particularly that of the baroque and classical periods—and, as will be seen from the many pages of this book, by an extraordinary knowledge of keyboard construction. There is no doubt that this book represents a kind of homage to William Bradshaw, who, perhaps unwittingly, pointed the young student, Geoffrey Lancaster, in the direction of what was to become a brilliant career.

While the focus of the book is on the earliest pianos brought to Australia—and the influence these had on shaping our colonial musical culture—his account traces those ripples from seventeenth-century Europe that touched many shores and led to the creation of a high craft that shaped musical performance in almost all cultured societies. It was one of the civilising influences brought to a largely uncivilised colony in Australia. This book, richly illustrated with photographs, references and documentation, leads us into a world once alive with the construction of pianos along original lines, some more lasting than others, and which penetrated domestic music making as few other kinds of instruments could. The best of these are not simply ancient artefacts, but also truly beautiful musical instruments that should be heard today.

Many hundreds of them arrived in Australia during the nineteenth century and it is a matter of concern that most of the pianos that contributed to our early musical culture are fast disappearing as wealthy collectors from overseas snatch them up. If—as it seems—we cannot retain them, Geoffrey Lancaster's brilliant book will at least furnish a precious record of what Australia once possessed.

David Tunley
Emeritus Professor of Music
The University of Western Australia

Acknowledgments

In 1728, the music theorist Roger North wrote: 'I have ever found I did not well know my owne thoughts, till I had wrote and reviewed them; and then for the most part, mists fell away, and fondness and failings appeared in a clear light.'¹

I begin by thanking the Australian Research Council for the generous Discovery Grant² that enabled me to write and review 'my owne thoughts'.

Stewart Symonds, whose collection of pianos possesses an immense power to inspire, has been endlessly generous with both his time and his knowledge.

Dr Philomena Brennan OAM shared her wisdom and perspicacity through constructive criticism, unreserved kindness and continued encouragement.

Gavin Gostelow 'brought together the strands of ... unwieldy ... draft[s] and [tied them] ... into a more elegant bow than I could ever have hoped'.³ I was often the beneficiary of his insights during peripatetic dialogues through some of Australia's most wonderful keyboard instrument collections.

Sir Roger Vickers KCVO FRCS and Lady Joanna Vickers shared their comfortable London house, a genteel oasis in the City.

Julian and Katy Bauer, Colin and Christine Edwards, Daphne James, Jay Johnson, and Anthony and Jane Wood, with characteristically Liskeardian generosity of spirit, offered valuable insights and quiet, abounding hospitality.

I am deeply grateful to my gentle, loving and kind friends John and Christine Morhall, who unhesitatingly provided a serene haven in their elegant Singapore home.

Dr Alan Turner, of the Royal College of Surgeons London, supplied information associated with the eighteenth-century removal of bladder stones.

1 J. Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays Written during the Years c. 1695–1728*, transcribed and edited by J. Wilson (London: Novello & Company, 1959), p. xxiv.

2 See Australian Research Council Discovery Grant No. DP0773740, in 'Listing by all State/Organisation [PDF Format]' in '2006 for funding commencing in 2007' in 'Discovery Projects Funding Outcomes' in Australian Government: Australian Research Council, p. 274.

3 C. Clarke, 'The English Piano', in M. Latham (ed.), *Musique ancienne—instruments et imagination. Actes des Rencontres Internationales harmoniques, Lausanne 2004* [*Old Musical Instruments and Imagination. Proceedings of the International Harmonics Meeting, Lausanne 2004*] (Berne: Peter Lang, 2006), p. 239.

Gary Crockett, Curator of the Hyde Park Barracks Museum, gracefully cut through the institutional red tape that threatened to entangle the placement in Elizabeth Farm cottage (if only for a day) of the 1780/86? Beck square piano.⁴

Christopher Groenhout and Roy Williams allowed their photographs of the first-floor drawing room of William Bradshaw's home to be included.

My deep appreciation goes to Paul Kenny, who willingly provided information drawn from William Bradshaw's business records.

Robert Clarke, whose forthcoming PhD dissertation will undoubtedly become a seminal work in relation to the life of George Bouchier Worgan, 'saved me from terrible error'⁵ by 'trusting me with the secrets of his years of toil'.⁶

I extend my gratitude to Matthew Payne, Keeper of the Muniments at Westminster Abbey, for his caring assistance.

Dan Johansson, Curator of the Stockholm Music and Theatre Museum, Sweden, graciously helped me shed light on the First Fleet piano's date of manufacture.

Stanley Hoogland, one of the world's great fortepianists and a master teacher, kindly assisted in locating the whereabouts of a 1772 Beck square piano.

Alan Rubin, eminent antiques dealer, generously sent a photograph and provenance details of a 1773 Beck square piano.

Uwe Fischer of the Bachhaus, Eisenach, cordially sent photographs of the museum's 1774 Beck square piano.

Graham Walker, erudite restorer and collector of early pianos, Dorset, UK, shared his extensive knowledge, and provided photographs both of the 1776 Beck square piano and of an instrument whose nameboard inscription tantalisingly identifies Frederick Beck and George Corrie as its makers.

James Wright, Associate Professor and Supervisor of Performance Studies at the School for Studies in Art and Culture (Music) at Carleton University, Ottawa, enthusiastically provided photographs of the university's 1777 Beck square piano.

I am grateful to Thomas Strange both for his encouragement and for his photographs of his 1778 Beck square piano.

4 See Footnote 15 in 'Introduction', this volume. See also Chapter 2.

5 G. S. Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design: A Conversation with a Reader with Many Digressions* (Middlesex: The Very Yellow Press, 2006), Vol. 1, p. 277.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 275.

Elisabeth McGregor, Curator/Archivist of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, Massachusetts, graciously supplied photographs and provenance details of the Trust's 1782/87? Beck square piano.

Thanks, too, to Inger Jakobsson-Wärn, Director and Curator of the Sibelius Museum, Turku, Finland, for generously sending photographs of the museum's 1783 Beck square piano.

John R. Watson, Conservator of Instruments and Mechanical Arts and Associate Curator of Musical Instruments of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia, furnished a photograph of the Foundation's 1785 Beck square piano.

David Hackett and Andrew Snedden braved the devoted multitudes at Piano Auctions Limited in Conway Hall, Holborn, London, to take photographs and measurements of the ca 1790—serial number 2580—Beck square piano.

Malcolm Rose sent valuable data associated with and many photographs of one of the two extant Frederick Beck tangent action square pianos.

Brian Barrow liberally provided vital information, a friendly welcome and unhindered access to his Longman & Broderip square piano of 1785/86?, an instrument that raised more questions than it answered.

Phillip Barrow kindly offered invaluable advice within the context of a detailed and timely critique.

Elizabeth Ellis OAM, the enchantingly collegiate historian and Emeritus Curator of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, imparted helpful guidance with grace and subtlety.

José Gutierrez and Wolf Krueger shared their colourful reminiscences of life in mid-twentieth-century Sydney.

Michael Lea, Curator of the Powerhouse Museum's musical instrument collection and 'a gentleman of keen insight',⁷ was characteristically amiable and helpful; his replies to my every query were exhaustive and authoritative.⁸

I am indebted to Scott Carlin, Manager of House Museums at the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart, for his courteous assistance.

Lucy Coad and Andrew Lancaster furnished photographs of, and information concerning, one of the two extant Broadwood square pianos dating from 1783.

⁷ Ibid., p. 277.

⁸ See K. Hafner, *A Romance on Three Legs: Glenn Gould's Obsessive Quest for the Perfect Piano* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2009), p. 240.

I extend my grateful thanks to the ever-generous Michael Cole, whose research combines passion with uncompromising rigour, and whose encyclopedic knowledge has a timeless quality that makes his insights required understanding for anyone who seeks to comprehend the complexities associated with the Classic era⁹ piano.

My sincere gratitude goes to Emeritus Professor David Tunley AM FAHA, who contributed a foreword that greatly enhances the value of the book for those who know him as the fine human being and great scholar that he is.

Deb and Steve Watkinson lovingly provided the writing space within which serenity was attained.

The redoubtable Susanne Hewitt, exemplar of Australian fortitude, whose love of the absurd and profound enriched research's pilgrimage road, not only dispelled the obstructive mysteries enshrouding Spanish bus timetables, but also underwrote the exploration of Liskeard's historic inns (for purely research purposes).

A final and vital acknowledgment goes to Jan Borrie, who copyedited the manuscript with sensitivity and a keen and learned eye.

Those mentioned above are now part of the First Fleet piano's legacy, and the story is far from over.

To those who hindered rather than helped:

[T]he high-quality products of the creative impulse ... [can] be distinguished from the destructive one by ... [their] propensity to increase the variety of the created world rather than reduce it. Builders of concentration camps [for example,] might be creators of a kind ... but they were in business to subtract variety from the created world, not to add to it.¹⁰

History shows that evil always overreaches itself. To those who (with shameless hypocrisy) contentedly manufacture prestige-creating, self-advancing opportunity in the interstices of institutionalised coercion and subjugation, and who are 'willing to disadvantage the community to advantage themselves',¹¹ I ask: 'what do you benefit if you gain the whole world but lose your own soul?'¹² 'For jealousy and selfishness are not God's kind of wisdom. Such things are

9 See Footnote 2 in 'Introduction', this volume.

10 C. James, *Cultural Amnesia: Notes in the Margin of My Time* (London: Picador, 2007), p. xix.

11 B. K. Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1–15* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004), p. 96. Quoted in T. Keller, *Every Good Endeavor: Connecting Your Work to God's Work* (New York: Dutton, 2012), p. 203.

12 *Holy Bible*, New Living Translation, 2nd edn (Carol Stream, Ill.: Tyndale House Publishers, 2007), Matthew 16:26, p. 1144.

earthly, unspiritual, and demonic. For wherever there is jealousy and selfish ambition, there you will find disorder and evil of every kind.¹³ God will get to you shortly.

I have made every effort to trace copyright holders and to obtain their permission for the use of copyright material. I apologise for any errors or inadvertent omissions, and would be grateful to be notified of any corrections that should be incorporated into this book; I will be pleased to make the necessary arrangements at the first opportunity.

So often, when writing this book, I disappeared from the normal rhythms of daily life. That I did not vanish completely beyond a far horizon is due chiefly to Dr Andrew Lu OAM, to whom this book is dedicated.

13 Ibid., James 3:15–16, p. 1426.

Descriptive Conventions

The Term ‘Piano’¹

During the eighteenth century, there was no commonly used term for the piano. Stewart Pollens identifies 20 different eighteenth-century titles for the piano:

Gravicembalo col piano e forte (Maffei, 1711), *Arpicembalo col piano e forte* (Medici inventory, 1700), *gravecembalo à martelli* (Italian dictionary, second half of the eighteenth century), *Cimbalo di piano e forte di martelletti* (Giustini, 1732), *cembalo à martellino* (testament of Farinelli, 1782), *clavecin à maillets* (Marius, 1716), *clavecin à marteau* (F. E. Blanchet’s inventory), *Pantalone* (Schröter, 1717), *Cymbal-Clavir* (Ficker, 1731), *Fortbien* and *Bienfort* (Friederici, ca. 1745), *cravo de martelos* (Antunes, 1760), *clavicordio de piano* (testament of Maria Barbara of Braganza, 1753), *clave piano* (Madrid newspaper, 1777), *Pantolon*, *Hämmer-pantalone*, *Hämmerwerke*, *Pandoret*, and *Claveçin Roial* (the last five terms by Daniel Gottlob Türk, 1789), *Banlony* (J. C. Jeckel and C. Jeckel, Worms, ca. 1790).²

Moreover, in 1770, Franz Jacob Spath (Späth)³ (1714–86) named his new invention ‘*Clavecin d’Amour*’.⁴ In 1774 in New York, Johann Sheybli offered a ‘hammer spinet’ for sale ‘by which he ... meant a ... piano’.⁵ A contemporaneous title page for piano music composed by Joseph Antonin Steffan (1726–97) indicates

1 Most of the material in ‘Descriptive Conventions’ is strongly based on, or comprises pronouncements found in, Michael Cole’s acknowledged modern classic *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. xi–xiii, and John Koster’s *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1994), pp. xxi–xxii.

2 S. Pollens, *The Early Pianoforte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 5.

3 In his day, Spath’s surname was usually written without an umlaut. It is probable, however, that ‘both ‘Spath’ and ‘Späth’ were used during the eighteenth century’. G. P. di Stefano, ‘The *Tangentenflügel* and Other Pianos with Non-Pivoting Hammers’, in *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 61 (April) (London: The Galpin Society, 2008), p. 80, fn. 5. For the purposes of this study, ‘Spath’ will be used.

4 J. A. Hiller (ed.), *Musikalische Nachrichten und Anmerkungen auf das Jahr 1770. Erster Theil [Musical News and Notes for the Year 1770. First Part]* (Leipzig: Im Verlag der Zeitungs Expedition, 1770), 30 April 1770, p. 142.

5 L. Libin, ‘Early Piano Culture in America’, in R. Bösel (ed.), *La Cultura del Fortepiano 1770–1830 Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Roma, 26–29 maggio 2004 [The Culture of Fortepiano 1770–1830: Proceedings of the International Conference in Rome 26–29 May 2004]* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2009), p. 381. See also C. A. Hoover, ‘The Workshop’, in J. Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene, 2001), p. 36.

'*Clavi Cembalo d'espressione*'.⁶ Furthermore, 'Johann Andreas Stein [1728–92] always described himself as a *faiseur de clavecins*, [maker of harpsichords] ... whether he placed his signature label on a harpsichord or piano'.⁷

During the 1700s, the words 'piano' and 'forte' (and their variants) were quite interchangeable, and subject to many permutations. For example, the periodical *L'Avant-coureur* (*The Forerunner*), dated Monday, 6 April 1761, refers to the '*clavessins a piano e forte*' of Gottfried Silbermann (1683–1753);⁸ Silbermann called his pianos 'piano fort' and '*piano et forte*'.⁹ In Strasbourg, Johann Heinrich Silbermann called his pianos 'forté-piano'.¹⁰ In Zürich, Jean Caspar Maag (1744–1822) referred to his pianos as 'forte piano'. Jacob Adlung (1699–1762), in his *Musica Mechanica Organoedi*, uses the term 'piano forte'.¹¹ Johann Adam Hiller (1728–1804), in his *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend* (*Weekly News and Notes on Music*), uses the terms 'fortepiano' and 'pianoforte' interchangeably on the same page when describing the pianos of Gottfried Silbermann and Johann Andreas Stein respectively.¹² Certain solo keyboard works and concerti composed by Joseph Anton Steffan indicate on their title page 'forte piano', 'forte e piano' or '*Cembalo di Forte Piano*'.¹³ Sometime before 1774, a '*cembalo a piano e forte*' made by the Neapolitan priest and organ maker Donato del Piano (fl. 1720–85) was sent as a gift to the Queen of Naples.¹⁴ 'Spanish piano owners in 1780 refer to their "*fuerte-piano*".'¹⁵ In Madrid, Francisco Fernández (1766–1852) and Francisco Flórez (d. 1824) called their instruments 'fortes pianos'.¹⁶ In an advertisement published in the *Public Advertiser* of Monday, 21 January 1765, Friedrich Neubauer (d. 1774) calls his square piano¹⁷ a 'pyano forte'. In the *Public Advertiser* of Friday, 1 March 1771, the Dutch-born London-based keyboard instrument maker Americus Backers (d. 1778) called his piano (with its distinctive 'English'

6 See A. P. Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music: Sources and Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), p. 143.

7 M. N. Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano. Volume 2: 1820–1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 471.

8 *L'Avant-coureur. Feuille Hebdomadaire, Où sont annoncés les objets particuliers des Sciences & des Arts, le cours les nouveautés des Spectacles, & les Livres nouveaux en tout genre* [*The Forerunner. Weekly Leaf, Where are Advertised Special Objects of Science & Arts, the Price of New Entertainment, & New Books of All Kinds*], 6 April 1761 (Paris: M. Lambert, 1760–73), p. 219. Quoted in A. de Place, *Le Piano-forte à Paris entre 1760 et 1822* [*The Pianoforte in Paris between 1760 and 1822*] (Paris: Aux Amateurs de livres, 1986), p. 14.

9 R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 345.

10 See M. N. Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 398.

11 J. Adlung, *Musica Mechanica Organoedi, das ist: Gründlicher Unterricht von der Struktur, Gebrauch und Erhaltung der Orgeln, Clavicymbel, Clavichordien, und andere Instrumente, in zwei Theilen* [*Musica Mechanica Organoedi, that is: Thorough Teaching of the Structure, Use and Preservation of Organs, Harpsichords, Clavichords, and Other Instruments, in Two Parts*], 2 vols, facsimile edn (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), Vol. 1, pp. 211–12, fn.

12 J. A. Hiller, *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend* [*Weekly News and Notes on Music*] (Leipzig: Im Verlag der Zeitungs Expedition, 1768), Vol. 3, pp. 32, 40.

13 See Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, p. 143.

14 See di Stefano, 'The Tangentenflügel and Other Pianos with Non-Pivoting Hammers', p. 92.

15 C. F. Colt and A. Miall, *The Early Piano* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1981), p. 20.

16 See Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 398.

17 See Footnote 15 in 'Introduction', this volume.

type of hammer mechanism) a ‘forte piano’. Making pianos that were identical to those of Backers, the Scottish-born Robert Stodart (1748–1831) described his instruments as ‘piano forte’. In an advertisement published in the *New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* of Monday, 10 October 1774, Johann Sheybli claimed to make ‘fortepianoes’.¹⁸ An extant tuner’s notebook from the 1770s uses the terms ‘forte piano’ and ‘piano forte’ on successive pages when referring to the same instrument, and a few pages later adopts the shorter form ‘piano’.¹⁹ In 1780, Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) described his epoch-making invention as a ‘piano-forte’.²⁰ ‘Among the major Viennese builders, Joseph Dohnal [1759–1829] in c. 1795, and Conrad Graf [1782–1851] in c. 1820 referred to themselves as makers of the *Fortepiano*’.²¹

For the purposes of this study, the terms ‘fortepiano’ and ‘piano’ are used interchangeably to denote the eighteenth to early nineteenth-century wooden-framed touch-sensitive stringed keyboard instrument whose strings are sounded by pivoted hammers. The instrument’s frame may include gap spacers and/or iron tension bars.

The term ‘modern piano’ denotes the type of ‘grand’ or ‘upright’ instrument whose design, touch and sound characteristics were fundamentally established during the late 1880s (and have remained basically unchanged since), now commonly encountered in conservatoria, concert halls and homes.

Differences in the sound, touch and design of the piano’s many incarnations not only prove that the instrument’s history is not that ‘of the single-minded pursuit of an ideal form’,²² but also that ‘every piano is historical ... no piano embodies the history of the instrument ... [and] there is no such thing as the modern piano any more than there is such a thing as the early piano’.²³

18 See Hoover, ‘The Workshop’, p. 36.

19 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, pp. xi, 1.

20 *General Advertiser*, 1 February 1780; reported verbatim in P. James, *Early Keyboard Instruments: From their Beginnings to the Year 1820* (London: The Tabard Press, 1970), p. 80.

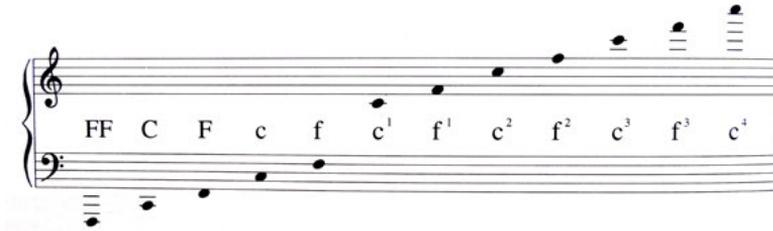
21 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 398. See also Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, Vol. 2, p. 471.

22 ‘Afterword: Making the Piano Historical’ in J. Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene, 2001), p. 325.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 325.

Note Names

Note names are identified in the following way:²⁴



Source: M. Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. xii. Reproduced with permission of Michael Cole.

Textual Conventions

In order to avoid use of the mannerism 'sic' within the context of quotations, misspellings, errors and eighteenth-century typographical idiosyncrasies remain intact (despite the possibility for the emergence of an alluring air of quaintness); insertions are signalled with square brackets.

When a nameboard inscription appears in the text as the conclusion of a sentence, the final full stop may not reflect the actual presence of a full stop in the original inscription.

Online References

In footnotes, links are provided in order to allow the viewing of source material online. Because the permanency of links cannot be ensured, this study contains sufficient bibliographic data to enable future readers to find a referenced source.

Material is repeated when there is benefit to be gained through reinforcement, reminder or by viewing it from a different perspective.

When needed, the reader may wish to consult the glossary (Appendix Q) at the end of the book.

²⁴ Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, pp. xii. Reproduced with permission of Michael Cole.

Introduction

Discovery

In 1974, as an undergraduate music student, my life's work as a player of fortepianos and advocate for 'historically inspired performance practice'¹ began with the chance discovery of a large collection of fortepianos in the home of the eminent antiques dealer, keyboard instrument enthusiast and gentleman of Sydney William Frederick Bradshaw (1922–2009). Bradshaw was one of the most respected members of Australia's antique dealers' fraternity, and his knowledge of the developments that occurred in piano design and manufacture between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries was extensive. For the time, Bradshaw's musical enthusiasms were prophetic: during the early 1970s in Australia, the notion of performing music composed during the Classic² and early Romantic³ eras using instruments of the period was, for many members of the musical profession, virtually incomprehensible.⁴

1 The term 'historically inspired performance practice' refers to the conventions of performance that appear to have been prevalent among knowledgeable performers prior to our time, including those customs that were so commonly understood that they were not noted, as well as aspects of performance that were too subtle to notate. See S. P. Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music: Their Principles and Applications* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), p. xvii. Historically inspired performance practice provides 'a vital key to our understanding' and interpretation of the 'incomplete record represented by musical notation', enabling a musical score to be read, understood and interpreted 'in a richly contextualised way'. P. Walls, *History, Imagination and the Performance of Music* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 10–11.

2 In a widely accepted and commonly encountered periodisation schema of Western music history, the 'Classic' era is defined as the period between ca 1750 and ca 1830. Classicism (a European phenomenon) possessed certain aesthetic characteristics: an 'ideal of peace and serenity and ... tendencies toward repression and formalism'. J. Barzun, *Classic, Romantic, and Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 58. The term 'Classical' is broader in its meaning, and is often used colloquially when referring to Western 'art' music.

3 In a widely accepted and commonly encountered periodisation schema of Western music history, the 'Romantic' era is defined as the period between ca 1830 and ca 1880.

4 During the 1970s, many professional musicians in Australia experienced the reinvigoration of Baroque keyboard music through historically inspired performances given on either replicas of or restored seventeenth and eighteenth-century harpsichords (in a widely accepted and commonly encountered periodisation schema of Western music history, the 'Baroque' era is defined as the period between ca 1600 and ca 1750). Some musicians dared to entertain similar expectations in relation to the Classic-era piano and its repertoire. It was an exhilarating time, filled with controversy and fervent self-defence. The late twentieth-century journey towards the concomitant use of historical keyboard instruments and historically inspired performance practice is perhaps best described by the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860): 'Every truth passes through three stages: First, it is [neglected or] ridiculed; Second, it is violently opposed; and Third, it is accepted as self-evident.' H. von der Wagon Brecht (ed.), *Quotable Arthur Schopenhauer: Kernels of Wisdom and Insights* (Morrisville, NC: Lulu Enterprises, n.d. [2008?]), p. 104. See also M. Skowronek, *Harpsichord Construction: A Craftsman's Workshop Experience and Insight* (Bergkirchen, Germany: Edition Bochinsky, 2003), p. 265.

Behind the unassuming façade and narrow central double doors of Bradshaw's antiques shop⁵ lay a musical paradise: an unbelievable number and variety of the piano's varying historical incarnations cluttered rooms and filled hallways, spilling into the large freestanding uninsulated red brick garage and workshop at the rear of his terrace house at 96 Queen Street, Woollahra, Sydney.⁶ The cornucopia of pianos kept company with a profusion of the most exquisitely beautiful Regency and Empire clocks (made by the most celebrated clockmakers of London and Paris) that hourly filled the house with a cacophony of chiming bells. At the height of this collective rhapsody, sight was drawn to eighteenth and early nineteenth-century mirrors that reflected light shimmering through opulently curtained windows, a light infused with gentle warmth by a surfeit of ormolu and the sheen of more intricately inlaid French-polished Regency cabinetwork than convenience required.⁷

In the first-floor drawing room (Plate 1), a grand piano⁸ by John Broadwood & Son dated 1802 (with its casework of cross-banded mahogany,⁹ boxwood¹⁰ stringing creating the effect of outlined panels along the sides of the instrument, satinwood¹¹ decorating the keywell, and the wrest-plank veneered in maple)¹² sat under the windows. For me, of all the wonderful instruments in Bradshaw's collection that lured with their captivating call, this piano sounded out the

5 Bradshaw's shop had a ring-the-bell-before-entering system.

6 The garage had a metal roof, as well as a large metal roller door that opened to the lane at the rear of the building. In 1957, Bradshaw paid £2470 for 96 Queen Street, Woollahra (having moved from his shop at 12 Market Street, Sydney). After Bradshaw's death in 2009, his shop was 'tenanted to Jacardi, the children's clothing store from Paris, following' the property's A\$2.7 million sale. J. Chancellor, 'Queen Street Eschews Antiques for Fashion', *BusinessDay*, 10 May 2010. See also W. Oakman, 'Man of Antiques Lived on Fruit Cake', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 December 2009.

7 See R. Williams and M. Lloyd, *The Australian Room: Antiques and Collectibles from 1788* (Melbourne: Lothian Books, 1999), p. 28.

8 The term 'grand piano' is commonly used to signify 'a large horizontal wing-shaped' stringed keyboard instrument 'the form of which is directly derived from that of the harpsichord', comprising a fairly deep case, open at the top (closed by a lid), with a protruding horizontal keyboard (whose bass end meets the left-hand edge of the instrument's spine at a right angle) and a bentside following the line of the bridge; horizontal strings run parallel with each other and the spine, passing over up-striking hammers (rare exceptions have down-striking hammers) and the soundboard. E. M. Ripin, 'Grand Pianoforte', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 7, p. 635. See C. Clarke, 'The English Piano', in M. Latcham (ed.), *Musique ancienne—instruments et imagination. Actes des Rencontres Internationales harmoniques, Lausanne 2004* (Berne: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 254–5. See also M. Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 379.

9 'Wood from tropical trees of the genus *Swietenia*.' J. Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1994), p. 331.

10 'Wood from shrubs or small trees of the species *Buxus sempervirens*.' *Ibid.*, p. 331.

11 'Wood of the closely related species *Chloroxylon swietenia* (East Indian satinwood) and *Zanthoxylum flavum* (West Indian satinwood; called *Fagara flava* by some taxonomists).' *Ibid.*, p. 332. Broadwood probably used the West Indian species in this instrument.

12 'Wood from the trees of the genus *Acer* ... The European species *Acer pseudoplatanus* is called "sycamore" in England.' *Ibid.*, p. 331.

ravishing beauty and expressivity of Classic-era keyboard repertoire more profoundly than any other. It was the first time I had heard such sounds, and the instrument changed my musical life.

Another piano by John Broadwood & Son (ca 1805) sat on out-swept legs in the centre of the room. This instrument functioned as a sofa table (the keyboard pulled out like a drawer),¹³ and was derived ‘from a design of 1803 by Thomas Sheraton’¹⁴ (1751–1806) (Plate 1).

A beautiful square piano¹⁵ made in New York by Robert & William Nunns (1828)—veneered with mahogany, and with rosewood¹⁶ cross-banding, single brass and ebony¹⁷ stringing, its nameboard and the front curved corners of the case ornamented with gilt transfers—sat against the right-hand wall, near the far right-hand corner; the instrument’s trestle stand and stretcher (with carved acanthus leaves and claw feet) were designed by the leading American furniture maker Duncan Phyfe (1768–1854).¹⁸ Adjacent to this piano stood one of a pair of large, enthrallingly beautiful Pierre-Philippe Thomire (1751–1843) candelabra, their magnificent pedestals’ relatively ‘sober and simple adornment’ vividly contrasting with the elaborate ‘detail and [refined] finishing of the candlesticks’ [branched] arms’¹⁹ (Plate 1).

13 ‘Such pianos represented the desire both to hide the piano’s true identity and to turn it into a piece of combination furniture.’ G. S. Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design: A Conversation with a Reader with Many Digressions* (Middlesex: The Very Yellow Press, 2006), Vol. 1, p. 172. ‘In 1866, American Charles Hess ... applied for a patent for a convertible bedroom piano complete with foldout mattress and drawers.’ S. Isacoff, *A Natural History of the Piano: The Instrument, the Musicians—From Mozart to Modern Jazz and Everything in Between* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), p. 56.

14 Williams and Lloyd, *The Australian Room*, p. 28.

15 A ‘square’ piano is superficially similar to a clavichord, and comprises a fairly shallow rectangular box, open at the top (closed by a lid), with an inset keyboard towards the left at the front long-side of the instrument, a soundboard at the treble end, and horizontal strings running obliquely from the back of the instrument at the bass end to the front at the treble end (the bass strings being nearest to the player), the strings passing over up-striking hammers and the soundboard. See Clarke, ‘The English Piano’, pp. 254–5. Square pianos usually have dampers (unlike keyboard pantalons). ‘Only in recent years has there been a renaissance when these long-neglected instruments have been appreciated for their fine craftsmanship and the beautiful effects that they impart to’ Classic-era music. M. Cole, *Square Pianos: A Brief History* (Newly Revised April 2012).

16 ‘Wood from various species of the genus *Dalbergia*.’ Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 332. The Nunns brothers probably used the Central or South American species in this instrument.

17 ‘The black wood of several species of the genus *Diospyros*.’ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

18 This piano is listed in M. N. Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), Vol. 2, p. 269. See photograph in ‘Du Bois and Stodart Important Classical Carved Mahogany Piano Forte’, in ‘The William F. Bradshaw Collection, 19th Century American Furniture and Decorative Arts—Shapiro Auctioneers’, *Antiques Reporter* (Armadale, Vic.: John Furphy, n.d.).

19 K. Huguenaud, ‘Pierre-Philippe Thomire: *Bronzier*’, in *Napoleon: Revolution to Empire* (Melbourne: The Council of Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria, 2012), p. 248.

By the window, near the tail of the 1802 Broadwood & Son grand piano, a single-action harp by Sébastien Érard (1752–1831) evoked refinement and celestial beauty (Plate 1).²⁰ This superb instrument was originally purchased on Tuesday, 11 May 1813, from Érard in Paris by a Monsieur Durnets.²¹

In the back half of the drawing room, an upright grand piano by John Broadwood & Sons (1815)—the instrument's front handsomely pleated with vivid silks²²—dominated the far wall. Bradshaw was particularly fond of this imposing instrument (Plate 2).



Plate 1 The first-floor drawing room in William Bradshaw's home, view into the room from the entrance.

Source: R. Williams and M. Lloyd, *The Australian Room: Antiques and Collectibles from 1788* (Melbourne: Lothian Books, 1999), pp. 26–7. Reproduced with permission of Christopher Groenhout and Roy Williams. Photo by Christopher Groenhout.

²⁰ This harp (serial number 273) is currently housed in the Stewart Symonds Collection, Ermington, Sydney, NSW.

²¹ See S. Érard, 'Ledger 1806–1819 (no d'inv. D.2009.1.75)', in *Centre Sébastien Érard (1806–19)*. 'Unfortunately', Érard's sales registers 'rarely list a purchaser's name if the harp is resold' (as this particular instrument may have been). Email from Rosemary Hallo to the author, 17 May 2013. I am indebted to Ms Hallo for this information.

²² See V. Lawson, 'The Other Man in Keating's Life', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 March 1991.



Plate 2 The first-floor drawing room in William Bradshaw's home, view towards the entrance from the front left-hand corner of the room.

Source: R. Williams and M. Lloyd, *The Australian Room: Antiques and Collectibles from 1788* (Melbourne: Lothian Books, 1999), p. 30. Reproduced with permission of Christopher Groenhout and Roy Williams. Photo by Christopher Groenhout.



Plate 3 The first-floor drawing room in William Bradshaw's home, view towards the entrance from the front left-hand corner of the room. The treble end of the keywell and keyboard of a grand piano by Broadwood & Son (1802) can be seen in the bottom left-hand corner of the image.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Christopher Groenhout and Roy Williams. Photo by Christopher Groenhout.

A square piano made in 1830 by the Rapperswil-based²³ piano maker Heinrich Huni (1798–1866) nestled in the corner near the drawing room's entrance (Plates 2 and 3). This instrument had belonged to a Swedish family who fled to Australia during the horrors of the 1940s, and who returned to their home country after World War II (Bradshaw acquired the piano from the family at a Friday Lawsons²⁴ auction in 1946). The piano was veneered in olivewood,²⁵ and had four columnar legs with beautiful brass capitals. Each leg sat on an individual square block base. With its fallboard closed, the instrument functioned as an attractive side table.²⁶ In the form of a Parianware sculpture, flanked by two glowing Argand lamps, Hebe, the goddess of youth, offered fragrant nectar and ambrosia to the gods and goddesses of Mount Olympus from atop this piano (Plates 2–4 and 401).²⁷

23 The town of Rapperswil is located on the eastern shore of Lake Zürich, Switzerland.

24 During the twentieth century, the family-owned company of Lawsons was a leading Sydney auction house.

25 Wood from the trees of the species *Olea europea*. See E. Meier and S. Earis, 'Olive', in *The Wood Database: By Woodworkers, for Woodworkers* (Last updated March 2011).

26 This piano (serial number 292) is listed in Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, Vol. 2, p. 195.

27 Dame Nellie Melba (1861–1931) features prominently in the history of this sculpture. See Appendix I, Volume 2 of this publication.

Every object in Bradshaw's extravagant drawing room had won its 'right to be [there] ... through high quality and by being characteristic of the best of ... [its] age'.²⁸ The room was indeed 'a jewelled collectors' cabinet';²⁹ more importantly, it was a peaceful haven for gracious living, and the soul of Bradshaw's home.

In the downstairs shopfront room, an 1834 John Broadwood & Sons grand piano led me ever closer to the essence of the early Romantics. This instrument, prior to its recent purchase by Bradshaw, had resided in the Green Drawing Room of Warwick Castle, where, as one of two matching instruments, it had been used as a barrier to keep members of the visiting public away from a painting by Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640).³⁰ Its lustrous rosewood case, inlaid with brass scrolling leaves and flowers, and reeded lobed baluster legs with engine-turned gilt metal collars, were beyond compare. To this day, I have not encountered an English grand piano with casework more spectacularly beautiful than this refined and seductive instrument (Plates 5 and 6).³¹

Unlike many who had become absorbed by the proliferating complexities of a shallower world, Bradshaw, in his passion-driven preservation of rare, gorgeous pianos, demonstrated one of the moral obligations of humanity: to protect the works of love.³²

On many a visit, I was required (at Bradshaw's insistence) to sightread Carl Czerny's (1791–1857) 'Grand Mosaic ... Founded on Bellini's Norma',³³ a set of variations on arias and choruses from Bellini's opera 'Norma' (a particular favourite of Bradshaw's). The fragile, yellowed early nineteenth-century first-edition score of this scintillating work was one of several enchanting treasures in Bradshaw's eclectic collection of music and letters.³⁴

28 Williams and Lloyd, *The Australian Room*, pp. 25–8.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

30 This information is derived from a conversation held on Thursday, 22 March 2012, between the author and Stewart Symonds.

31 On Friday, 25 June 2010, this Broadwood grand piano (serial number 13932) was offered for sale (within the context of the auctioning of the Owsten Collection) by one of the world's leading auction houses, Bonhams 1793 Limited. The instrument was offered as Lot 3, and sold for A\$22 200. The piano is listed in Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, Vol. 2, p. 55.

32 See R. West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: A Journey through Yugoslavia* (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 2001), p. 915.

33 Charles Czerny, *Czerny's Grand Mosaic for the Piano Forte Founded on Bellini's Norma* (London: George Walker & Son, n.d.).

34 In the first-floor drawing room, two drawers fitted into the apron running beneath the piano by Robert & William Nunns (1828) (each drawer was adorned with a brass ring drop handle settling against a flower design brass patera) contained Bradshaw's collection of early colonial sheet music. Every work in this valuable collection of dance music and popular songs was composed, printed and published in Sydney. Following Bradshaw's death, the collection could not be found. It is known that when Bradshaw was alive, a regular visitor (a member, I am told, of the legal profession) would ascend the stairs with a briefcase, in order to use the facilities (which were on the first floor). With care not to make unjust accusation, I allow myself the indulgence of recounting this observation. Bradshaw's collection of music and letters was enhanced by a portrait (in the form of a print) of the pianist-composer Franz Liszt (1811–86); Liszt himself had autographed this print with his full signature. The framed print was positioned high on the far wall of the first-floor drawing room, near the entrance doorway.



Plate 4 William Bradshaw's Parianware statue of Hebe, the goddess of youth (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 5 Grand piano by John Broadwood & Sons (London, 1834).

Source: Owsten Collection viewing, Overseas Passenger Terminal, Circular Quay, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 6 Grand piano by John Broadwood & Sons (London, 1834).

Source: Owsten Collection auction viewing, Overseas Passenger Terminal, Circular Quay, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Within a pervasive atmosphere of serenity and good taste, there ‘was always time for tea’ and rich, moist fruitcake.³⁵ Tea was served from a sterling silver Matthew Boulton (1728–1809) teapot (Plate 7).³⁶ Number 96 Queen Street, Woollahra, was truly Heaven.

³⁵ E. Jensen, ‘Clock Runs Out for Father of Sydney’s Antique Trade’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 November 2009. Once a week (unfailingly), Bradshaw would make a trip to the retail store David Jones in order to purchase a Big Sister tinned fruitcake. On one occasion (having undertaken his journey very late on a Friday afternoon), he was, upon arrival, informed by a member of David Jones’ staff that there were no fruitcakes left. A vociferous exchange ensued, after which Bradshaw triumphantly returned home from the esteemed store in a taxi with a large three-tier wedding cake (purchased for five guineas); this particular confection had functioned as the David Jones exemplar for varying styles of wedding cake decoration. Bradshaw’s friends were immediately invited to somewhat unceremoniously assist in consuming the oversized and eclectically decorated cake. During the weekend, Bradshaw and his mother undertook the gigantic task that had been left uncompleted by Bradshaw’s friends; Herculean feats were performed with the knife and fork, and by Monday the cake (including its columns) had gone. This information is derived from a conversation held on Thursday, 22 March 2012, between the author and Stewart Symonds. See also Lawson, ‘The Other Man in Keating’s Life’.

³⁶ See Oakman, ‘Man of Antiques Lived on Fruit Cake’.



Plate 7 William Bradshaw's Matthew Boulton (1728–1809) teapot.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

During the years following these life-changing meetings with William Bradshaw, his name was regularly associated with reliable, substantiated and accurate information concerning the provenance of antiques—be it pianos or other artefacts; his knowledge was prodigious, and his insights were commonly respected. The day after Bradshaw's death, the journalist Erik Jensen wrote in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of Thursday, 19 November 2009:

He will be, forever, the man Neville Wran [Premier of New South Wales, 1976–86] chose to refurnish Elizabeth Bay House.³⁷ A dealer who sold to the Packers and the Fairfaxes.³⁸ Who sourced clocks for Paul Keating [Prime Minister of Australia, 1991–96, and] ... whom [Keating] ... described as 'simply the most knowledgeable antique dealer Australia has known'.³⁹

Little did I know that this intelligent, cultured and distinguished man was to feature prominently in my life 39 years later, in connection with one of the

³⁷ Elizabeth Bay House is an imposing and elegant historic home that was built for the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, Alexander Macleay (1767–1848), between 1835 and 1839. It was built on 22 hectares of land at Elizabeth Bay, Sydney. The land was granted to Macleay in 1826 by Governor Ralph Darling (1772–1858). It is uncertain who designed the house. Recent research suggests that the colonial architect, builder and pioneer settler John Verge (1782–1861) was the principal designer.

³⁸ The Packers and the Fairfaxes are two of Australia's wealthiest families.

³⁹ Jensen, 'Clock Runs Out for Father of Sydney's Antique Trade'.

most culturally significant⁴⁰ pianos in Australia: the First Fleet⁴¹ piano. As my erudition grew during those 39 years, my comprehension of the depth and wisdom of William Bradshaw's knowledge and opinions intensified.

Until recently, as Professor of Music at The Australian National University School of Music, I taught fortepiano at the institution that (in its former guise as the Canberra School of Music—a community of enquirers infused with 'a relentless spirit of creativity'⁴²—where 'learning had no end in view except its own furtherance')⁴³ prepared me so well for a fulfilling professional life. The memory of those transforming hours spent with Bradshaw's pianos was conscripted into the service of a private dream. I was privileged to play the pianos in Australia's largest public working collection of historical keyboard instruments, a collection I assembled at the university in the hope that the lives of students and music lovers might be transformed (as was mine) by the utter beauty of the sound of eighteenth and nineteenth-century keyboard instruments. My ardent hope is that these instruments will survive the stealth and prideful ignorance of any whose obsession with money and hunger for power undermines educative philosophy, integrity, decency, courtesy, ideas of the beautiful or deep truth. All too often it seems the oppressions of corporate governance have their origins in small minds and cruel hearts. The craving for worldly goals is a false substitute for true existential need, union with God,⁴⁴ and it comes as no surprise that music mystifies and intimidates those who 'are so blind that they are ... [unaware] that they ... [live] in darkness'.⁴⁵

Investigation

It has long been thought that the first piano to be brought to Australia had been forever lost in a miasma of oblivion. This is not surprising. 'The casualty rate of late 18th century square pianos is notoriously high. This is the result of a combination of changing fashion, advances in relation to sound, touch

40 In New South Wales, an 'item may be classed as culturally significant if it meets any one of seven criteria'. S. Rosen, *Australia's Oldest House: Surgeon John Harris and Experiment Farm Cottage* (Sydney: Halstead Press, 2007), p. 11, fn. 4. These criteria are listed in '4. NSW Heritage Assessment Criteria', in *NSW Heritage Manual. 2: Assessing Heritage Significance* (Sydney: NSW Heritage Office, 2001), p. 9.

41 The 'First Fleet' is the name commonly given to the British convoy, comprising 11 ships, which sailed from Portsmouth, UK, on Sunday, 13 May 1787, to establish a colony at Botany Bay in Australia. On arriving at Botany Bay, the 'area was deemed to be unsuitable for settlement so ... [the fleet] moved north arriving at Port Jackson [later called Sydney] ... on 26 January 1788'. C. Dunn and M. McCreddie, 'Australia's First Fleet—1788', in *IFHAA Shipping Pages: The Founders of a Nation* (Last modified 20 March 2006).

42 T. Keller, *Every Good Endeavor: Connecting Your Work to God's Work* (New York: Dutton, 2012), p. 60.

43 James, *Cultural Amnesia*, p. xxiv.

44 See K. C. Markides, *Gifts of the Desert: The Forgotten Path of Christian Spirituality* (New York: Doubleday, 2005), p. 208.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

and design, and the space generally available in the home.⁴⁶ (For any musical instrument, the voyage from the eighteenth to the twenty-first centuries can be a perilous one; square pianos especially need the buoyancy of good fortune to survive.)⁴⁷ As a consequence, researchers (in the absence of an actual instrument, and perhaps because of indifference) have not tracked the history of Australia's first piano past its being owned by George Bouchier Worgan (1757–1838)—a London-born naval surgeon serving aboard the flagship of the First Fleet, the *Sirius*—and Worgan giving the instrument as a gift to Elizabeth Macarthur (1766–1850) in 1791. I am in agreement with the eminent music historian Thérèse Radic (b. 1935), who observes: 'For the most part ... [Australian] historians ignore music. They find space for literature and the visual arts ... but they shy off any serious consideration of music as a central cultural manifestation. Music enters into our older histories at the margins.'⁴⁸ Perhaps this is because of the unintentional influence of those musicologists who—having shamed themselves and their calling by a reluctance to engage with the wider academic community—have failed to assert that 'theirs is not marginal material but rather that music is central to the human condition'.⁴⁹ ('In a world in which we struggle for understanding we cannot afford to overlook what music has to offer, and this means active engagement with it, not a fastidious and melancholy withdrawal.')⁵⁰ It may also be so because of a fear of the power of music—the power of meaning.

Music 'is not a plaything, but a necessity, and its essence, form, is not a decorative adjustment, but a cup into which life can be poured and lifted to the lips and be tasted'.⁵¹ As Vasily Kandinsky (1866–1944) observed, art—especially music—'remains silent to those who do not wish to listen to form'.⁵² After all:

[Music] is good for us. Period. It is good for the soul. It is good for human tolerance. It frees our minds. It reinforces our capacity to feel and understand.

46 Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 241.

47 See L. Groom, *First Fleet Artist: George Raper's Birds & Plants of Australia. Recently Discovered First Fleet Masterpieces* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2009), p. 57.

48 T. Radic, 'The Lost Chord of Australian Culture: Researching Australian Music History', in J. Southcott and R. Smith (eds), *A Community of Researchers: Proceedings of the XXIInd Annual Conference* (Melbourne: Australian Association for Research in Music Education, 2002), pp. 6–14.

49 J. H. Jackson and S. C. Pelkey (eds), *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005), p. xiii.

50 N. Cook, *Music: A Brief Insight* (New York: Sterling Publishing, 1998), p. 162.

51 West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 55.

52 Vasily Kandinsky, quoted in P. A. Riedl, 'The Desire Within', in A. M. Mascheroni (ed.), *Kandinsky* (London: Park Lane, 1993), p. 5.

Music, and the devotion to beauty it represents, releases some of the most positive, noble and life-affirming feelings that humans are capable of.⁵³

Of all the pianos made during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, only 2 to 4 per cent have survived.⁵⁴ A plethora of these, representing a wide cross-section of the piano's varying developmental incarnations, can be found in Australia. The demand for piano-based music making within the contexts of Australian private and community life during the nineteenth and early-to-mid-twentieth centuries, Australia's nineteenth-century economic prosperity and the importation of culturally significant pianos by several antiques dealers and collectors have all ensured that our nation is a treasure-trove of pianos. These pianos constitute an important and irreplaceable part of Australia's movable cultural heritage.⁵⁵

Some piano collectors (reflecting the enthusiasms of the amateur rather than the discrimination of the professional researcher) privately claim that a particular instrument in their collection is the first piano to have been brought to Australia. ('There is ... an understandable desire among collectors to possess instruments that are unique in some respect. Most prized would be the *only* example of some interesting type, but, failing that, the *oldest*!')⁵⁶ In one instance, a specific design element strongly reinforces the validity of the claim.

In a house in Ermington, Sydney, a piano made in 1780/86?⁵⁷ by the London-based piano maker Frederick Beck (1738 – ca 1798)⁵⁸ sits unobtrusively in the entrance hallway. The instrument is a typical example of an English square piano of the era, except for two distinguishing features: uncharacteristically, the instrument has hinged cabriole legs, and these are incorporated into a campaign furniture-inspired stand⁵⁹—unprecedented features in a piano of the time.

This instrument was once part of the vast collection of William Bradshaw, who not only sold the piano to its current owner, the reputable interior designer and

53 K. Williams, 'In Defence of Beauty', in *The Monthly*, No. 94 (October 2013), p. 11.

54 See M. Latcham, 'The Stringing, Scaling and Pitch of Hammerflügel Built in the South German and Viennese Traditions, 1780–1820', in *Musikwissenschaftliche Schriften [Music Science]* (Munich and Salzburg: Musikverlag Katzbichler, 2000), Vol. 34, pp. 9–10. See also Clarke, 'The English Piano', p. 259.

55 The whereabouts of these instruments today has not been charted comprehensively. Many of the rarest examples have survived in this country because they have been forgotten, and therefore remain in original condition.

56 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 317.

57 See, 'Date', in Chapter 2, this volume.

58 The dates of Frederick Beck's birth and death are unknown (see 'Frederick Beck', in Chapter 2, this volume). The dates provided reflect those given in M. Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick', in *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007–13).

59 See 'A Unique Stand' and 'Campaign Furniture', in Chapter 2, this volume. See also 'A Rival First Fleet Piano?', in Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

fortepiano aficionado Stewart Symonds (b. 1937),⁶⁰ but in so doing, informed him that the instrument had been brought to Botany Bay by surgeon George Bouchier Worgan on board the flagship of the First Fleet, the *Sirius*. Bradshaw recounted that the recurring mantra uttered by generations of mothers to their children in the family from whom he had purchased the instrument was 'be careful ... it came out with the First Fleet'.⁶¹ This book provides, for the first time, a comprehensive set of measurements and photographs of this particular piano.⁶²

Given the existence of these tantalising clues (the unique hinged legs, campaign-furniture-inspired stand and Bradshaw's remarks), I entertained the possibility, upon examining the instrument, that I had encountered and could verify the existence of the First Fleet piano. Where subsequent paths of inquiry led me constitutes the substance of this book: at best the tome supports supposition that the 1780/86? Beck square piano is the instrument that George Worgan brought to Botany Bay in 1788. At the very least, it makes known that a rare and magnificent square piano made in 1780/86? by Frederick Beck⁶³ exists in Australia.

This book represents the first time that aspects of the piano's developmental history, as well as the instrument's role in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century English society, have been used as a springboard from which is explored the history of the first piano to be brought to Australia. This book also seeks to encourage an understanding of what owning the first piano to be brought to Australia may have entailed.

As we grow older and see the ends of stories as well as their beginnings, we realize that to the people who take part in them it is almost of greater importance that they should be stories, that they should form a recognizable pattern, than that they should be happy or tragic.⁶⁴

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the First Fleet piano was played and heard by individuals who were closely associated with a defining era in Australia's history. Reflecting the truism that 'nothing is insignificant in the history of a young community, and—above all—nothing

60 Symonds, a close friend of Bradshaw, was the executor of his estate.

61 Stewart Symonds reiterated this information within the context of many conversations held with the author.

62 See Appendix A, Volume 2 of this publication.

63 The instrument is one of what may be only 32 extant pianos by Frederick Beck. See 'Extant Pianos by Frederick Beck', in Chapter 2, this volume.

64 West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 55.

seems impossible',⁶⁵ stories from their lives are told in the hope that light may be shed, however obliquely, on the circumstances within which the First Fleet piano contributed its unique enrichments to the quality of their daily life.

It is tempting to look back on Australia's colonial history simply as 'the actions of men and women [with whom] we cannot identify' and whose 'motives we do not really understand. It is emotionally easier and ... more convenient to inquire no further.'⁶⁶ The story of the First Fleet piano, however, is not a remote one. Rather, it is intimate, immensely rich, real and worthy of serious and sustained attention.

Tradition only whispers, for a short time, the name and abilities of a mere Performer, however exquisite the delight which his talents afforded to those who heard him; whereas ... [ideas] once committed to paper and established, live ... at least in libraries, as long as the language in which ... [they are] written.⁶⁷

My fervent hope is that this book (apart from acting as a catalyst for further research) will long encourage celebration of our nation's cultural roots and colonial history, as the story of the foundation of Australia's rich and intriguing pianistic past unfolds.

65 Catherine Spence (1825–1910), writer, teacher, politician and feminist, looking back upon her life in 1910. Quoted in H. Thomson (ed.), *Catherine Helen Spence* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1987), p. 425. Also quoted in S. Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 307.

66 J. Paxman, *Empire: What Ruling the World did to the British* (London: Penguin Books, 2011), p. 3.

67 J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols (London: T. Payne & Son, 1776), Vol. 1, p. 705. Quoted in W. Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 217. Also quoted in B. Haynes, *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. vii.

Chapter 1

In his introduction to *Federation: Australian Arts and Society 1901–2001*, John McDonald writes: ‘Australians reserve their highest admiration for sportsmen and women, followed by entertainers and actors. Political leaders appear well down the scale of public affection, and it is further still before one encounters any artists[, musicians] or writers.’¹ Piano makers and professional concert pianists are rarely mentioned, nor consistently celebrated.

Many Australians are unaware of the complex and pervasive pianistic history that makes up a large part of our nation’s musical heritage.² Widespread ignorance often produces a devastating reality: old pianos are thrown onto the rubbish dump or converted into writing desks, dressing tables,³ bookcases or bars (a vandalism that thoughtlessly destroys a wealth of historical information). ‘In the land that is a nursery for hedonistic abandon, where nothing is taken more seriously than sport, and where spiritual pleasures are subsumed both by physical ones and the accumulation of material wealth’,⁴ awareness of, let alone concern for, the preservation of pianos that survive from those that were either brought into Australia between the late eighteenth and early twentieth centuries or manufactured in Australia by Australian piano makers appears to be the furthest thing from the interests of most people. The gulf between the past and the present has never been wider.

During the nineteenth century, however, many Australians (especially women) appear to have regarded the piano as an indispensable part of life; the isolation experienced by a considerable number of pioneers was often a catalyst for piano ownership. In his *Hints for Intending Missionaries and Emigrants*, the Reverend Henry Hanson Turton (1818–87) observes (somewhat typically for a nineteenth-century man of the cloth): ‘if your wife is anything of a performer ... [a piano] will provide a valuable and cheerful companion in a foreign land.’⁵ Other nineteenth-century Englishmen also urged emigrants to take a piano with them to foreign climes. In 1856, for example, Edward Brown Fitton (?–?), a landowner and magistrate in Canterbury, New Zealand, advises:

1 J. McDonald, ‘From Gallipoli to Homebush Bay’, in *Federation: Australian Arts and Society 1901–2001* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2000), p. 15.

2 Graeme Skinner’s PhD dissertation represents a seminal addition to the study of Australia’s colonial music culture. Skinner focuses on the ‘role of composers, and the function and reception of locally composed music within colonial society’. G. Skinner, *Towards a General History of Australian Musical Composition: First National Music 1788–c.1860*, PhD dissertation (The University of Sydney, 2011), p. 3.

3 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 326.

4 McDonald, ‘From Gallipoli to Homebush Bay’, p. 1.

5 Quoted in J. MacGibbon, *Piano in the Parlour: When the Piano was New Zealand’s Home Entertainment Centre* (Wellington: Ngaio Press, 2007), pp. 11–12.

If a lady were hesitating whether to pay the freight for her piano or a chest of drawers, I would decidedly recommend her to prefer the piano. It will afford more gratification and cheerfulness from the associations aroused by its music than can be supplied by more practically useful furniture, for which, after all, it is easy to get a substitute from any skilful colonial carpenter.⁶

In 1861, Charles Hurtsthouse (1817–76), a colonist at New Plymouth, New Zealand, remarks: 'I would advise any fair emigrant to take a piano with her as part of her battery of charms.'⁷

Pianos have always been voices of culture and civility. Some symbolise the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century ideal of 'accomplished' femininity (English 'women [virtuoso] pianists were rarely outshone by their male counterparts');⁸ others represent pinnacles of human achievement in relation to design, manufacture and sound; some reflect the focus of middle-class hearth and home; whilst others reveal working-class aspirations.

The Australian musicologist Roger Covell (1967–) observed that the values and priorities of the middle class

rarely expressed themselves with more touching gallantry and tenacity than in the sacrifices and discomforts endured by countless families in order to bring this cumbersome symbol of higher values to their chosen home in small unstable ships and on grinding bullock drays.⁹

Such 'tenacity', 'sacrifices and discomforts' are alluded to, for example, in the diary of Annabella Boswell (née Innes) (1826–1916),¹⁰ whose life was full of dancing to the playing of bagpipes ... long horse rides and walks with picnics ... bathing, dinner parties and gardening.¹¹

In March 1838, Annabella speaks of spending several months at 'The White Rock, near Bathurst', in New South Wales.¹² She comments on the condition of the road leading to White Rock, by stating that 'nothing could be worse than this road'.¹³ Given the notoriously bad condition of roads around Bathurst

6 E. B. Fitton, *New Zealand: Its Present Condition Prospects and Resources; Being a Description of the Country and General Mode of Life among New Zealand Colonists, for the Information of Intending Emigrants* (London: Edward Stanford, 1856), p. 283.

7 Quoted in MacGibbon, *Piano in the Parlour*, p. 12.

8 N. Salwey, 'Women Pianists in Late Eighteenth-Century London', in S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh (eds), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), p. 289.

9 R. Covell, *Australia's Music: Themes for a New Society* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1967), p. 21.

10 A photograph of Annabella Boswell can be seen in G. Griffin (ed.), *Annabella of Lake Innes Port Macquarie* (Port Macquarie, NSW: The Port Macquarie Historical Society Inc., 2003), p. 126.

11 *Ibid.*, p. iii.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

during the 1830s, it is not surprising that Annabella also writes the following: 'At this time we got a piano. A most laborious business it was conveying it.'¹⁴ (Annabella had put aside her guitar in favour of the piano, despite the fact that, as she wrote: 'I am getting on very well with the guitar, and can play several long pieces, besides three pretty waltzes and the accompaniments for three songs.'¹⁵ I assure you I never look off the book now when I am playing.'¹⁶

The owners of pianos were not the only ones to suffer because of the inconveniences associated with extreme conditions and piano moving. The instruments themselves sometimes had more than a hard time of it. Writing from Augusta in Western Australia on Wednesday, 7 November 1832, Georgiana Molloy (1805–43) mentioned that she had to rub oil into the case veneer of her piano 'as the heat has rather warped it'.¹⁷ Sarah Harriet Selwyn (1809–1907), wife of George Augustus Selwyn (1809–78), the first Anglican bishop of New Zealand, complained, for example, that her 'poor dear Piano ... came, perforce in a wagon over such a road! It had a nest of ferns to soften its fate, but the keys are much loosened and the treble is in a bad state.'¹⁸ In 1845, the grazier John Everett (1816–1902)¹⁹ wrote: 'Within the last few years many ladies have ventured to try the bush life, and none I think regret the experiment; on each side of us, and far beyond us, petticoats are to be found, and pianos ... considerably out of tune. I don't think drays and stony ranges improved musical instruments.'²⁰

In some instances, pianos were completely ruined during transport. In 1846, the pastoralist Stewart Marjoribanks Mowle (who 'was dedicated to singing and

14 Quoted in D. Crisp, 'The Piano in Australia, 1770 to 1900: Some Literary Sources', in *Musicology Australia*, 1995. Volume XVIII (Canberra: Musicological Society of Australia, 1995), p. 27. Crisp takes the quotation from: A. Boswell, *Annabella Boswell's Journal: An Account of Early Port Macquarie (1830's and '40s)* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1981), p. 16.

15 In a letter written at 'a boarding school in Bridge Street, Sydney ... [on Saturday, 16 April 1836] to her uncle, Major Innes at Lake Innes, Port Macquarie', Annabella states that she can 'play the accompaniment to "Ye Banks and Braes", "Ah Vousdirais", "Rondo", and a few other little airs'. P. Clarke and D. Spender (eds), *Life Lines: Australian Women's Letters and Diaries, 1788–1840* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1992), pp. 177, 178. Clarke and Spender take the quotation from: A. A. C. D. Boswell, *Early Recollections and Clearings, from an Old Journal or Some Recollections of My Early Days Written at Different Periods* (No publisher, 1908), p. 19.

16 Quoted in Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. 178.

17 Quoted in J. W. C. Cumes, *Their Chastity Was Not Too Rigid: Leisure Times in Early Australia* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire/Reed, 1979), p. 199.

18 Quoted in MacGibbon, *Piano in the Parlour*, p. 13. MacGibbon takes the quotation from: S. H. Selwyn, *Reminiscences 1809–67* (Auckland: Auckland War Memorial Museum Library, 1809–67).

19 'John Everett arrived at Sydney in October 1838 in the *Hope*, and later squatted at Ollera (sweet water) fourteen miles (22 km) from Guyra, in the New England district' of northern New South Wales. Alan V. Cane, 'Everett, John (1816–1902)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University) [first published in hardcopy in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1972), Vol. 4].

20 Quoted in Crisp, 'The Piano in Australia', p. 28. Crisp takes the quotation from: Eve Pownall, *Australian Pioneer Women* (Ringwood, Vic.: Viking O'Neil, 1988), p. 162.

music')²¹ observed that 'the piano had been topsy-turvy, and some of the ivory was off the notes ... It had been packed ... in wet sheepskins, and the result was that the back was loose, the polish taken off part of the top of it, and almost all the keys had been shot the eighth of an inch [2 centimetres] out of their places'.²² Prior to the ruining of this piano, Mowle's wife, Mary (1827–57), in her diary entry for Tuesday, 7 January 1851, confessed that playing the piano had been her 'chief solace':

The same old story, get up, dress the children, feed the poultry, breakfast, go to work [she always referred to sewing as work], put Kate to sleep, hear Florence her lesson, dine, read, feed chickens, work till sunset, feed chickens, stroll about till dusk, put Kate to bed, have tea, undress the others—play [the piano] for an hour (my chief solace) work till eleven, go to bed & rise next morning to recommence the same routine.²³

For many settlers who found themselves in what must have seemed a cultural wasteland,

the piano became a tangible symbol of the re-establishment of a polite and ordered society ... In 1843 a traveller through the wilds of western Victoria expressed astonishment at finding 'a piano, well stocked table and a lighted fire' in the living room of a pioneer homestead ... the piano ranked beside shelter and food in the list of colonial essentials.²⁴

During the mid-nineteenth century in Sydney, Hobart and remote new settlements, possession of a piano ranked among the marks of social gentility. Nor was the piano an essential indulgence exclusive to the wealthy middle class. It often figured prominently in working-class aspirations. After all, in England,

there was gratifying evidence that musical tastes were not class-specific. Handel was reported to be popular among northern factory audiences as early as 1788; employers simply had to encourage and foster, and this they did. In ... Yorkshire and Durham the London Lead Company, and in Cheshire ... all gave encouragement to the musical propensities of their employees. Of the cotton-spinners of Cresbrook in Derbyshire it was said in 1824 that 'their highest species of enjoyment, the highest that man can enjoy, is music; this delightfully intellectual source of pleasure is improved, encouraged, and scientifically taught at Cresbrook'.

21 Cumes, *Their Chastity Was Not Too Rigid*, p. 329. 'Mowle had a difficult and materially unrewarding life but he continued with those things that gave him real pleasure, mostly riding and singing and going to good parties with good friends.' *Ibid.*, p. 243.

22 Quoted in Crisp, 'The Piano in Australia', p. 27. Crisp takes the quotation from: P. Clarke, *A Colonial Woman: The Life and Times of Mary Braidwood Mowle, 1827–1857* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986), p. 92.

23 Quoted in P. Clarke, 'Life Lines: 19th Century Women's Letters and Diaries', in *Private Lives Revealed: Letters, Diaries, History* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2010).

24 B. McKinlay, *Sweet & Simple Pleasures: Australian Entertainment in Colonial Times* (Melbourne: Collins Dove, 1988), p. 28.

... As H. A. Bruce commented in an address at the Swansea Musical Festival in 1864, the promotion of music amongst the working classes 'has induced them frequently to desert the public-house, and to seek for some higher and better occupation. And no occupation surely can be purer, or free from anything like dangerous influences, or more successful in its results than the ... cultivation of music.'²⁵

In 1892, the poet, novelist and radical commentator Francis William Adams (1862–93) observed that urban tradesmen often owned 'a small, iron-framed, time-payment piano, on which his daughters, returning ... from the local "public school" ... discoursed popular airs with a powerful manual execution'.²⁶

In the same year, Francis Campbell Brewer, the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* between 1865 and 1877, wrote: 'The Australians are a very musical people, and in Sydney particularly ... it is not inappropriate to call Sydney the "City of Pianos".'²⁷

From the late eighteenth century, the love of, and desire for, the piano spread from England across the world with incredible speed, consistently meeting with approval in the highest intellectual quarters. The American philosopher and essayist Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–82) observed approvingly, 'Tis wonderful how soon a piano gets into a log-hut on the frontier',²⁸ ratifying the instrument's position as *the* symbol of respectability and sophistication. Emerson's evocative prose paints a compelling picture:

[W]itness the mute all-hail
The joyful traveller gives, when on the verge
Of craggy Indian wilderness he hears
From a log-cabin stream Beethoven's notes
On the piano, played with master's hands.²⁹

During the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the piano represented a cultural and social symbol such as no musical instrument had before.

25 H. Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c. 1780–c. 1880* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), pp. 102–3. Cunningham takes the quotation in the first quoted paragraph from: 'Manchester Mechanics' Institution' in M. Tylecote, *The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957), p. 72.

26 Humphrey McQueen, *A New Britannia* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2004), p. 112. McQueen takes the quotation from: Francis William Lauderdale Adams, *Australian Essays* (Melbourne: Inglis, 1886).

27 F. C. Brewer, *The Drama and Music in New South Wales* (Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer, 1892), p. 54. Quoted in Skinner, *Towards a General History of Australian Musical Composition*.

28 Quoted in C. Hogwood, *The Pianoforte Past: Queen Street Galleries* [Exhibition catalogue] (Sydney: Musica Viva, April 1979), pp. 1–2.

29 R. W. Emerson, 'The Adirondacs: A Journal. Dedicated to My Fellow-Travellers in August, 1858', in *The Literature Network* (Jalic Inc., 2000–12 [1858]).

The First Piano to be Brought to Australia

History shows that the arrival of a piano with the First Fleet at Botany Bay was prophetic. Not only did the instrument highlight the importance and role of music in the lives of the first settlers, but it also served as a herald for notions of musical idealism and entertainment that inspired ensuing generations of Australian piano lovers.

The first piano to be brought to Australia was a small rectangular instrument, a so-called 'square' piano. Square pianos superficially resemble an 'unfretted' ('fret-free') clavichord.³⁰ Like clavichords, square pianos appear as an oblong, fairly shallow box, open at the top (closed by a lid), with an inset keyboard at the front long-side of the instrument, a soundboard at the treble end, and horizontal strings running obliquely, above up-striking hammers,³¹ from the back of the instrument at the bass end to the front at the treble end (the bass strings being nearest to the player), the strings passing over the soundboard.³² Square pianos, like clavichords, are usually 'double-strung'—that is, each note has two adjacent strings tuned to the same pitch.

Two extant instruments contend for the title 'First Fleet piano'

1. a square piano made in 1780/86? by the London-based, German-born(?) piano maker Frederick Beck, inscribed *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1780 / No. 4 and 10 Broad Street Soho*³³
2. a square piano dated 1785/86? inscribed *Longman and Broderip Musical Instrument Makers. / No. 26 Cheapside and No. 13 Hay Market London*.³⁴

Since there was only one piano on board the *Sirius* as the ship made its way to Botany Bay, there can only be one First Fleet piano. Claims that either of these two instruments is the First Fleet piano are based substantially on provenance details originating in hearsay. Given that hearsay inevitably comprises a constructed interpretation (whether conscious or not) and is never an artless recollection,³⁵ there are both tension and interaction between the histories of

30 See 'Clavichord', in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication. Clavichords built with the possibility for each of several adjacent key levers to strike a string-course (two or more adjacent strings tuned to the same pitch) at different places, each adjacent key lever producing a different note from its neighbour, are called 'fretted' clavichords. Clavichords in which each string-course is only ever struck by a single key lever are designated as 'unfretted' or 'fret-free'. See B. Brauchli, *The Clavichord* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 4.

31 See 'Up-Striking Hammers', in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

32 This definition is based on one found in Clarke, 'The English Piano', pp. 254–5.

33 See Appendix A, Volume 2 of this publication.

34 See Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

35 See L. Douglas, A. Roberts and R. Thompson, *Oral History: A Handbook* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988), p. 28.

the two instruments, and the provenance details associated with each raise so many unanswered (and perhaps unanswerable) questions that a conclusive identification of the First Fleet piano is thwarted.

With the importance of historical context in mind, however, and when placed within the framework of evidence based on hearsay, the unique hinged cabriole legs and campaign-furniture-inspired stand of the 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano represent the strongest evidence supporting speculation that the instrument was brought to Botany Bay by George Bouchier Worgan in 1788. The author favours this speculation. Mindful that I am ‘answerable to the giver of all data for the accuracy of ... [my] observations’ and that my ‘interpretations are vulnerable to error’,³⁶ for the purposes of this study, the Beck square piano of 1780/86? will be referred to as: ‘George Worgan’s piano’; ‘George Worgan’s square piano’; ‘George Worgan’s Beck piano’; ‘George Worgan’s Beck square piano’; ‘George Worgan’s 1780/86? Beck piano’; ‘George Worgan’s 1780/86? Beck square piano’; ‘Worgan’s piano’; ‘Worgan’s square piano’; ‘Worgan’s Beck piano’; ‘Worgan’s Beck square piano’; ‘Worgan’s 1780/86? Beck piano’; ‘Worgan’s 1780/86? Beck square piano’; or ‘the First Fleet piano’.

Worgan’s square piano was one of many made in London towards the end of the eighteenth century within the context of a raging enthusiasm for such instruments, and exemplifies the redefinition of piano design that took place in London between the mid-1760s and 1780s. This redefinition comprised innovations made in relation to design, sound and touch, and was the result (in large part) of the influence of several London-based piano makers who had emigrated from Germany. These emigrants included Frederick Beck.

Frederick Beck’s pianos were the consequence of a long history of the piano in London. This history is outlined below.

The Piano in London

The First Pianos in London

The history of the piano in London is ‘like a great tree whose roots reach ... back’ to the 1730s. During the eighteenth century, it bore ‘many fruits: some ... mouldered where they fell, some ... sprouted shoots of their own, and some ... were picked and carried many miles away to feed the souls of ... [music lovers] in far distant lands’.³⁷

36 D. G. Myers and L. D. Scanzoni, *What God has Joined Together: A Christian Case for Gay Marriage* (New York: Harper San Francisco, 2005), p. 8.

37 R. Kriwaczek, *An Incomplete History of the Art of Funerary Violin* (London: Duckworth Overlook, 2006), pp. xiii–viv.

Two of the first pianos ever seen in England were what we would now refer to as 'grand' pianos.³⁸ The term 'grand' was first coined in London by Robert Stodart in his 1777 patent for a 'grand Piano-forte'.³⁹ Stodart's patent application describes his

[i]nvention of a new sort of Instrument or of Grand Fortepiano with an Octave Swell and to produce various Tones together or separate and the ... Instrument will be more durable and produce finer and more variable Tones than any yet made.⁴⁰

Stodart's grand piano was an instrument with up-striking⁴¹ hammer action modified to incorporate the plucking action of a harpsichord. It is not known whether Stodart ever made one of these 'grand' combination pianos. Stodart's earliest surviving grand piano without an added harpsichord action is dated 1781.

Documentary evidence dating from 1716 through to 1792 reveals that combined hammer and plucking-action keyboard instruments existed throughout most of the eighteenth century.⁴² 'What may appear as a specialized' development involving both aesthetic and design 'issues is often only really comprehensible as the specific form of' the resolution of 'a larger problem'.⁴³ The emergence of combined hammer and plucking-action keyboard instruments suggests that

1. there was a need for expressive instruments—that is, instruments capable of producing a variety of timbres and dynamics
2. there was a perceived congruity between an instrument that put a wide range of sounds at the command of a single player and the concept of 'unity

38 See 'Discovery', in the 'Introduction', this volume.

39 See T. Bingham, *Patents for Inventions. Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Music and Musical Instruments A.D.1694–1866* (London: Tony Bingham, The Sign of the Serpent, 1985) [originally published London: George E. Eyre & William Spottiswoode, 1871], p. 12.

40 c210/18, National Archives, Kew, London. Quoted in M. Latcham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', in *Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), Vol. 36, No. 3 (August), p. 363.

41 See 'Up-Striking Hammers', in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

42 See M. Latcham, 'The Apotheosis of Merlin', in M. Latcham (ed.), *Musique ancienne—instruments et imagination. Actes des Rencontres Internationales harmoniques, Lausanne 2004* (Berne: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 276–84. There are nine extant such combination instruments: 1) dated 1746, made by Giovanni Ferrini (d. 1758) (owner: Luigi-Ferdinando Tagliavini Collection, Bologna, Italy); 2) dated 1763, made by Johann Ludwig Hellen (owner: Giuliani Collection, Briosco, Italy); 3) undated, made by Johann Ludwig Hellen (attribution) (owner: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Germany, inv. no. MINe 105); 4) undated (before 1779), made by Johann Ludwig Hellen (attribution) (owner: Musikinstrumenten-Museum, Berlin, Germany, inv. no. 2165); 5) undated, made by Johann Ludwig Hellen (attribution) (private ownership, France); 6) dated 1777, made by Johann Andreas Stein (attribution) (owner: Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona, Italy); 7) dated 1783, made by Johann Andreas Stein (owner: Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella, Naples, Italy); 8) dated 1777, made by Tadeus Tornel (owner: Museo Arqueológico, Murcia, Spain, inv. no. 2257); and 9) dated 1792, made by James Davies (owner: Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, USA, inv. no. 315, 718). See Latcham, 'The Apotheosis of Merlin', pp. 279–84.

43 C. Harrison and P. Wood (eds), *Art in Theory 1900–2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), p. 5.

in variety’—a paradigm contemporaneously regarded as a ‘microcosmic reflection of a varied universe under the seeing eye of a single deity’⁴⁴

3. ingenuity and inventiveness were valued.⁴⁵

Although the first two grand pianos seen in England have not survived, it is reasonable to assume that they would have looked much like Italian-style harpsichords. They were probably modelled on the *arpicembalo che fa il piano e il forte* (‘harp-harpsichord that has the soft and the loud’) of the Paduan-born Bartolomeo Cristofori (1655–1731; 1732 according to the modern calendar).⁴⁶

The term *arpicembalo che fa il piano e il forte* was first used to describe a particular keyboard instrument in an inventory, taken in Florence in 1700, of the musical instruments owned by Cristofori’s employer, Grand Prince Ferdinando de’ Medici of Tuscany (1663–1713). (Ferdinando ‘was one of the great patrons in musical history, reportedly a gifted musician, an excellent harpsichordist and a singer of skill and charm’.)⁴⁷ The inventory lists the instrument as *arpicembalo di Bartolomeo Cristofori, di nuova inventione, che fa il piano e il forte* (‘harp-harpsichord by Bartolomeo Cristofori, of new invention, which has the soft and the loud’). The name ‘*arpicembalo*’, combining the words for ‘harp’ (*arpa*) and ‘harpsichord’ (*cimbalo*), gives an indication of how the character of the sound of the newly invented instrument may initially have been perceived.

In the winter of 1688, Ferdinando travelled from his home (the Pitti Palace in Florence) to attend the Carnival festivities in Venice. The prince, who had a shaky marriage and a ‘roving eye ... enjoyed himself thoroughly’. He probably ‘met Cristofori on his way back home’ during March or April 1688.⁴⁸ The timing was perfect. Antonio Bolgioni, Ferdinando’s resident harpsichord maker and tuner, had died in February. As a consequence, the prince found himself in need of someone not only to service his large collection of instruments in Florence, but also to tune harpsichords for ‘the upcoming musical events at Pratolino, the Prince’s summer residence’⁴⁹ (within which context Ferdinando’s harpsichord tuner received bonus payments).⁵⁰ Although no evidence exists to support

44 Latcham, ‘The Apotheosis of Merlin’, p. 289.

45 See *ibid.*, pp. 288–9.

46 Niccolò Susier (1688–1737), a theorbo player at the court of Grand Prince Ferdinando de’ Medici of Tuscany (1663–1713), noted Cristofori’s death in a diary entry dated 27 January 1731: ‘This date is given in the ‘stile fiorentino’, in which the new year began on March 25, the Annunciation; the obituary was thus written in 1732 according to the modern calendar.’ S. Pollens, *The Early Pianoforte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 47.

47 M. Chanan, *Musica Practica: The Social Practice of Western Music from Gregorian Chant to Postmodernism* (London: Verso, 1994), p. 197. Chanan’s description of Grand Prince Ferdinando may be based upon that written by Christopher Hibbert in his *The House of Medici: Its Rise and Fall* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2003), p. 300.

48 Isacoff, *A Natural History of the Piano*, pp. 20–1.

49 Pollens, *The Early Pianoforte*, p. 47.

50 See Isacoff, *A Natural History of the Piano*, p. 22.

the notion, it is possible that 'while passing through Padua ... [Ferdinando] heard about a talented 33-year-old local instrument builder and technician, Cristofori'.⁵¹ Some years later, Cristofori recounted that when Ferdinando first offered him employment at the Florentine court, 'the prince was told that I did not wish to go ... he replied that he would make me want to ... Ferdinando ... returned home with two things of significance ... the future inventor of the piano and the venereal disease that would eventually claim his life'.⁵²

'The earliest official mention of Cristofori's presence at [Ferdinando's] court is a record dated' Friday, 30 April 1688.⁵³ Following 10 years of part-time employment at the prince's court, Cristofori was promoted to full-time status in 1698. This promotion may have been associated with a commission to build a piano; if so, Cristofori may have made his first *arpicembalo che fa il piano e il forte* sometime during the very late 1690s.

The Medici musical inventory of 1700 contains detailed descriptions of 35 stringed keyboard instruments. These 35 instruments are conventional harpsichords, spinets and clavichords; it seems unlikely that any of these instruments would have inspired Cristofori to create his *arpicembalo*.⁵⁴

Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici was a

cultivated and enthusiastic patron of painting and the decorative arts ... [He] also appreciated ivory carving and turning, as well as horology—over forty clocks are listed in an inventory made after his death [in 1713], including some with musical mechanisms. Ferdinando's interest in complex mechanical devices of all kinds may have led him to support Cristofori's experimentation with the piano.⁵⁵

By 1711, Cristofori had made three pianos: two were sold in Florence, and one had been given, in 1709, as a gift from Grand Prince Ferdinando to the greatest patron of the arts of his generation, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740) in Rome.⁵⁶ We know this from a detailed contemporaneous description of Cristofori's *arpicembalo che fa il piano e il forte* written by the poet, librettist and playwright Marchese Scipione Maffei (1675–1755). Maffei's description, published in 1711 in

51 Ibid., p. 21.

52 Ibid., p. 22.

53 Pollens, *The Early Pianoforte*, p. 47.

54 See *ibid.*, p. 49.

55 Ibid., p. 49.

56 'In addition to possessing a major art collection ... [Cardinal Ottoboni's] keyboard instrument collection contained, at his death, an organ with twelve registers, a small spinet, and fourteen harpsichords.' Frederick Hammond, 'Ottoboni, Pietro (1667–1740)', in I. Kipnis (ed.), *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 354.

the *Giornale di Litterati d'Italia*,⁵⁷ is the fruit of 'the earliest known interview of a musical instrument maker'.⁵⁸ In 1709, Maffei saw three of Cristofori's ingenious new pianos. From Maffei's description, it becomes clear that he had spent time with Cristofori looking at the new instruments (Cristofori must have taken the action out of the pianos in order to show Maffei how they worked).

It is from Maffei's published description that we get the name now commonly used in association with Cristofori's pianos: *gravicembalo col piano e forte* ('large harpsichord with soft and loud').

Except for their [hammer] actions ... [Cristofori's] pianos were generally quite similar to harpsichords.

... This is not to deny Cristofori's several brilliant innovations, such as the inverted wrest plank and the doubling of the bent side to separate the functions of holding the hitch pins and the soundboard ... The shape of the cases of his pianos, their scaling, and the structure of their soundboards are, however, quite similar to those of Cristofori's harpsichords.⁵⁹

It is not known how precisely the first two grand pianos seen in England replicated Cristofori's design.

Samuel Crisp's Piano, Made by Father Wood

During the 1730s or early 1740s, the cultivated *littérateur* Samuel Crisp (1707–83), 'a man of learning and a man of exquisite taste in all the arts',⁶⁰ returned from Italy to England with a piano.

Samuel Crisp was

a scholar of the highest order; a critic of the clearest acumen; possessing, with equal delicacy of discrimination, a taste for literature and for the arts; and personally excelling as a *dilettante* both in music and painting.

57 S. Maffei, 'Nuova invenzione di un gravicembalo col piano e forte [New Invention of a Harpsichord with Soft and Loud]', in *Giornale di Litterati d'Italia* [*Litterati Newspaper of Italy*] (Venice, 1711), Vol. 5, pp. 144–59. The notes Maffei made during his interview with Cristofori (in preparation for publication of his article in the *Giornale di Litterati d'Italia*) are reproduced (along with an English translation) as 'Appendix 2' in Pollens, *The Early Pianoforte*, pp. 232–7. Pollens' 'Appendix 3' reproduces Maffei's published article along with an English translation (pp. 238–43).

58 Pollens, *The Early Pianoforte*, p. 56.

59 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, pp. xv; xvii, fn. 23.

60 C. Burney, 'Harpsichord', in A. Rees (ed.), *The Cyclopædia, or Universal Directory of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, 39 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1819), Vol. 18, n.p. Burney's entries were completed in ca 1803. 'The relevant volume of the *Cyclopædia* did not come out until 1811 and the whole encyclopaedia was given the official publication date of 1819 (the year in which the last volume was completed).' Latham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', p. 389, fn. 7.

He was the author of ... [an unsuccessful] tragedy called *Virginia*, and several poetical effusions in the magazines of the day. He ... took up his residence at Hampton; where he fitted up a small house with paintings, prints, sculpture, and musical instruments, arranged with the most classical elegance.⁶¹

According to the English music historian Dr Charles Burney (1726–1814), Crisp's piano 'remained *unique* in this country for several years'.⁶² Burney recounts that the instrument was made in Rome by an expatriate English monk, Father Wood, who was a friend of Samuel Crisp.⁶³ Nothing is known of Father Wood, and unfortunately 'there is no record of anyone called Wood' being enrolled at the esteemed English College in Rome 'in the period 1700–1740'.⁶⁴ Father Wood's piano may have been modelled on Cristofori's instruments; perhaps in Rome, Father Wood had seen and/or heard the Cristofori piano that had been given as a gift by Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici to Cardinal Ottoboni.

It was not unknown for clerics to make keyboard instruments. For example, in 1702, the Lazarist priest Theodoric Pedrini (1671–1746) was sent to China to be a court musician to Emperor K'ang Hsi (1654–1722); as well as teaching music to members of the imperial family, he made harpsichords and organs.⁶⁵ From Peking (Beijing), Pedrini wrote to Cardinal Fabrizio Paolucci (1651–1726), the Secretary of State to Pope Clement XI (1649–1721) and Pope Benedict XIII (1649–1730):

Nobody was ever more liked by the Emperor than me ... so that he started to praise me, and went on for many years with several presents, calling me to his presence several times, and taking me to high esteem ... [The emperor] also used to write music notes, and ... we often played together the same harpsichord, each with one hand.⁶⁶

It is not known whether Father Wood made any other pianos apart from the one that Samuel Crisp brought from Italy to London.

61 E. F. Rimbault, *The Pianoforte, Its Origins, Progress & Construction: With Some Account of Instruments of the Same Class which Preceded it Viz. the Clavichord, the Virginal, the Spinnet, the Harpsichord, etc.* (London: Robert Cocks & Co., 1860), pp. 130–1, fn. Rimbault rewrote Charles Burney's account of Samuel Crisp and his piano without acknowledging Burney as his source. See Burney, 'Harpsichord'. 'Rimbault ascribes the story to "tradition"' (Latham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', p. 389, fn. 7).

62 Burney, 'Harpsichord'.

63 See *ibid.* Burney does not provide a date for the importation into England of Samuel Crisp's Father Wood piano.

64 Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 249, fn. 10. Gadd takes the quotation from: M. Cole, 'The Twelve Apostles?', in *The Southeastern and Midwestern Historical Keyboard Society Journal*, Vol. 18, 2000, p. 19.

65 See R. Burnett, *Company of Pianos* (Goudhurst, Kent: Finchcocks Press, 2004), p. 22, fn. 1.

66 See F. Combaluzier, 'Theodoric Pedrini, lazariste, missionnaire apostolique: Pékin 2 octobre 1727 [Theodoric Pedrini, Apostolic Lazarist Missionary: Peking 2 October 1727]', in *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft [New Journal of Mission Studies]* (Schöneck, Switzerland: Bruder-Klausen-Seminar, 1957), Vol. 13, pp. 139–47.

Fulke Greville Purchases Samuel Crisp's Piano

Possibly during the mid-1740s, the wealthy aristocrat, Member of Parliament, High Sheriff of Wiltshire and man of fashion Fulke Greville (1717–1806) purchased Samuel Crisp's piano 'for the enormous sum of 100 guineas'.⁶⁷ (A 'conversion rate of 21 shillings per guinea ... [was] established ... in 1717'.)⁶⁸ The instrument's price was approximately twice the cost of a good harpsichord;⁶⁹ this is not surprising, given the uniqueness in England of Crisp's piano.

Greville was

generally looked upon as the finest gentleman about town. He excelled ... in all the fashionable exercises, riding, fencing, hunting, shooting at a mark, dancing, tennis, &c. and worked every day at every one of them with a fury for pre-eminence not equalled, perhaps, in ardour for superiority in personal accomplishments since the days of the chivalrous Lord Herbert of Chisbury [1583–1648]. He travelled in a style that was even princely; not only from his equipages, out-riders, horses, and liveries, but from constantly having two of his attendants skilled in playing the French horn; and these were always stationed to recreate him with marches and warlike movements on the outside of the windows, when he took any repast.⁷⁰

Fulke Greville housed Crisp's piano at his country mansion, Wilbury House, near Newton Toney, in Wiltshire.

In 1746, Greville asked the harpsichord maker Jacob Kirckman (1710–92) to find him a music teacher and companion 'who had a mind and cultivation, as well as finger and ear'.⁷¹ Kirckman recommended someone who was to become one of eighteenth-century England's most important music historians, Charles Burney. In 1747, the 21-year-old Burney was employed as Greville's music-master-in-residence, subsequently living in Greville's Wilbury House between 1748 and 1749.⁷²

That Wilbury House was located in the countryside may have been irksome for Charles Burney, who (it appears) preferred city living. In 1744 (three years before starting his employment under Fulke Greville), Burney (at 18 years of age) had been brought to London as an apprentice to the leading English composer

67 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 43. Charles Burney writes: 'Fulk Greville, esq. purchased this instrument of Mr. Crisp for 100 guineas' (Burney, 'Harpsichord').

68 F. M. Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes: The Economics of Music Composition in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 247, fn. 5.

69 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 43.

70 Rimbault, *The Pianoforte, Its Origins, Progress & Construction*, p. 130, fn.

71 P. A. Scholes and W. Shaw, 'Burney, Charles', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 3, p. 488.

72 See Latcham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', p. 389, fn. 20.

Thomas Arne (1710–78). Burney 'soon embedded himself in the musical life of the capital as Arne's copyist, occasional composer, and free-lance violinist and harpsichordist, while keeping detailed notes on concerts and performers, which formed the basis of the later chapters of his *General History*'.⁷³ Samuel Crisp (who became a close friend of Burney) described London as 'the centre of riches, luxury, taste, pride, extravagance—all that ingenuity is to fatten upon'.⁷⁴ It appears that Burney found London, with all its stimulations and failings, enticing. Although he was a Shropshire lad (having been born in Shrewsbury), 'late in life, Burney decried [William] Wordsworth's [1770–1850] paeans to rural solitude as inimical to civil society. The countryside held no romance for Burney.'⁷⁵

Burney's favourite poet was Pietro Antonio Domenico Trapassi (1698–1782), commonly known by his pseudonym, Metastasio. Metastasio held sentiments similar to Burney's concerning the countryside.⁷⁶ In a letter dated Wednesday, 30 November 1768, written to the castrato singer Carlo Maria Broschi (1705–82), whose stage name was Farinelli, Metastasio advised the famous singer to avoid

the autumnal exhalations, and the poisonous vapours of a great part of ... [the] country ... the air of paved cities is much less impregnated with this poison, not only from the exhalations of the earth being impeded, but from the numerous and constant fires, as well as the motions of the inhabitants, which agitate and correct the air.⁷⁷

(Burney and Metastasio were not alone in their dislike of the natural environment. For example, the French painter François Boucher (1703–70) complained that nature was 'too green, and badly lit';⁷⁸ the biologist Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707–88), was determined to mould nature according to his personal taste: 'Brute Nature is hideous and dying; I, and I alone, can render her pleasant and living.'⁷⁹)

Although Charles Burney may appear to today's champions of ideological correctness as being both 'ecologically challenged ... [and] shockingly insensitive to eternal aesthetic values',⁸⁰ he did manage to cast aside any negative feelings that may have emerged as the result of his employment within a rural context at

73 P. Howard, *Gluck: An Eighteenth-Century Portrait in Letters and Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), p. 15.

74 Quoted in V. Patten, *Chawton House Library and Early Women's Writing—Women Writers: Frances Burney (1752–1840)*.

75 D. Hertz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003), p. xxi.

76 Burney translated and published the treasure-trove of letters written by Metastasio to his close friend Carlo Maria Broschi (1705–82), the famous castrato singer, commonly known by his stage name, Farinelli.

77 Quoted in Hertz, *Music in European Capitals*, p. xxii.

78 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. xxii.

79 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. xxii.

80 *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

Wilbury House. In his memoirs, Burney reveals not only that he subsequently enjoyed the advantage of moving in the best circles of society, but also that he was able to spend many hours practising on Fulke Greville's piano.

It appears that Greville's piano had several pronounced weaknesses, as well as strengths. Burney observed that 'the touch was very imperfect, and the mechanism clumsy; so that nothing but slow movements ... c^{[oul]d} be executed on it'.⁸¹ Burney's description makes it clear that Greville's piano was not an exact version of Cristofori's, whose pianos contain an action that is subtle, precise, reliable and efficient.

Although 'nothing but slow movements ... c^{[oul]d} be executed on it',⁸² Burney remarks that the tone of Greville's piano 'was ... superior to that produced by quills'—that is, by a harpsichord.⁸³ The salient tonal beauty of Greville's piano created a context within which slow movements 'and other solemn and pathetic strains when executed with taste and feeling by a master ... accustomed to the touch, excited equal wonder and delight in the hearers'.⁸⁴

Rutgerus Plenius Copies Fulke Greville's Piano

Fulke Greville's piano became celebrated.⁸⁵ As a consequence, in ca 1747,

Rutgerus (or Roger) Plenius (originally Pleunis) (1696–1774), a harpsichord maker from the Low Countries who was resident [in 1736] at South Audley Street, Grosvenor Square [‘ye King’s Arms being over ye Door’]⁸⁶ proposed to make an improved version [of Greville’s piano], and was given permission to copy the [instrument].⁸⁷

After playing Plenius' copy, Burney stated that 'the touch was better, but the tone very much inferior'.⁸⁸ Plenius asked Burney to give a public demonstration of his piano copy, but Burney declined on the grounds that he 'had other employm[en]t^s

81 S. Klima, G. Bowers and K. S. Grant (eds), *The Memoirs of Dr Charles Burney 1726–1796* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), pp. 72–3.

82 Burney, 'Harpsichord'.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid.

85 See Rimbault, *The Pianoforte, Its Origins, Progress & Construction*, p. 131. Unfortunately, Rimbault provides no evidence for his assertion.

86 W. Page (ed.), 'Industries: Musical Instruments', in *A History of the County of Middlesex. Volume 2: General; Ashford, East Bedfont with Hatton, Feltham, Hampton with Hampton Wick, Hanworth, Laleham, Littleton* (1911), pp. 180–93. See 'South Audley Street', in *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark, with the New Buildings* (London, 1767), in *London and Environs Maps and Views* (Last updated 31 December 2011), Map Section: northernmost extent Mary le Bon and southernmost extent Tothill Fields.

87 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 44. See M. Debenham and M. Cole, 'Pioneer Piano Makers in London, 1737–74: Newly Discovered Documentary Sources', in *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (April 2013).

88 Burney, 'Harpsichord', n.p.

w^{ch} I liked better than that of a shew-man'.⁸⁹ Burney's uncharacteristically sardonic response lacks kindness and grace. Demonstrating keyboard instruments, however, was nothing new to Burney, who 'had been closely connected with the Kirckman workshop. From a small preserved fragment of Burney's intended autobiography it is known that as a young man he demonstrated their harpsichords to potential clients'⁹⁰—an activity that, it appears, he found odious.

Plenius was 'unable to generate sufficient interest in his instruments',⁹¹ and 'failing to rescue his finances by running a raffle',⁹² he 'was declared bankrupt in 1756, at which point his stock', including his piano copy, was 'sold ... at auction'.⁹³ From this moment, the fate of Plenius' piano copy (described at auction as a 'Piano piece')⁹⁴ is shrouded in mystery. (Two 'Forte Pianos', presumably made by Plenius, were in Plenius' workshop in 1756.⁹⁵ 'So London musicians and connoisseurs had opportunity to buy pianofortes during the 1750s though no record of their use in concerts has been found.')⁹⁶

After Plenius' bankrupting in 1756, his eldest son, Johann (John) Christian (1720–75), continued in the harpsichord-making business (in 1737, John was apprenticed to his father, and, having successfully completed his training, later worked as a journeyman).⁹⁷

In 1763, Thomas Mortimer's (1730–1810) *The Universal Director*⁹⁸ lists Plenius (without a Christian name) as 'Harpsichord-maker. Catherine Street, Strand.'⁹⁹ This maker is one of the sons of Roger Plenius (possibly his son John).¹⁰⁰

89 Klima et al., *The Memoirs of Dr Charles Burney 1726–1796*, p. 73.

90 M. Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos: Their Historical Context, and Technical Development. Together with a New Biography of John Broadwood* (Cheltenham, UK: Tatchley Books, 2005), p. 48.

91 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 44.

92 Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 2.

93 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 44.

94 *Ibid.*, p. 45.

95 See *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, 11 December 1756, No. 4755, p. 3.

96 'Roger Plenius (1696–1774)', in M. Debenham and M. Cole, 'Pioneer Piano Makers in London'.

97 See *ibid.*, fns 9, 20.

98 T. Mortimer, *The Universal Director; Or, the Nobleman and Gentleman's True Guide to the Masters and Professors of the Liberal and Polite Arts and Sciences; And of the Mechanic Arts, Manufactures, and Trades, Established in London and Westminster, and their Environs* (London: J. Coote, 1763) [Canberra: National Library of Australia. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale Cengage Learning*].

99 *Ibid.*, p. 52. See *The Public Advertiser*, 23 August 1763, No. 8981. See also 'Catherine St.', in *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Map Section: northernmost extent Lambs Conduit Fields and southernmost extent Lambeth.

100 Plenius' son Rutgerus Plenius (1729–?) 'is known to have been working with his father and brother John in the 1740s'. 'Roger Plenius (1696–1774)', in Debenham and Cole, 'Pioneer Piano Makers in London', Appendix 4. Another of Plenius' sons, Joseph (?–?), made harpsichords at 89 High Holborn, London, between 1785 and 1790. See *ibid.*

A letter written at Mount Vernon, USA, by George Washington (1732–99) to John Didsbury, ‘a boot maker in London who had made shoes for Washington in the 1750s’,¹⁰¹ dated Monday, 12 October 1761, contains a request for

1 Very good Spinit, to be made by Mr. Plinius, Harpsicord Maker in South Audley Street Grosvenor Square.

Note it is beg’d as a favour, that Mr. [Robert] Cary [the shipper] would bespeak this Instrument as for himself or a friend, and not let it be known that it is intended for Exportation. Send a good assortment of spare Strings to it.¹⁰²

It appears that Washington, in 1761, did not know that Roger Plenius had been declared bankrupt five years before. ‘Clearly Plenius’ fame as a maker had reached far and wide, despite his personal financial difficulties.’¹⁰³

It is reasonable to assume that after his bankruptcy, Plenius remained unwilling to pursue his pioneering efforts in relation to the piano. Plenius died on 4 January 1774, at the home of his son (John?). Four days later, on Saturday, 8 January 1774, *The General Evening Post* reported his death: ‘On Tuesday, at his son’s house in Catherine-street in the Strand, Mr. Rutgerus Plenius, by birth a German, and supposed to be the greatest harpsichord-maker in England.’¹⁰⁴

William Mason’s Piano, Made by Friedrich Neubauer(?)

On Friday, 27 June 1755, the poet, musician and cleric Reverend William Mason (1725–97), biographer of his friend the poet Thomas Gray (1716–71),¹⁰⁵ the ‘author of the famous *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*’,¹⁰⁶ wrote: ‘I

101 F. E. Grizzard, *George Washington: A Biographical Companion* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2002), p. 321.

102 J. C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745–1799*, 39 vols (Charlottesville: George Washington Resources at the University of Virginia Library, 1931–44), Vol. 2, p. 370. See also D. H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440 to 1840* (New York: Macmillan, 1956), p. 86.

103 ‘Roger Plenius (1696–1774)’, in Debenham and Cole, ‘Pioneer Piano Makers in London’.

104 *The General Evening Post*, 8 January 1774, No. 6281, p. 3.

105 W. Mason, *The Poems of Gray. To Which are Prefixed Memoirs of His Life and Writings by William Mason* (York: A. Ward, 1775).

106 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 45.

bought at Hamburg such a pianoforte, and so cheap! It is a harpsichord too of two unisons, and the jacks serve as mutes when the pianoforte stop is played.¹⁰⁷ (Apparently, 'two sets of 8' strings¹⁰⁸ were both plucked and struck'.)¹⁰⁹

The only instrument maker in Hamburg known to have made combination instruments of the type described by Mason was Friedrich (Frederick) Neubauer. Neubauer made a wide variety of keyboard instruments. In the *Privilegierte Hamburgische Anzeigen* of Monday, 2 September 1754, Neubauer advertised that he sold harpsichords, unfretted clavichords (FF–f³), pantelongs (pianos)¹¹⁰ and a 'new invented *Clavicimbel de Amour*' (an upright pantalon), which had 'taken much diligence, research and care' to create.¹¹¹

Four years later (by mid-1758), Neubauer was resident in London. (In the summer of 1758, at St James's Church, Piccadilly, Neubauer's daughter, Charlotte, married the harpsichord and piano maker Abraham Kirckman. Neubauer's signature appears in the marriage register. As there is no evidence for a shotgun wedding, it is reasonable to assume that Neubauer immigrated to London, at the latest, in 1757.)¹¹² As a London-based instrument maker, Neubauer advertised the same types of keyboard instruments that he had made in Hamburg, replacing the name pantelong with 'piano forte'.¹¹³ In 1763, an entry in *Mortimer's Directory* reveals that Neubauer made pianos. This entry is the earliest known advertisement in which pianos are offered for sale in London.¹¹⁴

107 T. Gray and W. Mason, *The Correspondence of Thomas Gray and William Mason with Letters to the Rev. James Brown, D. D. Master of Pembroke College*, edited by J. Mitford, 2nd edn (London: Richard Bentley, 1855), p. 33. Quoted in Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 45.

108 In stringed keyboard instruments, the term 8' (8-foot) is used to describe a set of strings, each string of which sounds at a normal point of pitch reference. For example, at a pitch standard of a₁ = 430 Hertz, the string for the note a¹ (the note nine semitones above middle-C) sounds at 430 Hertz. ('Hz is the International Standard symbol for Hertz, the unit of frequency, defined as the number of cycles per second of a periodic phenomenon ... Sound is a travelling wave which is an oscillation of pressure. Humans perceive frequency of sound waves as pitch.' Each note (sounding pitch) in music 'corresponds to a particular frequency which can be measured in Hertz'. 'Hertz', in Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia (n.d.). An 8' set of strings sounds an octave lower than a 4' (4-foot) set of strings. See '8' (8-foot)', in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

109 Latcham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', p. 389, fn. 12.

110 See 'Zumpé's Small Piano-Forte', below.

111 *Privilegierte Hamburgische Anzeigen*, 2 September 1754, p. 2r. See P. Bavington, L. Bemann, E. Helenius, D. Millard, P. Simmonds and B. Vogel, 'c. 2 Neubauer, Frederick (Friedrich)', in C. Mould (ed.), *Boalch 3 Clavichord Updates (B3CU) Amendments and Additions to Clavichord-Related Information in the Third Edition of Donald Boalch's Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440–1840* (1995), p. 11. See also Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 33.

112 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 46.

113 See '2. Origins to 1750'.

114 See M. Cole, 'Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker', in *The Galpin Society Journal* (London: The Galpin Society), Vol. 48 (March), p. 94. See also M. Debenham, 'London Directory Entries for Musical Instrument Makers in the Years 1763, 1793 and 1794, Identified by the Author from Mortimer's Universal Director, 1763; Wakefield's Directory, 1793, and Kent's Directory, 1794', in M. Debenham, *Historical Musicology: New Articles* (4 November 2013).

According to an advertisement published in the *Public Advertiser* of Monday, 21 January 1765, Neubauer established his workshop ‘in Litchfield Street, St Anne’s Soho’,¹¹⁵ at the sign of ‘the Hand & Tuning Hammer’¹¹⁶ (Soho was an especially attractive area for many immigrants at this time; there was a strong French protestant settlement in Litchfield Street throughout the eighteenth century).¹¹⁷ In this advertisement, Neubauer used the term ‘pyano forte’ to describe one of the types of keyboard instrument that he offered for sale:¹¹⁸

F. Neubauer, harpsichord-maker from Compton Street,¹¹⁹ now in Litchfield Street, St Anne’s Soho, at the Hand & Tuning Hammer, makes, sells and repairs all sorts of Harpsichords, Pyano Fortes, Lyrichords, Clavir d’amours, Clavychords &c. Harpsichords from 200L [£200] down to 20L [£20], and all sorts of musical Instruments, according to the value of the Workmanship and the Fineness of Tone, at reasonable Prices. Lovers of Music will be surprised to find so many Improvements, and so well finished, which he makes no Doubt will please the Nobility and Gentry, with his extraordinary Workmanship, and likewise every Lover of the common Way will also find them very reasonable.¹²⁰

Neubauer’s pyano fortes may have been square pianos;¹²¹ then again, they may have been ‘grand’ instruments ‘in the Italian-derived style, like those previously built by Plenius’.¹²²

As far as is known, the following three instruments represent the most noticeable pianos seen in England from the 1730s and early 1740s up to 1760:¹²³

1. Fulke Greville’s piano (by Father Wood), purchased from Samuel Crisp
2. Rutgerus Plenius’ copy of Greville’s piano
3. William Mason’s piano (by Friedrich Neubauer?).

115 See ‘Litchfield S’, in C. Bowles, *Bowles’s Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, with the Borough of Southwark, Exhibiting the New Buildings to the Year 1775* (London: Carington Bowles, 1775), in *London and Environs Maps and Views* (Last updated 31 December 2011), Grid Reference Cn.

116 *The Public Advertiser*, 21 January 1765. Quoted in M. Cole, ‘Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker’ (n.d.).

117 See W. H. Cole, ‘The Early Piano in Britain Reconsidered’, in *Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), Vol. 14, No. 4 (November), p. 565.

118 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 49.

119 See ‘Compton Str.’, in *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Map Sections: northernmost extent Mary le Bon/Lambs Conduit Fields and southernmost extent Tothill Fields/Lambeth.

120 *The Public Advertiser*, 21 January 1765. Quoted in Cole, ‘Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker’.

121 See M. Cole, ‘Another Line of Investigation’, in *The Invention of the Square Piano: A Review of Some Claimed Early German Tafelklaviere* (n.d.).

122 ‘Frederick Neubauer (ca. 1705?–74)’, in Debenham and Cole, ‘Pioneer Piano Makers in London’.

123 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 46.

Georg Friedrich Händel Plays a Piano

In London, Georg Friedrich Händel (1685–1759) played a piano on two separate occasions: 1) on Monday, 16 May 1740; and 2) 16 years later, on Saturday, 29 May 1756. Each occasion is described in a contemporaneous document.

1) The first account of Händel playing a piano is given in a letter dated Tuesday, 17 May 1740, written by Thomas Harris (1712–85) to his elder brother James¹²⁴ (1709–80). Thomas Harris was a lawyer who had been called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, was a Master in Chancery, music lover and one of Händel's inner circle of friends. He witnessed Händel's will and the first three codicils; in the fourth and final codicil, Harris was named as the beneficiary of the not inconsiderable sum of £300. 'No other English composer of the eighteenth century, as a result of his professional activity, attained the dizzy heights of wealth enjoyed by Handel. It was ... Handel as impresario, not as composer, who scaled the cliff and guarded his crock of gold.'¹²⁵

Harris' correspondence reveals an intense interest in Händel's welfare and musical endeavours. Harris reports that his friend Georg Friedrich Händel 'was in good spirits yesterday and played finely on the Piano-forte'.¹²⁶ No further information regarding this piano has come to light. Unfortunately, 'we don't know Handel's reaction to this new instrument ... but he apparently didn't go out of his way to play it more frequently'.¹²⁷ Sixteen years ensued before Händel again played a piano.

2) The second account of Händel playing a piano is found in a diary entry dated Saturday, 29 May 1756, written by George William Harris (1717–69) (Plate 8).¹²⁸ Harris records that he attended a dinner party at the house of Charles Jennens (ca 1700–73),¹²⁹ after which Händel played on Jennens' 'piano forte'. George Harris' diary entry reads: 'May 29th 56 Dined at M^r. Jennings's, ormond street. W^{[i]t[h]} Mas^{tr}. Handel [and] Hetherington. Handel quite Blind, but pretty cheerfull, and after Dinner play'd finely on M^r. J's Piano forte.'¹³⁰

124 James Harris was a brilliant *littérateur*, who created an oratorio-style libretto from John Milton's (1608–74) poems *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. The libretto was further developed by Charles Jennens (Händel's librettist for 'Messiah'). Charles Burney held James Harris in high regard as a writer on music.

125 R. Crewdson, 'An Exceptional Case', in D. Burrows (ed.), *Handel's Will: Facsimiles and Commentary* (London: The Gerald Coke Handel Foundation, 2008), p. 28.

126 Hampshire Record Office, inv. no. 9M73/G307/2.

127 M. van Til, *George Frideric Handel: A Music Lover's Guide to His Life, His Faith & the Development of Messiah & His Other Oratorios* (Youngstown, NY: WordPower Publishing, 2007), p. 160.

128 George William Harris was the younger brother of the lawyer and friend of Händel Thomas Harris.

129 Charles Jennens was not only a patron of the arts, but also Händel's librettist for 'Messiah'.

130 This document is housed in the Hampshire Record Office: Malmesbury papers, 9M73/G57.

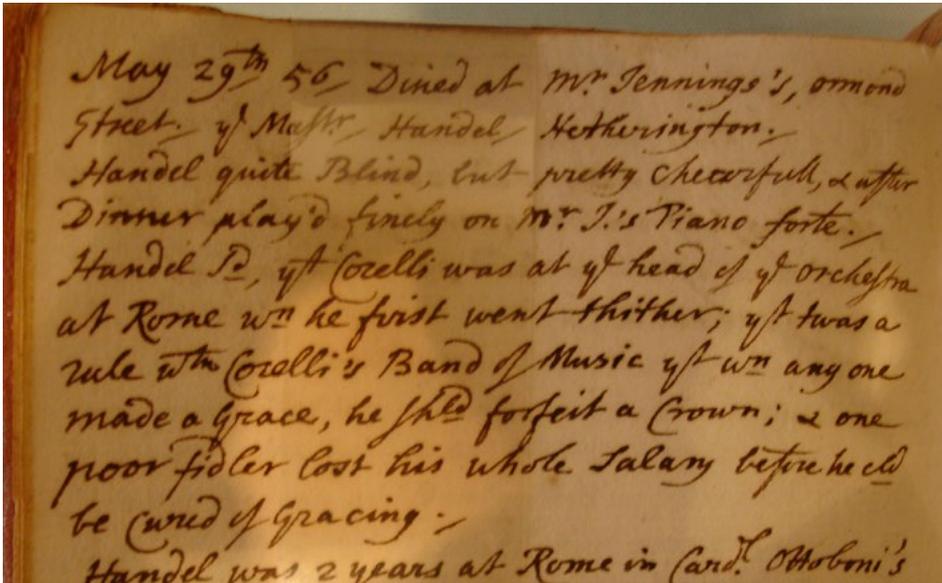


Plate 8 Diary entry dated 29 May 1756, written by George William Harris (1717–69).

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Hampshire Record Office. Malmesbury papers, 9M73/G57. Photo by the author.

Apparently, Händel's blindness was not a hindrance to either the energy or the quality of his playing. Five years before, on Sunday, 14 March 1751, the MP Sir Edward Turner (1719–66) observed: 'Noble Handel hath lost an eye, but I have the Rapture to say St. Cecilia makes no complaint of any Defect of his Fingers.'¹³¹

During the eighteenth century, loss of sight was not an uncommon condition for the aged. That 'blindness seems to have been a condition that elicited either pity or revulsion ... is confirmed by Burney when he says that Handel was embarrassed by his blindness; this embarrassment was no doubt caused in the supremely independent Handel by his perceived "weakness", which required a childlike dependence on others'.¹³²

There is a remote possibility that when Händel played the piano after the dinner party at Jennens' house on 29 May 1756, he used the piano copy that had been made by Rutgerus Plenius almost a decade before. Plenius was declared bankrupt in early 1756. His stock-in-trade would probably have been auctioned between February and mid-May 1756. George Harris' diary entry indicates that

¹³¹ Quoted in van Til, *George Frideric Handel*, p. 279.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 286.

a piano was located in Jennens' home by 29 May 1756. It is possible that when Händel played Jennens' piano, the instrument had been acquired only about two weeks earlier at the auction of Plenius' stock.

Records suggest that in 1756, there were only two pianos in London. Jennens' piano was one of these. After dinner, on 29 May 1756, Händel can only have played either of the following.

1. Fulke Greville's piano (by Father Wood), which Greville had purchased from Samuel Crisp, and which Händel had played 16 years before, on 16 May 1740.
2. Rutgerus Plenius' copy of Greville's piano, possibly purchased by Jennens at the recent auction of Plenius' stock.

'Despite the fact these early pianos were seen and enjoyed by a significant group of musical enthusiasts who were well connected with the aristocracy and with the London theatres',¹³³ it seems no English professional musicians were convinced to transfer their allegiances from the harpsichord to the piano.

The Twelve Apostles

Adlam,¹³⁴ Clinkscale,¹³⁵ Cranmer,¹³⁶ Dale,¹³⁷ Erlich,¹³⁸ Good,¹³⁹ Harding,¹⁴⁰ Henkel,¹⁴¹ Hollis,¹⁴² James,¹⁴³ National Museums Liverpool,¹⁴⁴ Ord-Hume,¹⁴⁵ Palmieri,¹⁴⁶ Pollard,¹⁴⁷

133 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 46.

134 D. Adlam, 'History of the Piano: 4. England and France to 1800', in *The New Grove Piano* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1988), p. 21.

135 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, pp. 6, 19, 22, 61, 62, 113, 219, 329.

136 M. Cranmer, 'Zumpe, Johannes', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 20, p. 715. See also M. Cranmer, 'Pohlman, Johannes', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), Vol. 20, p. 1.

137 W. Dale, *Tschudi the Harpsichord Maker* (London: Constable and Company, 1913), p. 50.

138 C. Erlich, *The Piano: A History*, 2nd rev. edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), p. 13.

139 E. M. Good, *Giraffes, Black Dragons, and Other Pianos: A Technological History from Cristofori to the Modern Concert Grand* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1982), pp. 40–2.

140 R. E. M. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History Traced to the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), p. 54.

141 H. Henkel, 'Remarks on the Use of the Sixteen-Foot in Historical Harpsichord Building', in P. Dirksen (ed.), *The Harpsichord and its Repertoire: Proceedings of the International Harpsichord Symposium Utrecht 1990* (Utrecht: STIMU Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 1992), p. 13.

142 H. R. Hollis, *Pianos in the Smithsonian Institution: Smithsonian Studies in History and Technology No. 27* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1973), p. 9; H. R. Hollis, *The Piano: A Pictorial Account of its Ancestry and Development* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1975), p. 57.

143 P. James, *Early Keyboard Instruments: From their Beginnings to the Year 1820* (London: Peter Davies, 1933), p. 51.

144 'English Square Piano ... Instrument by Frederick Beck, Outer Case Attributed to Christopher Fuhrloh', in *Lady Lever Art Gallery: A Beautiful Building Housing One of the UK's Finest Collections of Fine and Decorative Art* (n.d.).

145 A. W. J. G. Ord-Hume, 'Beck, Frederick (fl. 1756–1798)', in R. Palmieri (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Keyboard Instruments. Volume 1: The Piano* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), p. 43.

146 R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 421.

147 H. F. Pollard, *Orchestral and Keyboard Instruments* (Caringbah, NSW: MBE Business Service Centre, 2003), p. 85.

Schott,¹⁴⁸ Swan,¹⁴⁹ Wainwright¹⁵⁰ and Williams¹⁵¹ (to mention but a few) all speak of a group of 12 pioneering German piano makers ‘who emigrated to London from Saxony around 1760¹⁵² when trade was at a standstill owing to the Seven Years’ War [1756–63]. This ... group of piano makers are frequently referred to as the ‘Twelve Apostles’.¹⁵³

The story of the ‘Twelve Apostles’ is apocryphal, and was first mentioned in 1860 by Edward F. Rimbault (1816–76). Rimbault states:

At length, about the year 1760, many ingenious German mechanics left their country and came to England in search of employment as pianoforte-makers; this gave the instrument its first impetus. A party of twelve travelled hither in one company, and obtained, from this circumstance, the appellation of the ‘twelve apostles’.¹⁵⁴

Many subsequent writers, including an alarming number publishing on the Internet (none of whom provides any evidence in support of their fanciful assertions), reiterate Rimbault’s fiction. Furthermore, those who subscribe to Rimbault’s fallacy, and who go so far as to name those comprising the twelve apostles, fail to agree on exactly who the twelve apostles were.

During the 1760s, not just 12, but many German musical instrument makers emigrated from Germany to London. A treaty ending the Seven Years’ War was signed in Paris in 1763. The war ‘and its aftermath [not only] caused stringent economies, affecting industries of all kinds ... [but also] emigration to less hazardous environments ... a temptation succumbed to by many’.¹⁵⁵

Documentary evidence suggests (and in some instances proves) that of the London piano makers who were commercially active prior to 1800, the following were born in Germany (although this is not initially obvious if they anglicised their names upon their arrival in London)¹⁵⁶

1. James Ball (1770–1833; fl. ca 1787–1819)
2. Gabriel Gottlieb Buntebart (b. 1726; fl. 1768–95)
3. George Fröschle (Froeschle) (fl. 1776–1800)

148 H. Schott, *Catalogue of Musical Instruments in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Part I: Keyboard Instruments* (London: V & A Publications, 1998), p. 152.

149 A. Swan, ‘Enlightenment’s Gift to the Age of Romance: How the Piano Came to Be’, in J. R. Gaines (ed.), *The Lives of the Piano* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1981), p. 51.

150 D. Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment: A History* (London: Quiller Press, 1982), p. 28.

151 J.-P. Williams, *The Piano: An Inspirational Guide to the Piano and its Place in History* (London: Quarto Publishing, 2002), p. 18.

152 Händel had died recently (on Saturday, 14 April 1759).

153 Cole, ‘Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker’ (n.d.).

154 Rimbault, *The Pianoforte, its Origins, Progress & Construction*, p. 131.

155 D. Carew, *The Mechanical Muse: The Piano, Pianism and Piano Music, c. 1760–1850* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), p. 8.

156 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 80.

4. Christopher Ganer (fl. 1774–1809)
5. John Geib (1744–1813; fl. ca 1777–97)
6. Ludewig Augustus Leukfeld (fl. 1790s)
7. Friedrich (Frederick) Neubauer (fl. 1757 – ca 1765)
8. Johannes (John) Pohlmann (Pohlman) (fl. 1767–93)
9. Frederick and Christian Schön (Schoene) (fl. ca 1780s)
10. John Henry Schrader (fl. ca 1768–1802)
11. Johann (John) Zumpe (fl. ca 1765–82).¹⁵⁷

No unequivocal evidence supports the commonly encountered claim that Adam Beyer (1729?–1804; fl. 1768–1801) (despite the sound of his surname) and Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756–98) were born in Germany.¹⁵⁸

London acted as a magnet for immigrant craftsmen because

1. of its wealth
2. it was located in a country that had not recently endured a war
3. it was free of restrictive guilds
4. unlike many European cities, no permission or licence was needed to set up in trade.¹⁵⁹

By 1750, London held over one fifth of the total population of Britain and was at least ten times bigger than the largest of provincial towns. It was the national centre of fashion and patronage, of luxury production and consumption. It provided the greatest access to cultural information from abroad, [and] was the hub of a growing press network as well as printing and publishing.¹⁶⁰

Even as early as 1713, for those with an entrepreneurial spirit, London 'offered opportunities rarely found in comparable countries and cities in mainland Europe'.¹⁶¹ The German music theorist, composer and Händel's friend Johann Mattheson (1681–1764) wrote: 'In these times, whoever wishes to be eminent in music goes to England. In Italy and France there is something to be heard and learned; in England something to be earned.'¹⁶²

157 See *ibid.*, p. 80. The area around Zumpe's birthplace (Fürth, near Nuremberg) 'was not ... one of those most directly affected by the' Seven Years' War, 'but had been gradually declining in prosperity since the sixteenth century. Thus ... it seems most likely that Zumpe left home to seek his fortune abroad as a young journeyman carpenter, perhaps in the late 1740s when he would have been in his early 20s.' Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 118, fn. 7.

158 Concerning Frederick Beck's place of birth, see 'Frederick Beck', in Chapter 2, this volume.

159 See M. Cole, 'Maker's File: Adam Beyer' (n.d.).

160 J. Riding, 'Handel's London', in J. Riding (ed.), *Handel House Museum Companion* (London: The Handel House Trust Limited, 2001), p. 39.

161 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

162 J. Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestra [The newly founded Orchestra]* (Hamburg: Benjamin Schiller, 1713). Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 38.

The German musicologist Eva Badura-Skoda (2004) suggests that the title 'Twelve Apostles' may have originated with Burkat Shudi's (1702–73) youngest daughter, Barbara (1749–76).¹⁶³ Burkat Shudi (also Burkhart, Burkhardt, Schudi, Tschudi, Tshudi) was a Swiss harpsichord maker who came to London in 1718. He dominated the harpsichord market there between the 1740s and the 1760s. Shudi's instruments were highly praised and greatly sought after (he was 'as famed in London as [Pascal] Taskin [1723–93] was in Paris').¹⁶⁴ In 1775, Charles Burney remarked: 'I must observe, that the Germans work much better out of their country, than they do in it, if we may judge by the *harpsichords* of ... Shudi.'¹⁶⁵ Shudi's illustrious clientele included Frederick the Great, for whom he made five harpsichords; the first of these was given as a gift in 1744.¹⁶⁶

The [1744] instrument ... [has not] survived, but it was probably shown to Johann Sebastian Bach [1685–1750] on his visit to the King in 1747. Shudi's gesture was ultimately rewarded by an order in 1765 from Frederick the Great for no less than four harpsichords, one of which¹⁶⁷ [production number 496]¹⁶⁸ ... [before it] was shipped off to its royal destination ... was played by the nine-year-old Mozart and his sister Nannerl (then fourteen), who visited Shudi's shop whilst in London with their father.¹⁶⁹

Concerning King Frederick's relationship with music prior to his accession to the throne, Charles Burney informs us:

It was by stealth, that this prince indulged his passion for music, during the life of his father, the late king, who had forbid him, not only to study and practise music, but to hear it ... it was the late queen mother, who at this time encouraged the prince in his favourite amusement, and who engaged musicians for his service; but so necessary was secrecy in all these negociations, that if the king his father had discovered that he was disobeyed, all these sons of Apollo would have incurred the danger of being hanged. The prince frequently took occasion, to meet his musicians a hunting, and had his concerts either in a forest or cavern.¹⁷⁰

163 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 161.

164 E. L. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), p. 362.

165 C. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces; Or, the Journal of a Tour through those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for a General History of Music ... The Second Edition, Corrected*, 2 vols, facsimile edn (New York: Broude Brothers, 1969) [Originally published London: T. Becket, J. Robson & G. Robinson, 1775], Vol. 2, p. 147.

166 See Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, p. 360.

167 See A. Cobbe, *Composer Instruments: A Catalogue of the Cobbe Collection of Keyboard Instruments with Composer Associations* (Hatchlands, Surrey: The Cobbe Collection Trust in association with The National Trust, 2000), p. 25.

168 See Latcham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', p. 383.

169 Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, pp. 360–1.

170 Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany*, Vol. 2, p. 139.

In 1769, Barbara Shudi married John Broadwood (1732–1812), who at the time was employed as foreman by her father. 'Barbara's marriage to her father's foreman was a normal practice in Georgian London since the business would then remain a family concern, ensuring its continuance, together with the maintenance of the family, after the death of the original master.'¹⁷¹ A year after Broadwood's marriage to Barbara Shudi, he became a partner in his father-in-law's business, and the firm's name was changed to Shudi and Broadwood.¹⁷² John Broadwood eventually became one of the most successful piano makers in history; when Broadwood died, he left a personal estate of £125 000 ('in modern terms, the fortune of a multi-millionaire'),¹⁷³ as well as 'a business worth much more, employing over a hundred men, and substantial London properties'.¹⁷⁴ (The Broadwood firm continued until 1970, making it the world's 'longest continuously running firm of instrument-makers'.)¹⁷⁵

Oral tradition among members of the Broadwood family reported that German immigrants usually received the help and hospitality of the Shudi family. One can imagine the joy with which German immigrants arriving in London met other Germans working in the same trade, who were willing to help them settle in this new environment.¹⁷⁶

It is possible that Barbara Broadwood, daughter of the Swiss-Deutsch-speaking Burkat Shudi,

was still fluent in German [during the 1760s], and therefore could have been a great help in linguistic matters to most of the German immigrants, including [the inventor of the square piano, Johann Christoph] Zumpe,¹⁷⁷ who worked for her father. She could have been the originator of the nickname 'Twelve Apostles' when she visited or hosted a gathering of the German musical instrument builders and there happened to be 12 of them around.¹⁷⁸

One of the German émigré instrument makers who arrived in London during the 1760s subsequently invented a new type of piano that catalysed a redefinition of the role of the piano in society. This instrument maker was Johann Christoph Zumpe.

171 J. Nex, 'Women in the Musical Instrument Trade in London, 1750–1810', in R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2010), p. 337.

172 See Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, p. 362.

173 Chanan, *Musica Practica*, p. 201.

174 M. Goold, *Mr Langshaw's Square Piano* (London: Corvo Books, 2008), p. 249. 'In 1945, in one of the last acts of defiance from Hitler's regime, a series of V2 rockets was launched towards England. The very last of these flying bombs fell on London on Palm Sunday, 25 March, making a direct hit on Whitefield's Chapel in Tottenham Court Road. It destroyed the building and the burial ground. The graves of Burkat Shudi, and John and Barbara Broadwood were obliterated.' Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 114.

175 Cobbe, *Composer Instruments*, p. 25.

176 E. Badura-Skoda, 'The Piano Maker Adam Beyer, a German by Birth', in *The Galpin Society Journal* (London: The Galpin Society, 2004), Vol. 57 (May), p. 232.

177 Zumpe invented the square piano (in its English incarnation) in London, in ca early 1766.

178 Badura-Skoda, 'The Piano Maker Adam Beyer', p. 232.

Johann Christoph Zumpe

Zumpe's 'Small Piano-Forte'

'The critical event that changed perceptions in relation to the piano [in England] was the invention by the German-born craftsman Johann Christoph Zumpe (Johannes Zumpe, John Zumpe, or John Zumpé) of a small rectangular instrument that has since become known as the "square piano".'¹⁷⁹

During the late eighteenth century, the square piano was commonly referred to as the 'small piano-forte'. In *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* of Thursday, 10 February 1780, Zumpe described himself as 'the inventor of the Small Piano-Forte and Maker to her Majesty and the Royal Family'¹⁸⁰ (note that Zumpe's 'claim to be the maker of choice for the royal family' is placed after his 'claim to have invented the small piano').¹⁸¹

What or Who Inspired Zumpe to Invent His 'Small Piano-Forte'?

If we look for evidence of any surviving square piano from Germany that might have served as a prototype for Zumpe, or indeed for any surviving piano that is obviously derived from some shared ancestor, the search proves entirely vain. The only known German pianos that resemble Zumpe's are very obviously derived from him and made after he produced his first 'small piano-forte' ... ca. early 1766.¹⁸²

Zumpe may have been inspired by any one of the several varieties of touch-sensitive keyboard instruments that emerged in northern Germany during the first half of the eighteenth century, or those that appeared in London during the early to mid-1760s.

Krämer's *Tafelklavier*

Günther (2006)¹⁸³ observes that around 1760, Zumpe (who at the time was an apprentice to the Swiss harpsichord maker Burkat Shudi in London) returned to his birthplace (Fürth, approximately 8 kilometres from Nuremberg) to visit

179 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 31.

180 *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 10 February 1780, No. 2286, p. 1.

181 See C. A. Hoover, 'Pianos for Sale', in J. Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene, 2001), p. 33.

182 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 57.

183 M. Günther, *Der frühe Tafelklavierbau im Gebiet des Mains und mittleren Rheins zwischen 1760 und 1790: Geschichte und Bauweise des Tafelklaviers* [*Early Square Piano Construction in the Main and Rhine Areas about 1760–1790: History and Architecture of the Square Piano*], edited by B. E. Hans Schmuhl and M. Lustig (Augsburg and Michaelstein, 2006). See Latcham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', p. 389, fn. 14.

relatives. 'On his return to London, Zumpe brought back with him the idea of the *Tafelklavier* ("table keyboard instrument"). He may even have brought back a *Tafelklavier* made by Georg Ludwig Krämer [fl. ca 1760].'¹⁸⁴

A *tafelklavier* is a rectangular-shaped transversely strung hammer-action keyboard instrument, similar in outward form to a clavichord. In Germany, a large number of makers developed a plethora of variations on the instrument's design. Some *tafelklaviere* had bare wooden hammers, whilst others had leather-covered hammers; some had two sets of hammers:

One set was usually of bare wood [or some other hard material] while the second set of hammers, brought into play by a handstop, was tipped with soft leather to produce a dulcet tone. The player selected one or the other set according to the tonal requirements of the *Affect* of the music.¹⁸⁵

Some *tafelklaviere* had dampers, whilst others did not. Some had tone-colour altering devices; one such device, for example, comprises a mechanism that interposes a strip of woven cloth between the hammerhead and the string (now commonly referred to as a 'moderator'),¹⁸⁶ producing a characteristically 'dark', 'distant' and 'ethereal' sound. The action of some *tafelklaviere* had an escapement (an escapement provides the player with comfortable, reliable and subtle control over dynamics). Although no extant *tafelklavier* is dated from before 1767,¹⁸⁷ advertisements for such instruments appeared from the 1740s.¹⁸⁸ Despite the wide range of design and sound represented by the *tafelklavier*, no specific or consistent tradition emerged.

When compared with the number of extant late eighteenth-century English square pianos, relatively few early eighteenth-century German *tafelklaviere* have survived. It seems that in Germany during the first half and middle of the eighteenth century, the *tafelklavier* did not reach the same levels of popularity or production as did the square piano in late eighteenth-century England.¹⁸⁹

In 1781, ca 20 years after Zumpe's encounter with Krämer's *tafelklavier*, the German music theorist Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749–1818) remarked: '*Ein berühmter und geschickter Orgelbauer und Instrumentenmacher ... Namens Georg Ludw. Krämer, hat ... eine neue Art von Fortepiano ... erfunden, die nicht*

184 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, pp. 82–5.

185 Cole, 'Another Line of Investigation' .

186 See 'Moderator', in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

187 See M. Cole, *The Invention of the Square Piano: A Review of Some Claimed Early German Tafelklaviere* (n.d.).

188 See A. Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1954), p. 44.

189 See B. van Oort, *The English Classical Piano Style and its Influence on Haydn and Beethoven*, Unpublished PhD dissertation (Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, 1993), p. 16.

*größser als ein gewöhnliches Clavier*¹⁹⁰ (‘A famous and skillful Organ maker and Instrument maker ... whose Name is Georg Ludwig Krämer, has invented ... a new Kind of Fortepiano ... not much larger than a Clavichord’).

Similarities ‘between the actions in extant instruments by Krämer and Zumpe’¹⁹¹ suggest that Zumpe may have been influenced in some way by Krämer’s *tafelklavier*. (At the very least, Krämer’s influence may have extended only to the notion of a rectangular-shaped piano.)

The Pantalon

It could be viably posited that the design features of a pantalon represent a subset sitting at the extreme end of the design range of the *tafelklavier*. A pantalon (pantaleon, pantalone or bandaleon) is a small rectangular or harp-shaped keyboard instrument whose horizontal metal strings run obliquely from the keyboard. The soundboard extends the entire length of the instrument, above the keys. Typically, a pantalon has a single string for each note. Usually, the strings are struck by bare wooden pivoted hammers. Commonly, there are no dampers (in such instances, there were never meant to be any).¹⁹²

Because the action of a pantalon has no escapement, the range of dynamic nuance that can be achieved through touch is limited. There is no check¹⁹³ (a check catches the hammerhead after it rebounds from hitting the string and prevents the hammer from bouncing back up and hitting the string again). Without a check (depending on the dynamic), rapid note repetition and trills may be fairly slow and awkward. Pianos with no check must be played physically more gently than those with a check (especially within the dynamic context of *forte*).¹⁹⁴

A variety of timbres is available to the player via ‘mutation’ stops. A mutation (in eighteenth-century German writings, *Veränderung* or *Mutation*) alters or modifies the timbre of the sound using a mechanical device that is incorporated into the instrument, such as a ‘moderator’;¹⁹⁵ or, as another example, an s-shaped wooden batten suspended above and following the line of the bridge, with a teased cloth covering attached to the underside that, when lowered, rests lightly on the strings (producing a characteristically ‘*pizzicato*’ sound). A pantalon may have as many as five or more mutations. Because the scope of dynamic nuance that can be achieved through touch is limited, the sense of dynamic shading is mostly created through

190 J. N. Forkel, *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahr 1782* [*Musical Almanac for Germany for the Year 1782*] (Leipzig: im Schwickertschen Verlag, 1781), pp. 36–7. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are by the author.

191 Latcham, ‘Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties’, p. 389, fn. 14.

192 See M. Cole, ‘Pianoforte and Pantalon’, in *Square Pianos* (2013).

193 Also called ‘back check’.

194 In music, the Italian term *forte* is a performance instruction denoting ‘loud’ and ‘strong’.

195 See ‘Moderator’, in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

changes in tone colour that result from the use of mutations. These mutations 'were designed to reproduce the tonal effects and musical resources of' the dulcimer—perhaps specifically of Pantalon Hebenstreit's (1667–1750) 'famous dulcimer but with the convenience of playing them through a standard keyboard'.¹⁹⁶

The shape of Hebenstreit's dulcimer was trapezoidal. The instrument 'had two soundboards, and two or more bridges and soundholes'.¹⁹⁷ On Tuesday, 22 September 1772, whilst in Dresden, Charles Burney saw Hebenstreit's instrument, observing that it was 'more than nine feet [2.7 metres] long, and had ... 186 strings of catgut'.¹⁹⁸ (The *Guinness Book of Musical Facts and Figures* claims that Hebenstreit's dulcimer was the 'largest stringed instrument ever made'.¹⁹⁹ This is true, at least for the eighteenth century.) Hebenstreit's dulcimer also had an unknown number of metal strings. Alternation between gut and metal strings gave the player a choice of different tone colours. Each note probably had three unison strings (some notes may have had four). As with all dulcimers, the strings were hit with small, handheld mallets. The creation of a variety of timbres was achieved by alternating bare wooden mallets with mallets that had padded cloth-covered heads.

None of the strings had a damper, and therefore the instrument, as it was played, built up a rich and prominent background 'glow' of overtones.

Hebenstreit ... liked to roll great billows of arpeggiated chords over the wide range of his instrument and to allow the full resonance of the undamped strings to die slowly on the listeners' ears. It was a new sensation at the time, and it seemed ravishing.²⁰⁰

When one set of ... strings [gut] was played upon, the other set [metal] (attached to the bottom, or 'flip-side' of the instrument) vibrated sympathetically. Piano makers later achieved this same musical effect [via a mechanism that enabled all the dampers to be simultaneously raised] ...

Hebenstreit went to Paris in 1705 and performed for King Louis XIV, who christened this large dulcimer a 'pantalon.' According to Sarah E. Hanks [1969], 'the fact that the Sun King ... [so named] the instrument ... was a

196 Cole, 'Another Line of Investigation'.

197 P. F. Baird, 'Hebenstreit, Pantaleon (1667–1750)', in R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 1969), p. 171.

198 Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany*, Vol. 2, p. 57.

199 *Guinness Book of Musical Facts and Figures* (London: Guinness PLC, 1976), p. 47. Quoted in C. Hogwood, 'A Note on the Frontispiece: A Concert in Cambridge', in C. Hogwood and R. Lockett (eds), *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. xv, fn. 2.

200 Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 25.

double-entendre. The term *pantolon* was a familiar designation in French and Italian comedy for a clown, and appropriately described the amusing jerks and leaps of the player's body, visible behind the large instrument.²⁰¹

Charles Burney tells us that, following Hebenstreit's audience with Louis XIV, 'the inventor [that is, Hebenstreit] went by the name of his instrument ever after'²⁰² (that is, Pantolon Hebenstreit).

It was only a matter of time before instrument makers created a keyboard version of the pantolon, inspired (if not by the timbres and undamped sounds of the folk instrument the dulcimer) by the opulent undamped soundscapes that emanated from Hebenstreit's giant dulcimer.

Herman Viator

In London, Herman (or Harman) Bernard Viator (or Viator) (?-?), instrument maker and organist at 'St George's Lutheran Church, Allie Street, Whitechapel, since at least early 1764',²⁰³ advertised in the press between 1766 and 1768. The only extant instrument by Viator is a square piano dated 1767. This instrument has no dampers, and as such reflects *tafelklavier*/keyboard pantolon making, 'knowledge of which ... [Viator] had presumably imbibed somewhere in north Germany before 1765'.²⁰⁴

In 1766 Viator was located at 19 Mercer Street, Longacre, Soho, and by 1767, had moved to 32 Porter Street, Newport Market, St Ann's, Soho.²⁰⁵ Unfortunately, Herman Viator was not a professional instrument maker, and his sole extant instrument exhibits both faulty design and poor craftsmanship.²⁰⁶

In 1765, Viator named his 'invented' instrument *Coelestin d'Amour*.²⁰⁷ In 1766, he gave the instrument the name 'Piano ex Forte'.²⁰⁸ In an advertisement published in *The Public Advertiser* of Monday, 1 February 1768, Viator claimed to be the 'sole Inventor' of his 'Forte Pianos', which came in 'different Sizes and

201 Baird, 'Hebenstreit, Pantaleon (1667–1750)', p. 171. Baird takes the quotation from: S. E. Hanks, 'Pantaleon's Pantolon: An 18th Century Musical Fashion', in *The Musical Quarterly* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1969), Vol. 55, No. 2 (April), pp. 215–17.

202 Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany*, Vol. 2, p. 57.

203 'Herman Bernard Viator (Dates Unknown)', in Debenham and Cole, 'Pioneer Piano Makers in London'.

204 Cole, 'Another Line of Investigation'.

205 See 'Herman Bernard Viator (Dates Unknown)', in Debenham and Cole, 'Pioneer Piano Makers in London'.

206 See Cole, 'Another Line of Investigation'.

207 *The Public Advertiser*, 27 September 1765, No. 9643, p. 3.

208 *The Public Advertiser*, 2 May 1766, No. 9826, p. 3.

Constructions'.²⁰⁹ Viator also claimed that he 'had the Honour to sell a great many of them within these seven Years to a great Part of the Nobility and Gentry in these Kingdoms'—that is, the United Kingdom.²¹⁰

It is difficult not to see in ... [Viator's advertisement] the desperate braggadocio of a failing entrepreneur. From being an organist with a sideline in making and selling novel keyboard instruments he is now apparently a dealer in all manner of musical instruments and, if we were to believe him, the sole inventor of Forte Pianos. Musical cognoscenti of the period cannot have been fooled by this, for they would certainly be aware that in 1768 regular professional instrument makers—Zumpe, [Gabriel] Buntebart [fl. 1768–95], [Johannes (John)] Pohlman [or Pohlmann] [fl. 1767–93], and others—were experiencing huge demands for their 'Forte Pianos'. There is not much that may be said for his astonishing claim to have sold 'a great many of them ... to a great part of the Nobility and Gentry in these Kingdoms'. Judging by the poor quality of design and construction in his 1767 specimen one would be surprised to find any example of such work in the well-furnished homes of any English aristocrat ... His claim to have been selling such instruments 'within these last seven years' could be as dubious as his other statements, or it may suggest that he had been constructing some sort of [experimental] hammer-action instruments since 1761.²¹¹

If this is so, it is possible that similar instruments were also being made in northern Germany as early as 1761.²¹²

Zumpe's Genius

In 1761, Johann Zumpe left Shudi's employment to set up his own workshop at the sign of the Golden Guitar.²¹³

We may never know exactly what it was that inspired Zumpe to invent the square piano; perhaps it was Krämer's *tafelklavier*, the keyboard pantalon, early eighteenth-century German *tafelklaviere*, or instruments made in London by Friedrich Neubauer or Herman Viator during the early 1760s.

Historians often marvel at the tendency for inventions to come in multiples, the lightbulb going on in several people's brains at almost

209 *The Public Advertiser*, 1 February 1768, No. 10376, p. 4. See also 'Viator, Harman Bernard', in *The Early Piano: Authentic Materials for Early Keyboard Instruments* (Dorchester, Dorset: Early Piano, 2011–13).

210 *The Public Advertiser*, 1 February 1768, p. 4. See also Cole, 'Another Line of Investigation'.

211 'Herman Bernard Viator', in Debenham and Cole, 'Pioneer Piano Makers in London'.

212 See Cole, 'Another Line of Investigation'.

213 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 51.

exactly the same moment. Great ideas often seem to be less the result of brilliance than the logical outcome of having a set of thinkers who share the same questions and methods.²¹⁴

Evidence suggesting that Zumpe was influenced by anyone at all, however, is, at best, both fragmentary and inferential. There remains the strong possibility that his invention of the ‘small piano-forte’ may simply have been the product of his genius alone.

No Escapement

The action of Zumpe’s square pianos (as also with Krämer’s *tafelklavier* and Neubauer’s piano forte) does not have an escapement. This creates two major disadvantages:

1. in order to enable the hammer to build up enough momentum to hit the string, the player has to use a slightly ‘jabbing’ touch; this touch is the antithesis of what would naturally be associated with dynamically subtle, expressive playing
2. the touch for *pianissimo* can be difficult to predict; sometimes, the small amount of energy required to produce a *pianissimo* is absorbed by the baleen²¹⁵ damper springs; when this happens, the hammer falls back to its rest position before it hits the string. A reliable *pianissimo* depends on the player perfectly judging the touch.

Mutations

In order to reproduce the background ‘glow’ of overtones and tonal variety associated with Hebenstreit’s pantalon, Zumpe incorporated mutations into his pianos; these mutations were engaged via hand levers. The following mutations are found in Zumpe’s pianos:

1. 1766 (the five earliest extant Zumpe pianos date from 1766):²¹⁶ one hand lever for raising the bass dampers

214 I. Morris, *Why the West Rules—For Now: The Patterns of History, and What They Reveal about the Future* (London: Profile Books, 2010), p. 568.

215 ‘Usually called ‘whalebone’ ... [baleen is] made from the filter-plates from the mouth of certain kinds of whale. Its most common use was in corsets, but it was also used for the springs of ... dampers in ... early square pianos.’ Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 261.

216 1) Privately owned in the United States; 2) Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, inv. no. 1968-294; 3) Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart, inv. no. 1982-96; and 4) Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Latham, ‘Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties’, p. 389, fn. 15. 5) Recently, another early square piano by Zumpe (albeit severely reworked during the early nineteenth century) has been discovered; the instrument is part of the Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney (Plates 455–77). According to Michael Cole (Email from Michael Cole to the author, 5 December 2012), certain features of the instrument’s action suggest it was originally constructed either late in 1766 or in 1767.

2. 1767 onwards: two hand levers for independently raising treble or bass dampers
3. 1769–70: a 'buff' stop, which places a strip of leather against the strings, producing a lute-like sound.

In performance, mutations would have been used quite freely. It is reasonable to assume that some pianists played with the dampers continuously raised. An observation made by Charles Burney reinforces this proposition.

On Wednesday, 20 June 1770, whilst in Paris, Burney heard Madame Anne Louise Brillon de Jouy (née Boyvin d'Hardancourt) (1744–1824) play the piano. He describes her as being

one of the greatest lady-players on the harpsichord in Europe. This lady not only plays the most difficult pieces with great precision, taste, and feeling, but is an excellent sight's-woman; of which I was convinced by her manner of executing some of my own music, that I had the honour of presenting to her. She likewise composes; and was so obliging as to play several of her own sonatas, both on the harpsichord and *piano forte* ... To this lady many of the famous composers of Italy and Germany, who have resided in France any time, have dedicated their works; among these are [Johann] Schobert [ca 1720, 1735 or 1740?–67] and [Luigi] Boccerini [Boccherini; 1743–1805].²¹⁷

It appears that Burney did not like the piano played with the dampers continuously raised. He remarks: 'I could not persuade Madame Brillon to play the piano forte with the Stops on [that is, with the dampers lowered, in contact with the strings]—"too dry" she said—but with them off unless in arpeggios, nothing is distinct—'tis like the sound of bells, continual and confluent.'²¹⁸ Burney's comment reveals that there were differences of opinion amongst musicians during the 1770s in relation to playing with the dampers lifted.

Some pianists went to great lengths to exploit the effects of mutations. Morse (1902) provides an example:

There is an Astor [square] piano in Salem ... made as late as 1815. It had two pedals, one being used to prolong the tones [probably damper raising]. The other served to produce a novel and taking effect, by lifting a section of the top of the piano lid, which was then allowed to fall suddenly, the slamming serving to illustrate the firing of a cannon. [This mutation was called a 'Nag's Head swell', and was a commonly

217 C. Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy: Or, the Journal of a Tour through those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for a General History of Musi*, facsimile edition (USA: Elibron Classics, 2005) [originally published London: T. Becket & Co., 1771], pp. 42–3.

218 C. Burney, *Music, Men & Manners in France & Italy 1770: Being the Journal Written by Charles Burney, Mus.D., During a Tour through these Countries Undertaken to Collect Material for a General History of Music*, edited by H. E. Poole (London: Eulenburg Books, 1974), pp. 19–20. This is an extended version of Burney's *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* collated with his unpublished notes.

encountered accessory on square pianos during the 1780s and 1790s.]²¹⁹
 The young lady who owned the piano created a sensation by playing
 battle pieces with this startling accompaniment.²²⁰

In the hands of an imaginative player, the mutations available in Zumpe's pianos allowed for the enhancement of an already sweet, sonorous and succulent un-mutated sound. These dimensions of sonic beauty go a long way to explain the success of Zumpe's pianos, as well as the contemporaneous emergence of the music they inspired.

Zumpe's House

Zumpe's workshop was at 7 Princes Street,²²¹ a small street leading to the then fashionable Hanover Square, on the western fringes of London.²²² Zumpe's shrewd decision to live and work near a fashionable district ensured that his clientele would be of the wealthy and 'respectable' variety.

Plate 9 shows Hanover Square as it appeared in 1754 (seven years prior to Zumpe's relocation from Shudi's workshop in Great Pultney Street²²³ to his own premises in Princes Street). Princes Street enters Hanover Square at the square's north-eastern corner. Tall buildings obscure the street, but the small chimneypot at the very edge of the picture (or the roof above the three windows immediately to its left), following the line of the street to the right, may belong to the house in which Zumpe lived and worked. In ca 1787 (five years after Zumpe had relinquished his business and address to the Schoene²²⁴ brothers, and approximately three years before his death), the bird's-eye-view paths in the shape of a cross with diagonals in the gardens of Hanover Square were replaced 'with a circular path running around the circumference bordered by trees'.²²⁵

Plate 10 shows Zumpe's house as it appears today; it is the building painted white, and further marred by a tinted-glass street-level front. What a scandal that such architectural vandalism has been allowed to occur. Because Zumpe's house was the first building in the world to be dedicated exclusively to the making

219 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 76.

220 F. C. Morse, *Furniture of the Olden Time* (New York: Macmillan, 1902), pp. 261–2.

221 See *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Map Section: northernmost extent Mary le Bon and southernmost extent Tothill Fields. See also 'Princes S', in Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Bn.

222 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 51.

223 Known during the eighteenth century as Pultney Street, and from the second decade of the nineteenth century as Great Pultney Street. Now known as Great Pultney Street. See 'Pultney Str', in J. Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent; Viz. Kensington, Chelsea, Islington, Hackney, Walworth, Newington &c with an Alphabetical List of Upwards of 500 of the Most Principal Streets with References to their Situation* (London: John Cary, 1795), in *London and Environs Maps and Views* (Last updated 31 December 2011), Map Reference 27.

224 'Originally Schön.' Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 72.

225 'Hanover Square Gardens: A History of the Locality' (London: City of Westminster, n.d.) [information on a permanent sign located at Hanover Square, London].

of pianos, the cultural significance of this building cannot be underestimated. Oddly, there is no blue heritage plaque identifying the building as the residence of the inventor of the English square piano.

Zumpe's house is currently owned and occupied by the Salvation Army. A conversation held between the author and a representative of the Salvation Army's London management revealed that the 2008–09 global financial crisis had stalled the planned gutting of Zumpe's house. The photographs of and from the first-floor front room (Zumpe's principal room for receiving guests) are possibly the last to be taken before redevelopment (which was scheduled to begin in early 2010) obliterates the internal space as it currently exists (Plates 11 and 12).

In Plate 12, the 'Lloyds TSB' building on the left-hand side of the image occupies land on the southern corner of the intersection of Princes Street with Hanover Square. If Zumpe had walked a few buildings south from this intersection, he would have come upon the Hanover Square Music Rooms, located at the intersection of Hanover Square and the northern side of Hanover Street. Richard Horwood's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining*²²⁶ shows Hanover Square, 7 Princes Street (Zumpe's house) and the Hanover Square Music Rooms (Plate 12a). Horwood labels the Hanover Square Music Rooms as 'Concert Rooms'. During Joseph Haydn's (1732–1809) first visit to London in 1791, the symphonies he composed for Johann Peter Salomon's (1745–1815) concert series were premiered at the Hanover Square Music Rooms (the concert hall comprised 235 square metres, and accommodated an audience of 500). 'Credit for the first regular series of public commercial concerts in England is usually given to the violinist John Banister (ca 1624–79); they were held in his own house in Whitefriars [two blocks south of Fleet Street, near the northern bank of the Thames]²²⁷ in 1672 and advertised in ... [*The*] *London Gazette*, thus drawing on the coffee-house audience that provided the readership of early newspapers.'²²⁸

The front door of Zumpe's house would have opened from the street directly into the front room, where he may have displayed the pianos he had for sale (Zumpe's timber-framed workshop was situated behind the house). For those with money, 'shopping was an important component of late 18th century [life]. Indeed, the shops where luxury objects' such as Zumpe's pianos 'were sold were places for sociability'.²²⁹

'In England a man's house served as his ultimate possession, the absolute confirmation of his status. Accordingly, vast sums of money (often a family's

226 R. Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining. Showing Every House* (London: R. Horwood, 1792–99).

227 See 'White Fryers', in J. Noorthouck, *A Plan of the City and Liberties of London; Shewing the Extent of the Dreadful Conflagration in the Year 1666* (London: R. Baldwin, 1773).

228 Chanan, *Musica Practica*, p. 133.

229 H. Koda and A. Bolton, *Dangerous Liaisons: Fashion and Furniture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), pp. 89–90.

whole substance) were spent to build, decorate, improve, maintain, and furnish the domestic enclosure.²³⁰ There can be little doubt that a large portion of the considerable fortune that Zumpe made through the sale of his pianos would have been spent on improving, maintaining and furnishing his house.

During the five years after 1774, London experienced the biggest surge of the century in building:

Fireplaces and bigger windows became standard, but spaces were also more confined. In small houses status was indicated by a simple cornice over the best fireplaces or in the best room, and plain painted panelling was found in all but the poorest houses.

Large numbers of houses incorporated shops.²³¹

Zumpe's house was one such building.

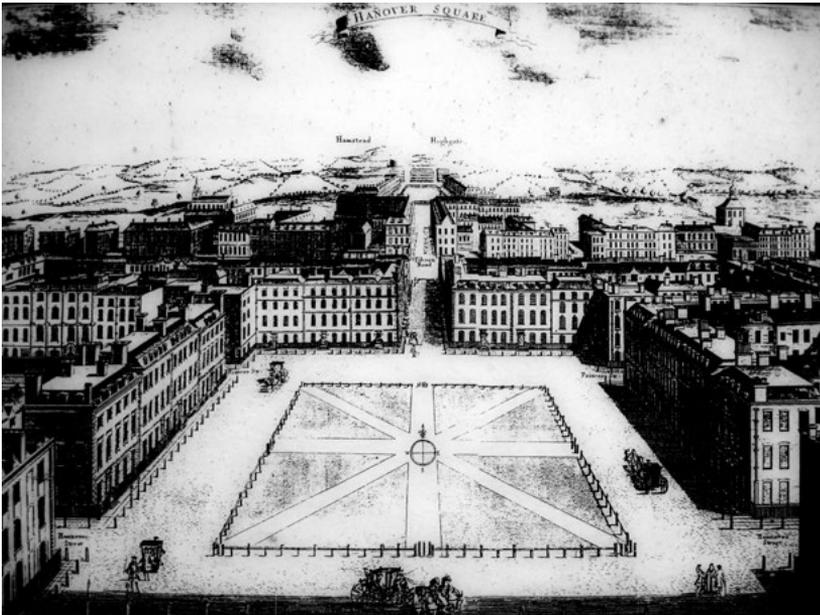


Plate 9 Sutton Nicholls (fl. 1680–1740): *Hanover Square* (1754). Engraving; longest dimension 46 centimetres.

Source: *Hanover Square Gardens: A History of the Locality* (London: City of Westminster, n.d.). Image on a permanent sign located at Hanover Square, London. Photo by the author.

230 R. Leppert, 'Music, Domestic Life and Cultural Chauvinism: Images of British Subjects at Home in India', in R. Leppert and S. McClary (eds), *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 66, fn. 11.

231 M. Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 224.



Plate 10 Johann Zumpe's house.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 11 The first-floor drawing room in Johann Zumpe's house. The fireplace surround is not from the eighteenth century.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 12 The view of Hanover Square from the first-floor drawing room in Johann Zumpe's house.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 12a Hanover Square and surrounds (detail).

Source: Richard Horwood (ca 1757–1803), *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining. Showing Every House* (London: R. Horwood, 1792–99). Reproduced with permission of Motco Enterprises Limited. www.motco.com.

Johann Christian Bach's Support

Zumpe appears to have gained affirmation and support from his friends Johann Christian Bach (1735–82), the youngest son of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750; 'Master of the Queen's Musick', chamber musician to the Queen's household, 'accompanist to the flute-playing George III'²³² and internationally acclaimed composer), and Gabriel Buntebart, possibly harpsichord maker to Queen Charlotte (1744–1818) and 'grand Piano forte Maker to Her Majesty'.²³³ A favourite at court,²³⁴ affable with both the aristocracy and the intelligentsia, and comfortable in lower social circles,²³⁵ J. C. Bach was good looking (he had an 'enchanted smile'),²³⁶ engaging, was of 'worthy character'²³⁷ and had a gift for making friendships that captivated both sexes equally.²³⁸ Bach was greatly respected not only by the professional musical fraternity, but also by the royal family.²³⁹ Both J. C. Bach's and Buntebart's close connections with the court and the immediate cohort of attendants in Queen Charlotte's household²⁴⁰ meant that these two gentlemen were perfectly positioned to encourage the acceptance of Zumpe's new invention by those who represented the highest and most fashionable levels of society.

J. C. Bach arrived in London in the summer of 1762. ('London in 1762 was well provided with musical entertainment, concert halls, and musicians ... [including] foreigners, attracted to its service by the generosity of its purse.')

²⁴¹ The position J. C. Bach occupied at court had remained unfilled since Händel's death in 1759. Amongst the small number of German professional musicians in London, only J. C. Bach was considered to have sufficient reputation and merit to replace Händel.²⁴² That the German-born Queen Charlotte 'should desire a

232 Latcham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', p. 389, fn. 11.

233 Circumstantial evidence suggests that Gabriel Buntebart was Queen Charlotte's harpsichord maker. Buntebart arrived in London from Strelitz at the same time as Queen Charlotte. See M. Cole, 'John Zumpe' in *Square Pianos* (n.d.).

234 When J. C. Bach died of consumption (tuberculosis), Queen Charlotte 'paid for his funeral and established a pension' (of £200 a year for life) for his widow. J. L. Cooper and A. S. Powell, 'Sophie Charlotte, 1744–1818', in *A Princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz as Queen of England* (Last modified 10 November 2003). See also C. L. H. Papendiek, *Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte: Being the Journals of Mrs Papendiek, Assistant Keeper of the Wardrobe and Reader to Her Majesty. Edited by her Grand-Daughter, Mrs Vernon Delves Broughton* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1887), Vol. 1, p. 153.

235 See P. M. Young, *The Concert Tradition: From the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), p. 144.

236 Papendiek, *Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte*, Vol. 1, p. 151.

237 *Ibid.*, p. 153.

238 See C. S. Terry, *John Christian Bach*, facsimile edn (London: Travis & Emery, 2009) [originally published Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929], p. 11.

239 See Papendiek, *Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte*, p. 133.

240 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 61.

241 Terry, *John Christian Bach*, p. 62.

242 See *ibid.*, p. 60.

compatriate as her music-master was as natural as that she should invite her brother Duke Adolph Friedrich to provide one ... The national bias of a German Queen rejected an Italian master'.²⁴³

Queen Charlotte was a passionate devotee of music.

At the tender age of 17, during a stormy ten-day voyage ['which rendered her five ladies-in-waiting unfit for service']²⁴⁴ when she crossed the English Channel to marry a man she had never seen (George III), she comforted herself by playing the harpsichord. She ... left her cabin door open so that others on board the ship could enjoy her playing.²⁴⁵

Revealing a degree of political astuteness surprising in such a young person, she included in her performances her rendition of the British national anthem, *God Save the King*. She also 'memorized a few English sentences—English had not been taught at the court of Neustrelitz'.²⁴⁶

The young King George III ... was woefully immature to be an effective ruler, and Charlotte was certainly no beauty, but they had one redeeming feature in common: both were ardent music lovers. The king had taken instruction on composition from Handel, and the queen was a competent singer and [keyboardist].²⁴⁷

After her wedding to George III, the Queen established her own private orchestra; members of the orchestra dressed in uniforms of scarlet and gold. She often performed organ concerti by Händel, having beforehand placed a bust of the composer by Louis-François Roubillac (Roubiliac; 1695–1762) above the organ.²⁴⁸

Roubillac, 'whose statue of Handel erected at Vauxhall Gardens²⁴⁹ in 1737 was among his first works for London, was commissioned to create the monument' for Händel's grave, located in Westminster Abbey; 'it turned out to be his last work'.²⁵⁰

243 Ibid., pp. 59–60.

244 Cooper and Powell, 'Sophie Charlotte'.

245 Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 235.

246 Cooper and Powell, 'Sophie Charlotte'.

247 J. Jenkins, *Mozart and the English Connection* (London: Cygnus Arts, 1998), p. 10.

248 H. C. Smith, *The Complete History of Buckingham Palace: Its Furniture, Decoration, & History* (London: Country Life Limited, 1931), p. 89. Quoted in Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 235.

249 See 'Vauxhall Gardens', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 52.

250 E. T. Harris, 'Handel and His Will', in D. Burrows (ed.), *Handel's Will: Facsimiles and Commentary* (London: The Gerald Coke Handel Foundation, 2008), p. 18.

The sculptor probably knew Händel as a friend. They may have

met at Slaughter's Coffee House in St. Martin's Lane²⁵¹ [Charing Cross] to exchange gossip and discuss Händel's scores, some of which had been published with engraved illustrations by [Hubert-François Bourguignon, commonly known as] Gravelot [1699–1773], a French artist who was also a friend of ... [William Hogarth (1697–1764)]. At the time, Hogarth was] the most famous frequenter of Slaughter's.²⁵²

Queen Charlotte cannot have been blind to the musical strengths of Zumpe's square piano (during his first visit to London, between 1791 and 1792, Joseph Haydn found Queen Charlotte's keyboard skills to be 'quite good—for a Queen').²⁵³ Fortunately for Zumpe, Queen Charlotte's acceptance of his square pianos conferred upon them the ultimate accolade and guarantee of fashionable status.²⁵⁴ Queen Charlotte may even have been one of the first to play a Zumpe piano.²⁵⁵ Because Zumpe's pianos were 'the chosen instrument of the Queen ... no woman of fashion or quality could be without one'.²⁵⁶ As a result, Zumpe soon had more orders than he could fill. It is probable Zumpe made up to 50 instruments a year (that is, about one every week).

The Bach-Abel Concert Series

It took a long time for the grand piano to win general favour in London. On the other hand, Zumpe's 'small piano-forte' quickly became prodigiously fashionable.²⁵⁷ The popularity of Zumpe's square pianos may have been due, in part, to their use in the exclusive Bach-Abel concert series. This series began on Monday, 23 January 1764, and continued until 9 May 1781.

Carl Friedrich Abel (1723–87), 'a former pupil of J. S. Bach and friend of' the German composer and music theorist Johann Adam Hiller in Dresden,²⁵⁸ was not only an accomplished harpsichordist, but was also renowned as the greatest viola da gamba virtuoso of his day.

251 See 'St. Martins St.', in Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*.

252 M. Mainstone, 'Roubiliac's Handel', in *V & A Masterpieces* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1976, rev. 2006).

253 Quoted in C. Hogwood, Liner notes for *Johann Christian Bach: Four Sonatas & Two Duets, Op. 18* (L'Oiseau-Lyre/Decca, 1976), vinyl disc, DSLO 516, p. 2. Clive Unger-Hamilton attributes Haydn's remark to Georg Friedrich Händel in his *Keyboard Instruments: The Instruments, the Music & the Musicians* (Minneapolis: Control Data Publishing, 1981), p. 50.

254 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 61.

255 See *ibid.*, p. 61.

256 Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 96.

257 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 30.

258 Young, *The Concert Tradition*, p. 144.

In 1743, Abel was a gamba player in the Dresden court orchestra (the high technical and musical standard of which amounted to that of a utopian fantasy) under the direction of the famed *Oberkapellmeister* Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783). During the destruction of Dresden by Frederick the Great in 1758–59, Abel left the city and travelled to Frankfurt, Mannheim and Paris. In 1759, Abel went to London, where he became a vital force in the musical culture of the city that was to be his home until his death. Approximately five years after his arrival in London (in ca 1764), Abel was appointed as a chamber musician at the court of Queen Charlotte.²⁵⁹

As two of London's internationally respected immigrants, J. C. Bach and Abel

sought to present their subscription concerts like an expanded soirée for polite society, a simulation of the private sphere with many of the audience known not only to the performers but also to each other. True, the buying of tickets was a commercial transaction, but it was disguised under a veneer of aristocratic sociability in a manner very characteristic of London's advanced urban culture.²⁶⁰

Bach and Abel's concert series was not only 'a vital marketing tool in building a reputation and maintaining public visibility, but ... was', as for most instrumentalists in eighteenth-century London, 'primarily a way of engineering ... essential contacts with influential and wealthy patrons at the core of the musical structure'.²⁶¹

Concerts were given weekly, with J. C. Bach and Abel directing the concerts on alternate Wednesdays. Subscription tickets could be purchased at J. C. Bach's house, on the corner of Carlisle and Dean streets²⁶² near Soho or Kings Square.²⁶³

Plate 13 shows J. C. Bach's house as it appears today. Coincidentally, the security alarm of the 'Jazz@Pizza Express' shop located directly opposite Bach's house is labelled 'Abel' (Plate 14).

259 See Latham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', p. 389, fn. 11. See also W. Knappe and M. R. Charters, '(4) Carl Friedrich Abel', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 1, p. 11.

260 S. McVeigh, 'Industrial and Consumer Revolutions in Instrumental Music: Markets, Efficiency, Demand', in R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2010), p. 20.

261 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

262 See 'Carlisle S.' and 'Dean Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 28.

263 An engraving entitled *Sohoe or King's Square*, by Sutton Nicholls (fl. 1680–1740), dated 1754, is housed at the National Library of Australia, Canberra (Pictures Collection, nla.pic-an10268665). See 'Soho Squ.', in Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Cn.



Plate 13 Johann Christian Bach's house.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 14 The security alarm labelled 'Abel' located directly opposite Johann Christian Bach's house.

Source: Photo by the author.

The music presented at the Bach-Abel concert series ‘was doubtless of fine quality, yet ... the [high-society] audience was largely interested in itself and came to see and be seen ... In 1774 Bach deposited £3595 in the bank as the season’s gross revenue from the undertaking—not a bad intake in any century.’²⁶⁴

Not surprisingly, the use of a Zumpe square piano in the Bach-Abel subscription concerts would have brought the instrument to the attention of both potential and socially influential buyers.

Charles Burney remarks:

After the arrival of Johann Christian Bach in this country ... all the harpsichord makers tried their mechanical powers at piano-fortes; but their first attempts were always on the large size [that is, grand pianos], till Zumpé ... constructed small piano-fortes of the shape and size of the virginal, of which the tone was very sweet, and the touch, with a little use, equal to any degree of rapidity. These, from their low price, and the convenience of their form, as well as their power of expression, suddenly grew into such favour, that there was scarcely a house in the kingdom where a keyed instrument had ever had admission, but was supplied with one of Zumpé’s piano-fortes. In short, he could not make them fast enough to gratify the craving of the public.²⁶⁵

One infers from the opening of Burney’s statement that J. C. Bach’s preference was unequivocally in favour of the piano rather than the harpsichord.²⁶⁶ This is not surprising. Between 1750 and 1754, J. C. Bach studied music in Berlin under his half-brother Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–88). The extraordinary expressivity of Emanuel Bach’s musical style, and the sound of the grand piano by Gottfried Silbermann that C. P. E. Bach used to accompany the flute-playing Frederick the Great (1712–86) (within the context of the royal concerts at Sanssouci²⁶⁷—Frederick’s summer palace—and at the Berlin court), may have inspired J. C. Bach to support piano making in London.

[A]lthough [Charles] Burney gives no date for the first appearance of ... [Zumpe’s square pianos], the start of ... [the Bach-Abel concert series] in 1764 must have roughly coincided with the time the piano first came into fashion in London. This is not contradicted by the date of the four earliest surviving Zumpe square pianos, all made in 1766.²⁶⁸

264 Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 237.

265 Burney, ‘Harpsichord’.

266 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 48.

267 ‘These concerts are said to have taken place every night except Mondays and Fridays, the opera nights.’ Latham, ‘Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties’, p. 386.

268 *Ibid.*, pp. 361–2.

'Documentary evidence shows that both J. C. Bach and Charles Burney thought so highly of Zumpe's square pianos that they willingly acted as agents, recommending them to friends and acquaintances everywhere.'²⁶⁹

Gabriel Buntebart

It is likely that as harpsichord maker to Queen Charlotte, Gabriel Buntebart provided politically valuable connections between Zumpe and the palace. Buntebart may even have been involved with Zumpe's work from the very beginning in 1766. From 1768 onwards, the names of both Zumpe and Buntebart appear jointly on the nameboard of Zumpe's pianos,²⁷⁰ which are inscribed: *Johannes Zumpe et Buntebart Londini fecerunt*. Given the popularity of Zumpe's pianos, it is reasonable to assume the need for increased production was the catalyst for Zumpe's partnership with Buntebart.

Buntebart was J. C. Bach's close friend and business associate. Evidence of some of their financial transactions is preserved in Bach's bank accounts of the 1770s. ('An interesting feature of some surviving pianos by Buntebart is the presence of J.C. Bach's endorsement which appears as a faint but legible signature at the far edge of the soundboard.')

²⁷¹

After Zumpe and Buntebart amicably dissolved their business partnership on Friday, 25 September 1778, it was Buntebart who supplied a grand piano for Queen Charlotte.²⁷² If Charlotte Papendeik (the assistant keeper of Queen Charlotte's wardrobe) observed correctly, this 'superb instrument' may have been 'a little hard in the touch'.²⁷³ Doubtless, J. C. Bach was an essential link in the process associated with the Queen's acquisition of a grand piano by Buntebart.²⁷⁴

Frederick and Christian Schoene

Following the dissolution (by mutual consent) of Zumpe and Buntebart's business partnership in 1778,

Zumpe established a new workshop ... in a newly built house in Princes Street [off the northern side of Oxford Street] near Cavendish Square.²⁷⁵

269 M. Cole, 'John Zumpe including Gabriel Buntebart, Sievers, the Schoene Brothers, and Meinke Meyer', in *Square Pianos* (n.d.).

270 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 62.

271 M. Cole, 'Johannes Zumpe with Information on Gabriel Buntebart, Christopher Sievers, the Schoene Brothers, Meinke Meyer', in *Square Pianos* (n.d.) (Last revised July 2012).

272 'Expressly claimed in Buntebart's will.' Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 62, fn. 24.

273 Papendeik, *Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte*, Vol. 1, p. 279.

274 See *ibid.*, pp. 61–2.

275 See 'Princes Str.', in Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Bn. See also 'Princes Str.', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 27.

In 1782 he relinquished this address and the business to the brothers Frederick and Christian Schoene (born 1749 and 1747 respectively). They came from his home town Fürth: like him they had previously served an apprenticeship there. Presumably they paid Zumpe royalties because the inscription of their pianos reads *Schoene & Company/Successors to Johannes Zumpe etc.* The name Zumpe is purposely written much bolder than Schoene, sometimes leading to mistaken identifications. Buntebart meanwhile ... took a new partner, Christoph Julius Ludwig Sievers, from Hanover, who presumably brought new capital into the business.²⁷⁶

In the mid-1780s, the Schoene brothers made improvements to Zumpe's action by including

an intermediate lever between the hammer and the key. This had the effect of transforming the action from one in which the acceleration ratio between the hammer and the key increases as the key is depressed, to one in which it decreases ... this makes for much easier finger control. Moreover, this second lever also increased the damping factor of the action, reducing hammer rebound. This action ... was capable of rapid and reliable repetition and of a wider dynamic range; the overall performance of this action was not improved further until the advent of [Sébastien] Érard's double-escapement action in the 1820s.²⁷⁷

Zumpe's Pianos are an Inspiration

Zumpe's square pianos so captivated hearts and minds that professional and amateur musicians alike 'almost fell over each other in their intense desire to explore and exploit the piano's potential for both brilliance and subtlety of expression'.²⁷⁸

Because Zumpe's square pianos have a keyboard compass²⁷⁹

of almost five octaves²⁸⁰ ... they could be used for virtually any published music. Their clear articulation and charmingly novel tone made them ideal for the kind of ... sonatas ... as provided by J. C. Bach (and his brothers), Boccherini, [Baldassare] Galuppi [1706–85] and dozens of lesser masters. The soundboard is very small, but the success of their

276 Cole, 'John Zumpe'.

277 Clarke, 'The English Piano', p. 257.

278 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. xv.

279 See 'Compass', in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

280 An 'octave' is the sounding distance between two pitches, where the sound of the higher pitch is produced by vibrations that are double the frequency of the lower pitch; the sound of the lower pitch is produced by vibrations that are half the frequency of the higher pitch. See 'Octave', in *ibid.*

distinctive tone originated chiefly in very robust string tensions (greater than on any piano made before)²⁸¹ and the voicing of their tiny hammers by covering them with soft bookbinders' leather.²⁸²

The softness, elasticity and durability of leather depend on the type of tanning process.²⁸³ 'Deer, goat, sheep, and calf can make good covering material, though it seems that goat and deer are more likely to be found in English square pianos.'²⁸⁴ The leather found on a 1769 Zumpe is vegetable-tanned sheepskin—but beware, an eighteenth-century sheep bears no resemblance to today's animal, which has such a relatively massive coat that the skin structure is compromised. 'Vegetable tanning is the oldest [tanning] method, dating back to prehistory. It involves treating in tannic acid from plant/tree material',²⁸⁵ often using a combination of several tree species—'oak or spruce bark, chestnut wood, sumach leaves, and oakgall'²⁸⁶—for the best results. Vegetable-tanned leather is easily recognisable by its yellow or light-beige coloration.²⁸⁷ The tanning process 'is generally slow (6–12 weeks), [and] involves numerous manual bath changes and stirring, [resulting] ... in leather that will need to be physically worked and oiled to become flexible again'.²⁸⁸

Several eighteenth-century piano makers (for example, Adam Beyer and John Broadwood) used 'alum-tawed goat skin ... It is usually white, soft, and flexible, but when you pull it does not stretch ... However, another frequent choice by historic makers was thin vegetable-tanned calf. It is flexible, but ultimately it is not so durable.'²⁸⁹

The succulent treble of Zumpe's square pianos was especially suited to the prominent melodic lines and the expressive subtlety of music written in the fashionable '*galant*' style. Like most stylistic labels (perhaps even more than most), the term *galant* is a vague one.

In non-musical discourse of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, its signification varied with the user, covering such a broad range of meanings as to embrace virtually opposite attributes—brave, noble, chivalrous, courtly, lascivious, immoral. Often it was simply an

281 The geometry of the design of Zumpe's pianos results in a very short string scaling. By way of example, for c2, 'Zumpe, pushing the material to its limits, used ferrous wire on a 12-inch scaling'. Debenham and Cole, 'Pioneer Piano Makers in London'.

282 Cole, 'John Zumpe including Gabriel Buntebart'.

283 See 'Tanning', in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

284 'Vegetable Tanning', in T. Strange, 'Re-Leathering Your Square Piano Hammers and Action Parts', in *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos* (n.d.), p. 5.

285 Ibid.

286 L. Vass and M. Molnár, *Handmade Shoes for Men* (Potsdam: H. F. Ullmann, 2006), p. 93.

287 Ibid., p. 93.

288 'Vegetable Tanning', in Strange, 'Re-Leathering Your Square Piano Hammers and Action Parts'.

289 M. Cole, 'Some Thoughts on Adhesives', in *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and early 19th Century Square Pianos* (2009), p. 2.

approbatory adjective describing what was modish ... Although the application of *galant* to music was often wide ranging and imprecise, a general concept of *galant* composition emerged towards the middle of the eighteenth century: easily accessible, agreeable, flowing music, in which melody predominated [commonly comprising predictable, symmetrically balanced phrase lengths] and accompaniment played a subordinate role, or, negatively, music that avoided contrapuntal texture or other compositional complexity, and made no stringent demands on the intellect or emotions of the listener.²⁹⁰

In some instances, adjectives such as ‘urbane’, ‘elegant’, ‘pleasing’, ‘light’ and ‘charming’ were used to conceal judgment of the *galant* style as being superficial, facile and short-winded. Such a judgment is reflected, for example, in the opinions of the eighteenth-century English music theorist Sir John Hawkins (1731 – ca 1800), who, in his *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music* (published in 1770), states:

For reasons, which no one is willing to avow, *adagio* music is exploded, and we are content to forego [sic] the majesty and dignity of the *largo* and *andante* movements, with all the variety arising from the interchange of various airs and measures, for the noise and rattle of an unisonous *allegro*, to which no name can be given, or the intoxicating softness of that too-often iterated air, the minuet.²⁹¹

It is not surprising that, as a 69-year-old, Hawkins found it difficult to adapt to the aesthetic changes wrought by the emergence of the *galant* style; as with many innovative musical styles, *galant* was ‘at once proposition’ (that is, an experimental style, whose aesthetic, emotional and compositional limits were untested) ‘and resolution’ (that is, a style defined by specific aesthetic and compositional parameters).²⁹²

In London, the musical strengths of Zumpe’s pianos and the compositional characteristics of the *galant* style not only found themselves inextricably linked, but also inspired composers to produce some of the late eighteenth century’s most extraordinarily beautiful piano music.

Several decades after Zumpe’s invention, the square piano was still viewed in a more than favourable light. A dealer’s catalogue dated 1789 describes some

290 D. M. Berg, *The Correspondence of Christian Gottfried Krause: A Music Lover in the Age of Sensibility* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), pp. xvii–xviii.

291 Quoted in Hogwood, Liner notes for *Johann Christian Bach*, p. 2.

292 See R. Wagner, *Symbols that Stand for Themselves* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 11.

of the advantages of the square piano: 'Their tones are remarkably sweet and delicate, and their structure renders them agreeable for travelling with, as they may be conveyed and even performed upon in a coach.'²⁹³

A complex mixture of social and economic factors contributed to the square piano's popularity. During the late eighteenth century, trade was the foundation of the English economy. As a consequence, the 'professional' classes²⁹⁴ acquired more wealth and influence,²⁹⁵ many finding themselves both with the desire for and in a position to purchase a 'small piano-forte'; the status of 'gentlemen' was associated not only with wealth, but also with ownership of a piano.

Zumpe's Pianos in England and Abroad

The Professional Class: Piano music and hedonism

In 1709, the English author, journalist and pamphleteer Daniel Defoe (ca 1660–1731)²⁹⁶ described England's socioeconomic groups as

1. The great, who live profusely.
2. The rich, who live plentifully.
3. The middle sort, who live well.
4. The working trades, who labour hard, but feel no want.
5. The country people, farmers, &c, who fare indifferently.
6. The poor, that fare hard.
7. The miserable, that really pinch and suffer want.²⁹⁷

Defoe's 'middle sort' included both the lower end of 'the rich' and the upper end of 'the working trades'. 'Contemporary observers noted the apparent ease by which gentility could be acquired via ... prosperity, and thus how new blood from trade or the professions swelled the ranks of the "genteel".'²⁹⁸

A large number of the people in late eighteenth-century England who owned a piano and who bought and played piano music belonged to the 'middle sort'. This socioeconomic group is now commonly described as middle class; this is

293 *Music Trades Review*, 15 December 1890, p. 21, Col. 1.

294 See 'The Professional Class: Piano music and hedonism', below.

295 See L. Conway, *The Advent of the Zumpe Square Pianoforte* (n.d.), p. 12.

296 Defoe's fame derives from his novel *Robinson Crusoe*.

297 See J. Riding, *Mid-Georgian Britain 1740–69* (Oxford: Shire Living Histories, 2010), pp. 12–13.

298 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

not a term with which the middle sort would have been familiar. 'Such people probably did not consider themselves to be part of a monolithic ... [middle] class, but rather as part of a professional class.'²⁹⁹

The 'professional class' comprised those who did not hold hereditary noble titles, and who earned

a living by some (legal) activity other than manual labour ... [The professional class] was a highly diverse group, extending from very wealthy industrialists and commercial magnates and bankers, through the ranks of lawyers, physicians, and holders of middle-tier government posts, down to small shop keepers, minor officials, and school teachers.³⁰⁰

At the 'lower' end of this social spectrum, certain trades possessed an inherently higher status than others. For example, goldsmiths and watchmakers were considered to be more 'respectable' than shoemakers and butchers. Traditionally, apprentices were held in low esteem, regarded as 'members of a youth sub-culture prone to frivolous behaviour, irresponsibility, riot, and in the worst cases, criminality'.³⁰¹

As the professional class became increasingly affluent,

their demand for music in diverse forms increased and spread to an ever-widening fraction of the population. Hearing music performed professionally and having the means to perform it oneself were luxury goods, defined by economists as goods whose consumption rises more than proportionately with advances in real income.³⁰²

The expansion of the professional class presented significant opportunities for social mobility.

One was recognised as a gentleman through the acquisition of the proper clothing, manners, fashionable possessions and, most importantly, the ability to support oneself without manual labour.³⁰³

The piano became a status symbol, not only because elaborately inlaid instruments were expensive, but also because they provided the

299 D. de Val, 'The Ascent of Parnassus: Piano Music for the Home by Clementi and His Contemporaries', in R. Illiano, L. Sala and M. Sala (eds), *Muzio Clementi: Studies and Prospects* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2002), p. 52.

300 L. Plantinga, 'Music, Machines, and the Middle Class', in R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2010), p. 47.

301 R. Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840* (Hatfield, UK: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2002), p. 87.

302 Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes*, p. 33.

303 Loesser, *Men, Women, and Pianos*, p. 185.

opportunity for a gentleman's wife and/or daughters to acquire and display musical skill, which was considered a highly attractive genteel 'accomplishment'.³⁰⁴

Genteel families and those aspiring to higher ranks subscribed to the belief that among women an appearance of leisure, combined with moderate artistic accomplishments reflected directly on their families' prestige in society. Alongside needlework, drawing, and an understanding of foreign languages, the ability to sing and play the piano were considered highly desirable skills for nubile ladies who were expected to parlay their accomplishments into suitable matrimonial matches. Unsurprisingly, women were important consumers of keyboard music in the late eighteenth century, a considerable amount of which was written to meet what was seen as their tastes and needs.³⁰⁵

The presence in the home of a piano served not only to substantiate a gentleman's claims to consequence, but was also useful in revealing his innate moral character; the piano continued to function in this regard well into the early nineteenth century. For example, in Jane Austen's (1775–1817) novel, *Pride and Prejudice* (1813),³⁰⁶

Mr. Darcy's gift to his sister of a piano demonstrates his generosity and readiness to care for the women nearest to him. Tender recesses of Darcy's character are thus revealed, and by strong implication, his potential kindness as a husband. Simultaneously, Austen shows that a piano was regarded as an essential feature of gentility.³⁰⁷

Making music at the piano was often the primary source of entertainment in the home, and amateur musicians (often members of the professional class) sought both 'diversion and refuge in providing their own musical entertainments ... Images of elegant ladies, gentlemen, and children playing instruments permeate ... the arts of ... [the] period'.³⁰⁸

304 Conway, *The Advent of the Zumpe Square Pianoforte*, p. 12.

305 R.-M. Kok, 'Family and Gender in Imaginative Children's Music', in R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2010), p. 269.

306 J. Austen, *Pride and Prejudice: A Novel. In Three Volumes. By The Author of 'Sense and Sensibility'* (London: T. Egerton, 1813).

307 A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 85.

308 C. M. Wehking, *Music and the Pursuit of Happiness in the Eighteenth Century* (Minneapolis: University Gallery, University of Minnesota, 1983), p. 31.

‘The salon was the locus where music became a commodity which could be exchanged for social status.’³⁰⁹ In the salon, the aspirational, status-conscious professional class sought to emulate the tastes and materialistic ostentation of the wealthy aristocracy; the purchase and ownership of a piano enhanced this aim.

It appears that there was no limit to the obsessive materialism of the professional class. In *Essays on Practical Education*, the Anglo-Irish novelist Maria Edgeworth (1767–1849) wrote (in collaboration with her father)³¹⁰ of ‘the higher classes in life ... it is in vain that they intrench themselves, they are pursued by the intrusive vulgar. In a wealthy mercantile nation there is nothing which can be bought for money, that will not long continue to be an envied distinction.’³¹¹

In attempting to provide a reason for the ‘addictive consumption of the late 18th century’,³¹² Colin Campbell proposes that it was a ‘modern hedonism, an individual pleasure in luxury material goods’ within the context of ‘a newly legitimised commercial society’³¹³ that motivated the affluent, multi-layered ranks of the professional class to imitate the manners, ‘luxury tastes and conspicuous consumption of the wealthy elite’.³¹⁴

During the late eighteenth century, the enriched bourgeoisie’s hedonistically motivated hunger for belongings, as well as its insatiable appetite for style and fashion, radically changed patterns of consumption.³¹⁵ This ‘consumer revolution’ sometimes catalysed shrewd responses from craftsmen. The production and marketing strategies of Josiah Wedgwood (1730–95; ‘Potter to her Majesty’)³¹⁶ provide us with a particularly fine example. Wedgwood’s vision was to expand the market for his pottery by

not simply ... churning out cheap cups and plates for a mass market, but by replicating a luxury product for a wider clientele. He invented a classic design subliminally identified with aristocratic culture [‘Wedgwood cultivated a taste for classical forms and ornamentation in reaction to earlier rococo styles’],³¹⁷ only to develop the revolutionary technical processes and working methods needed to reproduce it in

309 Chanan, *Musica Practica*, p. 141.

310 The educational writer and engineer Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744–1817).

311 M. Edgeworth, *Essays on Practical Education; By Maria & R. L. Edgeworth. The Third Edition*, 2 vols (London: J. Johnson & Co., 1811), Vol. 2, p. 184.

312 McVeigh, ‘Industrial and Consumer Revolutions in Instrumental Music’, p. 6.

313 C. Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), cited in *ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

314 McVeigh, ‘Industrial and Consumer Revolutions in Instrumental Music’, p. 6.

315 See *ibid.*, p. 5.

316 P. Barfoot and J. Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce; Comprehending Lists of the Inhabitants of London, Westminster, and Borough of Southwark; And of all the Cities, Towns, and Principal Villages, in England and Wales; With the Mails, and Other Coaches, Stage-Waggons, Hoys, Packets, and Trading Vessels* (London: Printed for the Patentees, Sold by C. Stalker, 1790), p. 328.

317 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 170.

quantity for a bourgeois market. Yet Wedgwood still made sure to woo royalty and aristocratic patrons, retaining an image of luxury as he sold in large numbers. His success was nicely dependent upon retaining the prestige value of his products: if the brand became too widely diluted it would lose its exclusive cache, disdained by the aristocracy and thus no longer desirable to the emergent bourgeoisie either.³¹⁸

The production and sale of square pianos in late eighteenth-century London mirror Wedgwood's production and marketing strategies. Piano makers were quick to follow Wedgwood's 'concept of commercialising a luxury product ... simultaneously' making it relatively cheap and 'widely desirable'.³¹⁹ The square piano, in particular, represented a new and desirable type of luxury item. In its most unadorned, basic version, it was not specifically 'crafted for high society',³²⁰ and yet through ownership of a square piano, the 'modernity, politeness, respectability, and independence'³²¹ associated with the values of the aristocracy were instantly made available to members of the professional class.

Ownership of a square piano by an aspiring professional-class family was a visible symbol of respectability (which was 'the sharpest of all lines of social division'), and placed 'the piano ... at the centre of social change', identifying it as 'a potent symbol of social emulation'.³²² This is not to say that a square piano might not have been 'desired for its own sake rather than for any prestige which may' have been attached to it (after all, a square piano does yield its 'own immediate and obvious satisfactions').³²³ The professional class was 'both able and willing to purchase a product previously' identified with 'aristocratic consumption patterns'.³²⁴

Social standing, pretence or hedonism were not the only things that may have stimulated many in the professional class to purchase a piano; the notion that a true gentleman should express his emotions in a refined and/or artistically mediated way may also have had an influence. In the end, 'a variety of ... meanings, motives and intentions'³²⁵ goes towards explaining why the professional class regarded the square piano as an essential part of their material world.

318 McVeigh, 'Industrial and Consumer Revolutions in Instrumental Music', pp. 5–6.

319 Ibid., p. 9.

320 Ibid., p. 7.

321 Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, p. 15.

322 C. Ehrlich, *The Piano: A History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 10–17. Ehrlich takes the quotation from: G. Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851–1875* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), p. 260.

323 C. Campbell, 'Understanding Traditional and Modern Patterns of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century England: A Character-Action Approach', in J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 40.

324 Ibid., p. 40.

325 Ibid., p. 41.

The design of the square piano ensured that it could be made inexpensively and reproduced (handcrafted) easily. The late eighteenth-century ubiquitousness of the instrument suggests that the professional class placed ‘value on ... craftsmanship, on beauty, on being able to see and feel the hand of the artisan behind the [instrument]’.³²⁶ Their response was an emotional as well as an aesthetic one.

The professional class overwhelmingly ‘came to be thought of as a “public”—a group with growing economic clout, and one thought to hold certain collective ideas, wishes, and tastes’.³²⁷ At the end of the eighteenth century, this was a completely new notion. Some researchers ‘with a xenophile agenda have suggested that interest in pianos and piano music was superficial and reflected no genuine musicality on the part of the British’—for example, Hermann Muthesius (1861–1927), ‘that intense watcher of the British’, explained to his German audience³²⁸ that ‘the English are probably the most unmusical race in the world’).³²⁹ ‘They forget that people, however rich or poor, are not generally inclined to spend their money on something they don’t like or don’t understand, nor to raise their social standing by acquiring something unless it is highly valued and prized by society.’³³⁰

As the 1700s gave way to the new century, London piano makers did not restrict themselves to the home market. In relation to the sale and distribution of English pianos on the Continent, the trade embargo imposed on English goods during the Napoleonic wars amounted to nothing more (at least for entrepreneurial London piano makers) than a passing inconvenience. During the first decade of the nineteenth century, ‘the manufacture of British pianos represented not only a significant export but also a powerful symbol of national technological prowess and modernity’.³³¹

Zumpe’s ‘Small Piano-Forte’ Copied Abroad

By 1780, many instrument makers throughout Europe had copied Zumpe’s concept—for example: in Stockholm, Pehr Linholm (1742–1813) and Mathias Peter Kraft (1753–1807); in Amsterdam, Meinke Meyer (ca 1740–?); in Paris, Balthazar Péronard (fl. 1760–89) and Johann Kilian Mercken (1743–1819); in

326 M. Waller and D. Bradbury, *Fusion Interiors: The International Design of Andrew Martin* (New York: Watson-Guption Publications, 2000), p. 22.

327 Plantinga, ‘Music, Machines, and the Middle Class’, p. 48.

328 Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 6.

329 Hermann Muthesius, *The English House* (London: Crosby Lockwood Staples, 1979), p. 216. Quoted in Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 6.

330 N. Temperley, ‘Foreword’, in T. Ellsworth and S. Wollenberg (eds), *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture: Instruments, Performers and Repertoire* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), p. xvi. Temperley’s remark is germane to nineteenth and early twentieth-century Australia.

331 McVeigh, ‘Industrial and Consumer Revolutions in Instrumental Music’, p. 11.

Brussels, Henrique van Casteel (fl. ca late 1750s–70s); in Berne, Johann Ludwig Hellen (1716–81); in Madrid, Antonio Enríquez (fl. ca late 1770s); and in Seville, Juan del Mármol (1737–?). Given the current paucity of research into the dissemination of Zumpe's ideas on the Continent, it is possible that other such makers will be identified in the future.³³²

'The late eighteenth century 'English square piano', with its origins in Zumpe's square pianos, was the instrument that established the piano both as an item of trade and as a cultural artefact of central significance.'³³³

The Cost of Zumpe's Pianos

Charles Burney ascribes the success of Zumpe's square pianos, in part, to 'their low price'.³³⁴ Compared with harpsichords, Zumpe's square pianos were inexpensive; in the 1770s, at 16 guineas each,³³⁵ they were priced at the equivalent of approximately one-half to one-third of the cost of a single-manual harpsichord. Shudi, for example, 'charged between thirty-five and forty guineas for a single-manual instrument, fifty guineas for ... [a] single-manual [harpsichord] with an added "Venetian swell"³³⁶ device he invented, and eighty guineas for [a] double-manual harpsichord ... with the swell'.³³⁷

Reckoned in today's monetary values, the price of a Zumpe square piano was approximately £1070 (that is, approximately A\$1900).³³⁸ During the 1780s in London, 'a prosperous tradesman's family lived well on £350' (approximately £22 000, or A\$39 000). 'People with incomes of between ca. £50' (£3100, or approximately A\$5600) and £200 (£12 600, approximately A\$22 000) 'a year who could afford some of life's pleasures constituted about a quarter of the population'.³³⁹

During the mid-1780s, the usual cost of a square piano made in London ranged between 15 and 20 guineas³⁴⁰ (£990–1300, or approximately A\$1800–2400). This represents about one-fifteenth of an annual middle-class income. (Analogously,

332 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 36. See also Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, pp. 81–2, 84.

333 The University of Edinburgh, Russell Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments, St Cecilia's Hall, Niddrey Street, Edinburgh, EH1 1JL, catalogue no. P2-ZJ1768.35 (n.d.), p. 89.

334 Burney, 'Harpsichord'.

335 In late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England, piano prices 'were always quoted in the dignifying unit of guineas'. Ehrlich, *The Piano*, p. 39.

336 A 'Venetian swell' is a 'frame holding louvers (resembling those of Venetian blinds) that can be opened and closed by a pedal to control the volume of sound. It covers the soundboard [and strings] of many late-eighteenth century English harpsichords.' Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 342. 'It is rarely found on early pianos.' Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 403.

337 Leppert, 'Music, Domestic Life and Cultural Chauvinism', p. 82, fn. 27.

338 Currency conversion using The National Archives; Universal Currency Converter.

339 Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 146.

340 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, pp. 62–3, 77, 91, 100, 354.

this is the current equivalent in Australia of the cost of a reasonable-quality home entertainment system. Unlike contemporary home entertainment systems, however, the making of piano-based chamber music encourages both community and communication.) At the same time,

6d would buy enough meat and drink for a journeyman's dinner [a journeyman cabinet-maker earned between 15s and £1 a week], 1lb of candles cost 2s 10d, a ticket for the *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital³⁴¹ was 10s 6d and a set of false teeth with gold springs at £73 10s cost more than a [good single-manual] harpsichord; little wonder that many got dead drunk on gin for 2d.³⁴²

The Popularity of the 'English' Piano in Paris

During the late eighteenth century, the only city that rivalled London in importance and influence was Paris.³⁴³ Only a handful of years after the invention of the 'English' (that is, Zumpe-style) piano, the instrument (and the music it inspired) had spread to the French capital. By 1770, J. C. Bach had arranged for at least one piano to be shipped to Paris (whether this instrument was a square piano made by Zumpe is not known).

On Wednesday, 20 June 1770, Charles Burney, whilst in Paris, encountered the pianist Madame Anne Louise Brillon de Jouy.³⁴⁴ Burney reports:

There was a good deal of company at dinner which was excellent and *bien servi*. After coffee we went into the music room where I found an English pianoforte [that is, a Zumpe-style square piano]³⁴⁵ which Mr. [J. C.] Bach had sent her. She played a great deal and I found she had not acquired her reputation in music without meriting it.³⁴⁶

During the Ancien Régime,³⁴⁷ playing the harpsichord and the fortepiano was a favoured pursuit for French aristocratic women.³⁴⁸

341 See *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Map section: northernmost extent Lambs Conduit Fields and southernmost extent Lambeth.

342 Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 146.

343 See Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 133.

344 See 'Mutations', above.

345 The Zumpe-style square piano was widely called 'the English piano forte'. See Debenham and Cole, 'Pioneer Piano Makers in London'.

346 Burney, *Music, Men & Manners in France & Italy 1770*, pp. 19–20.

347 'While literally meaning the "old" or "former" regime, and properly describing the aristocratic and political system of rule established from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, the term *ancien régime* has become synonymous with the years immediately preceding the French Revolution.' E. Cross, 'The Ancien Régime', in *Napoleon: Revolution to Empire* (Melbourne: The Council of Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria, 2012), p. 49.

348 See J. A. Sadie, 'Musiciennes of the Ancien Régime', in J. Bowers and J. Tick (eds), *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), p. 200.

Madame Brillon was 'rather pretty ... charming ... polite, easy ... naturally cheerful',³⁴⁹ and often played host to musical luminaries. Her musical abilities were greatly respected by, for example, J. C. Bach, Luigi Boccherini, Johann Schobert, Ernst Eichner (1740–77) and Henri-Joseph Rigel (1741–99). Madame Brillon also enjoyed the company of the political and social elite. Benjamin Franklin, for example, became a close friend.

In the year following the Declaration of Independence, Benjamin Franklin went to Paris to represent American interests. He stayed there throughout the Revolutionary War, returning after eight years in 1785. Franklin—now a widower in his seventies—did not let politics stand in the way of earthly pleasures. He spent a good deal of time socializing with the women of France to whom he was unceasingly attracted. Franklin was a lover of music, and he was able to combine his interest in women, chess, and music in twice-weekly gatherings at the home of ... Madame Brillon de Jouy. Madame Brillon was the thirty-three-year-old wife of a wealthy civil servant. At first Franklin's attention to Madame Brillon was rather more than platonic—and her habit of sitting in his lap in the presence of others stimulated at least rumours. But before long, they adopted a father–daughter relationship, and she referred to him affectionately in her voluminous correspondence as 'mon cher Papa'.³⁵⁰

The date of Burney's visit to Madame Brillon (20 June 1770) indicates that she was among the first Parisians to own a piano. Her connection with J. C. Bach, and the fact that Burney describes Madame Brillon's piano as 'English'³⁵¹—that is, a Zumpe-style square piano—allow for conjecture that the instrument may have been made by Zumpe.

Charles Burney mentions that Zumpe had been in Paris in 1770.³⁵² Unfortunately, the exact date of Zumpe's visit to the French capital is unknown, as are details concerning his activities whilst there. Charles Burney's encounter with Madame Brillon and her 'English pianoforte'³⁵³ took place on 20 June 1770. If Zumpe made Madame Brillon's square piano, perhaps he personally delivered the instrument to her during the first six months of 1770. Had this been so, however, the evening's conversation would surely have revealed that Madame Brillon's square piano was relatively new, and that the piano's maker (by 1770, Zumpe was a famous man) had travelled from London to deliver the instrument; Burney remains silent in relation to these matters. It is also possible that Madame

349 Burney, *Music, Men & Manners in France & Italy 1770*, p. 19.

350 B. Gustafson, 'The Music of Madame Brillon: A Unified Manuscript Collection from Benjamin Franklin's Circle', in *Notes* (Middleton, Wis.: Music Library Association, 1987), Second Series, Vol. 43, No. 3 (March), p. 522.

351 Burney, *Music, Men & Manners in France & Italy 1770*, p. 19.

352 See *ibid.*, p. 27.

353 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Brillon's English pianoforte³⁵⁴ was an instrument made by Frederick Beck, Adam Beyer (fl. 1768–1801), Christopher Ganer (fl. 1774–1809), Johannes Pohlmann or the brothers Frederick and Christian Schoene.

Un Inventaire sous La Terreur

Thanks to the meticulous record-keeping of the French revolutionaries, the popularity of the English square piano in France during the 1770s and 1780s is exposed. During the Reign of Terror (Thursday, 5 September 1793 – Monday, 28 July 1794), an *Inventaire*³⁵⁵ of 'confiscated ancient and foreign instruments which were *'les plus rares, par leur perfection'* [the most rare, because of their perfection] was made by the eleventh sub-commission of a '*Commission temporaire des arts*'.³⁵⁶

The Commission temporaire des arts (Temporary Commission of Arts) was established to protect the objects confiscated from the French aristocracy and bourgeoisie from vandalism. The Commission included two musicians: 1) violinist (at the Comédie Italienne, one of the three principal theatres of Paris) and composer Antonio Bartolomeo Bruni (1757–1821); and 2) Bernard de Sarette (1765–1858), the first director of the Institut National de Musique—subsequently the Conservatoire National de Musique).

On Saturday, 3 May 1794 (12 weeks and two days before the Reign of Terror came to an end), the Commission temporaire des arts decreed that authorisation had been given for 'the professors of the Institut National de Musique to betake themselves, together with the commissioners, into the houses of the emigrated and the condemned, there to choose the best musical instruments for the use of the Institute'.³⁵⁷ The instruments were to be brought to a specially designated depot.

354 Ibid., p. 19.

355 A. B. Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur: État des Instruments de Musique Relevé chez les Émigrés et Condamnés Par A. Bruni. L'un des Délégués de la Convention* [An Inventory of the Terror: State Record of Musical Instruments owned by Emigrants and the Condemned By A. Bruni. One of the Delegates of the Convention], edited by J. Gallay, facsimile edn (Geneva: Minkoff, 1984) [originally published Paris: Georges Chamerot, 1890]. 'A more complete list of the confiscated instruments (including 25 not listed in J. F. Gallay)' can be found in J.-B. Weckerlin, 'Etat des instruments de musique enlevés du dépôt nationale, Rue Bergère, pour être transférés au Conservatoire, établi aux Menus, ainsi que ceux qui ont été delivres ailleurs par ordre du Comité d'instruction publique et du ministère (1795)' [State Listed Musical Instruments Stored in the National Warehouse, Bergère Street, to be Transferred to the Conservatorium, as well as Those to be Delivered Elsewhere by Order of the Committee of Public Instruction and the Ministry (1795)], in *Nouveau Musiciana* [New Musiciana] (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1890), pp. 145–69. M. Latcham, 'In the Shadow of the Enlightenment; Stringed Keyboard Instruments in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* and its Derivatives', in *Musique, Images, Instruments: Revue française d'organologie et iconographie musicale 11: Le pianoforte en France 1780–1820* [French Magazine of Organology and Musical Iconography 11: Pianoforte in France 1780–1820] (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2010), p. 9, fn. 18.

356 Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 211.

357 Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 322.

Antonio Bruni supervised the seizure of instruments, a process that began on 3 May 1794, and concluded more than 15 months later, on Tuesday, 18 August 1795. Bruni and de Sarette 'visited 111 houses and mansions of the emigrated and the condemned, removing 367 items'.³⁵⁸

Although there were 33 houses that owned one or more pianos and no harpsichords or spinets, there were 31 other houses that owned one or more harpsichords but no pianos. Nevertheless, most of the dated harpsichords are earlier than the dated pianos and none of the seventeen houses with both harpsichords and pianos appears to have acquired a harpsichord after purchasing a piano, assuming the harpsichords were all acquired when new. Except for one, those houses that certainly or probably owned grand pianos had no other keyboard instrument.³⁵⁹

Confiscated keyboard instruments provided the fledgling Institut National de Musique with an instrument collection,³⁶⁰ a public 'Cabinet of instruments'³⁶¹ that 'served as models because of their working principles'.³⁶² Although instruments were stored in preparation for the establishment of a museum collection, little action was taken in relation to the matter 'until 1861, when Louis Clappisson was finally put in place as curator'.³⁶³ (During the cold winters of the early 1800s, some of the confiscated instruments were used as firewood. During the winter of 1816, 20 harpsichords met their fate in this way.)³⁶⁴ Thankfully, not all seized instruments found their way into the collection of the Institut National de Musique. Some of the confiscated instruments were returned to the families of their guillotined owners³⁶⁵—however, not all. Certain 'high executives' of the Directoire exécutif or Directory ('a body of five directors that held executive power in France from 26 October 1795 until 10 November 1799, following the end of the Reign of Terror'),³⁶⁶ 'as well as other highly placed officials seem to have taken' the declaration of the instruments as 'property of the nation'

quite personally ... One of the Directors ... Jean-François Rewbell [1747–1807] ... had a Taskin harpsichord and a Schoene piano, quite

358 Ibid., p. 324.

359 Latcham, 'In the Shadow of the Enlightenment', p. 10.

360 Some of the instruments in this collection 'form the basis of the collection of the ... Conservatoire in Paris, now in the Cité de la Musique'. Latcham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', p. 391, fn. 55.

361 Quotation taken from the confiscated instrument *Inventaire* in F. Gétéreau, 'The Conservation of Acoustical Specifications: A Long Ignorance in Public Collections of Ancient Instruments', in *Proceedings of the 17th International Congress on Acoustics* (Rome, 2001).

362 Quotation taken from the confiscated instrument *Inventaire*, XXXI, in A. G. Hess, 'The Transition from Harpsichord to Piano', in *The Galpin Society Journal* (London: The Galpin Society, 1953), Vol. 6 (July), p. 83.

363 Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, p. 402.

364 See 'France Paris Musée de la Musique', E. L. Kottick and G. Lucktenberg (eds), *Early Keyboard Instruments in European Museums* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), p. 51.

365 See Latcham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', p. 391, fn. 55.

366 M. Martin, 'The Directory, 1795–99', in *Napoleon: Revolution to Empire* (Melbourne: The Council of Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria, 2012), p. 79.

impartially, sent home for the use of his wife. Lazare Carnot [1753–1823], another exalted Director, must have been quite a music lover, for he helped himself to three pianos. The high-talking political moralist [Louis-Marie] Larevellière-Lepeaux [1753–1824], another of the nation's chief executives, took four instruments. [Pierre] Benezech [1775–1802], Minister of the Interior, inspired by the example of his superiors, also took a grab from the bag, but contented himself with a single organ—as did citizen [Charles] Cochon [de Lapparent, 1750–1825], a mere modest Minister of Police. However, citizen Angibault, Comptroller of Buildings, seems to have been quite drunk with musical enthusiasm, for he pilfered no fewer than seven instruments, some of them amongst the most valuable ... It appears that ... when the Conservatoire ... [formed its] museum, not one of the enthusiastically 'socialized' instruments was at hand for inclusion.³⁶⁷

Of the seized keyboard instruments, 62 were harpsichords and 71 were pianos.³⁶⁸ Amongst the instruments catalogued as a *clavecin* (harpsichord), one made in 1769 (24 years before the start of the Reign of Terror) by Jean-Henri Silbermann (1727–99) may have been one of Silbermann's *Hammerflügel* (grand pianos):³⁶⁹

92.—*Un clavecin en bois de noyer, par Jean Henri Silbermann, année 1769, à Strasbourg.*

[A harpsichord of walnut wood, by Jean Henri Silbermann, year 1769, from Strasbourg.]³⁷⁰

(Confiscated from Laurent Planelli de Mascransy de la Valette, Baron de Maubec.)

'The surviving pianos by Silbermann ... all have plain walnut cases while numerous French harpsichords of the second half of the eighteenth century are painted and further decorated with gold bands.'³⁷¹ That the confiscated 1769 instrument is described as a *clavecin* is confusing. 'Perhaps Silbermann's *Hammerflügel* and other [instruments] like them were not ... considered as pianos but as expressive harpsichords.'³⁷²

367 Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 326.

368 See Latcham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', p. 369.

369 See Latcham, 'In the Shadow of the Enlightenment', p. 9.

370 'XXII Inventaire du 16 Messidor l'an IIe', in Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur*.

371 Latcham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', p. 369.

372 *Ibid.*, p. 368.

Some of the other seized *clavecins* may also have been grand pianos.³⁷³ One of the named harpsichords of the confiscated 62 is listed as an undated *clavecin* by Louis Dulcken (1733 – after 1793). ‘Another, a *clavecin anglais* by John Broadwood, dated 1789, was almost certainly one of his grand pianos.’³⁷⁴

Of the 22 seized French-made pianos, 13 were by Sébastien Érard or by the ‘*Érard frères*’ (Érard brothers);³⁷⁵ ‘this is over half again as many as all other French makes put together’.³⁷⁶

Of the 71 pianos seized from the aristocracy, 68 were square pianos: 34 were made in London;³⁷⁷ 22 were by Parisian makers; one was ‘*Un forte-piano allemand par Henrion*’, a German-style square piano by Henri Henrion (fl. ca 1780);³⁷⁸ and the remaining 11 square pianos were the work of unidentified makers.³⁷⁹

Dated square pianos ... were made between 1769 and 1791. [With the exception of two instruments] ... twelve of the dated *forte-pianos* made between 1769 to 1782 were English. Of those made between 1783 and 1791, sixteen were English and eighteen were French. Apparently, until about 1782, the Parisians preferred ... [imported square pianos] from London rather than equivalents made in Paris.³⁸⁰

The *Inventaire* lists instruments made by Frederick Beck (five pianos),³⁸¹ Adam Beyer (two combination piano-organs),³⁸² Christopher Ganer (one piano),³⁸³ Johannes Pohlmann (four pianos)³⁸⁴ and Zumpe’s successors, the brothers Frederick and Christian Schoene (nine pianos).³⁸⁵ Bruni’s *Inventaire* attests not only to the popularity in Paris of instruments by these London-based makers, but also to the popularity in Paris of English pianos.

Listed amongst the confiscated pianos are seven instruments made by Zumpe: six pianos and an ‘organized piano’ (*claviorganum*)—that is, a square piano mounted on, and incorporated with, an organ.³⁸⁶ An organized piano may sound as a piano, an organ or as a simultaneous combination of both. With

373 See Latcham, ‘In the Shadow of the Enlightenment’, p. 9.

374 Latcham, ‘Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties’, p. 369.

375 See *ibid.*, p. 370.

376 Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 324.

377 See Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur*. See also Hess, ‘The Transition from Harpsichord to Piano’, Charts IV and V, pp. 83–90; and Latcham, ‘In the Shadow of the Enlightenment’, p. 10.

378 Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur*, entry no. 1, p. 1.

379 See Latcham, ‘In the Shadow of the Enlightenment’, p. 10.

380 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

381 See ‘Frederick Beck and Christopher Fuhrloh’, in Chapter 2, this volume.

382 See ‘iv) Adam Beyer (fl. 1768–1801)’, in Appendix E, Volume 2 of this publication.

383 See ‘xii) Christopher Ganer’, in *ibid.*

384 See ‘xxiii) Johannes Pohlmann (fl. 1767–93)’, in *ibid.*

385 See ‘xxvi) Frederick and Christian Schoene (fl. 1780s)’, in *ibid.*

386 See Latcham, ‘Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties’, p. 370.

Zumpe's organized piano, the piano and the organ were combined using a single keyboard.³⁸⁷ 'A special feature of all such combination instruments is that by modifying the touch (hard, accentuated touch or soft, legato style of playing) either the sound of the piano or that of the organ can be emphasised.'³⁸⁸

There is a paucity of surviving repertoire written specifically for the organized piano. Two works are particularly impressive.

1. Dmytro Stepanovic Bortniansky's (1751–1825) *Sinfonia concertante*, composed in 1790 (Bortniansky worked at the imperial court in St Petersburg). In addition to a '*fortepiano organisé*', the work is scored for two violins, harp, viola da gamba, bassoon and violoncello.
2. Domenico Cimarosa's (1749–1801) *Sextet in F major*. In addition to a '*pianoforte organizzato*', the work is scored for a colourful mixture of instruments: violin, harp, viola da gamba, bassoon and violoncello.³⁸⁹

There are no extant solo pieces for the organized piano; this sad state of affairs may be explained by the fact that every piano piece from the period not exceeding the commonly encountered keyboard compass (FF–f3) could also be played on an organized piano.³⁹⁰

The *Inventaire* contains the following seven entries in relation to instruments made by Zumpe:

19.—*Un forte-piano de Johannes Zumpe, Londini, année 1787.*

[A piano by Johannes Zumpe, London, year 1787.]³⁹¹

(Confiscated from Joseph-Bernard de Chabert, Marquis de Gogolin.)

35.—*Un forte-piano anglais, de Johannes Zumpe, année 1774.*

[An english piano, by Johannes Zumpe, year 1774.]³⁹²

(Confiscated from Charles-René-Félix de Vintimille, Marquis de Luc.)

73.—*Un forte-piano organisé, par Johannes Zumpe: Londini fecit, année 1771.*

[A *claviorganum*, by Johannes Zumpe: made in London, year 1771.]³⁹³

(Confiscated from Count Pierre-Gaspard-Marie Grimod d'Orsay.)

387 See *ibid.*, p. 370. During the eighteenth century, the *claviorganum* seems to have enjoyed a particular popularity in England.

388 'The *Claviorganum*', in R. Hopfner, Liner notes for *Claviorganum* (Acanthus International Records, 2004), CD: 20 004, pp. 10–11.

389 See J. E. Johnson, 'Cimarosa, Domenico', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 4, p. 402.

390 See 'The Music', in Hopfner, Liner notes for *Claviorganum*, p. 12.

391 'III *Inventaire du 22 Floréal l'an IIe, rue du Grand-Chantier, 9*', in Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur*.

392 'VII *Inventaire du 12 Floréal l'an IIe, rue du Bacq, 559*', in *ibid.*

393 'XVI *Inventaire du 6 Messidor l'an IIe, rue de Varenne*', in *ibid.*

138.—*Un piano anglais de Johannes Zumpe, en 1769.*

[An English piano by Johannes Zumpe, of 1769.]³⁹⁴

(Confiscated from Louis-Georges Gougenot.)

293.—*Un forte-piano de Zumpe, 1783, estimé 1 500 francs.*

[A piano by Zumpe, 1783, estimated 1500 francs.]³⁹⁵

(Confiscated from Mathieu-Paul-Louis Montmorency, Viscount de Laval.)

307.—*Un forte-piano de Zumpe, 1784.*

[A piano by Zumpe, 1784.]³⁹⁶

(Confiscated from Charles-Étienne Pierre Maignart, Marquis de la Vaupalière.)

309.—*Un petit piano de Zumpe.*

[A small piano by Zumpe.]³⁹⁷

(Confiscated from Charles-Étienne Pierre Maignart, Marquis de la Vaupalière.)

In late eighteenth-century Paris, the term 'English piano'—that is, an English square piano—was commonly regarded as being synonymous with the term 'piano'. During the 1770s, Zumpe's square pianos were especially sought after, so much so that cost was no impediment to ownership. For example, Burney, whilst acting as an agent for Zumpe, opportunistically quoted an inflated price to the philosopher, art critic and writer Denis Diderot (1713–84) of 28 guineas³⁹⁸ (in London during the 1770s, a Zumpe square piano cost only about 16 guineas).³⁹⁹ That Zumpe had a fine reputation in Paris is further revealed by implication in the following listing taken from the *Inventaire*:

141.—*Un forte-piano anglais de Schoene, successor de Johannes Zumpe, Londini fecerunt, estimé 800 francs.*

[An English piano by Schoene, successor to Johannes Zumpe, made in London, estimated 800 francs.]⁴⁰⁰

(Confiscated from Lord François-Thomas Kerry.)

394 'XLV *Inventaire du 6 Thermidor l'an IIe*', in *ibid*.

395 'XCII *Inventaire du 29 Germinal l'an IIIe, rue du Montparnasse*', in *ibid*.

396 'XCV *Inventaire du 12 Floréal l'an IIIe, faubourg Honoré*', in *ibid*.

397 'XCV *Inventaire du 12 Floréal l'an IIIe, faubourg Honoré*', in *ibid*.

398 See D. Diderot, *Correspondence*, edited by G. Roth and J. Varloot, 16 vols (Paris: Minuit, 1955–70), Vol. 11, pp. 197, 213. Reckoned in today's monetary values, this was approximately £1800 (approximately A\$3300). Currency conversion using The National Archives; Universal Currency Converter.

399 Diderot wrote to Charles Burney inquiring 'about the purchase of a suitable piano for his daughter'. Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 62. See A. Ribeiro (ed.), *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney. Volume 1: 1751–1784* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 98, fn.

400 'XL *Inventaire du 26 Vendémiaire l'an IIIe*', in Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur*.

The square piano by Schoene is deemed to be of quality because of Schoene's association with Zumpe ('successor to Johannes Zumpe').

By the 1780s, English pianos became so fashionable that 'a Parisian of the 18th Century' advertised 'that he would swap a Stradivarius [or Amati] violin for a ... piano'.⁴⁰¹ The advertisement is dated Sunday, 25 August 1782, and appears in the semiweekly gazette *Affiches, annonces et avis divers* [*Various Posters, Advertisements and Opinions*]:⁴⁰²

Très bon forte-piano à vendre ou troquer contre un violon de Stradivarius, d'Amati ... 25 août, 1782.

[A very good forte-piano through purchase, or in exchange for a violin by Stradivarius, or Amati ... 25 August, 1782.]⁴⁰³

The offer of exchanging a Stradivarius or Amati violin for a 'very good forte-piano' does not stipulate that the piano should be an English piano or one made by Zumpe. Readers of the advertisement, however, would have understood that the offer was made by a person who wished to acquire an English square piano. Because the musical quality of square pianos made in London was rarely poor, the advertisement's 'very good' may refer to the excellence and beauty of the instrument's casework.

Two years prior to this advertisement, in 1780, a combination piano-organ by 'Zumpe' is advertised for sale in the *Affiches, annonces et avis divers*:

Forte-piano de Zumpe, organisé d'un flute, hautbois, galoubet, basse et bassoon. Prix 48 louis, 23 decembre.

[Piano by Zumpe, organised with a flute, oboe, galoubet, bass and bassoon. Price 48 louis, December 23.]⁴⁰⁴

[That is: a claviorganum with stopped wooden pipes, open pipes with reeds, open tin pipes, stopped wooden pipes and open pipes with reeds.]

In 1788, again in the *Affiches, annonces et avis divers*, a square piano by Zumpe is advertised for sale: '*Piano de Zumpe, 22 louis, 16 novembre.*'⁴⁰⁵

In both of these instances there is no connection with the advertisement dated 25 August 1782, in which an exchange with a Stradivarius or Amati is offered. The mention of Zumpe's name in all of these advertisements suggests, unsurprisingly, that he enjoyed a credible and international reputation.

401 Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 228.

402 *Affiches, annonces et avis divers*, 25 August 1782 (Paris: Jacques Guérin, rue de Foin, avec privilege du Roy, 1782).

403 Quoted in E. de Bricqueville, *Les vents d'instruments de musique au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1908), p. 18.

404 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

405 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

During the early 1770s in France, discussion took place within public forums concerning the viability of the English square piano as an alternative to the harpsichord. For example, the periodical *L'Avant-coureur* (*The Forerunner*),⁴⁰⁶ dated Monday, 25 February 1771, contains an advertisement concerning the publication of a song (an '*arietta*') composed by Antoine Albanèse (1729–1800).⁴⁰⁷ Albanèse was an Italian castrato, who had been a member of the Chapelle Royale. Between 1752 and 1762, he often performed as a soloist in the *Concert Spirituel* (a series of elite concerts that was presented in a room provided by Louis XV, located in the central pavilion of the Palais des Tuileries).

Albanèse's *ariette* is dedicated to the Comte Louis d'Affry (1713–93), a French general and ambassador to the Dutch, and is entitled 'The Arrival of the Pianoforte'. The advertisement in *L'Avant-coureur* reveals that in order to purchase Albanèse's song, the buyer was required to part with 3 livres, 12 sous.

The text of Albanèse's *ariette* passionately declaims:

*Oui, cher ami, tu me viens d'Angleterre,
Hélas, comment lui peut-on déclarer la guerre ...
Il est donc vrai qu'enfin je te possède,
Mon cher ami, mon pianoforte.
Au plaisir de te voir tout autre cede.
Ah, que tu vas être fêté!
Ah, comme tu seras goûté!*

[Yes, dear friend, from England do you come,
Alas, how can I declare war upon you ...
It is true that finally I will have you,
My dear friend, my pianoforte.
All other pleasures diminish at the joy of seeing you.
Ah, how you will be celebrated!
Ah, how you will be savoured!]⁴⁰⁸

406 *L'Avant-coureur. Feuille Hebdomadaire, Où sont annoncés les objets particuliers des Sciences & des Arts, le cours & les nouveautés des Spectacles, & les Livres nouveaux en tout genre*, Monday, 25 February 1771 (Paris: M. Lambert, 1760–73).

407 Cited in Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 316.

408 French text quoted in *ibid.*, p. 316.

Even as early as Monday, 2 April 1770, the *L'Avant-coureur* reported that a performance had taken place on a piano made by 'M. de Virbès';⁴⁰⁹ the description of the piano suggests it was a square piano inspired by Zumpe's instruments—made 'in the shape of those from England'.⁴¹⁰

Not all late eighteenth-century French music lovers were in favour of the piano. The writer, philosopher and historian François-Marie Arouet (pen name Voltaire, 1694–1778), for example, 'declared in 1774 that the piano was a mere "kettle-maker's instrument in comparison with the harpsichord"'.⁴¹¹ The reactionary Canon and organist of Nevers Cathedral "Trouflant was "alarmed" at the piano's 'internal complexity adding: *Si les dessus en sont charmans, les basses dures, sourdes & fausses, semblent donner la consommation à nos orielles françoises* [If the treble is charming, the bass, hard, muffled and false, seems consumptive to our French ears]'.⁴¹²

In 1785, when Nicolas-Joseph Hüllmandel (1756–1823) wrote about the harpsichord in the *Encyclopédie méthodique*,⁴¹³ he remarked that the characteristic 'grace and lightness' of harpsichord music were the consequence of 'the different styles' of certain composers. Hüllmandel's list of the composers who had 'wrought this revolution almost simultaneously' comprises: Domenico Alberti (ca 1710–40), Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757), Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764), Johann Gottfried Mützel (1728–88), Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1715–77) and Johann Schobert.⁴¹⁴

The fresh breath of a new style was in the air after the 1760s, one in which crescendo and diminuendo were part and parcel of expressive design. Players, and hence builders, were ... interested in contemporary music ... and the ... French harpsichord was an excellent instrument on which that music could be expressed.⁴¹⁵

The inclusion of the *peau de buffle* (soft quills of buffalo leather) and the machine stop with *genouillères* (knee-levers to change registration) into the French harpsichord enabled musicians to play the music they wanted to hear.

409 D. Rowland, 'The Piano to c.1770', in D. Rowland (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Piano* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 20. According to Eugène de Bricqueville (*Les Ventes d'Instruments de Musique au XVIIIe Siècle*, p. 18), Virbès was organist at the church of St-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris. He had a workshop at rue de Belles-Etuves.

410 Ibid., p. 20.

411 Isacoff, *A Natural History of the Piano*, p. 25.

412 Quoted in Carew, *The Mechanical Muse*, p. 17.

413 *Encyclopédie méthodique* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1782–91).

414 Ibid. 'Clavecin', in F. Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), Appendix A, p. 260.

415 Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, pp. 248, 280, 282.

In fact, despite the change in musical style and the piano's built-in ability to make ... dynamic nuances with fingers alone, it took hammer-action instruments much longer to achieve popularity in France than they did in England and Germany. The French believed that they had brought the harpsichord to perfection and did not easily give it up.⁴¹⁶

Despite an enduring French confidence in harpsichords, the *Encyclopédie méthodique* reveals that by the last two decades of the eighteenth century, the English square piano had become the instrument of choice for many French composers:

Le forté-piano est agréable à entendre, sur-tout dans des morceaux d'une harmonie pathétique, & lorsqu'il est ménagé avec goût: par un habile musicien; mais outre les reproches qui lui sont faits par plusieurs maîtres, entr'autres, par M. Trouflant, organiste de Nevers, on l'accuse d'être pénible à jouer, à cause de la pesanteur du marteau qui fatigue les doigts, & qui même peut rendre la main lourde avec le temps. Cependant, l'on voit la plupart des maîtres s'attacher de préférence à cet instrument pour leurs compositions de musique, parce qu'il leur donne des effets plus marqués que le clavecin.

[The forte-piano is agreeable to hear, especially in pieces that are filled with sad harmonies, and when the instrument is played with taste by a skilled musician. Adding to the disparaging remarks made by several master musicians, Mr Trouflant, organist of Nevers, regards the instrument as being painful to play because of the weight of the hammers, which fatigue the fingers and may make the player's touch insensitive over time. However, it should be noted that most composers prefer this instrument, because it gives them more pronounced effects than the harpsichord.]⁴¹⁷

The following passage is representative of criticisms levelled at the harpsichord throughout the eighteenth century (the late eighteenth-century appearance in Paris of the English square piano certainly did nothing to alter negative opinion):

Le prix exorbitant que coûte un bon clavessin, la difficulté de son transport, la place qu'il occupe, la dépense de son entretien, le mystère de son accord ou partition, dont le tempérament ... n'est fondé que sur une longue expérience ... & l'impossibilité d'enfler & de diminuer les sons, rebutent aujourd'hui les Dames de bon goût qui préfèrent la Vielle dans laquelle elles ne trouvent aucun de ces défauts.

416 Ibid.

417 Quoted in Latcham, 'In the Shadow of the Enlightenment', p. 45.

[The exorbitant price of a good harpsichord, the difficulty of transporting it, the space that it occupies, the expense of its upkeep, the mystery of its tuning, of which the ... temperament is founded only on long experience ... and the impossibility of increasing and diminishing the sound, repel Women of good taste who prefer the Hurdy-gurdy in which they find none of these defects.]⁴¹⁸

By 1791, Nicolas-Joseph Hüllmandel was unquestionably preaching to the converted when he wrote:

The harpsichord lacks nuances ... An instrument in which evenness and purity of sound and all the desired degrees of strength and gentleness speak to the heart without hurting the ear, fulfils the aim of music to a much greater degree ... [Now various composers,] by giving to their music graduated nuances, contrasts, and a melody suited to the tone and resources of the piano, have prepared or determined the downfall of the harpsichord.⁴¹⁹

The results of

a careful analysis of the availability of pianos [during the late eighteenth century in France], their mention on the title pages of published music, and the use of dynamic markings ... [in late eighteenth-century French keyboard music] strongly ... [suggest that the era of the French Revolution approximately] represents the close of the harpsichord era in France. It's not that composers *wrote* exclusively for the piano after ... [the late 1780s and 1790s] but that they no longer called specifically for the harpsichord.⁴²⁰

The First Pianos in America

David Propert advertised in the New York *Mercury* to sell a piano, but nothing is known about the instrument. 'Propert also gave America's first known public performance on a piano.'⁴²¹ On Thursday, 7 March 1771, a notice in the *Massachusetts Gazette*⁴²² advertised a concert in Boston in which a piano was used.⁴²³ Unfortunately, Propert's program is lost. 'Propert also offered lessons in Boston in 1770.'⁴²⁴ Later, on Thursday, 7 November 1771,

418 F. Campion, *Lettre de Monsieur l'Abbé Carbasus, à Monsieur de *** auteur du Temple de Goust sur la mode des instruments de musique, ouvrage curieux et interressant pour les amateurs de l'harmonie* [Letter from Mr Abbot Carbasus, to Mr ***, Author of the Temple of Goust: Fashion, Musical Instruments, Curious and Interesting, for Lovers of Harmony] (Paris: veuve Allouel, 1739), p. 20. The letter is addressed to Voltaire.

419 R. Benton, 'Hüllmandel's Article on the Clavecin in the *Encyclopédie méthodique*', in *The Galpin Society Journal* (London: The Galpin Society, 1962), Vol. 15 (March), p. 34. Quoted in Carew, *The Mechanical Muse*, p. 17.

420 Gustafson, 'The Music of Madame Brillon', p. 530.

421 Libin, 'Early Piano Culture in America', p. 382.

422 *Massachusetts Gazette*, 7 March 1771 (Boston: Richard Draper).

423 See Palmieri, *Piano*, p. 48.

424 Libin, 'Early Piano Culture in America', p. 382.

the *Virginia Gazette* announced a performance of 'select pieces on the ... Piano-Forte' in the town of Williamsburg.⁴²⁵ Also in 1771, Col. Robert Carter bought a piano for his house in Virginia, and Thomas Jefferson ordered an English piano as a gift for his fiancée. Thus, by the early 1770s, imported pianos had entered fashionable homes and appeared in public concerts from Massachusetts to Virginia.⁴²⁶

As the commercial manufacture of grand pianos in England began during the 1780s, these instruments were square pianos (if not made by Zumpe, then modelled on his instruments).

In 1772, Johann Sheybli ('an organ builder from Philadelphia'),⁴²⁷ 'advertised in New York that he made and repaired pianos. In 1774, Sheybli offered to sell a 'Hammer spinet', by which he surely meant a square piano [one that, perhaps, he had made]. From New York, Sheybli moved to Pennsylvania, where he advertised pianos "of the best and newest sort".⁴²⁸

In 1773, 'H. B. Victor, formerly organist to the Princess of Wales, taught piano in Philadelphia and the Dutch immigrant Peter Albrecht Van Hagen gave lessons in Charleston, South Carolina'.⁴²⁹

John (Johann) Behrent (Bahrent or Brent; fl. early to mid-1775), a German immigrant to Philadelphia⁴³⁰—the nation's second largest city until around 1830⁴³¹—is usually credited with making America's first piano. On Monday, 13 March 1775, Behrent placed the following advertisement in *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet*:

John Behrent, joiner and instrument maker, living in Third-street continued, in Campington, directly opposite Coates's Burying-ground, Has just finished for sale, an extraordinary fine instrument, by the name of piano forte, of mahogany, in the manner of an harpsichord, with hammers, and several changes: He intends to dispose of it on very

425 See J. R. Watson, *Changing Keys: Keyboard Instruments for America 1700–1830* (Williamsburg, VA: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2013), p. 10.

426 Libin, 'Early Piano Culture in America', p. 381.

427 L. Libin, Liner notes for *Childhood Memories: Music for Younger Pianists* (New World Records, n.d.), CD: 80590-2.

428 Libin, 'Early Piano Culture in America', p. 381. See also C. A. Hoover, 'History of the Instrument: North America to 1860', in *Pianoforte* (Granada: Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios, n.d.), p. 20.

429 Libin, Liner notes for *Childhood Memories*.

430 See C. A. Hoover, P. Rucker and E. M. Good, *Piano 300: Celebrating Three Centuries of People and Pianos. Compiled from the Exhibition Produced by the National Museum of American History at the Smithsonian International Gallery March 9, 2000 – October 21, 2001* (Washington, DC: The National Museum of American History, Behring Center, Smithsonian Institution and NAMM-International Music Products Association, 2001), p. 15.

431 D. Potter, 'Music by the "Celebrated Mozart": A Philadelphia Publishing Tradition, 1794–1861', in J. H. Jackson and S. C. Pelkey (eds), *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005), p. 87.

reasonable terms; and being a master in such sort of work, and a new beginner in this country, he requests all lovers of music to favour him with their custom, and they shall not only be honestly served, but their favours gratefully acknowledged, by their humble servent, John Behrent.⁴³²

That Behrent described his piano as being made ‘in the manner of a harpsichord’ suggests that the instrument was not a square piano, but rather, wing-shaped⁴³³—‘a model rarely seen’ in late eighteenth-century America.⁴³⁴

Behrent may have based his design on the pianos of Gottfried Silbermann. Silbermann is commonly regarded as being the first instrument maker in Germany to make pianos. By the early 1750s, Silbermann’s fame ‘as a builder of excellent piano-forte instruments’⁴³⁵ had spread throughout Germany.

In 1732, Silbermann’s wing-shaped ‘*Piano Fort*’ combined the action design principles and *una corda*⁴³⁶ of Cristofori’s *arpicembalo che fa il piano e il forte* with a mutation⁴³⁷ that enabled all the dampers to be raised simultaneously. Some of Silbermann’s pianos also included a mutation comprising ‘a row of ivory plates mounted over the strings right above the strike line of the hammers. When they touch the strings, a bright, almost harpsichordlike sound ... [is] produced.’⁴³⁸

The mutation stops in Silbermann’s pianos were operated by hand levers. The dampers, for example, had ‘to be lifted from both ends simultaneously. This is also true for ... [other] mutation stops. Thus, it ... [was] not possible to’ engage or disengage the mutations ‘in the midst of playing, but only’ when the music allowed time for the player to take his or her hands from the keyboard.⁴³⁹

Given John Behrent’s German origin, and the fact that he had not spent any time in London (where, in 1771, Americus Backers replaced mutation hand-levers with foot pedals), the ‘several changes’ mentioned in Behrent’s 1775 advertisement may refer to an *una corda* and hand-lever-operated mutations similar to those found in Gottfried Silbermann’s pianos. Then again, it is possible that several changes may refer to hand-lever-operated mutations commonly found in English square pianos of the time.

432 A facsimile of Behrent’s newspaper advertisement is reproduced in Hoover et al., *Piano 300*, p. 15.

433 A shape that we would now refer to as being ‘grand’.

434 Libin, ‘Early Piano Culture in America’, p. 381.

435 E. Badura-Skoda, ‘Silbermann, Gottfried (1683–1753)’, in R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 357.

436 A device that enables the keyboard (and therefore the action) to be laterally realigned, causing the hammers to strike only one string of double or triple-strung notes.

437 A ‘mutation’ alters or modifies the sound by using a mechanical device that is incorporated into the instrument. The mutations in Silbermann’s pianos are engaged using hand-stops.

438 Badura-Skoda, ‘Silbermann, Gottfried (1683–1753)’, p. 357.

439 *Ibid.*, p. 357.

Behrent's piano forte certainly attracted attention. In 1775, when the champion of independence from British rule, John Adams (1735–1826), 'inspected Philadelphia's defenses ... he wrote that Michael Hillegas [1729–1804], a music dealer and treasurer of the Continental Congress—the governing body of the United States during the American Revolution—'talked "perpetually of the forte and piano"''.⁴⁴⁰

Behrent's piano-making activities were probably brought to a halt in late 1775 by the commencement of the revolutionary war against the British. The war for independence, however, did not create a context within which music was absent: 'The civilian repertory before and after the war was kept up-to-date by the presence of British soldiers and their commanders, who favored Handel, Haydn, C. P. E. Bach, [Henry] Purcell [1659–95], and Arne.'⁴⁴¹

During the 1780s, several piano makers emigrated from London to America. These included Thomas Dodds (New York, 1785), Charles Albrecht (Philadelphia, ca 1785), Charles Taws (New York, 1786; Philadelphia, 1787) and Charles Trute (fl. 1760–94).⁴⁴² In 1786, John (Johann) Jacob Astor (1763–1848) was importing square pianos made by his brother George (1752–1813), from London into New York.⁴⁴³

In late eighteenth-century Philadelphia, audiences were especially erudite, for on Thursday, 14 December 1786, at a concert given in Philadelphia's City Tavern, the composer and organist Alexander Reinagle (1756–1809) gave the first public performance in the United States of a work by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–91): an unspecified piano sonata.⁴⁴⁴ In response to the public's thirst for amusement, warnings concerning the moral dangers posed by the performing arts ensued. The *New York Packet*, for example, consumed by a paroxysm of civic duty, ardently protested:

A correspondent observes that the infatuation which possesses many of the people of this state for Theatrical Exhibitions is truly alarming ... Alas! The delirium appears to have spread far and wide. And, strange to tell! The honest, sober Dutchmen of Albany, who were once distinguished by industry and a laudable parsimony, are now plunging

440 Hoover et al., *Piano 300*, p. 15.

441 J. Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence: 500 Years of Western Cultural Life 1500 to the Present*, First Perennial edn (New York: Harper, 2001), p. 407.

442 See Hoover, 'History of the Instrument', p. 20. See also Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 87.

443 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 87.

444 An advertisement for this concert, published in *The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* of Wednesday, 13 December 1786, mentions the inclusion of a 'Sonata Piano Forte' by W. A. Mozart. See Potter, 'Music by the "Celebrated Mozart"', p. 96, fn. 2.

into that very species of luxury and folly which stamps upon the metropolis an indelible stigma. Is it not high time for the considerate inhabitants to step forth and oppose the increasing evil.⁴⁴⁵

By the early 1790s, the square piano had established itself in America as an indispensable instrument. In New York (America's most important port during the eighteenth century)⁴⁴⁶ on 19 September 1792, the *Loudens Register* published the following report:

The forte-piano is become so exceedingly fashionable in Europe that few polite families are without it. This much esteemed instrument forms an agreeable accompaniment to the female voice, takes up but little room, may be moved with ease, and kept in tune with little attention ... so that on that account it is superior to the harpsichord.⁴⁴⁷

The Triumph of the Piano in London

There is a widespread, but mistaken, perception that during the 1770s the piano had already supplanted the harpsichord in London, and had become the invariable choice for professional musicians. This is not borne out by archival evidence. Throughout the 1770s, harpsichord sales in London continued to grow, apparently unaffected by the surge in piano production. Similarly in Paris, the rising popularity of the piano hardly affected the harpsichord, which was thoroughly established and showed little indication of any decline before 1780.⁴⁴⁸

The musical advantages of the harpsichord were its clarity and the brilliance of the treble. On the other hand, Zumpe's square pianos were capable of flexible dynamics, and the sweet, radiant beauty of their sound was enticing. When compared with the sound of Continental square pianos (*tafelklaviere*), the sound of Zumpe's pianos attenuated more slowly; the general effect was of greater smoothness.

Even as late as the mid-1780s the harpsichord and the piano were not so much rivals as equally popular alternative instruments. Many affluent households would have considered themselves socially compromised if they did not have both.⁴⁴⁹ For example, Thomas Twining (1735–1804), an astute amateur

445 Quoted in Isacoff, *A Natural History of the Piano*, pp. 36–7.

446 See E. Glaeser, *Triumph of the City* (London: Macmillan, 2011), p. 3.

447 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 88. Cole takes the quotation from: R. Benton, 'The Early Piano in America', in *Hinrichsen's Eleventh Music Book; Music Libraries and Instruments* (New York: Hinrichsen, 1961).

448 Gustafson, 'The Music of Madame Brillon', pp. 1, 20.

449 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, pp. 20, 29.

musician, decided (like many) to keep his harpsichord,⁴⁵⁰ but supplemented it by purchasing a square piano. In a letter written to Charles Burney, Twining, with enthusiastic anticipation, states: 'How I shall accent and express, after having been so long cramped with the mountainous impotence of the harpsichord!'⁴⁵¹ Burney expressed his own (and perhaps prevailing) opinion by observing that 'the harsh scratching of the quills of a harpsichord can now no longer be borne'.⁴⁵²

By the mid-1780s, the piano (especially the square piano) had grown in popularity to such an extent that at least 31 piano makers were flourishing in London.⁴⁵³ In 1794, 'that most conservative institution, the King's band, retained' the harpsichord for 'as long as possible but this year it had to go. A harpsichord was used for ... rehearsal but a grand piano for ... performance.'⁴⁵⁴ 'The latest dated surviving English harpsichord was built in 1800 ... While Harpsichords were sporadically built later in Italy and used in Italian opera houses, the English were the last to build them on a large scale.'⁴⁵⁵ ('Toward the end of his life Joseph Kirckman the Younger recalled having made, along with his father, the firm's last harpsichord in 1809. The Kirckmans were almost certainly the last to make harpsichords in England.')⁴⁵⁶

In relation to the history of the development of the piano between the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries, all available evidence annihilates the commonly encountered and 'misguided idea that the grand piano of the late eighteenth century was created by inserting a hammer action into the harpsichord and that the square piano then followed in its wake as a lesser, domestic instrument'.⁴⁵⁷ In late eighteenth-century England, the square piano preceded the grand, and was the commonly encountered type; generally, financially successful professional musicians and the wealthy owned grand pianos.

From the second half of the 1780s, instruments inspired by Zumpe's design were ubiquitous in England, and could be found throughout Europe. In January 1788, a fine example of one such square piano sat on board the flagship of the First Fleet, the *Sirius*, as it lay anchored in Botany Bay.

450 An instrument by Abraham Kirckman.

451 British Library Add Ms. 39933 fol.96b. Quoted in Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, pp. 29–30.

452 Burney, 'Harpsichord'.

453 See Appendix E, Volume 2 of this publication.

454 William Dale, Paper published in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (28 April 1910), p. 209. Quoted in Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 5.

455 S. Germann, 'Masterpieces of Furniture', in H. Schott (ed.), *The Historical Harpsichord*, 4 vols (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), Vol. 4, p. 90.

456 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 184.

457 Latcham, 'In the Shadow of the Enlightenment', p. 14.

Chapter 2

Surgeon George Worgan's Square Piano (Frederick Beck, London, 1780/86?)

Stewart Symonds, the owner of a large private collection of keyboard instruments in Australia,¹ claims that one particular square piano in his collection was brought to Australia by surgeon George Worgan on board the flagship of the First Fleet, the *Sirius* (Plate 15). Although there is no single piece of evidence that definitively and unequivocally substantiates the claim, the instrument's date, its campaign-furniture-style stand (which uniquely incorporates cabriole legs hinged to the bottom of the piano's case) and hearsay strongly reinforce the validity of Symonds' assertion; each of these factors is 'reliant on a broad historical and colonial context for their relevance to be apparent'.²



**Plate 15 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?).**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

¹ Within Australia, Symonds' collection (which currently comprises 131 instruments) is unrivalled in both its scope and its depth. In ca 1969, Symonds purchased his first piano from Albert George Briskie (1914–87), an eccentric antiques collector and dealer in Sydney. See 'Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance' in Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication. The instrument, a Broadwood & Sons square piano, dated 1837, was completed on Monday, 2 January 1837, exactly 100 years (to the day) before Symonds was born. The piano still forms a part of Symonds' formidable keyboard instrument collection.

² Rosen, *Australia's Oldest House*, p. 101.

The First Fleet arrived at Sydney Cove on Saturday, 26 January 1788. During the two decades preceding 1788, there were several highly regarded piano makers in London. One of these makers was Frederick Beck. In late January 1788, as the *Sirius* lay anchored in the tranquil waters of Sydney Cove, it appears that part of the precious cargo that had been brought thousands of kilometres from England to the Antipodes was a square piano made by Frederick Beck.

Frederick Beck

Frederick Beck's signature—'Fk Beck London 1763'—appears on an English 'guittar'.³ An inscription, handwritten in ink on the soundboard of a 1778 Beck square piano reads: *A F Beck, 1777*.⁴ Frederick Beck's signature on his marriage bond, dated Tuesday, 7 September 1779 (Plate 16), takes the following form: *Arnold Frederick Beck* (Plate 16a).⁵ Furthermore, a handwritten inscription on the soundboard of one of the two extant Beck 'tangent action'⁶ square pianos reads: *A. F. Beck. 1790. Patent* (Plate 16b).⁷ Beck is commonly referred to as 'Frederick Beck'; the usual omission of Beck's first name, 'Arnold', may be due to the fact that nameboard inscriptions on his extant square pianos usually include *Fredericus Beck*.⁸

3 See P. Pouloupoulos, 'The Influence of Germans on the Development of "This Favourite Instrument the Guittar" in England', in *Soundboard: The Journal of the Guitar Foundation of America* (2012), Vol. 38, No. 4, p. 72, fn. 59. The English guitarr 'is a plucked-stringed instrument which was popular in the British Isles during the second half of the eighteenth century. The instrument is characterized by a wide variety of design, construction, and decoration features; however, the majority of surviving guitarrs typically have a round or oval body with a flat back, a movable bridge, twelve or more metal frets fixed on an arched fingerboard, and a head equipped with wooden pegs or a watch-key tuning machine. The guitarr, which usually had ten wire strings, with two single strings for the bass and four double for the treble courses, was normally tuned to an open major chord and plucked with fingers rather than a plectrum. During the second half of the eighteenth century, when the instrument was developed, it was usually called "guitarr" (and more rarely "guitar")'. Pouloupoulos, p. 69, fn. 1.

4 The soundboard date denotes a late-year production. I am indebted to Thomas Strange, owner of this instrument, for this information. See also 'Extant Pianos by Frederick Beck', below.

5 I am indebted to Graham Walker for providing me with a copy of the marriage bond.

6 See 'Tangent Action' in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

7 G. P. di Stefano, 'The *Tangentenflügel* and Other Pianos with Non-Pivoting Hammers', in *The Galpin Society Journal* (London: The Galpin Society, 2008), Vol. 61 (April), p. 100, fn. 89. This instrument is owned by the Osaka College of Music Museum, Osaka, Japan. See 'Extant Pianos by Frederick Beck', below.

8 See 'b) The Absence of a Date' in '1782/87?', Serial Number 5008', in Appendix L, Volume 2 of this publication.

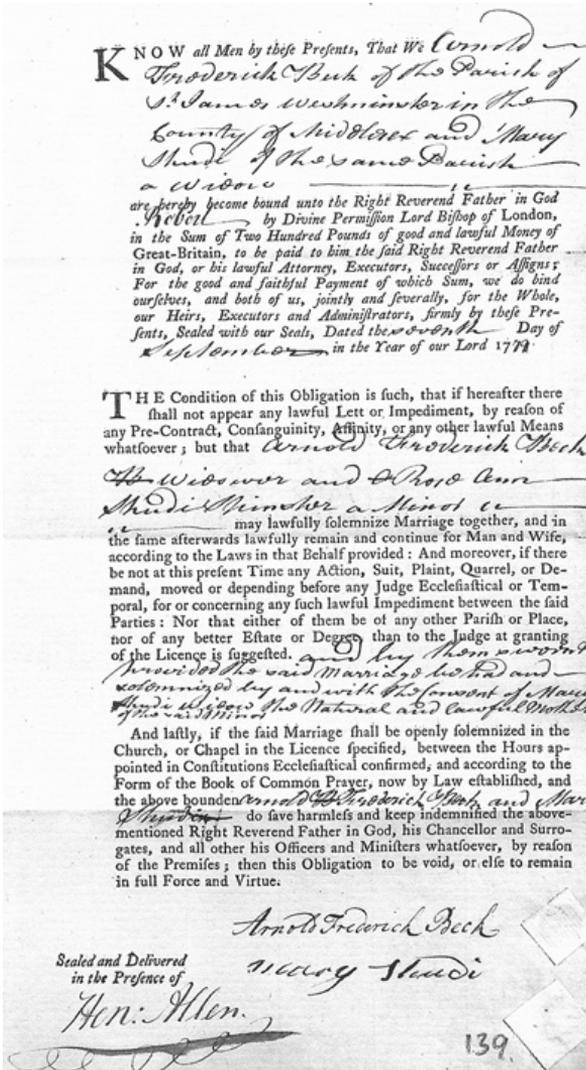


Plate 16 Marriage bond between Arnold Frederick Beck and Rose Ann Shudi, 7 September 1779.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the London Metropolitan Archives (Diocese of London Deposit).

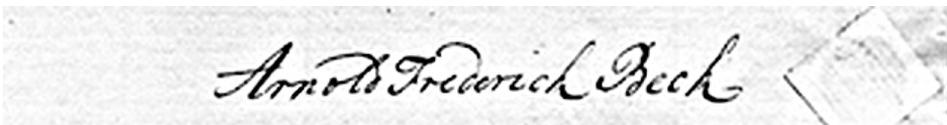


Plate 16a Marriage bond between Arnold Frederick Beck and Rose Ann Shudi, 7 September 1779: Frederick Beck's signature (detail).

Source: Reproduced with permission of the London Metropolitan Archives (Diocese of London Deposit).



Plate 16b Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): handwritten inscription on the soundboard—‘A. F. Beck. 1790 Patent.’

Source: Reproduced with permission of Malcolm Rose. Photo by Malcolm Rose.

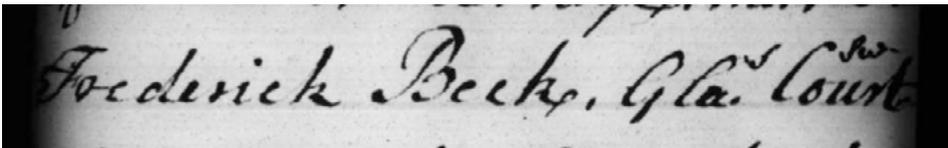


Plate 16c Frederick Beck's address as recorded by the City of Westminster Coroner's Court, 20 November 1765 (detail).

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

Not much is known about Frederick Beck. Unfortunately, ‘little biographical detail is available even today about major’ late eighteenth-century London-based piano makers.⁹

Beck's place and date of birth are unknown. Margaret Cranmer informs us that Frederick Beck was born in Württemberg, and baptised there on Friday 30 May 1738.¹⁰ Regrettably, Cranmer does not provide information concerning the source(s) upon which her remarks are based.

‘There is inferential evidence that ... [Beck] was born in a German-speaking [culture] ... because, along with Gabriel Buntebart, he was selected for a jury at

⁹ Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. xi.

¹⁰ Cranmer, ‘Beck, Frederick’ (2007–13).

the Old Bailey which was composed of six “German” and six English members.’¹¹ On Wednesday, 26 February 1783, a certain Charles Bairnes appeared at the Old Bailey, charged with stealing. Records of Bairnes’ trial reveal that:

(The prisoner being a German, was asked by the Court, whether he chose to have one half of the jury composed of his own countrymen, to which he replied in the affirmative, and the following jury were sworn.)

James Manley	Gottfried Kleinert
John Brewer	Andrew Schabner
John Williams	Frederick Lang
William Massey	Gabriel Buntebart
Alexander Grant	<i>Frederick Beck</i>
Henry Bensley	Christian Burkard
	[emphasis added] ¹²

According to the court record, the six jurors listed in the right-hand column were Bairnes’ ‘own countrymen’—that is, German. Frederick Beck is listed among them. The inclusion of Beck and his Germanic compatriots, however, may have been predicated on the fact that they all spoke German, not that they were all German by birth. Happily, Charles Bairnes was pronounced not guilty.

In 1741, in Lavenham, England, ‘there was a spinet maker’ with the surname Beck, ‘but it is most unlikely that this was’ Frederick Beck.¹³ Boalch posits that this artisan ‘may have been’ Frederick Beck’s forebear,¹⁴ but provides no information to substantiate his hypothesis.

Frederick Beck’s surname should not be confused with that of the harpsichord maker Nicholas Beckman (fl. ca 1775–78), who, according to a Sun Fire Office insurance policy dated ‘[Thursday,] 5 October 1775’ (policy no. 360046), lived at ‘9 Little Russell Street Drury Lane’.¹⁵ No harpsichords or spinets by Beckman are known to have survived.¹⁶

Frederick Beck’s surname should also not be confused with that of the Bavarian-born London-based piano maker John Conrad Becker (fl. ca 1801–41). Johann Nikolaus Forkel, the German music theorist and organist at the University Church at Göttingen, reports (albeit two decades before John Conrad Becker flourished) in his *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahr 1782*:

11 B. Heaton, ‘Histori Piano’, in *LCD Music Entertainment*, p. 70; and Michael Cole.

12 See ‘197. Charles Bairnes’, in ‘Old Bailey Proceedings: Accounts of Criminal Trials’, London Lives 1690–1800—Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis.

13 Ord-Hume, ‘Beck, Frederick (fl. 1756–1798)’, p. 45.

14 Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440 to 1840*, p. 6.

15 L. Whitehead and J. Nex, *Sun insurance policies 1710–79, A to D* (London: The Galpin Society, n.d.), p. 27.

16 See *ibid.*, p. 27, fn. 30.

Becker ... Klavierinstrumentmacher in London; geb. in Deutschland. Soll besonders gute Pianoforte machen.

[Becker ... Keyboard instrument maker in London; born in Germany. He makes particularly good Pianofortes.]¹⁷

Becker worked in Princes Street, Soho, London,¹⁸ in about 1801. At some time during the first decades of the nineteenth century, Becker returned to Germany with his son Jacob (d. 1879). Subsequently, father and son moved to St Petersburg in Russia, where they established a renowned piano-making firm that bore their surname.¹⁹

There is no evidence that Becker and Beck were related. Furthermore, the period during which Becker made pianos in London lies outside the period during which Beck flourished in that city.

Cranmer states that Frederick Beck 'left Germany for England some time after 1756'²⁰—that is, some time after his eighteenth year.²¹ Clinkscale, citing Adélaïde de Place,²² states that Beck 'opened a dealership or perhaps even operated a workshop in Paris ... at 364 rue Saint-Denis'.²³ De Place and Clinkscale give no evidence to support their assertion, and provide no time frame for the period during which Beck conducted his trade in Paris. If de Place, Clinkscale and Cranmer are correct, Beck may have: 1) interrupted his journey to England in order to establish a dealership/workshop in Paris; or (more plausibly) 2) after establishing a successful dealership/workshop in London, subsequently set up a sales outpost in Paris; or 3) moved to Paris from London in later life, continuing to make pianos between his 81st and 84th years. According to de Place, a piano maker named Beck worked in Paris between 1819 and 1822.²⁴ It has not been verified whether: a) this was Frederick Beck; or b) this maker was a relative of Frederick Beck. The unidentified Beck may have been Joseph Beck (1777–1848), maker of a miniature square piano dated ca 1820–1848 (estimate).²⁵

In Paris, the law dictated that Frederick Beck would have been allowed to open a dealership/workshop if he satisfied one of two requirements:

17 Forkel, *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahr 1782*, p. 197.

18 See 'Princes Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 28.

19 See A. W. J. G. Ord-Hume, 'Becker, John Conrad', in R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 42.

20 M. Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 3, p. 42.

21 This calculation is based on the date of Frederick Beck's birth (1738) given in Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (2007–13).

22 A. de Place, *Le Piano-forte à Paris entre 1760 et 1822* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de livres, 1986).

23 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 19.

24 de Place, *Le Piano-forte à Paris entre 1760 et 1822*, p. 180.

25 See text and photographs in 'Cité de la musique, Paris, France/Musée de la musique/Collection Catalogue/Recherchez dans le catalogue/Facteur, auteur ou sujet/Piano carré miniature/Beck, Joseph/vers 1840/PARIS/E.1815', in *MIMO: Musical Instrument Museums Online* (n.d.). See also 'Extant Pianos by Frederick Beck', below.

1. acceptance into the guild of *Tabletters, Luthiers et Eventaillistes* (fine cabinet makers, instrument makers and fan makers)
2. having a ‘brevet from the King or some noble family’.²⁶

The Parisian guild of *Tabletters, Luthiers et Eventaillistes* rarely admitted craftsmen under the age of 30 into their ranks.²⁷ If de Place, Clinkscale and Cranmer are correct, Frederick Beck may have arrived in Paris some time after his eighteenth year—that is, some time after 1756. Evidence suggests that approximately six years later, in ca 1762—that is around his 24th year—Beck was resident in London.²⁸ If Beck sojourned in Paris on his way to London, managing to obtain Parisian guild recognition some time between his 18th and 24th years, he must not only have ‘achieved master class skill’, but also ‘have had experience with making keyboard instruments, and certainly fine cabinet making before he came to Paris’.²⁹ It is unlikely that Beck

1. possessed the skills of a master craftsman by his 24th year (let alone earlier)
2. was considered for guild membership at the tender age of 24 (let alone earlier).

It is doubtful that Beck—a relatively young and untested instrument maker during the late 1750s to early 1760s—would have been allowed to establish a dealership/workshop in Paris at that time.

The earliest written evidence of Beck’s business activities [in London] indicates that he was involved in the manufacture of [English guitars in] 1763,³⁰ while ‘a Guittar by Beck’ was auctioned among other household objects in 1766. However, the earliest surviving instrument bearing Beck’s name is a guittar signed ‘Beck & Pinto/London 1764’ while there are five more surviving guittars by Beck alone, all produced between 1765 and 1766.³¹

‘The guittar dated 1764 and signed “Beck & Pinto” suggests that in the mid-1760s’ Frederick Beck was in partnership with Charles Pinto (fl. 1764–92).³²

26 T. Strange, ‘Short Biography of P. G. Dackweiler’, in *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and early 19th Century Square Pianos* (2012), p. 3.

27 See *ibid.*, p. 3.

28 ‘The earliest evidence of Beck’s instrument-making activities is a drawing showing Beck’s signature “Fk Beck / London 1763” on the neck heel of a flat-back [English] guittar.’ P. Pouloupoulos, *The Guittar in the British Isles, 1750–1810*, PhD dissertation (The University of Edinburgh, 2011), p. 568. Moreover, the earliest of Beck’s four Sun Fire Office insurance policies [policy no. 201685] is dated ‘[Tuesday,] 2 August 1763’, describes Beck as a ‘Cabinet & Musical Instrument Maker’ and gives his address as ‘Glassonbury Court Long Acre’. L. Whitehead and J. Nex, *Sun insurance policies 1710–79, A to D*, p. 25. These data suggest that Beck was active as a musical instrument maker in London from at least 1763.

29 Strange, ‘Short Biography of P. G. Dackweiler’.

30 See Pouloupoulos, *The Guittar in the British Isles*, p. 568.

31 Pouloupoulos, ‘The Influence of Germans on the Development of “This Favourite Instrument the Guittar” in England’, p. 65.

32 An inventory compiled in London in 1792 of Charles Pinto’s workshop ‘clearly suggest[s] that Pinto, like ... Beck ... was mainly a keyboard instrument manufacturer who also produced guittars’. Pouloupoulos, *The Guittar in the British Isles*, p. 270, fn. 505.

Records of the City of Westminster Coroner's Court show that a 'Frederick Beck' was a member of the jury at an inquest held on Wednesday, 20 November 1765³³—that is, 18 years before he served as a jury member at the Old Bailey on 26 February 1783.³⁴ Court records give Frederick Beck's address as 'Gla. ~ Court, ^{Sw}³⁵ (Plate 16c). Although the superscript squiggle following the period is undecipherable, 'Gla. ~ Court' almost certainly refers to Glassonbury Court. 'Sw' refers to the Borough of Southwark. (Glassonbury Court was located off Rose Street, three blocks westward from Covent Garden Market, and was bordered by St Martin's Lane on the west, Long Acre on the north, James Street on the east, and New Street/King Street on the south.)³⁶ If the person listed in the court record of 20 November 1765 is Frederick Beck the piano maker, we must assume that he was officially regarded as a London resident by late November 1765.

Cranmer states that Beck, aged 32,³⁷ 'married Mary Coles on 23 September 1770' in London.³⁸

What is certain is that some time after 1756 and before his marriage, Frederick Beck left the Continent for England.

Barbara Broadwood's³⁹ account book (begun in 1769) contains a mention of 'Mrs. Beck'.⁴⁰ (The book contains entries made 'by at least four ... people, though Barbara was the first to use it,⁴¹ and she opened the book with the statement: *this is the Book belongs to Barbara Broadwood*.)⁴² On page 71 of Barbara's account book, a number of wives are listed together. The list

33 See '20th November 1765', in City of Westminster Coroners, 'Coroners' Inquests into Suspicious Deaths: 3rd January 1765 – 24th December 1765', in *London Lives 1690–1800—Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis* (n.d.), Image 580 of 629.

34 See 'Frederick Beck', above.

35 See '20th November 1765', in City of Westminster Coroners, 'Coroners' Inquests into Suspicious Deaths', Image 583 of 629.

36 See J. Rocque, *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark: With the Contiguous Buildings* (London: John Pine & John Tinney, 1746), Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University, [C] (seq. 11), Map Reference C-2/2-4. By 1790, Glassonbury Court was known as 'Glassenbury-court, Rose-St. Cov. gar'. Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 668. 'Rose Street now consists largely of the side and rear elevations of buildings in other thoroughfares.' F. H. W. Sheppard (ed.), 'King Street and Floral Street Area: Rose Street', in *Survey of London. Volume 36: Covent Garden* (British History Online, 1970).

37 This calculation is based on the date of Frederick Beck's birth (1738) given in Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (2007–13).

38 Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (1980), p. 42.

39 Barbara Shudi married John Broadwood in 1769.

40 See C. Mould, 'The Broadwood Books', in *The English Harpsichord Magazine* (London: The British Harpsichord Society, 1974), Vol. 1, p. 7.

41 Barbara died, at the age of 27, on Monday, 8 July 1776.

42 Mould, 'The Broadwood Books', p. 7.

is undated but ... is almost certainly in Barbara's writing ... [and] is probably dated ... [some time between late 1770⁴³ and] 1773. [Under the heading] ... Five pieces of Handkerch ... there follow the names Mrs. Rector, Mrs. Wild, Mrs. Ruff, Mrs. Calwell, Mrs. Bates, Mrs. Hands, Mrs. Beck, Miss Shudi, Mrs. Motrey, Mrs. Patadergell, Mrs. Broadwood, Mrs. Jenny and Mrs. Newby ... whatever was being paid for cost 3/6 per item ... Mrs. Beck was probably [Mary (née Coles)] the wife of the piano maker Frederick Beck.⁴⁴

The mention of Mrs Beck in Barbara Broadwood's account book suggests that London piano makers and their families formed a closely knit and supportive community.

By 1771, Beck's pianos were highly regarded (at least in Leipzig); according to Henkel, Leipzig newspapers from that year observe that Beck's pianos were both 'famous and popular'⁴⁵ (Henkel does not provide bibliographical information regarding the 'Leipzig newspapers'). The Leipzig newspapers' observation implies that Beck had been successfully making instruments prior to 1771. One can only wonder where, and for how long.

If 'Beck left Germany for England some time after 1756'⁴⁶—that is, some time after his 18th year—and by 1765 (at 27 years of age) resided at Glassonbury Court, London, then by 1771 he would have had approximately 15 years to develop his piano-making skills to the point where his instruments were both 'famous and popular'.⁴⁷

With such a scenario, it is reasonable to posit that Beck was making square pianos in London around 1765. Just what type of square piano is a mystery. Square pianos (*tafelklaviere*) had been made in Germany from as early as the 1740s. Zumpé's earliest 'English' square pianos were made around 1766. With the exception of two 'tangent action' pianos,⁴⁸ extant Beck square pianos are closely modelled on those of Zumpé.

There is disagreement in relation to the year when Beck began selling his pianos in London. For example, Cranmer gives the date 'from midsummer 1771',⁴⁹ while Mould⁵⁰ and Heaton⁵¹ suggest 1774. Scholars do agree, however, that by ca 1771–73, Beck's premises were located on the north side of Broad Street' (now

43 Frederick Beck married Mary Coles on Sunday, 23 September 1770. See Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (1980), p. 42.

44 See Mould, 'The Broadwood Books', p. 9.

45 H. Henkel, *Lexicon Deutscher Klavierbauer* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Erwin Bochinsky, 2000), p. 45.

46 Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (1980), p. 42.

47 Henkel, *Lexicon Deutscher Klavierbauer*, p. 45.

48 See 'Extant Pianos by Frederick Beck' below. See also 'Tangent Action' in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

49 Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (1980), p. 42.

50 See Mould, 'The Broadwood Books', p. 9.

51 B. Heaton, '1774', in *A History of the Piano, 1157–2011* (The UK Piano Pages, 2011).

Broadwick Street), Carnaby Market, Golden Square (now Soho),⁵² at number 4 and at number 10.⁵³ (In ca 1777, the house numbers in Broad Street were changed; number 4 became number 10.)

The second of Beck's four Sun Fire Office insurance policies (policy no. 248579) is dated '[Thursday,] 17 December 1767'. The policy gives Beck's address as 'Mr Horncastle's a Stationer in Broad Street Carnaby Market'.⁵⁴ It is not known when Beck established his own atelier, but it is reasonable to assume that by mid-1771, he was living and working in a building on Broad Street. 'The rate books of St. James, Westminster, show that ... [Beck] lived at a house in Broad Street ... from midsummer 1771 until the end of 1798.'⁵⁵ Peter Barfoot and John Wilkes erroneously place Jacob and Abraham Kirckman's workshop at Frederick Beck's address: '10, Broad-str. Golden-sq'⁵⁶ (the Kirckman's workshop was at 19 Broad Street).⁵⁷

The third of Beck's four Sun Fire Office insurance policies (policy no. 301057) is dated '[Thursday,] 29 August 1771'. The policy gives Beck's address as 'Broad Street Carnaby Market'.⁵⁸ This is consistent with data found in the rate books of St. James, Westminster, which shows that from midsummer 1771, Beck 'lived at a house in Broad Street'.⁵⁹

A Beck square piano dated 1773 (Plate 43a) carries a nameboard inscription that reads: *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1773 / No 4 Broad Street, Golden Square*.⁶⁰ This is the earliest of the 24 Beck piano nameboard inscriptions known to the author; of these, the inscription is the first that includes a street number. The inscription allows for speculation that by ca 1771–73, Beck's premises were located at number 4 Broad Street.

A square piano dated ca 1769–73 (a date towards the end of the range seems most likely—ca 1772–73) made for Longman, Lukey & Co., has been reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck (Plates 43u and 425b).⁶¹ The attribution to Beck is largely based on the absence of dampers after c³. The undamped top five notes are

52 Cole. See 'Broad Street', in Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Dc. See also 'Broad Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 27.

53 Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (1980), p. 42.

54 L. Whitehead and J. Nex, *Sun insurance policies 1710–79, A to D*, p. 25.

55 Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (2007–13).

56 Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 203.

57 See Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 165.

58 L. Whitehead and J. Nex, *Sun insurance policies 1710–79, A to D*, p. 26.

59 See Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (2007–13).

60 See 'b) The Absence of a Date', in '1782/87?', Serial Number 5008', in Appendix L, Volume 2 of this publication.

61 See also photographs in D. Hackett, '(2) An Early London Square Piano Made for Longman, Lukey & Co. c. 1774', in *Restoration Diaries* (n.d.). The instrument is currently owned by Albert Bil, Scotland. I am indebted to David Hackett for information regarding the current owner of this instrument. On Thursday, 11 November 2010, the piano was offered for sale at auction by Serrell's of Malvern, UK. The instrument was described as a 'square piano by Songman'. The sale price was estimated at between £150 and £200. The piano

characteristic of Beck's instruments; no other maker of square pianos followed this damping pattern. Both the damping pattern and the nameboard inscription (Plate 425c) of this instrument suggest that in ca 1769–73, Beck was in business with Longman, Lukey & Co. It is not known what Beck's obligations to Longman, Lukey & Co. were, nor is it known for how long the business relationship was maintained.

'Contemporary estimates for the capital required to set up in business as a musical instrument maker'⁶² were quite high. In 1747, for example, R. Campbell suggests a lower limit of £100, with an upper limit of £500.⁶³ Campbell's estimate represents the normal earnings obtained by Beck from the London sale of between four and 21 of his square pianos (each instrument being sold at a price of approximately £20–25).⁶⁴ Campbell informs his reader that the 'hours of working' for a musical instrument maker are six to eight a day.⁶⁵ (For the time, these hours are somewhat on the low side, and may be explained by the fact that a piano maker's productive working hours were in large part determined by light levels derived from the sun.) Campbell suggests that the prerequisites needed in order for a keyboard instrument maker to thrive are 'a tolerable Genius and some Strength'.⁶⁶

Nine years after his marriage to Mary Coles on 23 September 1770, and, following her death, on Tuesday, 7 September 1779 in London, Frederick Beck, aged 41 years,⁶⁷ 'married Rose Ann Shudi, daughter of Joshua Shudi [1739–74], the harpsichord maker (nephew of Burkat Shudi the elder)'.⁶⁸ Because Rose Ann Shudi was a minor at the time, her mother, Mary (widow of Joshua Shudi), signed the marriage bond (Plate 16). Between 1782 and 1791, Frederick and Rose Ann 'had six children including three boys'.⁶⁹

On Friday, 9 March 1781, 'Frederick Beck Instrument Maker'⁷⁰ was a participant in the deliberations of the City of Westminster Coroner's Court.⁷¹

sold for an astonishing £2700. Six months later, in May 2011, the instrument was again offered for sale. By April 2012, the piano had been sensitively restored by David Hackett. See D. Hackett, 'Restoration Diary for Longman Lukey & Co Square Piano: November 2010–April 2012', in *Restoration Diaries* (n.d.).

62 D. Barnett, *The Structure of Industry in London 1775–1825*, PhD dissertation (University of Nottingham, 1996), p. 237.

63 R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman. Being a Compendious View of all the Trades, Professions, Arts, both Liberal and Mechanic, Now Practised in the Cities of London and Westminster. Calculated for the Information of Parents, and Instruction of Youth in their Choice of Business* (London: Printed by T. Gardner, 1747), p. 336.

64 See 'How Much Did George Worgan's Piano Cost?', in Chapter 4, this volume.

65 Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p. 336.

66 *Ibid.*, pp. 325–6.

67 This calculation is based on the date of Frederick Beck's birth (1738) given in Cranmer 'Beck, Frederick' (2007–13).

68 'Beck, Arnold Frederick', in *The Early Piano*.

69 I am indebted to Graham Walker for information regarding Frederick Beck's second marriage (Email from Graham Walker to the author, 3 March 2013).

70 See '9th March 1781', in City of Westminster Coroners, *Coroners' Inquests into Suspicious Deaths*, Image 112 of 525.

71 See *ibid.*, Image 111 of 525. On this occasion, Beck's jury service took place 16 years after he had served as a jury member at the City of Westminster Coroner's Court on Wednesday, 20 November 1765, and two

Several trade directories from 1784–94 mention Frederick Beck. These include: *Bailey's Directory* (1784⁷² and 1785);⁷³ *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce* (1790);⁷⁴ *Wakefield's Directory* (1790⁷⁵ and 1794);⁷⁶ and *A Musical Directory* (1794).⁷⁷ The relevant entry in each directory is quoted below (in chronological order):

3. *Bailey's British Directory* (1784): 'Beck, Fred. Piano-forte-maker, Broad-street, Carnaby-market'⁷⁸
4. *Bailey's British Directory* (1785): 'Beck Frederick, piano forte maker, 10, Broad street, Carnaby Market, London'⁷⁹
5. *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce* (1790): 'Beck Francis Piano Forte-maker 10, Broad-str. Golden-sq'⁸⁰ (this entry erroneously gives Beck's Christian name as 'Francis')
6. *Wakefield's Directory* (1790): 'Beck Frederick, piano forte maker, 10, Broad street, Carnaby'⁸¹
7. *A Musical Directory* (1794): 'Beck, Pia Forte Maker. No. 10, Broad-St. Carnaby M.'⁸²
8. *Wakefield's Directory* (1794): 'Beck, Frederick, Piano Forte Maker, 10, Broad-st. Carnaby-market.'⁸³

years before he served as a jury member at the Old Bailey on Wednesday, 26 February 1783. See 'Frederick Beck', above.

72 W. Bailey, *Bailey's British Directory; Or, Merchant's and Trader's Useful Companion, for the Year 1784, in Four Volumes. Containing Accurate Lists of the Bankers, Merchants, Manufacturers, and Principal Traders in the Metropolis, and Different Towns of Great Britain* (London: Printed by J. Andrews, [1784?]), Vol. 1, p. 17.

73 See 'Beck Frederick, Piano Forte Maker Music (m)'.

74 Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 68.

75 R. Wakefield, *Wakefield's Merchant and Tradesman's General Directory for London, Westminster, Borough of Southwark, and Twenty-Two Miles Circular from St. Paul's, for the Year 1790. Containing an Accurate List of the Names and Places of Abode of the Merchants, Manufacturers, and Principle Tradesmen, Alphabetically Arranged, with the Numbers as they are Affixed to their Houses, Agreeable to the Late Acts of Parliament* (London: Printed by J. Mackenzie, [1789]), p. 24.

76 R. Wakefield, *Wakefield's Merchant and Tradesman's General Directory for London, Westminster, Borough of Southwark, and Twenty-Two Miles Circular from St. Paul's, for the Year 1794. Containing an Accurate List of the Names and Places of Abode of the Merchants, Manufacturers, and Principle Tradesmen, Alphabetically Arranged, with the Numbers as they are Affixed to their Houses, Agreeable to the Late Acts of Parliament* (London: Printed by T. Davison, [1793?]), p. 22.

77 J. Doane, *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794. To be Continued Annually. Containing the Names and Address of the Composers & Professors of Music, with a Number of Amateurs, Vocal and Instrumental* (London: R. H. Westly, [1794?]), p. 6. See also Rimbault, *The Pianoforte, its Origins, Progress & Construction*, p. 147.

78 Bailey, *Bailey's British Directory*, Vol. 1, p. 17.

79 See 'Beck Frederick, Piano Forte Maker Music (m)'.

80 Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 68. See Appendix P, Volume 2 of this publication.

81 Wakefield, *Wakefield's Merchant and Tradesman's General Directory for London*, p. 24. See also 'Beck Frederick, Piano Forte Maker Music (m)'.

82 Doane, *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794*, p. 6.

83 Wakefield, *Wakefield's Merchant and Tradesman's General Directory for London*, p. 22. See also 'Beck Frederick, Piano Forte Maker Music (m)'.

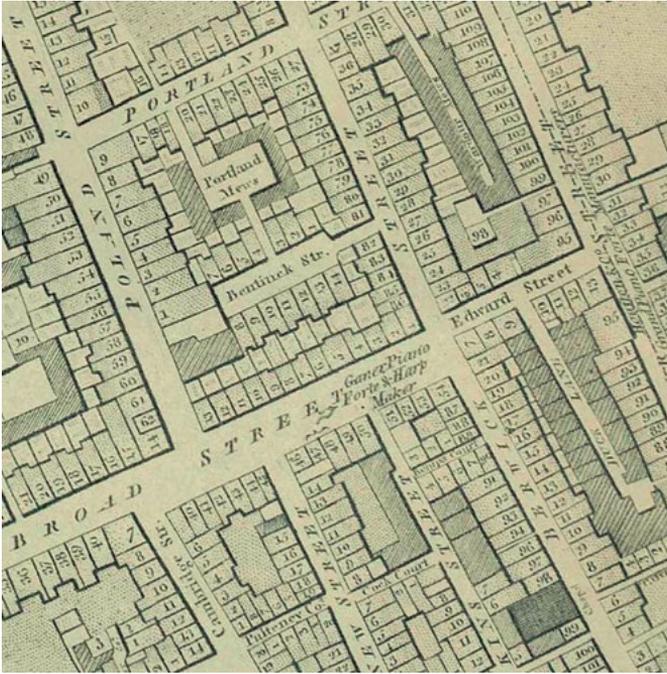


Plate 16d Broad Street (detail): Frederick Beck's house is number 10 Broad Street.

Source: Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining. Showing Every House* (London: R. Horwood, 1792–99). Reproduced with permission of Motco Enterprises Limited. www.motco.com.

Both Carnaby Market and Golden Square were close to the then highly respectable district of Soho.

Broad Street, three blocks south of Oxford Street, extended from number 86 Berwick Street to Marshall Street, Golden Square.⁸⁴ According to Horwood's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*,⁸⁵ the north side of Broad Street was three blocks long, the south side four. House numbering began on the north side, at the Berwick Street (eastern) end (number 1), extending westward to Marshall Street (number 28). House numbers on the south side of Broad Street extended in the opposite direction, from Marshall Street (number 29) eastward to Berwick Street (number 54). Frederick Beck's workshop was on the north side, in the first and largest block (comprising house numbers 1–13), at number 10 (Plate 16d).

⁸⁴ J. Elmes, 'Broad-St., Golden-square', in *A Topographical Dictionary of London and its Environs; Containing Descriptive and Critical Accounts of all the Public and Private Buildings, Offices, Docks, Squares, Streets, Lanes, Wards, Liberties, Charitable Institutions, Commercial, Charitable, Scholastic and Other Establishments, with Lists of their Officers, Patrons, Incumbents of Livings, &c. &c. in the British Metropolis* (London: Whittaker, Treacher & Arnot, 1831), p. 88.

⁸⁵ See Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*.

On Thursday, 1 January 1784, the rental value of Frederick Beck's property was determined. The valuation document gives his address simply as 'Broad St'.⁸⁶

In ca 1790, Beck appears to have formed a business relationship with George Corrie (d. 1803?).⁸⁷ In 1794, Doane's *A Musical Directory* lists George Corrie as 'Corrie, Pia Forte Maker. No. 41, Broad-St, Carnaby-M.'⁸⁸ Corrie's workshop was on the opposite side of the street to Beck's, westward, five houses away.⁸⁹ Between 1767 and 1775, Beck's average annual output is conjecturally estimated as being 250 pianos—that is, one instrument approximately every day-and-a-half).⁹⁰ If his output was similar during the 1790s, Beck may have joined forces with Corrie in order to keep up with the demand for pianos. (Then again, data regarding Beck's average yearly output are estimates only—and extremely generous ones at that. Perhaps, by ca 1790, Beck's business was floundering, and he had need to establish a business connection with Corrie in order to survive. No documentary evidence has come to light concerning the catalyst for, or the nature of, Beck's business arrangement with Corrie; as a consequence, any commentary is purely speculative.)

Beck's business relationship with Corrie is confirmed by the nameboard inscription on piano number 2505 (Plates 17 and 43r):⁹¹ *No 2505 / F Beck et G Corrie Londini Fecerunt / No 10 Broad Street Soho.*

To the author's knowledge, this is the only extant nameboard inscription that gives the abbreviation 'F Beck'; it is also the only extant nameboard inscription that identifies Beck in conjunction with George Corrie.

Of the 32 extant Beck pianos, the author is aware of the wording of 25 nameboard inscriptions.⁹² All but one (piano number 2505) gives 'Fredericus Beck' as the maker. Assuming that the abbreviated 'F Beck' on the nameboard inscription of piano number 2505 represents Frederick Beck (and this is extremely likely), the inscription is inexplicably inconsistent with Beck's usual practice. As with Frederick Beck's Christian name, George Corrie's Christian name has also been abbreviated using a single initial; in both instances, the abbreviation may have been an aesthetic and practical response to the limited space available within the

86 'Beck, Frederick', in 'Westminster Ratebooks: Property Values of Westminster Electors, 1749–1818 1st January 1784 – 31st December 1784', *London Lives 1690–1800—Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*, Image 111 of 525.

87 See 'Beck, Arnold Frederick', in *The Early Piano*. See also Plate 17. I am indebted to Graham Walker for information regarding George Corrie's date of death.

88 Doane, *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794*, p. 15. See also Rimbault, *The Pianoforte, its Origins, Progress & Construction*, p. 147.

89 See Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*.

90 See 'Serial Number in George Worgan's Piano (Frederick Beck, London, 1780/86?)' below.

91 See *ibid.*

92 For a list of the Beck square piano nameboard inscriptions known to the author, see 'b) The Absence of a Date' in '1782/87', Serial Number 5008', in Appendix L, Volume 2 of this publication.

elliptical boundary of the nameboard cartouche. ‘Sometime during the Victorian or Edwardian period, the case [of piano number 2505] was painted with neo-classical decoration’⁹³ (Plate 43r). In the light of this decorative alteration, it is reasonable to entertain the notion that the nameboard inscription, cartouche and decoration may also have been altered.

Another line of investigation points to the supposition that ‘F Beck’ refers to the Francis Beck, who, in 1790, is listed in *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*: ‘Beck Francis Piano Forte-maker 10, Broad-str. Golden-sq.’⁹⁴ Was this mysterious Francis one of Frederick’s sons? Between 1782 and 1791, six children were born to Frederick and Rose Ann; unfortunately, this time frame renders Beck’s children too young to have made piano number 2505 (ca 1790?). Moreover, none of Beck’s three sons was named Francis.⁹⁵ It appears that the listing of Francis Beck in *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce* is erroneous.

There was logic in Frederick Beck’s decision to locate his workshop in Broad Street:

The narrow surrounding streets sheltered a mixed population of foreigners and of artists and craftsmen, including a concentration of piano ... and harpsichord makers. At the same time, [the] ... area had become a serious threat to St. Martin’s Lane [near Covent Garden Market] as center for the workshops of top-flight cabinetmakers: Robert Campbell was in Little Marylebone Street, Chipchase and Lambert in Warwick Street. The carvers Sefferi Alken and Sefferin Nelson had workshops in Dufours Court, off Broad Street, while John Oakley (a cabinetmaker who had been apprenticed to David Roentgen in Germany) and William Ince and John Mayhew had premises right in Broad Street, within a few doors of Frederick Beck’s workshop. It would have been a simple matter [for subcontracted cabinetmakers to deliver completed piano cases and stands to Beck’s establishment].⁹⁶

93 Email from Graham Walker to the author, 15 March 2013.

94 Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 68. See ‘Piano Makers’, in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

95 I am indebted to Graham Walker for information regarding Frederick Beck’s children (Email from Graham Walker to the author, 15 March 2013).

96 C. Streeter, ‘Marquetry Furniture by a Brilliant London Master’, in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971), (NS), Vol. 29, No. 10, Part 1 (June), p. 427. See ‘Beck and Square Piano Production’ below.

At some stage during the late 1770s, the house numbers in Broad Street were changed.⁹⁷ This has led some writers to imply (erroneously) that Beck worked from two separate locations.⁹⁸ Numbers 4 and 10 Broad Street were in fact the same location. The inscription on the nameboard of George Worgan's piano (Plate 17a) reads:⁹⁹ *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1780 / No 4 and 10 Broad Street Soho.*

Beck's inclusion of two different street numbers is doubtless his response to confusion that may have arisen at the time (Plate 17b).



Plate 17 Square piano by Frederick Beck and George Corrie (London, ca 1790?; serial number 2505): nameboard inscription.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Graham Walker. Photo by Graham Walker.



Plate 17a Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard inscription.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

97 The nameboard inscriptions on the two extant 1777 Beck pianos read: *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1777 / No. 4 Broad Street Golden Square* (owner: Carleton University, Ottawa) (Plate 20d); and *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1777 / No. 4 and 10 Broad Street Golden Square* (owner: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto). The two extant 1778 Beck pianos each have a nameboard inscription that reads: *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1778 / No. 4 and 10 Broad Street Golden Square* (Plate 20e). The address given on these nameboards suggests that the renumbering of houses in Broad Street may have taken place sometime during 1777.

98 For example, Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 19.

99 See 'Date', below.

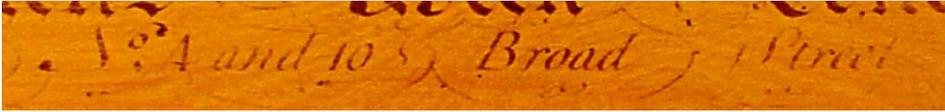


Plate 17b Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard inscription—street numbers (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 17c Square piano by John (?) Simpson (fl. 1767–95) (London: ca 1770s): elaborately decorated nameboard inscription.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

During the 1780s, Frederick Beck was one of six piano makers whose workshops were located within two blocks of one another—on Broad Street: Christopher Ganer (located on the opposite side of the street to Beck, at numbers 47 and 48);¹⁰⁰ Jacob and Abraham Kirckman¹⁰¹ (located on the same side of the street as Beck, in the adjacent block, at number 19);¹⁰² and Charles Trute (whose workshop was on the same side of the street as Beck, close by at number 7);¹⁰³ on Great Pulteney Street:¹⁰⁴ John Broadwood, and George Froeschle (Fröschle)

100 ‘Ganer, Christopher’, in *The Early Piano: Authentic Materials for Early Keyboard Instruments* (Dorchester, Dorset: Early Piano, 2011–13).

101 By 1738, the Alsatian-born Jacob Kirchmann ‘had anglicized his name to Kirckman, then somewhat later to Kirkman (although he continued to sign his harpsichords Kirckman ... In 1772 ... [Jacob Kirckman] brought his nephew Abraham’ into his harpsichord-making business ‘as a partner, and the firm became Jacob and Abraham Kirckman’. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, pp. 363, 364. ‘Kirckman’s instruments were very highly thought of. Indeed, George III traded a Ruckers harpsichord to acquire one of Kirckman’s double manual instruments for Queen Charlotte.’ Cobbe, *Composer Instruments*, p. 14.

102 See Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 165.

103 See *ibid.*, p. 301.

104 See ‘Pultney Str.’, in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 27.

(fl. 1776–1800).¹⁰⁵ ‘The spirit of invention was in the air and it is tempting to think that the natural affinity of like-minded [piano makers] ... living and working at close quarters would have brought [them] ... into contact with [each other].’¹⁰⁶

Perhaps the London-based Belgian inventor and combination harpsichord-piano¹⁰⁷ maker John Joseph Merlin (1735–1803) best exemplifies the ‘spirit of invention’ that permeated London’s keyboard instrument makers’ community during the second half of the eighteenth century. At one of the highly fashionable (yet scandalously indecorous) masquerades given in London during the 1760s and 1770s at Carlisle House by the notorious ‘Viennese adventuress’¹⁰⁸ Theresa Cornelys (1723–97), Merlin made a memorable appearance: ‘Merlin was a charmer, much in demand at parties and social events of all sorts. His witty, French-accented English appeared to have delighted the ladies, and his propensity for outrageous but essentially harmless behaviour only seemed to make him more endearing to London society.’¹⁰⁹

The English composer, musician and writer Thomas Busby (1755–1838), in his *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes of Music and Musicians, Ancient and Modern*, tells the story:

One of [Merlin’s] ... ingenious novelties was a *pair of skaites* contrived to run on [small metallic] wheels. Supplied with a pair of these and a violin [‘he was skating and playing at the same time’],¹¹⁰ he mixed in the ... group of one of the celebrated Mrs. Corneily’s masquerades at Carlisle-house, Soho-square; when, not having provided the means of retarding his velocity, or commanding its direction, he impelled himself against a mirror of more than Five hundred pounds value, dashed it to atoms, broke his instrument to pieces and wounded himself most severely.¹¹¹

What could have been closer to Merlin’s spirit of invention and freedom ‘than literally gliding through the echelons of society, combining the use of one of his inventions, a pair of roller skates, with a performance on the violin, and breaking

105 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 38.

106 Goold, *Mr. Langshaw’s Square Piano*, p. 105.

107 ‘Two combined harpsichord-pianos built in their entirety by Merlin’ have survived: ‘one in private ownership in Switzerland (undated) and the other in the Deutsches Museum in Munich (1780).’ Latcham, ‘The Apotheosis of Merlin’, p. 293.

108 *Ibid.*, p. 298.

109 Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, p. 379.

110 *Ibid.*, p. 379.

111 T. Busby, *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes of Music and Musicians, Ancient and Modern* (London: Clementi, Collard & Co., 1825), p. 137. Quoted in Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, p. 379. Also quoted in P. H. Highfill, K. A. Burnim and E. A. Langhans (eds), *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), Vol. 10, ‘Merlin, John Joseph’, p. 202.

through a mirror, that decorated symbol of vanity'.¹¹² The indefatigable Merlin also invented a 'self-flicking buggy whip',¹¹³ 'a Dutch oven with a spring jack to rotate meat',¹¹⁴ 'mechanical tea tables that poured a dozen cups at once',¹¹⁵ 'a pocket-sized scale for weighing gold coins'¹¹⁶ (in order to verify 'that none of the precious metal had been shaved off'),¹¹⁷ and the wheelchair (an invention of lasting value).

Another of his gadgets was a music-desk table for eight performers, which could be raised or lowered, depending on whether the players were seated or standing ([Charles] Burney owned one of these 'Merlin tables').¹¹⁸

Merlin's instruments, be they grands, squares or whatever, were always expensive ... in 1793 Charles Burney tried out a new square piano by Merlin. 'The dog has just finished a small Piano Forte [that is, a square], so loud, sweet and beautiful that I could sit and devour myself upon it without food for 24 hours. Ma-ma the price is ... 40 pounds!'¹¹⁹

Unlike Merlin, Frederick Beck (it seems) was content simply to make square pianos. Beck sold his pianos not only to customers in England, but also to instrument makers in Paris. On 19 April 1777, for example, the eminent Parisian harpsichord maker Pascal Taskin noted that he owed 660 livres to 'Mr. Beck in London' for five square pianos that he had imported.¹²⁰

No records mention Frederick Beck after 1798. Cranmer posits that Frederick Beck died in London ca 1798.¹²¹

112 Latcham, 'The Apotheosis of Merlin', p. 298.

113 See Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 232.

114 P. F. Baird, 'Merlin, John Joseph (1735–1803)', in R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 237.

115 Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 225. Merlin's 'tea table' comprised 'a central samovar that, when properly charged with the correct beverage and rotated by the hostess's hand, would automatically pour the appropriate amount of tea into the twelve cups set on its perimeter'. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, p. 379.

116 Baird, 'Merlin, John Joseph (1735–1803)', p. 237.

117 Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, p. 379.

118 *Ibid.*, p. 379.

119 'Letter from Charles Burney to Thomas Twining, 1783', British Library, Add MSS 39929, fol. 324. Quoted in Cole, 'Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker', p. 108.

120 See Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, p. 295. See also J.-C. Battault, 'Les premiers pianoforte français', in T. Steiner (ed.), *Keyboard Instruments—Flexibility of Sound and Expression. Proceedings of the Harmoniques International Congress, Lausanne 2002* (Bern: Peter Lang SA, Editions scientifique européennes, 2004), p. 105, fn. 76.

121 Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (2007–13).

Frederick Beck: A time line

1738?	Beck is born in Württemberg(?)
1738	30 May: Beck is baptised in Württemberg
After 1756	Beck leaves Germany
Between 1756 and ca 1762	Beck establishes a dealership (and/or workshop) at 364 Rue Saint-Denis, Paris(?)
Between 1756 and ca 1762	Beck leaves the Continent for London
1763	Beck is involved in the manufacture of 'English guitars' in London
1763	2 August: Beck's address is Glassonbury Court, near Covent Garden Market
Mid-1760s	Beck is in partnership with Charles Pinto
1765	20 November: Beck is a juror at the Westminster Coroner's Court
1765	20 November: Beck's address is Glassonbury Court, near Covent Garden Market
ca 1769–73	Beck is in business with Longman, Lukey & Co
1770	23 September: Beck marries Mary Coles in London
1771	Midsummer: Beck moves into 4 Broad Street, Carnaby Market
ca 1771	Beck begins to sell pianos from his workshop, at 4 Broad Street, Carnaby Market
After ca 1771	Beck establishes a dealership (and/or workshop) at 364 Rue Saint-Denis, Paris(?)
During the late 1770s	The street number of Beck's Broad Street property is altered from 4 to 10
1779	7 September: Beck marries Rose Ann Shudi in London
1781	9 March: Beck is a juror at the Westminster Coroner's Court
1782–91	Frederick and Rose Ann have six children, including three boys
1783	26 February: Beck is one of six German jurors at the Old Bailey
1784	1 January: the rental value of Beck's Broad Street property is calculated
1780–89	Beck's annual output averages 222 pianos(?) ^a
ca 1790	Beck is in business with the piano maker George Corrie

1794	Beck is still making pianos at 10 Broad Street, Carnaby Market
ca 1798	Beck dies(?)
1819–22?	Beck lives in Paris, and sells pianos from his dealership (and/or workshop) located at 364, Rue Saint-Denis(?)

^a See ‘Serial Number: Frederick Beck’s estimated output—What five serial numbers suggest’ below.

Beck’s House

Plate 18 shows Beck’s Broad Street house as it appears today (it is the red brick building with the internally lit street-level shopfront window). Beck’s house is currently occupied at street level by a shop specialising in beauty products. Coincidentally, an audio-recording shop occupies the corner of the tiny street (Duck Lane) directly opposite; the shop has four colourful adjustable canvas awnings, upon two of which are written the following words: ‘Sounds of the Universe’ (Plate 19).

Even though Beck’s income from piano making may have ‘been earned at irregular intervals and in lump sums’,¹²² the apparent ongoing success of his piano-making business¹²³ suggests that he probably did not have to bring in extra income through the letting of a part of his house. During the late eighteenth century, for a piano maker who was less successful than Beck, generating money through letting would have been in line with Adam Smith’s (1723–90) comments on the state of housing costs in London:

122 See Nex, ‘Women in the Musical Instrument Trade in London’, p. 340.

123 See ‘Serial Number: Frederick Beck’s estimated output—What five serial numbers suggest’, below.



Plate 18 Frederick Beck's house.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 19 'Sounds of the Universe' in Duck Lane, opposite Frederick Beck's house.

Source: Photo by the author.

The dearness of house-rent in London arises, not only from those causes which render it dear in all great capitals ... but it arises in part from the peculiar manners and customs of the people, which oblige every master of a family to hire a whole house from top to bottom. A dwelling-house in England means every thing that is contained under the same roof.¹²⁴

Smith continues:

A tradesman in London is obliged to hire a whole house in that part of the town where his customers live. His shop is upon the ground-floor, and he and his family sleep in the garret; and he endeavours to pay a part of his house-rent by letting the two middle stories to lodgers. He expects to maintain his family by his trade, and not by his lodgers.¹²⁵

In late eighteenth-century London (as also in Vienna), 'food constituted the largest proportion of living expenses, but ... unlike housing, it was abundant and relatively cheap'.¹²⁶

Very few people owned the freehold of their homes at this time ... According to information from the Public Record Office only the holders of British citizenship were entitled to buy or inherit land under English law ... Long term residents in England who lacked British citizenship could remedy this situation by applying for 'Letters of Denization' or, at a little extra expense, the full legal rights of a British citizen by *Naturalization*.¹²⁷

Perhaps the success of Beck's piano-making business resulted in his becoming a wealthy man. If so, and as a long-term resident in England, he may have eventually bought a long lease on his house in Broad Street. If wealthy enough, he may also have obtained 'naturalisation' and, subsequently, purchased his house.

'It is not possible to provide a ... vivid' and yet generalised 'description of the premises of' London piano makers, as 'no eighteenth century visitors seem to have thought them worthy of special comment'.¹²⁸ A workshop making pianos in a dwelling-house was not necessarily noisy or intrusive. No power machinery was involved (obviously, there was no power). Typically for the time, a feeling of intimacy would have been the most salient feature of Beck's street-level workshop, which, perhaps being of the standard three-man type, had three workbenches. Beck and his family would have lived on the first floor, while

124 A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations: A Selected Edition*, edited by K. Sutherland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 116.

125 *Ibid.*, p. 117.

126 A. M. Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 15–16.

127 Cole, 'Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker'.

128 Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, p. 197.

the attic rooms may have been occupied by journeymen or an apprentice. It is reasonable to imagine corridors and stairways being cluttered with instruments and wood (poor Mrs Beck may have found the task of keeping her house clean more than formidable).

Beck's apprentice (if he had one) would have been contractually bound to him for a certain number of years ('the usual period was seven years').¹²⁹ 'It was usual for the parents or guardians of [an apprentice] ... to pay the master a certain sum on signing the contract. The apprentice lived with his master's family and was not paid for his work. At the end of his term, the apprentice became a journeyman, entitling him to work for any master he chose.'¹³⁰ Traditionally, young journeymen travelled from city to city, working with various masters in order to perfect themselves in their trade.¹³¹ 'The journeyman aspired to become a partner with his master or to establish his own shop.'¹³²

It is possible that the street-level front room of Beck's house had a large window for displaying finished instruments that were kept for sale. In 1782, a visitor to London, Carl Philip Moritz,

found no need for elementary primers and prints for the education of children: you can take them about the street and show them all the things themselves ... Paintings, machines, precious objects—all can be seen advantageously displayed behind great clear-glass windows ... Such a street often resembles a well-arranged show-cabinet.¹³³

By the middle of the eighteenth century,

London was famous throughout Europe for the number and variety of its shops and for the crowds of people strolling about looking and buying from eight in the morning until darkness and beyond ... In 1786, Sophie de la Roche, visiting from Frankfurt, described walking the length of Oxford Street by lamplight: 'We strolled up and down lovely Oxford Street this evening, for some goods look more attractive by artificial light. Just imagine ... a street taking half an hour to cover from end to end with double rows of brightly shining lamps ... The pavement, inlaid with flagstones, can stand six people deep and allow one to gaze at the splendidly lit shop fronts in comfort. First one passes a watchmakers, then a silk or fan store, now a silversmith's, a china or glass shop. Just as alluring are the confectioners and fruiterers, where, behind the

129 Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440 to 1840*, p. 149, fn. 1.

130 Clarke, 'The English Piano', p. 242.

131 See Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, p. 194.

132 Hoover, 'Pianos for Sale', p. 36.

133 Cited by H. Clifford, *Silver in London: The Parker and Wakelin Partnership 1760–76* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004), Ch. 3. Quoted in Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, p. 264.

handsome glass windows, pyramids of pineapples, figs, grapes, oranges, and all manner of fruits are on show. Up to eleven o'clock at night there are as many people along this street as at Frankfurt during the fair, not to mention the constant stream of coaches.¹³⁴

These transformations in shopping, advertising and marketing rendered 'material acquisition and visible consumption highly eligible activities'.¹³⁵ The wisdom of the ages had been reversed: boundless consumption was healthy both for individuals and for society. At the very least, window-shopping had arrived.

Frederick Beck's house was very close to Oxford Street, and there is little doubt that some Oxford Street window-shoppers would have found themselves at Carnaby Market, from thence eventually looking through Beck's shopfront window at the newly completed pianos on display.¹³⁶

Beck and Square Piano Production

The complexity of a grand piano required that it be almost completely produced within a single workshop. The process involved the application of many high-level specialist skills, resulting in an elaborate division of labour within a workshop. On the other hand, the relative 'simplicity of the construction of [a] ... square piano' meant that 'the majority of its components could [be] ... made outside the workshop by skilled or semi-skilled men who did not have to be instrument makers'.¹³⁷ These outsourced individuals were located in nearby houses, which, like Beck's house, contained a workshop. Workers in distant premises may have produced, for example, a square piano's case ('which could have been made by any competent cabinet maker'),¹³⁸ keyboard, hammer rails ('complete with ready-mounted [leather] ... covered hammers'),¹³⁹ damper mechanisms, tuning pins, bridge-pins, strings, lid hinges and the component parts of (or completed) stands. The pianos could then have been assembled in-house, using parts made off-site as well as parts produced in the workshop by highly skilled specialists

134 S. Tillyard, *Aristocrats: The Illustrated Companion to the Television Series* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), pp. 88–9.

135 R. Porter, 'Consumption: Disease of the Consumer Society?', in J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 65.

136 By the end of the eighteenth century, the eminent piano maker John Broadwood referred to people who walked into his showroom on Great Pulteney Street as the 'chance trade' (as distinct from 'regular customers to whom the firm regularly sold instruments and for whom it regularly tuned'). Hoover, 'Pianos for Sale', p. 34.

137 Clarke, 'The English Piano', p. 254.

138 *Ibid.*, p. 260.

139 *Ibid.*, p. 264.

(parts such as the soundboard). Subsequently, the remainder of the process leading to the completion of an instrument would have been undertaken in the workshop: stringing, setting up the action and voicing.¹⁴⁰

The making of a square piano in Frederick Beck's workshop may have entailed the following construction process.

1. Off-site subcontractors deliver the case to the workshop as an empty box. Beck incorporates the wrest-plank, belly rail and hitch-pin block (the last 'pierced through with accurately-placed holes determined by a template to receive the damper-lifters').¹⁴¹
2. Beck (or a specialised worker) makes the soundboard. The bridge is attached, string positions are marked and the bridge is pinned. The soundboard is glued into place.
3. Beck (or a journeyman/apprentice) drills holes for the wrest-pins.
4. Hitch-pins and nut-pins are inserted.
5. Beck strings the instrument.
6. Beck (or a specialised worker) finishes the keyboard with its action (prior to this, the keyboard, sets of hammers and the dampers have been delivered to the workshop).
7. The action is put into the instrument.
8. Beck voices the instrument.

That the entire production process was not housed under one roof had its advantages:

Since the basic processes required considerable manual skill, it was inevitable that the work would be carried out in workshops of traditional type. Supervision of the various branches of manufacture could have been more efficient if done under one roof, but this would have meant heavy commitments in buildings and labour. It was thus more convenient to call on skills on demand, according to its ebb and flow.¹⁴²

On one hand, the workshop's structure and practice 'could be run with low overheads and on the other enabled craftsmen to work at home'.¹⁴³

140 See *ibid.*, p. 260.

141 *Ibid.*, p. 260.

142 E. Hopkins, *Birmingham: The First Manufacturing Town in the World, 1760–1840* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989), pp. 40–1. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 264.

143 Clarke, 'The English Piano', p. 264.

In his *Cyclopædia of the Useful Arts*, Charles Tomlinson (1808–97) describes a mid-nineteenth-century piano-making context similar to that found in late eighteenth-century London:

Although in the London Directory there are only entered 6 piano-forte *fret cutters*, 2 *hammer and damper-cloth* manufacturers, 4 *hammer-rail* makers, 6 pianoforte *key-makers*, 2 piano-forte *pin* makers, 5 *silkers*, 1 *stringer*, and 29 tuners, yet there are a large number of persons occupied as small makers of parts of the instrument, and not being housekeepers are not entered. And even if it were possible to make this list complete, it would by no means represent the extensive subdivision of the trade.¹⁴⁴

George Worgan's Piano (Frederick Beck, London, 1780/86?)

It is reasonable to hypothesise that the Frederick Beck square piano dated 1780/86?, currently housed in the Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney, is the instrument that was brought to Sydney Cove by George Worgan on board the *Sirius*. The hypothesis is reinforced by certain peculiarities, the most important of which is the piano's campaign-furniture-inspired stand, which (uniquely) includes cabriole legs hinged to the bottom of the instrument's case.

The dimensions of the piano's case fit comfortably within the norm for Beck's extant instruments.¹⁴⁵ This piano, however, reveals certain distinctive characteristics.

Date

The calligraphic style of Beck's nameboard inscriptions did not remain consistent throughout his output—note the difference, for example, between the '7' on an instrument of 1786 (Plates 20a and 20b) and the '7's on instruments dated 1774 (Plate 20c), 1776 (Plate 43t), 1777 (Plate 20d), 1778 (Plates 20e and 20f), 1780 (Plate 20), 1782¹⁴⁶ and 1783 (Plate 20g). Note also the difference between the '8' on an instrument of 1786 (Plates 20a and 20b) and the '8's on instruments dated, respectively, 1778 (Plates 20e and 20f), 1780 (Plate 20) and 1783 (Plate 20g).

144 'Piano-Forte', in C. Tomlinson (ed.), *Cyclopædia of the Useful Arts, Mechanical and Chemical, Manufactures, Mining, and Engineering* (London: James S. Virtue, 1854), Vol. 2, p. 415.

145 See 'Average Dimensions of Frederick Beck's Square Pianos', in Appendix A, Volume 2 of this publication.

146 See photograph in A. Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier: Die Sammlung Beurmann im Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg und auf Gut Hasselburg in Ostholstein* [*The Book of Keyboard Instruments: The Beurmann Collection in the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Hamburg and the Hasselburg Estate in East Holstein*] (Hildesheim: George Olms, 2007), Plate 110b Das Tafelklavier von Beck, p. 54. See also photographs in hammerfluegel.net.

Consistencies in calligraphic style, however, can also be found—note the similarity between the '7's on Beck instruments dated 1774 (Plate 20c), 1776 (Plate 43t), 1777 (Plate 20d), 1780 (Plate 20), 1782¹⁴⁷ and 1783 (Plate 20g). Note also the similarity between the '8's on Beck instruments dated 1778 (Plate 20e and 20f), 1782¹⁴⁸ and 1783 (Plate 20g).

Regardless of any variations in calligraphic style, Beck's nameboard inscriptions reflect the characteristically serpentine freedom and balance of numerals written by accomplished eighteenth-century hands.¹⁴⁹

Initial inspection of George Worgan's piano suggests the date of the instrument to be 1780 (Plate 20). It is tempting, however, to construe the small oblique line above the '0' as a now-faded oblique line that once comprised the top of a '6' (Plates 20 and 139). Given the degree of fading and the calligraphic style (which is full-bodied, rather than fine-lined), this may be the case.

Comparison between the '0' (if viewed as a '6') written on the nameboard of Worgan's piano (Plate 20) and the '6' written on the nameboards of two Beck pianos dated 1776 (Plate 43t) and 1786 (Plates 20a and 20b)¹⁵⁰ reveals marked differences in proportion and form (especially in relation not only to the thickness and angle of the two thick pen strokes of the circular body of the '0', but also to the thickness and angle of the curving top stroke of the '6'). Using the calligraphic style of the 1776 (Plate 43t) and 1786 (Plates 20a and 20b) instruments as a basis for supposition, had the '0' on Worgan's piano been a '6', the body of the '6' would have been more elliptical, and the angle of the two thick pen strokes of the circular body would have inclined markedly towards the right.

Although it seems likely that the date of Worgan's piano is 1780, reasonable doubt remains; it might be 1786.

147 See photograph in Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, p. 54. See also photographs in hammerfluegel.ne.

148 Ibid.

149 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 168.

150 The Stockholm Music and Theatre Museum, inv. no. N61230.



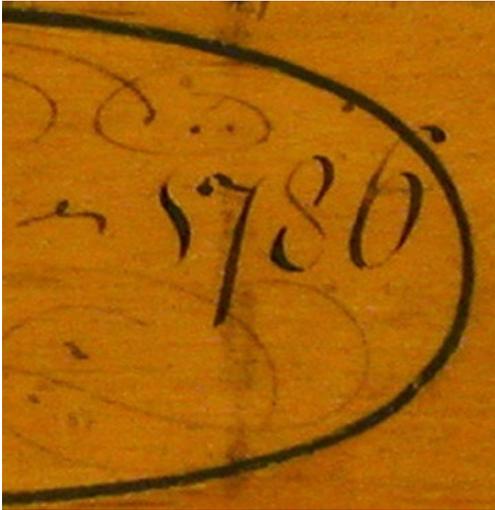
Plate 20 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard—'1780' (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 20a Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1786): nameboard inscription.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Stockholm Music and Theatre Museum, inv. no. N61230. Photo by Dan Andersson.



**Plate 20b Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1786): nameboard—'1786' (detail).**

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Stockholm Music and Theatre Museum, inv. no. N61230.
Photo by Dan Andersson.



**Plate 20c Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1774): nameboard inscription.**

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Bachhaus, Eisenach/Neue Bachgesellschaft e.V, Inv. no. 1. 4.
1. 12., I 86.



**Plate 20d Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1777): nameboard inscription.**

Source: Reproduced with permission of Carleton University, School for Studies in Art and Culture (Music), Ottawa, Ontario. Photo by James Park.



**Plate 20e Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1778): nameboard inscription.**

Source: Reproduced with permission of Thomas Strange. Photo by Thomas Strange.



**Plate 20f Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1778): nameboard—'1778' (detail).**

Source: Reproduced with permission of Thomas Strange. Photo by Thomas Strange.



**Plate 20g Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1783): nameboard inscription.**

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Sibelius Museum, Turku, Finland.



Plate 20h Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?).

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA.



Plate 20i Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?): nameboard inscription.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA.



Plate 20j Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): nameboard inscription.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Malcolm Rose. Photo by Malcolm Rose.

Serial Number: Frederick Beck's estimated output— What five serial numbers suggest

It is not known how many instruments Beck made. Given the relentless demand for square pianos in late eighteenth-century London, and Frederick Beck's reputation as one of the finest instrument makers, it is possible that he produced an average of 30 to 50 pianos a year—that is, assuming continuous output, an average of one instrument every seven to 12 days. This figure is derived from comparison between the known output of other successful, representative contemporaneous piano makers.

1. Adam Beyer: Between 1773 and 1788, Beyer made an average of 50 square pianos a year—that is, one instrument every seven days.¹⁵¹ (During his lifetime, the prolific Beyer manufactured in excess of 900 square pianos.)
2. John Broadwood: In 1783, Broadwood made 45 pianos—that is, on average, one instrument every eight days.¹⁵²
3. Thomas Haxby (1729–96): Between 1772 and 1786, the York-based Haxby made an average of 19 square pianos a year—that is, one instrument every 19 days.¹⁵³ From 1787, Haxby's annual production increased to 24 instruments—

151 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 72.

152 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 61.

153 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 81.

that is, averaging one piano every 15 days.¹⁵⁴ By 1790, Haxby's yearly output was 36 instruments—that is, on average, one piano every 10 days.¹⁵⁵

The truth of Beck's output may, however, be more astounding. Cranmer records the following piano nameboard inscription: *No. 1941 Fredericus Beck Londini fecit 1788 / No. 10 Broad Street Soho*.¹⁵⁶ To the author's knowledge, there is only one extant Beck square piano dated 1788;¹⁵⁷ presumably, this is the 1788 instrument of which Cranmer speaks. Regrettably, Cranmer gives no further information regarding this piano. Oddly, Clinkscale's description of this piano's nameboard inscription¹⁵⁸ does not include 'No. 1941'. Assuming that Cranmer and Clinkscale are referring to the same instrument, if Beck gave the piano the serial number '1941' (at the same time giving the piano a date of 1788), the instrument must be regarded as the product of Beck's 'prolific output in earlier years'.¹⁵⁹

Cranmer observes that until '1780 at least, Beck's square pianos were not numbered'.¹⁶⁰ Unfortunately, Cranmer provides no supporting data to substantiate her assertion. If, however, Frederick Beck did *not* number his instruments until *after* 1780, the 1788 piano's serial number (1941) as documented by Cranmer¹⁶¹ suggests that within eight years, Beck made an average of 242.6 pianos a year—that is, one instrument every day-and-a-half.

Further data assist in the formation of a speculative estimate of Beck's annual output. James mentions a Beck 'piano dated 1789 bear[ing] ... the number 2000'.¹⁶² James does not reveal the instrument's location. (Unfortunately, no piano dated 1789 can be found among the 32 extant square pianos by Frederick Beck.)¹⁶³ James then refers his readers to a photograph of one of two extant Frederick Beck instruments made in conjunction with the Swedish-born Paris-trained cabinet-maker and marquetry master Christopher Fuhrlohg (ca 1737–1800);¹⁶⁴ this instrument is dated 1775, not 1789. If Beck's square pianos

154 See M. Cranmer, 'Haxby, Thomas', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 7, p. 326.

155 See *ibid.*

156 Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (2007–13).

157 Owner(s): unknown. See 'Extant Pianos by Frederick Beck', below.

158 Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

159 Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (2007–13).

160 Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (1980), p. 334.

161 Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (2007–13).

162 P. James, *Early Keyboard Instruments: From their Beginnings to the Year 1820* (London: The Tabard Press, 1970), p. 64.

163 See 'Extant Pianos by Frederick Beck' below.

164 James, *Early Keyboard Instruments*, pp. 64, 138, 'Plate LVIII Square Pianoforte by Frederick Beck English, 1775'. This exquisitely beautiful instrument is owned by the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight Village, Wirral, UK. See 'Frederick Beck and Christopher Fuhrlohg', below. See also the photograph in 'English Square Piano', in *Lady Lever Art Gallery*.

were not numbered until at least 1780,¹⁶⁵ the 1775 Beck/Fuhrlohg instrument: 1) cannot form part of the data used to create an estimate of Beck's annual output; and 2) disproves Cranmer's notion that until 1780 Beck's square pianos were not numbered.¹⁶⁶ Given that the 1775 Beck/Fuhrlohg instrument bears the serial number 2000,¹⁶⁷ two paths of inquiry may be taken in order to create a speculative estimate of Beck's average annual output.

1. Beck's square pianos were *not* numbered until 1780¹⁶⁸ and James' unidentified 1789 piano has the serial number 2000: If the number 2000 on James' mysterious 1789 piano is a serial number, and if Beck assigned a number sequentially to every instrument that he made from 1780,¹⁶⁹ the serial number 2000 indicates that between 1780 and 1789 Beck produced a remarkable yearly average of 222.2 pianos—that is, one instrument every day-and-a-half. This estimated average annual output is on the impressive side, and most probably represents an overestimation.
2. Beck's square pianos *were* numbered prior to 1780, and the 1775 Beck/Fuhrlohg instrument has the serial number 2000: Given that the 1775 Beck/Fuhrlohg instrument has a serial number of 2000, determination of the date when Beck first began to make and number his pianos (assuming that he assigned a number sequentially to every instrument that he made, and that his output was uninterrupted) enables an estimate of his average annual production to be created. Unfortunately, it is not known exactly when Beck began to make pianos. It is also not known if Beck made German *tafelklaviere* prior to his making English Zumpe-style pianos, and, if so, whether or not he assigned serial numbers to these *tafelklaviere*.¹⁷⁰ Assuming that Beck only began to number his English Zumpe-style pianos in London in about 1767—that is, shortly after Zumpe's initial experiments—the serial number 2000 for the 1775 Beck/Fuhrlohg instrument suggests that between 1767 and 1775 Beck produced an astonishing yearly average of 250 pianos (that is, one instrument every day-and-a-half).

In London during the late 1760s, the demand for square pianos was high, and the demand continued to rise throughout the next few decades. For example, between 1773 and 1788, the prolific Adam Beyer made an average of 50 square pianos a year—that is, one instrument approximately every seven days).¹⁷¹

165 Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (1980), p. 334.

166 Ibid.

167 Ord-Hume, 'Beck, Frederick (fl. 1756–1798)', p. 44. Regrettably, Ord-Hume does not provide information regarding the location on the instrument of the serial number, nor associated details.

168 Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (1980), p. 334.

169 Ibid.

170 See 'Frederick Beck', above.

171 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 72.

In 1786, Longman & Broderip undertook to obtain ‘at least £5000 worth of instruments annually, that is, somewhere between 200 and 300 keyboard instruments—harpsichords and pianos—per year’.¹⁷² Furthermore,

taking known serial numbers as our guide, [during the early 1790s] it would appear that in only four years [John Broadwood sold] one thousand three hundred square pianos ... an annual rate of almost three hundred and fifty. This far exceeds any year’s production seemingly reported in the firm’s books up to that time—or in the years immediately afterwards. So caution is necessary when interpreting such data.¹⁷³

A similar caution should be exercised when establishing estimates of Frederick Beck’s average annual output. Because it is not known when Beck began to make and number his pianos (pianos made either in the German *tafelklavier* or in the English style),¹⁷⁴ any estimation of his output remains within the realm of pure conjecture. All that may be said with certainty is that Beck’s production in England appears to have been both consistent and considerable.

In order to achieve an annual average production rate of between 222.2 and 250 pianos, Beck would have had to employ a considerably large workforce (several hundred people). Because contemporaneous commentary and documentation do not support this conjecture, such a large number is extremely unlikely. The exact number of Beck’s employees has not been established.

Around 1790, Beck was in business with the piano maker George Corrie.¹⁷⁵ A square piano made during the (unknown) period of this business relationship has the serial number ‘2505’ (Plates 17 and 43r). If Beck produced an average of 250 pianos a year between 1767 and 1775, and if Beck’s output after 1775 remained consistent and unchanged, piano number 2505 should be dated 1777. That a period of approximately 13 years exists between 1777 and Beck’s association with Corrie in ca 1790 highlights the difficulties associated with attempting to ascertain Beck’s average annual output.

Of the 27 Beck pianos listed in Clinkscale,¹⁷⁶ only one has a serial number: number 5008, dated 1782/87? (Plates 20h and 20i).¹⁷⁷ Piano number 5008 is owned by the Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA. The Trust’s ‘museum records give

172 G. S. Bozarth and M. Debenham, ‘Piano Wars: The Legal Machinations of London Pianoforte Makers, 1795–1806’, in J. P. Wainwright (ed.), *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* (Chippenham, Wiltshire: CPI Antony Rowe, 2009), Vol. 42, pp. 50–1.

173 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 61.

174 See ‘Frederick Beck’, above.

175 ‘Beck, Arnold Frederick’, in *The Early Piano*.

176 Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

177 See ‘Extant Pianos by Frederick Beck’ below. See also ‘1782/87?, Serial Number 5008’, in Appendix L, Volume 2 of this publication.

a date of 1782, but without explanation'.¹⁷⁸ Clinkscale also dates piano number 5008 as 1782.¹⁷⁹ Inconsistencies in the calligraphic style of this instrument's nameboard inscription suggest that the nameboard inscription cartouche, if not perhaps the entire nameboard, may have been replaced (Plate 20i).¹⁸⁰ If Beck produced an average of 250 pianos a year between 1767 and 1775, and if Beck's output after 1775 remained consistent and unchanged, piano number 5008 should be dated 1787.

Of the six Beck pianos *not* listed in Clinkscale,¹⁸¹ three have serial numbers:

1. number 2505 (by Beck and Corrie, described above)
2. number 2580, with an estimated date of ca 1790¹⁸²
3. number 3091, with an estimated date of 1778?¹⁸³

In relation to piano number 2580 (ca 1790), if Beck produced an average of 250 pianos a year between 1767 and 1775, and if Beck's output after 1775 remained consistent and unchanged, piano number 2580 should be dated 1777. Once again, a discrepancy of approximately 13 years between 1777 and the instrument's estimated date (ca 1790) emphasises the difficulties associated with attempting to ascertain Beck's average annual output.

178 'English Square Pianoforte by Frederick Beck, London, circa 1782', in Norfolk Charitable Trust Records. I am indebted to Elisabeth McGregor, Curator/Archivist of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, for this information. See '1782/877, Serial Number 5008', in Appendix L, Volume 2 of this publication.

179 See Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

180 See '1782/877, Serial Number 5008', in Appendix L, Volume 2 of this publication.

181 1) A piano dated ca 1769–73 (a date towards the end of the range seems most likely: ca 1772–73), made for Longman, Lukey & Co., reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck; owner: Albert Bil, Scotland (Plate 43u). 2) A piano dated 1773; owner: Pelham Galleries, London, UK (Plate 43a). 3) A piano dated 1778? (estimate); owner(s): unknown; serial number 3091. 4) A piano dated 1782; owner: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, Germany. 5) A piano dated ca 1790? (the nameboard inscription reads: *No 2505 / F Beck et G Corrie Londini Fecerunt / No 10 Broad Street Soho*); owner(s): unknown, in Germany; serial number 2505 (Plate 43r). 6) A piano dated ca 1790; owner(s): unknown; serial number 2580.

182 On Thursday, 12 December 2013, this square piano was offered for sale in Conway Hall, Holborn, London, by Piano Auctions Limited, with an estimate of £2000–3000. The reserve was too high, and the instrument did not sell. The provenance of this square piano is unknown. The instrument currently requires significant restoration, especially the front right corner, which is badly cracked and requires gluing and clamping. I am indebted to Andrew Snedden, York, UK, for this information (Email from Andrew Snedden to the author, 12 December 2013).

183 On Wednesday, 9 March 1994, this square piano was offered for sale at auction (Sale 6414) in South Kensington, London, by Christie's. The instrument was described as a 'line-inlaid square piano by Fredericus Beck No. 3091, 10, Broad Street, Soho [presumably an accurate quotation of the complete nameboard inscription], on square tapering legs joined by an undertier, early 19th century, mechanism now broken'. The piano was offered as Lot 277, and sold for £352. See 'Sale 6414 Lot 277', in *Christie's The Art People* (n.d.). If Beck produced an average of 250 pianos a year between 1767 and 1775, and if Beck's output after 1775 remained consistent and unchanged, piano number 3091 should be dated 1778.

Because the ‘relentless march of time clouds the truth in theory and speculation’,¹⁸⁴ the extent of Frederick Beck’s output currently remains, alas, a tantalising mystery.

Serial Number: George Worgan’s square piano

On George Worgan’s 1780/86? Beck square piano, the top dovetail joint at the spine’s bass-end corner is impressed with the stamp ‘I’ (Plate 21). This stamped figure is not a serial number. Rather, it is either:

1. associated with case assembly (ensuring that the case’s component parts were correctly matched with each other); or
2. a batch number (square piano cases were commonly made in a run, not one by one).



Plate 21 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): five lapped dovetail joints at the bass corner of the spine (visible from behind)—the top joint is impressed with the stamp ‘I’.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

¹⁸⁴ P. Ustinov, *Dear Me* (London: Arrow Books, 1998), p. 229.

The stamped figure suggests that someone other than Beck may have assembled the case, as one instrument's case among many, in a location other than Beck's workshop. The assembled case would have been brought into Beck's workshop in order for him to complete the instrument. This scenario was not an unusual one for late eighteenth-century London piano makers.¹⁸⁵

George Worgan's piano of 1780/86? does not have a serial number. If the date on the instrument's original and unaltered nameboard is 1780 (as the date appears, at first glance, to be),¹⁸⁶ the absence of a serial number is consistent with Beck's practice (at least according to Cranmer—with no substantiating evidence—that until '1780 at least, Beck's square pianos were not numbered').¹⁸⁷ In the light of Cranmer's observation, if the date on the nameboard is 1786, the absence of a serial number is perplexing.

Why did Beck not give George Worgan's square piano a serial number? Until 1780 at least,¹⁸⁸ it may have been his usual practice. Perchance he thought that the instrument would not survive its journey to Botany Bay, or that, having arrived safely, it would never return to London (in both of these instances, Beck may have regarded a serial number as being unnecessary). On the other hand, Beck's prominent inclusion of unique design elements in the instrument (that is, the instrument's legs and stand) may have offended his aesthetic sensibilities (see 'Stand' below). Although it is unlikely, hypothetically the presence of these elements may have caused Beck to 'disown' the instrument by leaving it unnumbered.

A Unique Stand

Some of Beck's square pianos have been criticised in modern times for 'rushed cabinet-work, poor key-carving, and even in one case an adze-mark on the wrestplank'.¹⁸⁹ If George Worgan's piano of 1780/86? is representative of the many instruments that Frederick Beck must have made (only 32 are extant) then, not to gratuitously disparage Beck, such criticism is justified; it seems that 'quality, precision or even "flawlessness" were ... extremes between which' Beck found, according to his taste and (perhaps) whim, 'the best position'.¹⁹⁰ The combination of marked care in the critical areas of an instrument (for example, the action) with relatively slapdash work elsewhere is typical of many piano

185 See 'Beck and Square Piano Production' above.

186 See 'Date', above.

187 See Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (1980), p. 334.

188 *Ibid.*, p. 334.

189 *Ibid.*, p. 335.

190 Skowronek, *Harpsichord Construction*, p. 161.

makers; for a maker to pay close attention to the making of every component part of an instrument was unusual (exceptions to the norm are John Broadwood and Robert Stodart).

Worgan's 1780/86? Beck piano reveals some surprisingly crude and careless work,¹⁹¹ and yet the care taken over certain elements of the instrument constitutes a curious inconsistency. One such element reinforces the hypothesis that the instrument was brought to Sydney Cove by George Worgan on board the flagship of the First Fleet, the *Sirius*: the instrument's stand.

The stand of Worgan's piano is not only unique among the surviving instruments made by Beck, it is also unique within the context of English square pianos of its time.

Until ca 1780, square pianos were supported by a trestle stand—that is, four legs connected by stretchers. At each end of the instrument, two square-section untapered legs (sometimes with a moulding cut into the outer arris) formed archaic Jacobean-style 'H' end frames¹⁹² (the Jacobean trestle style was already old-fashioned by 1725).¹⁹³ The 'H' end frames were formed by joining each of the two legs at each end of the instrument with a single (or two) crossbar(s). The two 'H' end frames were connected with one another by a single (or two) long stretcher(s).

With many English square piano trestle stands, each end of a long stretcher was joined to an 'H' end frame with an iron bolt.¹⁹⁴ Representative examples are found on the following pianos (to list but a few):¹⁹⁵

1. Johann Zumpe 1766¹⁹⁶
2. Johann Zumpe 1767¹⁹⁷
3. Johann Zumpe, 1769¹⁹⁸
4. Johann Pohlman 1769¹⁹⁹
5. Johann Zumpe and Gabriel Buntebart 1770²⁰⁰

191 See Appendix A, Volume 2 of this publication.

192 See S. Germann, 'Stands: The Jacendale Anomaly', in H. Schott (ed.), *The Historical Harpsichord* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), Vol. 4, p. 85.

193 See *ibid.*, p. 184.

194 In some instances, the long stretchers are glued, rather than bolted to the 'H' end frames.

195 Images referenced in relation to the listed pianos show bolted (rather than glued) cross stretchers.

196 See photograph in Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 227.

197 See photograph in *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 123, 230. See also photograph in James, *Early Keyboard Instruments*, p. 137, Plate LVII.

198 See photograph in 'Gallery', in *Lucy Coad Square Piano Conservation and Repair* (n.d.).

199 See Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, p. 21, Plate 102c.

200 See photograph in Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 115.

6. Longman, Lukey & Co. 1770²⁰¹
7. Longman, Lukey & Co., ca 1772–73 (reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck)²⁰²
8. John Broadwood 1774²⁰³
9. Johann Pohlman 1774²⁰⁴
10. Fredrick Beck 1775²⁰⁵
11. Johann Zumpe and Gabriel Buntebart 1775²⁰⁶
12. George Froeschle 1776²⁰⁷
13. Frederick Beck 1777²⁰⁸
14. Christopher Ganer ca 1777²⁰⁹
15. John Geib ca 1777²¹⁰
16. Adam Beyer 1778²¹¹
17. Adam Beyer 1780²¹²
18. Johann Pohlman ca 1780–84²¹³
19. Longman & Broderip ca 1782²¹⁴
20. John Broadwood 1783²¹⁵
21. Christopher Ganer 1785²¹⁶

201 See photograph in *ibid.*, p. 120.

202 See Plate 43u.

203 See photograph in Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 166.

204 See photograph in 'Antique Instruments', in *The Music Room Workshop: Makers & Restorers of Early Keyboard Instruments* (n.d.).

205 See photographs in 'Cité de la musique, Paris, France/Musée de la musique/Collection Catalogue/Recherchez dans le catalogue/Facteur, auteur ou sujet/Piano carré/Frederick Beck, LONDRES/1775/E.1530', in *MIMO: Musical Instrument Museums Online* (n.d.). Inconsistencies in the calligraphic style between the date's '177' and '5' subtly suggest that the date may have been altered.

206 See photograph in Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 233. See also Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, Plate 2, between p. 210 and p. 211.

207 See photograph in Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 141.

208 See photograph in C. Deachman, 'Fortepiano: A Baroque Treasure', in *UA/AU University Affairs Affaires universitaires* (12 September 2011).

209 See photographs in 'Christopher Ganer Square Pianoforte Circa 1775', in *PalacePianos.com* (n.d.).

210 See photograph in Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 236.

211 See photograph in '1778 Adam Beyer, square piano' in 'Gallery', in *The Early Piano*.

212 See photograph in Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 237.

213 See photograph in R. D. Anderson, 'Pohlman Square Piano ca 1780–1784', in *Harpsichord Photo* (n.d.).

214 See photograph in 'Antique Instruments', in *The Music Room Workshop* (n.d.).

215 See Plate 400. See also photograph in H. Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance: Australia's First Piano', in *The History of Music and Dance in Australia 1788–1840* (2011).

216 See photograph in 'Museum & Collections: Square piano, Ganer, London, 1785. [2007.3455], Ganer, Christopher', in *Royal Academy of Music* (n.d.).

22. Christopher Ganer, ca 1785²¹⁷
23. John Broadwood 1786²¹⁸
24. Adam Beyer 1788²¹⁹
25. James Houston (made for John Bland) early 1790s²²⁰
26. John Broadwood 1791²²¹
27. John Broadwood 1795.²²²

When the trestle stand included bolts, the two 'H' end frames could be dismantled from the long stretcher(s) for transport.²²³ Characteristically, the trestle stand was considerably shorter than the length of the piano that was placed upon it (Plate 22).²²⁴ Some stands were mounted on castors.

Trestle stands were rarely made in a piano maker's workshop, commonly being supplied instead by East End furniture workers. By ca 1780, the trestle stand was rejected for all but the cheapest class of piano, and was replaced with the so-called 'French frame'²²⁵ (Plates 23, 23a, 441, 444 and 453) (the term 'French frame' was first coined by John Broadwood).²²⁶

A French frame fits closely with the lower edge of a square piano's case.²²⁷ When the instrument is placed onto the stand, the illusion is created that the piano, legs and the stand's top stretcher are one piece of furniture.²²⁸

With a French frame, four slender straight square-tapering legs matching the colour of the piano's case—sometimes fitted at their terminations with brass cup castors (Plate 24)—or with spade feet (Plate 43r), are joined by stretchers at the top.²²⁹

The stretchers are secured with dry mortice and tenon sockets (traditionally used to joint wood with grain at right angles to each

217 See photograph in 'Gallery' in *Lucy Coad Square Piano Conservation and Repair*.

218 See photograph in 'John Broadwood and Sons, London, 1786', in *Period Piano Company* (n.d.).

219 See photograph in 'For Sale', in *Andrew Lancaster Music Room Antiques* (n.d.).

220 See photograph in Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 147.

221 See photograph in 'Antique Instruments for Sale: Square Piano by Johannes Broadwood No 1676, London 1791', in *The Music Room Workshop* (n.d.).

222 See photograph in Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 52. See also pertinent photographs in 'Restoration Report of 1795 Broadwood Square Piano #3007 5 Octave Compass FF-f3', in C. O'Leary, 'Restoration Reports', in *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos* (2011).

223 See Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, p. 161.

224 See B. Kibby, 'Square Piano Legs & Stands', in *UK Piano Page Piano Discussion Forums* (Piano History Centre, 2011).

225 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 80.

226 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 49.

227 Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 124.

228 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, pp. 85, 123.

229 See *ibid.*, p. 123.

other), and tightened by hidden [cheese-head] iron [coach] bolts ... at the top of each leg. [Each of] the visible bolt heads holding the frame together [is] ... usually covered by [a] brass oval [or sometimes round] patera (often with classical motifs) to conceal them [Plates 25, 26 and 452].²³⁰ The entire frame can be dismantled.²³¹

Because of the time it takes to unscrew the bolts that hold the frame together, dismantling the frame can be a protracted process.

In the French frame's most simple form, each pair of legs at either end of the instrument is joined by a cross member; this creates an 'H' end frame at either end of the instrument (Plate 446).²³² In many instances, a long horizontal stretcher extends between the 'H' end frames (Plates 23 and 446). Sometimes, a mahogany under-tier (or shelf) is fitted between the 'H' end frames, 'extending between the cross members' that join each pair of legs at either end of the instrument (Plates 23b and 27).²³³ The front of the shelf is usually serpentine, 'in order to make enough space to prevent players from hitting their shins'.²³⁴ Sometimes, the shelf has a vertical wooden back approximately 2.5 centimetres high, the purpose of which is not only to prevent sheet music and books from falling off, but also to reinforce the long, thin shelf (thereby preventing the shelf from bending under the weight of heavy music books and/or piles of sheet music) (Plate 27).

The earliest French frame for a square piano is found on an instrument by Christopher Ganer, dated 1778. 'If you had been visiting someone's home in 1780 and seen' a square piano resting on a French frame, 'there would have been nothing in its appearance to cause a moment's regard or scrutiny'.²³⁵ The French frame remained in vogue until ca 1805, when it began to be replaced with 'lathe-turned legs terminating in brass cup castors ... Each leg had a wooden screw thread at the top. The screw tightened up into a socket penetrating into the base of the instrument' (Plate 28).²³⁶

230 See also photograph in hammerfluegel.net/.

231 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, pp. 85, 123; Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 80. See Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, pp. 124–5.

232 See 'c1791 Longman & Broderip Square Piano', in *The Early Piano: Authentic Materials for Early Keyboard Instruments* (Dorchester, Dorset: Early Piano, 2011–13).

233 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 123.

234 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 80.

235 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 39.

236 See *ibid.*, p. 85; Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 80.



Plate 22 Square-legged trestle frame: the frame belongs to a square piano by John (?) Simpson (fl. 1767–95) (London, ca 1770s).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 23 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783): simple French frame.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Sibelius Museum, Turku, Finland, Inv. no. 0171.

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View



**Plate 23a Square piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1805):
French frame with under-tier.**

Source: Australian National University School of Music, Keyboard Institute Collection, Canberra. Photo by the author.



**Plate 23b Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1782/87?): French frame with under-tier.**

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA.



Plate 24 French frame, Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1805): treble-end front; a slender, straight square-tapering leg, fitted at its termination with a brass cup castor (detail).

Source: Australian National University School of Music, Keyboard Institute Collection, Canberra. Photo by the author.



Left: Plate 25 French frame, Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1805): treble-front corner; the bolt head holding the frame together is visible because a brass patera has not been rotated into its rest position (detail). Right: Plate 26 French frame, Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1805): treble-front corner; the bolt head holding the frame together is concealed by a brass patera (detail).

Source: Australian National University School of Music, Keyboard Institute Collection, Canberra. Photos by the author.



Plate 27 French frame, Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1805): mahogany under-tier (shelf) with a serpentine front, fitted between the cross members in the end trestles.

Source: Australian National University School of Music, Keyboard Institute Collection, Canberra. Photo by the author.



Plate 28 Square piano by John Broadwood & Sons (London, ca 1817): lathe-turned legs terminating in brass cup castors.

Source: Australian National University School of Music, Keyboard Institute Collection, Canberra. Photo by the author.

Early nineteenth-century changes in French decorative fashion resulted in a corresponding alteration of English aesthetic sensibilities, and what the English called 'French corners' became *à la mode*. On a new and fashionable square piano ca 1810, for example, each front corner at the treble and bass end of the piano's case was rounded (rather than right-angled, as had been the English tradition). Fine lathe-turned legs now supported the instrument: two at each of the front corners, and one for each back corner. Unfortunately, a piano's rounded front

corners usually represented a fall in engineering standards. ‘The new fashion for rounded front corners was achieved by dispensing with the hidden dovetail joints, hand cut by skilled men. Instead the joints were merely lapped.’²³⁷

In London, James Shudi Broadwood (1772–1851), writing in January 1807 to a Mr Harmon of Philadelphia, comments on the contemporaneous craze for lathe-turned legs: ‘6 legs are so much in vogue here that we cannot scarce sell any instrument without them.’²³⁸

Elaboration in the appearance of these legs—or the want of it—was the chief visual reminder of the quality that the owners had paid for ... [By the 1820s, the] more pricey examples had decorative brass collars around the top, and the smartest models also had reeded decoration [Plate 28].²³⁹

Such brass collars were not purely decorative; they also functioned to subtly strengthen the leg top.

Because the bottom boards of square pianos were made almost exclusively from Scotch pine (*Pinus sylvestris*)—a wood that is very rigid and strong compared with other species of pine, but also a wood that is softer than mahogany—screwing the legs into holes drilled into the bottom of the instrument sometimes caused the bottom boards to split.²⁴⁰ Initially, a solution to this problem was attempted by gluing and screwing a wooden block onto the bottom boards; a hole was drilled into the wooden block and tapped so that the top of the leg could be screwed into it.

After 1820 square pianos were constantly redesigned for a more powerful tone ... the keyboard was extended upwards ... to six octaves, and afterwards in both directions to reach seven octaves. To achieve this stronger tone string gauges were progressively increased, until the strain was almost four times greater than on eighteenth-century pianos ... In an effort to prevent structural collapse these later pianos were fitted with an iron hitch plate (from around 1825) and afterwards, on American pianos, full metal framing (from around 1840).²⁴¹

237 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 94. See ‘Lap Joint’ in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

238 Letter from James Broadwood to Mr Harmon, January 1807. Quoted in Goold, *Mr. Langshaw’s Square Piano*, p. 248.

239 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 93.

240 A problem associated with Scotch pine bottom boards is their ‘tendency to shrink with time. Most of the shrinkage is in the tangential direction, and restorers frequently encounter early square piano bottoms ... with substantial shrinkage’. For example, restoration reports for two Broadwood square pianos dated 1793 and 1795, as well as for a Longman & Broderip square piano dated 1785, ‘describe baseboard shrinkage of as much as 3/8 inch in width out of a total width of approximately 18 inches’. T. Strange, ‘Reading the Historical Record from an Early Broadwood Grand Piano’, in *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and early 19th Century Square Pianos* (n.d.), p. 16, fn. 11.

241 M. Cole, ‘Square Pianos (Newly revised April 2012): A Brief History’, in *Square Pianos* (n.d.).

As pianos became larger and heavier, their lathe-turned legs became thicker and more sturdy.

Frederick Beck created a unique stand for George Worgan's square piano. This unique stand reveals an inspired and practically motivated fusion of design elements. Beck's innovative design excludes elements that would normally have been found in a French frame²⁴²

1. slender, straight square-tapering legs
2. brass cup castors on the leg terminations
3. hidden iron bolts and plates at the top of each leg
4. paterae at the top of each leg to hide bolt heads²⁴³
5. the 'lip with recess' on the top of the frame
6. wooden or metal pegs protruding from the top of the frame fitting into small holes in the bottom of the piano to hold the instrument in place.

Instead of the French frame's slender, square-tapered straight legs, Beck provided four square-tapered cabriole²⁴⁴ legs (Plate 29). Within the context of extant late eighteenth-century English square pianos, cabriole legs are unique.



Plate 29 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): four square-tapered cabriole legs.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

242 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 80.

243 Each patera had a small rounded protrusion at the top through which a hole was drilled; the patera was fixed to the instrument by a brass screw passing through this hole into the body of the stand, in such a way that the patera hung loosely over the bolt hole and could be swung aside to access the bolt head.

244 A 'double curved form, convex at the top and concave below'. Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 202. Michael Cole, the eminent expert on the Classic-era piano, has informed the author that he knows 'of no genuine original legs of cabriole form supplied with any English-made square piano c. 1780'. Email from Michael Cole to the author, 23 November 2012.

The delicate appearance of these cabriole legs is deceptive. Arguably, they are marginally stronger (given their thickness) and more stable (especially at the leg terminations) than the slender straight square-tapering legs of a French frame.

Cabriole legs (as one of the most distinctive features of the rococo style)²⁴⁵ were commonly associated with France. They instantly create an effect of elegance, sensuality, delicacy and a relaxed, whimsical ease. An observation made by the English painter and printmaker William Hogarth (1697–1764) is appropriate: ‘The serpentine line, or line of grace, by its waving and winding at the same time in different ways, leads the eye in a pleasing manner along the continuity of its variety.’²⁴⁶ If Beck operated a dealership and/or workshop in Paris,²⁴⁷ this may explain his incorporation of cabriole legs into Worgan’s piano; the French would certainly have regarded cabriole legs as a familiar, acceptable element of furniture design. Cabriole legs also reflected the contemporaneous ‘hegemony of France in matters of taste’.²⁴⁸

Another line of inquiry leads to the notion that George Worgan’s piano of 1780/86? was an instrument that Frederick Beck exported from his London workshop to Paris; once in Paris, hinged cabriole legs were added to the instrument for whatever reason. This is, however, an unlikely scenario. In Paris, when legs under imported pianos were changed, the result was nearly always screw-in lathe-turned legs in conical form;²⁴⁹ encountering such legs indicates that such an alteration took place some considerable time after 1780–86. There then remains the unanswerable question of how a Beck square piano exported to Paris came into the hands of George Bouchier Worgan.

Beck’s mixture of furniture styles in Worgan’s piano includes the aesthetic of his important contemporary George Hepplewhite (1727?–86), who, along with Thomas Sheraton and Thomas Chippendale (1718–79), was one of the most influential eighteenth-century English furniture makers. ‘Inlay in coloured woods, very sparingly used’,²⁵⁰ was one of the features of the Hepplewhite style, and this feature can be seen in Worgan’s piano.

The elegant linearity of the neo-classical lines of the piano’s case, as well as the ‘Englishness’ of its restrained and sober appearance (at least when compared with the excesses of French rococo furniture) are skillfully combined with the curvaceous rococo lines of the instrument’s cabriole legs. During the late

245 See J. Morley, *Furniture: The Western Tradition—History, Style, Design* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), p. 174.

246 Quoted in E.-G. Baur, *Rococo* (Köln: Taschen, 2007), p. 13.

247 According to Adélaïde de Place (*Le Piano-forte à Paris entre 1760 et 1822*), Beck’s workshop was at 364 rue Saint-Denis. See Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 19.

248 Morley, *Furniture*, p. 190.

249 I am indebted to Michael Cole for this information.

250 C. Simon, *English Furniture Designers of the Eighteenth Century* (London: A. H. Bullen, 1905), pp. 123–4.

eighteenth century in England, French rococo flamboyance was equated with meaningless frippery, and 'resistance to triviality was regarded as a vindication of English good taste over the shallow [posturing] ... of continental neighbours'.²⁵¹ Within the context of the neo-classical style, cabriole legs were the 'last Rococo feature to be ousted in favour of vertical types'.²⁵² The English vernacular style comprised 'conservative lines, emphasized by overall veneers ... small areas might be decorated by chaste carving; and metalwork was confined to simple mouldings, functional handles, and keyhole escutcheons'.²⁵³ 'Restrained in its Neoclassicism and practical in its design, [English] furniture' made during the 1770s and 1780s 'was, generally speaking, more graceful and refined than at any other time in the history of English cabinetmaking'.²⁵⁴ (During the late eighteenth century, the graceful elegance of English neo-classical furniture was, perhaps, best revealed in the design of chairs. 'Ladies' hoops were gradually disappearing; a woman no longer occupied "the space of six men," and the old wide seats were accordingly superseded by smaller and neater shapes'.)²⁵⁵

In England, the poised simplicity of neoclassicism was not confined to furniture design. The coin minter, industrialist, and silver-plate and ormolu maker Matthew Boulton, as well as the pottery maker Josiah Wedgwood, 'articulated an anti-French design strategy to simplify, to move away from excessive ornament and glitter; the [aesthetic] ... shift was ideal for a technology based on dies, stamps, moulds, and cast and polished steel'.²⁵⁶

The austere rigour of Neoclassicism was well suited to the cult of reason, discipline and calculability typical of the rising bourgeoisie.

... [T]he beauty of Neoclassicism was [not only] a refreshing reaction to the [flamboyant Rococo] tastes of the [French] *ancien régime*, but was also a search for rules that were certain, and therefore rigid and binding.²⁵⁷

The luxuriant French rococo lines of the cabriole legs supporting Worgan's piano are far removed from the serene austerity of English neoclassicism.

The leg terminations of Worgan's piano are not fitted with brass cup castors. This is contrary to the norm for an instrument of such quality made during the 1780s. The surface area of each of the bare-wood leg terminations, when they contact the ground, is larger than that of a cup castor. Also, the 'roughness' of the bare-wood terminations 'grips' wooden floorboards more effectively than a

251 S. McVeigh, 'Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London', in R. Strohm (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers n.v., 2001), p. 148.

252 N. Riley (ed.), *World Furniture* (London: Spring Books, 1989), p. 117.

253 Streeter, 'Marquetry Furniture by a Brilliant London Master', p. 418.

254 Riley, *World Furniture*, p. 133.

255 Simon, *English Furniture Designers of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 126.

256 Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, p. 190.

257 U. Eco (ed.), *On Beauty: A History of a Western Idea* (London: Secker & Warburg, 2004), p. 239.

smooth wheel. It appears that the bare-wood leg terminations are intentional, their purpose being to enhance the instrument's physical stability within the context of a shipboard environment that is constantly moving. Furthermore, brass cup castors at the termination of cabriole legs are unusual, simply because such an addition to cabriole legs compromises the flowing, graceful aesthetic.

At each end of the instrument, the lower part of each pair of legs is fixed by a horizontal stretcher let into each leg (Plates 30 and 31).

When the piano is standing on its feet, each horizontal stretcher let into the legs (and therefore, each pair of legs at each end of the instrument) is held apart by a detachable lower stretcher running the length of the case (Plate 32).

At each end of this detachable lower stretcher, there is a protruding dovetail. Plates 31 and 33 show the protruding dovetail at the treble end inserted into its dry mortice and tenon socket. Plate 33 reveals that the treble-end socket has increased in depth because of wear; as a consequence, the top surface of the protruding dovetail sits slightly beneath the top surface of the stretcher that fixes the lower part of the legs.

The cabriole legs are joined at the top by a bar at the top edge, the hand-carved ends of which are curved into the legs (Plate 34).



Left: Plate 30 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end of the instrument—stretcher let into the lower part of each leg.

Right: Plate 31 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end of the instrument—stretcher let into each leg.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photos by the author.

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View



Plate 32 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): detachable lower stretcher, running the length of the case, which holds the pair of legs at each end of the instrument apart.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 33 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end of the instrument—the protruding dovetail at the end of the detachable lower stretcher has sunk into a socket that has increased in depth because of wear.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 34 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end of the instrument—the legs are joined at the top edge by a bar, the ends of which curve into the legs.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

‘Standard works on British furniture history are virtually unanimous on the structural irrelevance of ... stretchers, and their absence on fine [eighteenth-century] London furniture with cabriole legs. ... Stretchers marred the appearance of the [bold, elegantly] ... shaped cabriole leg and were unnecessary for strengthening purposes.’²⁵⁸

‘On the Continent ... unbraced cabriole stands’—that is, stands comprising cabriole legs with no stretchers—‘could be found under large and heavy keyboard instruments, including grand pianos’.²⁵⁹

For example,

the 1776 ... [Jean-Henri] Silbermann [1727–99] grand piano in Berlin, the Gottlieb Rosenau [ca 1720 – ca 1790] 1786 harpsichord in Copenhagen, the 1782 Carl [August] Gräbner [1749–96] harpsichord in Nuremberg, the 1779 ... [Johann Ludwig] Hellen combination harpsichord and grand piano in Berlin, several Silbermann bedside spinets ... many German²⁶⁰ and Scandinavian clavichords, a large Späth and [Christoph Friedrich Schmahl

258 Germann, ‘Stands’, p. 89, fn. 63.

259 Ibid., p. 85.

260 See, for example: 1) the photograph of a 1764/90? keyboard pantalon by Franz Ignatz Seuffert (organ and instrument maker to the court in Würzburg, Northern Bavaria, during the 1760s), in M. Cole, ‘Franz Ignatz Seuffert, 1764’, in *The Invention of the Square Piano: A Review of Some Claimed Early German Tafelklaviere* (n.d.). The stand of this instrument comprises cabriole legs without stretchers. This instrument is currently exhibited at the Schloss Benrath, Düsseldorf, Germany. 2) The photograph of a 1794 unfretted clavichord by Johann Bohak (ca 1754–1805; a Bohemian maker based in Vienna) in Brauchli, *The Clavichord*, p. 227; and I. Kipnis (ed.), *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 239. This instrument was used by Joseph Haydn, and is currently housed at the Royal College of Music, London (inv. no. 177). Although the stand is not original, it comprises cabriole legs without stretchers. 3) The photograph of an unfretted clavichord by Johann Adolph Hass (1713–71) in E. Winternitz, *Musical Instruments of the Western World* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1966), p. 223. The instrument is currently housed in the Musik Historiske Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark (inv. no. 462). 4) The photograph of a fretted clavichord by Christian Gottlob Hubert (1714–93), dated 1784, in G. Haase and D. Krickeberg, *Tasteninstrumente des Museums Keilklaviere*.

(1739–1814)] ... *Tangentenflügel*²⁶¹ in Boston, the Louis Bas [fl. 1778–86] 1781 grand piano in Vermillion [South Dakota], the two [Carl Fredrick] Laeske [1732–81] harpsichord stands in New Jersey (private collection) and The Hague, almost all the Albert Delin [1712–71] clavicytheria and spinets, many Italian and most French eighteenth-century harpsichords and spinets. All these and many more from all regions are on full-height, unbraced cabriole stands, un-deterred by considerations of weight.²⁶²

It is tempting to associate Frederick Beck's combination of stretchers and cabriole legs with concerns for weight, mobility and convenience; however, the legs on many extant examples of heavy English furniture designed for mobility (that is, legs with castors) have no stretchers. Moreover, the need for strength does not provide reasonable cause for Beck to have combined stretchers and cabriole legs; after all, the structure of trestle and French frame stands is far more given to distortion than unbraced cabriole legs.

To Beck's discriminating and fashion-conscious contemporaries, his combination of stretchers and cabriole legs would not only have represented a visual anachronism, it would also have seemed very odd, if not bizarre.²⁶³ In fact, it is 'rare to find cabriole legs with stretchers ... in any ... period'.²⁶⁴

The author has seen many square pianos dating from the late eighteenth century. Uniquely within the context of late eighteenth-century English square piano stand design, George Worgan's 1780/86? Beck piano not only has cabriole legs, but also the top of each leg is attached to the bottom of the case by a relatively large (yet inconspicuous) iron butt hinge (Plate 35).

To the author's knowledge, there are only four other extant late eighteenth-century English square pianos with folding legs:

1. an instrument by Charles Trute, dated ca 1771?, with four straight square-tapering legs braced by a removable shelf.²⁶⁵ This piano has a compass of

Clavichorde. Hammerklaviere (Berlin: Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, 1981), p. 65. This instrument is currently housed in the Russell Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments, University of Edinburgh, Scotland (inv. no. C4-CHI784.38).

261 See '*Tangentenflügel*' in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication. 'It seems that the word *Tangentenflügel* came into use about 1791 when an instrument made by Franz Jacob Spath and Christoph Friederich Schmahl of Regensburg, was described using this name in the *Musikalischer Korrespondenz der deutschen Filarmonischen Gesellschaft*.' di Stefano, 'The *Tangentenflügel* and Other Pianos with Non-Pivoting Hammers', p. 80.

262 Germann, 'Stands', p. 87.

263 See *ibid.*, pp. 86–7.

264 C. H. Hayward, *Antique or Fake? The Making of Old Furniture* (London: Evans Brothers, 1970), p. 134.

265 On Wednesday and Thursday, 18 and 19 September 2013, this square piano was offered for sale (Sale 1186) in London—within the context of the auctioning of the Collection of Professor Sir Albert Richardson, PRA—by Christie's. The instrument was offered as Lot 128, with a possible attribution to Joseph Merlin, and sold for £5250. See also photographs in 'A Magical Mystery Piano', in 'Update October 28th', *Friends of Square Pianos* (n.d.).

four octaves (54 notes, C–f³ chromatic) —a compass perhaps inspired by that found on some seventeenth and eighteenth-century organs and clavichords²⁶⁶

2. an instrument by Ferdinand Weber (1715–84), dated 1772, with a folding ‘picnic table’ stand. This piano has a compass of two keys less than five octaves (59 notes, GG–f³)²⁶⁷
3. an instrument by Ferdinand Weber, date unknown, with a folding ‘picnic table’ stand. This piano has a compass of two keys less than five octaves (59 notes, GG–f³)²⁶⁸
4. an instrument by Longman & Broderip (ca 1790), with four somewhat unattractive straight square-tapered legs that fold underneath the case.²⁶⁹ At first, this instrument appears to support the notion that Longman & Broderip manufactured campaign-furniture-style pianos as a matter of course. It is not known, however, how many instruments with folding legs Longman & Broderip either commissioned or sold. Significantly, this decoratively plain instrument (whose unadorned nature precludes it from association with the campaign furniture aesthetic) has a keyboard compass of only three octaves (37 notes, F–f² chromatic). This suggests that the piano may have been designed to function as a choirmaster’s or dancing teacher’s instrument, or as a portable piano made for a church organist (the so-called ‘shipboard’ piano, an especially narrow instrument in upright form, is a nineteenth-century invention).

George Worgan’s 1780/86? Beck piano is the only extant late eighteenth-century English square piano with hinged legs whose case dimensions and fully chromatic five-octave keyboard compass reflect contemporaneous norms. That the instrument has cabriole legs and a unique stand designed to be quickly disassembled, packed away, transported and (most importantly) reassembled without using nails, tacks or tools²⁷⁰ further reinforces its distinctiveness.

The design of the butt hinge at the top of each cabriole leg on George Worgan’s piano originated in England during the early eighteenth century. That each hinge leaf is slightly tapered (from the hinge barrel outward) not only saves material and enhances the look, it is also typical of many eighteenth-century English butt hinges.²⁷¹

266 A strikingly beautiful example of a square piano with an identical compass to that of the ca 1771? Trute instrument may be seen in ‘Restored Instrument Archive: Square Piano by John Bland, London c.1790’, in *The Music Room Workshop* (n.d.).

267 This piano is housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Accession Number: 2003.300).

268 On Wednesday 11 March 2015, this square piano was offered for sale in Stansted, UK, by Sworders Fine Art Auctioneers. The instrument was offered as Lot 1395, and sold for £4200.

269 See Watson, *Clinkscale Online*, EP# 2139. See also photographs in ‘Square Piano (Portable Model Accession Number: 89.4.2849’, in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art—Collections* (n.d.).

270 See P. R. McDonald, ‘Campaign Furniture—And a ‘New’ Acquisition for Old Government House’, in *Reflections: The National Trust Quarterly. The National Trust’s Diamond Anniversary Issue: A Celebration of People, Places and Campaigns* (May–July 2005), p. 22.

271 See K. A. Reinhart, ‘Flatback Hinges’, in *Types of Antique Desk Hinges* (2011).

'Throughout ... the 18th [century] ... the typical butt hinge was meant to do its job without drawing attention to itself, functional items such as hinges ... were not in competition with the designed elements for the viewers' attention.' Typically plain English eighteenth-century butt hinges blend in with the woodwork as much as possible.²⁷²

The plain iron hinges for the legs on Worgan's piano reflect this eighteenth-century English aesthetic.

If the hinges were added by someone other than Frederick Beck after the completed piano had left Beck's workshop, it is reasonable to assume that the mortices into which the hinge leafs are recessed would have been close to perfectly (if not perfectly) matched to the hinge leaves' edges. That the mortices cut into the wood are imperfect and rough (Plate 35) conforms with Beck's characteristically 'rushed cabinet-work'²⁷³ and poor-quality carving style, suggesting that Beck himself was responsible for incorporating the hinges into the instrument at the time of its making. (The carving imperfections shown in Plate 35 are representative of each hinge.) The discolouration (oxidisation) of the wood visible at the vertical edges of the mortices suggests that the cavities are not recent, giving further credence to the notion that Beck may have made them.



Plate 35 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—iron butt hinge attaching the top of the rear leg to the case.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

272 'Bright or Not?', in *Whitechapel Ltd: Historical Guide to Hinges* (2011).

273 Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (1980), p. 335.

The 1780/86? Beck piano's unique hinged cabriole legs are an integrated part of the campaign-furniture-inspired stand. Instead of having the French frame's 'lip with recess' at the top of the frame, the top front of the stand has a detachable stretcher (Plate 36). The ends of this front detachable stretcher are inserted into slots at the top of both front legs (Plate 37). This detachable front stretcher tapers off at each end into the curve of the leg (Plate 38), and is held aloft by two brass swivel hooks mounted at either end on the back (Plates 39 and 40). Each hook catches in a square brass catch that protrudes from underneath the case (Plate 41). The front stretcher creates the illusion that the instrument, legs and front stretcher are one article (thereby alluding to the French frame) (Plate 42).

When the instrument is standing, both the detachable lower stretcher running the length of the case and the detachable front stretcher prevent the hinged legs from accidentally folding inwards.

When the detachable stretchers are removed (a quick and easy process), the hinged legs at each end can be quickly folded under the case (Plate 43). When the legs are folded underneath the instrument, the entire article takes up very little space (the fact that space on board ship was limited may have inspired Beck's design).



Plate 36 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): top front of the 'frame'—detachable stretcher running between the top of each front leg.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 37 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—slot in the top of the front leg for the detachable front stretcher.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 38 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—the detachable front stretcher tapers off into the curve of the front leg.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 39 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—brass swivel hook on the back of the detachable front stretcher.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Left: Plate 40 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—brass swivel hook and catch (in situ).

Right: Plate 41 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—square brass catch (for the swivel hook) protruding from underneath the case.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 42 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the front stretcher creates the illusion that the instrument, legs and detachable front stretcher are one article.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 43 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—legs folded underneath.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

The Advantages of Beck's Unique Folding Stand

Trestle Stand

The hinged folding legs and stand of Worgan's piano have several distinct advantages over a trestle stand.

1. When the legs are folded underneath the instrument, only two elements of the stand remain separate from the entire article
 - a) the detachable lower stretcher (running the length of the case when the stand is assembled) the detachable top front stretcher (the ends of which are inserted into slots at the top of both front legs when the stand is assembled).

By way of comparison, when a trestle stand is disassembled, five or eight elements remain separate from the piano

- a) two 'H' end frames
 - b) a single (or two) long stretcher(s)
 - c) two (or four) iron bolts.
2. The risk of losing the several parts that make up a trestle stand is reduced.
 3. The entire instrument can be quickly and easily dismantled and packed away without having to be lifted off its stand first (this is because the legs of Worgan's piano are permanently hinged to the bottom of the instrument's case).
 4. The inconvenience of having to move a separate (assembled or disassembled) trestle stand is minimised.
 5. The stand is more easily and quickly dismantled than a trestle stand.
 6. The hinges of the folding legs on Worgan's piano are more resistant to wear and tear than the wooden hole in the single (or two) crossbar(s) in each of the trestle stand's two 'H' end frames (an iron bolt passes through each wooden hole, joining the crossbars with a long stretcher). Each time a trestle stand is assembled or disassembled, the wooden hole may be slightly damaged by the abrasive action of the iron bolt passing through it. As a consequence, the hole may increase in diameter. Eventually, the hole may become so wide that the trestle's structural integrity is compromised.

French Frame

The hinged folding legs and stand of Worgan's piano have several distinct advantages over a French frame.

1. When the legs are folded underneath the instrument, only two elements of the stand remain separate from the entire article
 - a) the detachable lower stretcher (running the length of the case when the stand is assembled)
 - b) the detachable top front stretcher (the ends of which are inserted into slots at the top of both front legs when the stand is assembled).

By way of comparison, when a French frame is disassembled, eight to 13 elements remain separate from the piano (the exact number of elements depends upon the design of the legs and the presence or absence of an under-tier)

- a) either two stretchers (if the legs at either end are permanently joined by a stretcher) or four stretchers
 - b) either two pairs of legs (if the legs at either end are permanently joined by a stretcher) or four separate legs
 - c) an under-tier (if there is one)
 - d) four iron bolts.
2. The risk of losing the several parts that make up a French frame is reduced.
3. The entire instrument can be quickly and easily dismantled and packed away without having to be lifted off its stand first (this is because the legs of Worgan's piano are permanently hinged to the bottom of the instrument's case).
4. The inconvenience of having to move a separate (assembled or disassembled) French frame is minimised.
5. The stand is more easily and quickly dismantled than a French frame.
6. The hinges of the folding legs on Worgan's piano are more resistant to wear and tear than the wooden hole at the top of each leg in a French frame (an iron bolt passes through the wooden hole, joining the leg with the stretchers at the top). Each time a French frame is assembled or disassembled, the wooden hole may be slightly damaged by the abrasive action of the iron bolt passing through it. As a consequence, the hole may increase in diameter. Eventually, the hole may become so wide that the French frame's structural integrity is compromised.

7. Beck's unique inclusion of hinged, folding legs may have been his response to the knowledge that Worgan intended not only to store the piano on board ship, but also (when occasion dictated) to play it. In order to protect the instrument from storm-at-sea-induced movement, Beck
 - a) used cabriole legs because of their inherent strength and stability
 - b) excluded brass cup castors in order to prevent the instrument sliding around on the floor
 - c) hinged the legs permanently to the underside of the case (if a storm at sea suddenly arose, the piano's stand could be quickly and easily dismantled for safe and protectively immobilised storage).

8. The stand weighs significantly less than a French frame. This has ramifications not only in relation to the ease with which the piano may be moved with its stand assembled, but also in relation to the ease with which the stand may be assembled or disassembled.

It appears that Beck's creative thinking was brought into play because he knew that on board the *Sirius*—as remarked by the soldier, composer, music publisher and 'self-styled expert in the growing market for handbooks of practical tips for the oriental traveller'²⁷⁴ Captain Thomas Williamson (1758–1817) in his *East India Vade-Mecum*—the instrument ran the risk of being 'tumbled about, and shivered to atoms, by the vessel's motion'.²⁷⁵ During a storm, a rampaging piano would have been a distinct liability.

Campaign Furniture

The design principle of hinged, folding legs has its precedent in military 'camp' or 'campaign' furniture.

Campaign (or travelling) furniture was not only durable and practical, but elegant, being designed in the most fashionable contemporary taste ... Examples include ... chairs, tables, desks, writing slopes, bookcases, chests, sofas, trunks, ecclesiastical rostrums, bedsteads, cots, dressing table sets, showers, washstands, bidets, reading lamps and even razor cases.

274 I. Woodfield, *The Calcutta Piano Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, n.d.), p. 5.

275 T. G. Williamson, *East India Vade-Mecum; Or; Complete Guide to Gentlemen Intended for the Civil, Military, or Naval Service of the Hon. East India Company*, 2 vols (London: Black, Parry & Kingsbury, 1810), Vol. 1, p. 48.

The essential difference between elegant household furniture and campaign furniture was that the latter could be quickly disassembled, packed away, transported and (most importantly) reassembled without using nails, tacks or tools.²⁷⁶

Campaign furniture was designed for use by officers on campaign.²⁷⁷ Its innate elegance and superb design

‘reflected the strong sense of superiority of the gentleman-officer class, its rank in both society and in the army, and its attitudes towards travel, camp and battle’. Moreover, it was precisely because issues of class and respectability were taken so seriously that makers of campaign furniture flourished.²⁷⁸

Campaign furniture was ‘suitable for the fitting up of ships’ cabins ... An advertisement for the auction of eighteen packages of ... “camp furniture” by Thompson & Co, Launceston [Tasmania], as late as 1856, suggests that there was a strong and continuing demand for such pieces’.²⁷⁹

Assuming that Beck contrived Worgan’s piano for shipboard use, he would have been aware that Worgan and his piano were destined for Botany Bay. Knowing that the navy and the military were associated both with the First Fleet and with the proposed colony, campaign furniture (long associated with the armed forces) may have inspired Beck’s design for the stand of Worgan’s piano. Beck’s lateral thinking suggests that he may have approached instrument making with an attitude similar to that espoused by George Hepplewhite in 1788: ‘To unite elegance and utility, and blend the useful with the agreeable, has ever been considered a difficult, but an honourable task.’²⁸⁰ Beck’s thinking reflects the wisdom and experience of a mature craftsman (Beck was 48 years old when he completed Worgan’s piano).

276 See McDonald, ‘Campaign Furniture’, p. 22.

277 See ‘Campaign Furniture’, in I. Cameron and E. Kingsley-Rowe (eds), *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques* (London: Wm Collins Sons & Co., 1982), p. 72.

278 McDonald, ‘Campaign Furniture’, p. 22. McDonald takes the quotation from: N. A. Brawer, *British Campaign Furniture. Elegance under Canvas, 1740–1914* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001). The straight square-tapered legs that fold underneath the case of the four-octave (54 notes, C–f³ chromatic) English square piano by Charles Trute (ca 1771?) are quite elegant, and therefore representative of the campaign furniture aesthetic. The straight square-tapered legs that fold underneath the case of the three-octave (37 notes, F–f² chromatic) English square piano by Longman & Broderip (ca 1790) are not representative of the campaign furniture aesthetic; they are not elegant, nor are they designed in the most fashionable contemporary taste. See photographs in ‘Square Piano (Portable Model Accession Number: 89.4.2849’.

279 J. Broadbent, ‘A Survey of Colonial Imports: Furniture’, in J. Broadbent, S. Rickard and M. Steven (eds), *India, China, Australia: Trade and Society 1788–1850* (Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 2003), p. 101.

280 A. Hepplewhite & Co., *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer’s Guide; Or Repository of Designs for Every Article of Household Furniture, in the Newest and Most Approved Taste: Displaying a Great Variety of Patterns ... in the Plainest and Most Enriched Styles; With a Scale to Each, and an Explanation in Letter Press* (London: I. & J. Taylor, 1788).

Extant Pianos by Frederick Beck

Clinkscale²⁸¹ lists 27 Beck pianos. The dates of these instruments (as provided by Clinkscale) are

ca 1770 (estimate)	Owner: Michael Günther Collection, Homburg am Main, Germany ^a
1772	Owner: Mr Tidstrom, Netherlands; formerly housed at the Rien Hasselaar Collection, Amsterdam, Netherlands
1772	Owner(s): unknown ^b
1774	Owner: Bachhaus, Eisenach, Germany (Plate 43b) ^c
1774	Owner(s): unknown
1775	One of two instruments with exquisitely beautiful casework of astonishing quality, made by Beck in conjunction with Christopher Fuhrlohg. Owner: Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight Village, Wirral, UK ^d
1775	Owner: Musée de la Musique, Cité de la Musique—formerly Musée Institut du Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique), Paris, France ^e
1776	Owner: Michael Borgstede, Germany (Plates 43s, 43t, 428b and 428c). ^f Clinkscale identifies the owner of this instrument as the Musikinstrumenten-Museum, Berlin, Germany. The only Beck square piano in that museum's collection, however, is dated 1780 (see 1780 below)
1777	Recently restored to playing condition. Owner: Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada (Plates 43d, 43e and 249) ^g
1777	One of two instruments with exquisitely beautiful casework of astonishing quality, made by Beck in conjunction with Christopher Fuhrlohg. Owner: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada ^h
1778	Owner: Musée instrumental de Bruxelles, Brussels, Belgium ⁱ
1778	The soundboard is dated 1777, denoting a late-year production. ^j Owner: Thomas Strange, Easley, SC, USA (Plate 43f) ^k
1780	Owner: Musikinstrumenten-Museum, Berlin, Germany ^l

281 Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

1780/86?	Owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney, Australia (Plate 43g)
1782	Owner(s): unknown
1782/87?	Owner: Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA; serial number 5008 (Plates 43h, 438 and 440) ^m
1782/90?	Owner: Osaka College of Music Museum, Osaka, Japan. This instrument has a 'tangent action', ⁿ rather than pivoted hammers ^o
1783	Owner: Sibeliusmuseet, Turku, Finland (Plate 43i) ^p
1784	Owner: Eberhard Brünger, Bielefeld, Germany
1785	Owner: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, USA (Plate 43j)
1786	Owner: The Stockholm Music and Theatre Museum, Sweden (Plate 43k) ^q
1788	Owner(s): unknown; serial number 1941 ^r
ca 1790 (estimate)	Owner(s): private collection, England. This instrument has a 'tangent action', rather than pivoted hammers (Plate 43m) ^s
ca 1795 (estimate) ^t	Owner(s): unknown
ca 1795 (estimate)	Owner(s): unknown
ca 1790–98 (attribution)	Owner: Musée de la Musique, Cité de la Musique—formerly Musée Institut du Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique, Paris, France
Date unknown	Owner: Halton Henderson, Dallas, TX, USA

^a See photograph in 'Tafelklavier Fredericus Beck (Friedrich A. Becker) London, ca. 1770 Sammlung Michael Günther, Schloss Homburg a.M., Inv. Nr. 8', in *Clavier am Main Tasteninstrumente der Sammlung Michael Günther* (n.d.). There is no date visible on the nameboard of this instrument.

^b See photograph in D. Hackett, 'The Square Piano in England 1766–1866', in *Square Piano History* (Friends of Square Pianos, n.d.), p. 3.

^c Inv. no. 1. 4. 1. 12., I 86.d

^d See 'Frederick Beck and Christopher Fuhrloh' below. See also photograph in 'English Square Piano', in Lady Lever Art Gallery.

^e Inv. no. E.1530. See photographs in 'Cité de la musique, Paris, France'.

^f See also photograph in C. Sachs, *Das Klavier* (Berlin: Verlag Julius Bard, 1923), photos on p. 13. The distinguished fortepiano dealer and aficionado Andrew Lancaster restored this square piano 'a few years ago' (Email from Andrew Lancaster to the author, 22 December 2013). The instrument eventually passed into the hands of Graham Walker, who acquired it in the United Kingdom at 'a provincial auction a couple of weeks ago. Against an estimate of £200 (no reserve) it was knocked down for £4,000 (+ premium) to ... Graham Walker.' I am indebted to David Hackett for this information (Email from David Hackett to the

author, 24 November 2013). Graham Walker subsequently sold the instrument to Luke Bradley, Lausanne, Switzerland. In ca March 2014, Bradley offered the instrument for sale for £7000. The piano was purchased by its current owner, Michael Borgstede, Germany. The instrument is in excellent condition.

⁸ See P. Gessell, 'Artful Blogger: On July 25, You, Too, Can Hear the 1777 Piano that was Once 'Fit for a Queen'', in *Ottawa Magazine* (15 February 2012).

^h Inv. no. 2002. 23. 1. See photographs in 'Piano; Rectangular Piano', in Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto, 2014). See also Streeter, 'Marquetry Furniture by a Brilliant London Master', p. 424. See also 'Frederick Beck and Christopher Fuhrloh', below.

ⁱ Inv. no. 4110. See photograph in 'Collection Musical Instruments: Square Pianoforte', in Carmentis: Online Museum Catalogue of the RMAH (Brussels: Royal Museums of Art and History, n.d.).

^j I am indebted to Thomas Strange for this information.

^k See also photograph captioned 'A typical early name plaque', in 'Dating Pianos', Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos (n.d.).

^l Inv. no. 2174, Tafel 13. See photographs in hammerfluegel.net/.

^m 'Museum records give a date of 1782, but without explanation.' ('English Square Pianoforte by Frederick Beck, London, circa 1782' in Norfolk Charitable Trust Records.) I am indebted to Elisabeth McGregor, Curator/Archivist of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, for providing me with this information. See '1782/87?', Serial Number 5008', in Appendix L, Volume 2 of this publication.

ⁿ A 'tangent action' has non-pivoting vertical rebounding hammers (rather than pivoted rebounding hammers). 'The distinguishing feature of the so-called tangent action is that the vertical hammers are not attached to any other part of the action but move up and down in a guide similar to the jack guide of the harpsichord ... The non-pivoting vertical hammers are propelled towards the strings from below, either by the keys on which they rest or by intermediate levers interposed between the keys and the hammers.' di Stefano, 'The *Tangentenflügel* and Other Pianos with Non-Pivoting Hammers', p. 80. Beck was granted a patent for his tangent action instruments; this is revealed by the inscription on the nameboard of the ca 1790 (private collection, England) instrument, which reads: *By the King's Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit Patent / No. 10 Broad Street Soho*. Moreover, a handwritten inscription on the soundboard, near the bridge, states: *A. F. Beck. 1790 Patent*. See Plate 16b.

^o This instrument can be heard at www.youtube.com/watch?v=L7_DsOxDR6c (retrieved 15 June 2013); and www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Z2xie6diGY (retrieved 15 June 2013).

^p Inv. no. 0171.

^q Inv. no. N61230.

^r See Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (2007–13).

^s See Appendix M, Volume 2 of this publication.

^t Because of this instrument's extended keyboard compass (FF–c⁴), Kenneth Mobbs proposes a date of 1795. See Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

Clinkscale erroneously attributes the ca 1790–98 piano to Frederick Beck. The instrument was made by Joseph Beck.²⁸²

Six known Beck instruments are not listed by Clinkscale

1. a piano dated ca 1769–73 (a date towards the end of the range seems most likely: ca 1772–73), made for Longman, Lukey & Co., and reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck;²⁸³ owner: Albert Bil, Scotland (Plate 43u and 425b)²⁸⁴

²⁸² This instrument is a miniature piano, with a keyboard compass of only two octaves. See text and photographs in 'Cité de la musique, Paris, France'.

²⁸³ See photographs in Hackett, '(2) An Early London Square Piano Made for Longman, Lukey & Co. c. 1774'. The attribution to Beck is based largely on the absence of dampers after c₃; the undamped top five notes are characteristic of Beck's instruments (no other maker of square pianos followed this damping pattern).

²⁸⁴ I am indebted to David Hackett for information regarding the current owner of this instrument.

2. a piano dated 1773; owner: Pelham Galleries, London, UK (Plate 43a)²⁸⁵
3. a piano dated 1778? (estimate); owner(s): unknown; serial number 3091²⁸⁶
4. a piano dated 1782; owner: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, Germany²⁸⁷
5. a piano dated ca 1790? (the nameboard inscription reads: *No 2505 / F Beck et G Corrie Londini Fecerunt / No 10 Broad Street Soho*; owner(s): unknown, in Germany; serial number 2505 (Plate 43r)²⁸⁸
6. a piano dated ca 1790; owner(s): unknown; serial number 2580.²⁸⁹

When the 26 instruments made by Frederick Beck in Clinkscale's list—that is, excluding the instrument by *Joseph Beck*—are combined with the six Beck instruments not recorded in Clinkscale (including both the ca 1769–73/probably ca 1772–73 instrument made for Longman, Lukey & Co. and the ca 1790? instrument, serial number 2505, made by Beck & Corrie)—32 extant square pianos by Frederick Beck can be identified.

ca 1770 (estimate)	Owner: Michael Günther Collection, Homburg am Main, Germany)
ca 1769–73/ probably ca 1772–73 (attribution)	Owner: Albert Bil, Scotland
1772	Owner: Mr Tidstrom, Netherlands
1772	Owner(s): unknown
1773	Owner: Pelham Galleries, London, UK
1774	Owner: Bachhaus, Eisenach, Germany
1774	Owner(s): unknown

285 The 1773 Beck square piano can be heard on *Claviers mozartiens* (Lyrinx, 2006), CD, LYR 2251, tracks 11–13 (inclusive); the instrument is played by the virtuoso scholar-musician Pierre Goy. Alan Rubin, of Pelham Galleries, London, UK, acquired this instrument from the widow of the eminent musicologist H. C. Robbins Landon (1926–2009). The instrument is in fine condition, and currently plays very nicely. I am indebted to Alan Rubin for this information (Email from Alan Rubin to the author, 9 April 2013). See photograph in 'An Early George III Square Piano by Frederick Beck, London 1773', in *Pelham Galleries* (London, n.d.). See also photograph in 'Dating Pianos'.

286 See 'Sale 6414 Lot 277', in *Christie's The Art People* (n.d.).

287 See photograph in Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, Plate 110a 'Das Tafelklavier von Beck', p. 54.

288 I am indebted to Graham Walker for photographs of and information regarding this instrument.

289 On Thursday, 12 December 2013, this square piano was offered for sale in Conway Hall, Holborn, London, by Piano Auctions Limited, with an estimate of £2000–3000. The reserve was too high, and the instrument did not sell. The provenance of this square piano is unknown. The instrument currently requires significant restoration, especially the front right corner, which is badly cracked and requires gluing and clamping. I am indebted to Andrew Snedden, York, UK, for this information (Email from Andrew Snedden to the author, 12 December 2013).

- 1775 One of two instruments with exquisitely beautiful casework of astonishing quality, made by Beck in conjunction with Christopher Fuhrlohg. Owner: Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight Village, Wirral, UK
- 1775 Owner: Musée de la Musique, Cité de la Musique, Paris, France
- 1776 Owner: Michael Borgstede, Germany
- 1777 Owner: Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada
- 1777 One of two instruments with exquisitely beautiful casework of astonishing quality, made by Beck in conjunction with Christopher Fuhrlohg. Owner: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada
- 1778 Owner: Musée instrumental de Bruxelles, Brussels, Belgium
- 1778 The soundboard is dated 1777, denoting a late-year production. Owner: Thomas Strange, Easley, SC, USA
- 1778? (estimate) Owner(s): unknown; serial number 3091
- 1780 Owner: Musikinstrumenten-Museum, Berlin, Germany
- 1780/86? George Worgan's piano. Owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney, Australia
- 1782 Owner: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, Germany
- 1782 Owner(s): unknown
- 1782/87? Owner: Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA; serial number 5008
- 1782/90? 'Tangent action' instrument. Owner: Osaka College of Music Museum, Osaka, Japan
- 1783 Owner: Sibeliusmuseet, Turku, Finland
- 1784 Owner: Eberhard Brünger, Bielefeld, Germany
- 1785 Owner: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, USA
- 1786 Owner: The Stockholm Music and Theatre Museum, Sweden
- 1788 Owner(s): unknown; serial number 1941
- ca 1790 (estimate) 'Tangent action' instrument. Owner(s): private collection, England

ca 1790?	Owner(s): unknown, in Germany; serial number 2505
ca 1790	Owner(s): unknown; serial number 2580
ca 1795 (estimate)	Owner(s): unknown
ca 1795 (estimate)	Owner(s): unknown)
Date unknown	Owner: Halton Henderson, Dallas, TX, USA)

Of these 32 extant Beck instruments, the owners of nine are unknown to the author.

On Saturday, 4 April 2009, a Beck square piano was offered for sale at auction by Canterbury Auction Galleries—40 Station Street West, Canterbury, Kent, UK. The instrument was described as a 'late 18th/early 19th Century mahogany square piano by Frederick Beck of London, now converted to a dressing table, inlaid with satinwood bandings and boxwood stringings, fitted three drawers, on square tapered legs and brass caps and casters'.²⁹⁰ The piano was offered as Lot 562, and sold for £100. The unfortunate conversion of this instrument into a dressing table precludes its inclusion in data regarding extant Beck pianos.

Although the extant pianos made by Frederick Beck are of the square type, there is no reason to suppose that he did not also make grand pianos. An advertisement published in *The Whitehall Evening Post* of Thursday 14 – Saturday 16 August 1794 suggests that Beck made a grand piano: 'Sales by Auction ... a Capital Grand Piano Forte by Beck'²⁹¹ (late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century newspaper advertisements were consistently specific when identifying a grand piano for sale; when appropriate, the word 'grand' was included). To the author's knowledge, this is the only contemporaneous evidence that links Beck with the manufacture of a grand piano.

290 'Saturday, April 04 2009 Monthly Interiors Auction' in *The Canterbury Auction Galleries*.

291 *The Whitehall Evening Post*, 14–16 August 1794, No. 7449, p. 1. See '1794' in Appendix N, Volume 2 of this publication.

The Stands of Extant Beck Instruments

Eight of the 27 Beck instruments listed in Clinkscale have a trestle stand (pianos dated ca 1770,²⁹² 1772,²⁹³ 1774, 1775,²⁹⁴ 1776,²⁹⁵ 1777,²⁹⁶ 1778²⁹⁷ and 1780). Clinkscale does not describe the stands of 11 instruments included in her list; furthermore, her description of the stands of three instruments is not specific enough to allow for certainty.

Of the six Beck pianos not listed in Clinkscale, two have a trestle stand (pianos dated ca 1769–73/probably ca 1772–73,²⁹⁸ and 1773).²⁹⁹

Nine pianos in Clinkscale's list have a French frame (pianos dated 1782/87?, serial number 5008;³⁰⁰ 1782/90?,³⁰¹ 1783;³⁰² 1785;³⁰³ 1786;³⁰⁴ 1788, serial number 1941; ca 1790 [estimate];³⁰⁵ ca 1795 [estimate]; and ca 1795 [estimate]).

Four of the six Beck pianos not listed in Clinkscale have a French frame (pianos dated 1778? (estimate), serial number 3091,³⁰⁶ 1782,³⁰⁷ ca 1790?, serial number 2505;³⁰⁸ and ca 1790, serial number 2580).³⁰⁹

In relation to the 32 extant Frederick Beck square pianos, the author is aware of the following types of stand on 29 instruments:

292 See photograph in 'Tafelklavier Fredericus Beck (Friedrich A. Becker) London, ca. 1770 Sammlung Michael Günther, Schloss Homburg a.M., Inv. Nr. 8.'

293 See photograph in Hackett, 'The Square Piano in England 1766–1866', p. 3.

294 See photographs in 'Cité de la musique, Paris, France; specifically, 194.250.19.151/media/CM/IMAGE/CMIM000030107.jpg. See also photograph in Cole, 'Square Pianos (newly revised April 2012)', 2nd image.

295 See Plate 43s below. See also photograph in Sachs, *Das Klavier*, photos on p. 13.

296 See Plate 43e below. See also photograph in Gessell, 'Artful Blogger'.

297 See Plate 43f below.

298 See Plate 43u below. See also photograph in Hackett, '(2) An Early London Square Piano made for Longman, Lukey & Co. c. 1774'.

299 See Plate 43a below. See also photograph in 'An Early George III Square Piano by Frederick Beck, London 1773'. See also photograph in 'Dating Pianos', first image.

300 Owner: Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA. See Plate 43h below.

301 See photograph in di Stefano, 'The *Tangentenflügel* and Other Pianos with Non-Pivoting Hammers', p. 90.

302 See Plates 43i and 43n.

303 See Plate 43j below. 'The stand was updated when the piano was about fifteen years old. The amateur effort approximates ... [a] French frame design but without an apron.' Watson, *Changing Keys*, p. 51. See also photograph in Watson, *Clinkscale Online*, 'Photos: EP# 408 Square Beck, Frederick'. See also Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 20.

304 I am indebted to Dan Johannson, Curator of the Stockholm Music and Theatre Museum, for this information.

305 See Plate 43m. See also photograph in di Stefano, 'The *Tangentenflügel* and Other Pianos with Non-Pivoting Hammers', p. 101, Figure 17.

306 Owner(s): unknown.

307 Owner: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, Germany. See photograph in Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, Plate 110a 'Das Tafelklavier von Beck', p. 54.

308 Owner(s): unknown, in Germany. See Plate 43r.

309 I am indebted to Andrew Snedden for this information (Email from Andrew Snedden to the author, 12 December 2013).

ca 1770	Trestle
ca 1769–73 (probably ca 1772–73)	Owner: Albert Bil, Scotland—trestle (Plate 43u)
1772	Owner: Mr Tidstrom, Netherlands—the original stand is missing ^a
1772	Owner(s): unknown—trestle
1773	Trestle
1774	Owner: Bachhaus, Eisenach, Germany—four freestanding, apron-less, round-tapered, fluted screw-in legs (Plates 43b and 43c)
1774	Owner(s): unknown—trestle
1775	Beck/Fuhrlohg—no legs
1775	Owner: Musée de la Musique, Cité de la Musique, Paris, France—trestle
1776	Owner: Michael Borgstede, Germany—trestle
1777	Beck/Fuhrlohg—the legs are derived from a French frame
1777	Owner: Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada—trestle
1778	Owner: Musée instrumental de Bruxelles, Brussels, Belgium—the original stand is missing and has been replaced with four modern freestanding square-tapered legs
1778	Owner: Thomas Strange, Easley, SC, USA—trestle
1778? (estimate)	Owner(s): unknown; serial number 3091—French frame
1780	Owner: Musikinstrumenten-Museum, Berlin, Germany—trestle
1780/86?	George Worgan's piano. Owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney, Australia—hinged, folding cabriole legs
1782	Owner: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, Germany—French frame
1782/87?	Owner: Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA; serial number 5008—French frame
1782/90?	Owner: Osaka College of Music Museum, Osaka, Japan. 'Tangent action' instrument—French frame
1783	French frame—the legs are original, the apron is not (Plates 43i and 43n) ^b
1785	Owner: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, USA—French frame (the stand was updated when the instrument was approximately 15 years old) (Plate 43j)

1786	Owner: Stockholm Music and Theatre Museum, Sweden— French frame
1788	Serial number 1941—French frame
ca 1790 (estimate)	'Tangent action' instrument—French frame (Plate 43m)
ca 1790?	Serial number 2505—French frame (Plate 43r)
ca 1790	Serial number 2580—French frame
ca 1795	French frame
ca 1795	French frame

^a Of the two extant Beck square pianos dated 1772, this is the instrument currently owned by Mr Tidstrom, Netherlands. I am indebted to Stanley Hoogland for this information.

^b I am indebted to Inger Jakobsson-Wärn, Director and Curator of the Sibelius Museum, Turku, Finland, for this information.

These data suggest that at some stage during the early 1780s, Beck ceased providing trestle stands for his pianos, providing instead French frames, which is consistent with the changing fashion of the time.



Plate 43a Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1773).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Pelham Galleries, London.



Plate 43b Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1774).

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Bachhaus, Eisenach/Neue Bachgesellschaft e.V., Inv. no. 1. 4. 1. 12, I 86.



Plate 43c Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1774): round-tapered, fluted screw-in leg—the moulded circular boss lends a touch of ornament to the round capitals (a variant of the French style).

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Bachhaus, Eisenach/Neue Bachgesellschaft e.V., Inv. no. 1. 4. 1. 12, I 86.



Plate 43d Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1777).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Carleton University, School for Studies in Art and Culture (Music), Ottawa. Photo by James Park.



Plate 43e Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1777): lid removed—trestle stand.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Carleton University, School for Studies in Art and Culture (Music), Ottawa. Photo by James Park.

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View



Plate 43f Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1778).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Thomas Strange.



Plate 43g Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 43h Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?, serial number 5008).

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA.



Plate 43i Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783).

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Sibelius Museum, Turku, Finland, Inv. no. 0171.

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View



**Plate 43j Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1785).**

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, USA.
Photo by John R. Watson.



**Plate 43k Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1786).**

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Stockholm Music and Theatre Museum, Inv. no. N61230.
Photo by Dan Andersson.



Plate 43m Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Malcolm Rose. Photo by Malcolm Rose.



Plate 43n Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783): French frame—the square-tapered legs are original; the apron is not.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Sibelius Museum, Turku, Finland, Inv. no. 0171.



Plate 43o Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783): nameboard decoration—exquisite handpainted swags on either side of and around the inscription cartouche.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Sibelius Museum, Turku, Finland, Inv. no. 0171.



Plate 43p Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783): nameboard decoration (detail).

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Sibelius Museum, Turku, Finland, Inv. no. 0171.



Plate 43q Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): nameboard decoration—exquisitely detailed handpainted sprays of flowers on either side of the nameboard inscription.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Malcolm Rose. Photo by Malcolm Rose.



Plate 43r Square piano by Frederick Beck and George Corrie (London, ca 1790?, serial number 2505): sometime during the Victorian or Edwardian period, the case was painted with neo-classical decoration.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Graham Walker. Photo by Graham Walker.

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View



Plate 43s Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1776).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Michael Borgstede.



Plate 43t Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1776): nameboard.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Michael Borgstede.



Plate 43u Square piano by Longman, Lukey & Co. (1769–73), reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1772–73).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Albert Bil. Photo by David Hackett.

The beautiful Beck/Fuhrlohg piano of 1775 has no legs.³¹⁰ Being ‘a decorative piece of furniture’ (a commode)³¹¹ as well as ‘a useful musical instrument’,³¹² this piano takes the form of a rectangular box that extends to the ground. ‘There are cupboard doors at either end which open sets of shelves. The lid, decorated with a bouquet of roses, is hinged at the back and lifts to reveal the piano, while the front frieze panel is removable to allow access to the keyboard.’³¹³ James erroneously observes that there is ‘no recess for the legs of a player seated before it’;³¹⁴ however, the ‘recessed section of the front plinth was ... removable [in order] to make room for the player’s feet, but this is now screwed in place’.³¹⁵ Nevertheless, the

instrument was never player-friendly. There is no music stand nor, it would seem, has there ever been one. Also, although the central panel in

310 See James, *Early Keyboard Instruments*, ‘Plate LVIII Square Pianoforte by Frederick Beck English, 1775’, p. 138. See also ‘Frederick Beck and Christopher Fuhrlohg’, below. See also photograph in ‘English Square Piano’, in *Lady Lever Art Gallery*.

311 See ‘Commode’ in Appendix Q, Volume 2 this publication.

312 James, *Early Keyboard Instruments*, p. 138.

313 ‘English Square Piano’, in *Lady Lever Art Gallery*.

314 James, *Early Keyboard Instruments*, ‘Plate LVIII Square Pianoforte by Frederick Beck English, 1775’, p. 138.

315 ‘English Square Piano’, in *Lady Lever Art Gallery*.

the [front] plinth was originally removable to accommodate the player's feet, no similar provision was made for the seated player's knees ... [the] keyboard is too low to be played comfortably from a standing position.³¹⁶

The cabriole legs of Worgan's 1780/86? piano are unique for an English square piano of the time. The fact that these legs are hinged (in order that they can be folded underneath the instrument) enhances their uniqueness.

The hinged cabriole legs of Worgan's piano represent a design element that strengthens the hypothesis that this was the instrument brought to Australia by Worgan on board the *Sirius*—this is because the piano's hinged legs

1. are expedient for safe and protectively immobilised storage within the context of a shipboard journey
2. are inspired by campaign furniture—that is, predicated on the principle that the article can be 'quickly folded up ... without the use of nails, tacks or tools'³¹⁷—thereby having practical advantages in relation to moving and storing the instrument.

That Frederick Beck may have incorporated the unique folding legs into Worgan's piano at the time of its making is suggested by the fact that

1. the iron butt hinges are typical of those used in late eighteenth-century England
2. the imperfect and rough mortices within which the hinges sit are typical of Frederick Beck's 'rushed cabinet-work'³¹⁸ and poor-quality carving style.

Storage Box

There is no documentary evidence suggesting that Worgan took the step of having a storage box made to protect his piano. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, storage boxes specifically made for keyboard instruments were usually accurately described as such by commentators. This is because piano storage boxes were not commonly part of either a household's or an individual's chattels; such boxes were expensive and complex pieces of furniture. In 1798, for example, the cost of the storage box provided by Longman & Broderip for Lord Edward Clive's (1754–1839) piano was one-fifth of the cost of the piano itself:³¹⁹

316 Ibid.

317 McDonald, 'Campaign Furniture', p. 22.

318 Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick' (1980), p. 335.

319 Quoted in I. Woodfield, *Music of the Raj: A Social and Economic History of Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Indian Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 17.

A new patent piano forte £31 10s. 0d.
 A packing case 14s. 0d.
 Tuning and regulating a grand piano 7s. 6d.
 A deal chest of drawer with locks and handles and lifting
 handles with case for piano and other instruments £6 12s 1d.
 a smooth case for piano frame [that is, piano stand] 14s. 6d.

Not all piano storage boxes were as expensive as Lord Edward Clive's, and it appears that his storage box was made for a grand piano, not a square piano, but the design of such items ensured that they were never inexpensive.

Captain Thomas Williamson describes the complex design of keyboard instrument storage boxes. While providing advice for the traveller at sea, Williamson states in his *East India Vade-Mecum*:

Ladies will derive considerable convenience and gratification from having an exterior case made to enclose the piano-forte, leaving a space of about an inch all around. This outward safeguard should be of planed deal, stained of a mahogany color, or painted; and it should open in front, so as to admit of playing the instrument, while its lid should be fixed upon hinges, that it may be thrown back at pleasure. The lower part of the frame [that is, stand] may be packed, and laid by; a spare frame of deal being substituted during the voyage, with a set of shelves below to contain music, books, &c.; all locked up by means of folding doors. Both the exterior case, and the frame, ought to be furnished with lacquered iron handles, whereby to lift them occasionally; but particularly intended to secure them to the side of the ship, and to the deck.³²⁰

The sales pitch was that a storage box would not only provide easy access to the instrument while on board, but also afford a degree of protection in stormy seas. Of course, recommended 'extras' raised the storage box's selling price.³²¹

For those oceanic travellers who were unable to enjoy the virtues and complexities of a purpose-made piano storage box, a comparatively simple alternative was available. Judge Advocate Ellis Bent³²² (1783–1815), writing to his mother in England from Sydney on Friday, 27 April 1810, states:

320 Williamson, *East India Vade-Mecum*, pp. 47–8.

321 See Woodfield, *The Calcutta Piano Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century*, p. 6.

322 'Ellis Bent ... was appointed deputy judge advocate in New South Wales as from 1 January 1809 ... He sailed with his wife and son in H.M.S. Dromedary, the ship carrying [Governor] Lachlan Macquarie to his command, and the two men became firm friends.' C. H. Currey, 'Bent, Ellis (1783–1815)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University, 1966) [first published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1966], Vol. 1.

[M]y first spare money should be appropriated to the purchase of a small pianoforte [that is, a square piano] by Broadwood, with pedals and additional keys, as good of its kind as can be.—To come safe it ought first to be packed in tin, soldiered down, & then put in a strong iron bound, wooden case.³²³

This style of piano storage box was not particularly cheap. The use of tin, however, had a surprising financial benefit for those shipping a piano to Sydney. Ellis Bent (writing from Sydney) remarks: 'Do not be deterred by the expense of packing & shipping for the tin will sell here for treble that expence.'³²⁴

The advantage of this type of packing system lay in the airtight environment that existed within the soldered tin box. A disadvantage, however, lay in the fact that the instrument could not be accessed until the conclusion of the voyage.

Square and grand pianos benefited from the reliable protective strengths of this type of storage box. Ellis Bent observes:

Broadwood will take upon himself the whole trouble of packing and shipping, for he did so with Mrs. Macquarie, who brought out a charming grand piano, packed in this manner, without sustaining the slightest Injury, while one of Mrs. Carter's packed in a different manner was quite spoiled.³²⁵

No documentary evidence suggests that on his voyage to Botany Bay, George Bouchier Worgan did (or did not) place his square piano in a protective storage box.

Mahogany Veneer

That Frederick Beck (and his piano-making English contemporaries) made lavish use of mahogany veneer for the cases of even the cheapest form of square piano seems inexplicably indulgent. In 1780 or 1786?, however, when Beck was veneering Worgan's piano, not only was mahogany 'the fashionable wood of choice'³²⁶ (mahogany was 'chosen for the beauty of its grain'),³²⁷ but also good-quality mahogany was easily available in London.

323 E. Bent, 'Letter to His Mother', 27 April 1810 (Handwritten copy by Stewart Symonds; in Symonds' possession). See National Library of Australia: Ellis Bent Correspondence: MS 195, pp. 147–48. See also 'Letters from Sydney', in P. J. Byrne (ed.), *Judge Advocate Ellis Bent: Letters and Diaries 1809–1811* (Annandale, NSW: Desert Pea Press/The Federation Press, 2012).

324 Bent, 'Letter to His Mother'.

325 Ibid.

326 Riding, *Mid-Georgian Britain 1740–69*, p. 29.

327 Streeter, 'Marquetry Furniture by a Brilliant London Master', p. 418.

English furniture makers had enjoyed unhindered access to mahogany since the early eighteenth century. From ca 1715, mahogany was shipped to England from Jamaica and the Caribbean. (During the early eighteenth century, mahogany was known as ‘right Jamaica wood’.)³²⁸ ‘Between 1723–1763, Jamaica and the British colonies in the West Indies supplied well over 90% of the large amounts of mahogany imported into England.’³²⁹ In this respect, ‘Jamaica’s importance continued until 1790’.³³⁰

Mahogany from Spanish-controlled San Domingo was regarded as being of very good quality. This mahogany was referred to at the time as ‘Spanish mahogany’.³³¹

The next grade was mahogany from Cuba. Adam Bowett dispels the myth that the mahogany used for eighteenth-century English furniture was mainly from Cuba.³³² In 1768—and as a representative example—‘the Lancaster furniture makers Gillows ordered timber from one of their Liverpool suppliers. Gillows told their supplier that on no account should they send Cuban mahogany, because “it won’t do at all”.’³³³ It was not until the 1850s that ‘a greater share of the British market’ was taken by Cuban mahogany.³³⁴

By the time Beck was making Worgan’s square piano, mahogany from Honduras was greatly sought after by London cabinet-makers. Not only was it stable, it was also easily available in very wide boards (between 610 millimetres and 660 millimetres) and was therefore suitable for case furniture—for example, bureaus, bookcases and chests of drawers.³³⁵

The quality of the mahogany veneer on the 1780/86? Beck piano suggests that the wood may have come from Jamaica, San Domingo or Honduras. Beck, as with contemporaneous London furniture makers, ‘either bought his veneer ready sawed from his timber merchant or sawed it out ... himself’.³³⁶ Beck would have been aware of the increase in costs associated with acquiring his veneers ready sawed. As the French cabinetmaker André Jacob Roubo (1739–91) observed in 1774:

It is not the cabinet-makers who resaw their own wood, but workmen who specialize in this trade and who resaw not only for the cabinetmakers

328 A. Bowett, ‘Myths of English Furniture History: Cuban Mahogany’, in *Antique Collecting* (Woodbridge, UK: Antique Collectors’ Club, 1998), February, p. 13, cols. 2–3.

329 *Ibid.*, p. 11, col. 2.

330 *Ibid.*, p. 13, col. 3.

331 G. Beard, *The National Trust Book of English Furniture* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1986), p. 26.

332 Bowett, ‘Myths of English Furniture History’, pp. 11–13.

333 *Ibid.*, p. 12, col. 1.

334 *Ibid.*, p. 13, col. 1.

335 Beard, *The National Trust Book of English Furniture*, p. 26; Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 231.

336 Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, p. 217.

but also for the *luthiers* and in general all those who employ thin wood. These workmen or sawyers are paid by the pound, that is to say, by the weight of wood which is brought to them, which with the loss of wood in sawdust renders the wood nearly two-thirds more expensive, an important consideration.³³⁷

Typically for late eighteenth-century square pianos, the mahogany-veneered case of George Worgan's Beck square piano is wax polished. The nameboard and interior are varnished 'using the standard spirit varnish of the [contemporaneous] furniture trade'.³³⁸ (It was not until after 1830 that "'French polishing" was introduced' in relation to the cabinetwork of English pianos, 'applying layer after layer of shellac dissolved in alcohol to produce a brilliantly shining surface, with a translucent body, which revealed every bit of lustre in the timber beneath'.)³³⁹

From 1770, the plain surfaces of English pianos were commonly divided visually with lines of a contrasting colour. These lines were usually created using inlay, and formed rectangular panels. Inlaid lines were also used to follow and emphasise the form of elaborately shaped furniture.³⁴⁰ This characteristically English inlay is a feature of the cabinetwork on Worgan's Beck square piano.

Beck's Inlay

The beautiful inlaid casework (as well as the inclusion of elegant square-tapered cabriole legs) of Worgan's piano may help to explain why Arthur Bowes Smyth (1750–90), surgeon on the First Fleet's women's convict ship, the *Lady Penrhyn*, described the instrument as being 'very fine'.³⁴¹ Some years later, in 1815 (and doubtless for the same reasons), the instrument was described as 'very handsome'.³⁴²

The outside of the mahogany-veneered lid and case of Worgan's piano is decorated with inlaid lines comprising a simplified form of Tunbridgeware (Plates 44–6). On Worgan's piano, the inlaid lines seamlessly progress from the instrument's case to the stand. The inlaid lines then follow the curved inside edge of each leg down to the leg termination (Plate 47), not only emphasising

337 A. J. Roubo, *L'Art du menuisier*, 3 parts (Paris: Académie Royale des Sciences, L'imprimerie de L. F. Delatour, 1769–74), *L'Art du menuisier-ébéniste, troisième section de la troisième partie* (1774), p. 799. Translated by F. Hubbard, in Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, pp. 200–1.

338 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 102.

339 *Ibid.*, pp. 101–2.

340 See *ibid.*, p. 101.

341 A. B. Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth, 1787 Mar. 22 – 1789 Aug. 8', in *Bowes Smyth, Arthur, 1750–1790* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, Digital Collections, 1787–89), Parts 41–2.

342 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 14 January 1815, Vol. 13, No. 580 (Canberra: Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 2.

the sensuous form of each leg, but also providing a ravishingly beautiful and rarely encountered decorative unity. That the inlaid decoration is so perfectly and aesthetically integrated suggests not only that the stand derives from Beck's workshop, but also that the piano and its stand may have been made together.

Beck's use of simplified Tunbridgeware inlay is a recurring decorative characteristic of his work, and is not unique to Worgan's 1780/86? piano. As representative examples, the cases of extant square pianos that Beck made in 1772,³⁴³ 1773 (Plate 43a),³⁴⁴ 1774 (Plate 43b), 1775,³⁴⁵ 1776 (Plate 43s),³⁴⁶ 1777 (Plates 43d, 43e and 429),³⁴⁷ 1778 (Plate 43f), 1782³⁴⁸ and 1786 (Plate 43k) all contain simplified Tunbridgeware inlay. When compared with the inlaid decorative lines commonly encountered on square pianos made by late eighteenth-century English makers, Beck's simplified Tunbridgeware design is (to say the least) both opulent and ravishing.



Plate 44 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): lockboard, decorated with a simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

343 See photograph in Hackett, 'The Square Piano in England 1766–1866', p. 3.

344 See also photograph in 'An Early George III Square Piano by Frederick Beck, London 1773'. See also photograph in 'Dating Pianos'.

345 See photographs in 'Cité de la musique, Paris, France. See also photograph in Cole, 'A Brief History'.

346 See also Sachs, *Das Klavier*, photos on p. 13.

347 See also photograph in Gessell, 'Artful Blogger'. See also photographs in 'Making One of Canada's Oldest Pianos Playable', in *Columns: The Link—Culture Corner* (Radio Canada International, n.d.). The case and lid decoration shown in Plate 429 are particularly opulent.

348 See Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, Plate 110a 'Das Tafelklavier von Beck, p. 54, and Plate 110d 'Rechte Gehäusesseite', p. 55. See also photographs 'Beck_um_1782_04.jpg', 'Beck_um_1782_24.jpg' and 'Beck_um_1782_25.jpg', in <http://hammerfluegel.net/>.



Plate 45 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): outside of the lid, decorated with a simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay running parallel with the edge—this inlay is identical to that found on the outside of the case.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 46 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): front of the case—decorated with a simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay running parallel with the edge.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 47 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument, front leg—a simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay follows the curved inside of the leg, down to the leg termination.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

The comparatively bland decorative lines on the cases of the 1783, 1785, ca 1790 (estimate) and ca 1790? Beck square pianos do not feature a simplified Tunbridgeware design (respectively: Plates 43i, 43j, 43m and 43r); however, the nameboard decoration on these instruments compensates for any lack of ornamental character.

1. The nameboard of the 1783 instrument is embellished with handpainted swags on either side of and around the inscription cartouche (Plates 43o and 43p).

2. The nameboard of the 1785 piano has a prominent inscription cartouche comprising an elongated rectangular form with convex rounded ends (Plate 43j).³⁴⁹
3. The nameboard of the ca 1790 (estimate) Beck square piano (a 'tangent action' instrument)³⁵⁰ has elaborate, exquisitely detailed handpainted sprays of flowers (Plate 43q).³⁵¹
4. The nameboard on the ca 1790? Frederick Beck and George Corrie piano (serial number 2505) has intricate handpainted decoration (Plate 43r).

Typically for the time, decisions regarding the decoration of an instrument were made in response to what a customer could afford. The nameboard decoration on the pianos of 1783, 1785, ca 1790 (estimate) and ca 1790? suggests that these instruments may have been made for someone who: 1) could not afford Beck's simplified Tunbridgeware-style inlay; 2) did not desire an instrument decorated with Beck's simplified Tunbridgeware-design inlay; or 3) elected to have the piano's decorative focus located on the nameboard.

Some of the inlay woods that Beck used for case decoration may have been imported from Amsterdam. In 1759, Philemon-Louis Savary des Bruslons (son of the Inspector-General of Customs and Manufacturing in Paris Jacques Savary des Bruslons [1657–1716]) remarked:

*Il se fait à Amsterdam un très grand commerce de toutes sortes de Bois, mais particulièrement de ce qui sont propres à la tainture, à la marqueterie & à la tableterie.*³⁵²

[A very extensive commerce in all sorts of wood is carried on at Amsterdam, but particularly in those species which are suitable for dyeing, marquetry and inlay work.]³⁵³

349 Beck's 1780s nameboard inscription cartouches almost invariably comprise an elongated rectangular form, either with ogee pointed ends (Plate 17a) or with convex rounded ends (for example, Plates 20a, 43j and 43k). Of the 32 extant Beck pianos, 11 date from the 1780s. Of these 11, the author is aware of the form of nameboard inscription cartouche on seven instruments: 1) four of the seven 1780s instruments have a cartouche comprising an elongated rectangular form with convex rounded ends; 2) one of the seven 1780s instruments has a cartouche comprising a stylised small rectangular form (Plate 43h); 3) one of the seven 1780s instruments (1782/90?) has a plain elongated rectangular form (see photograph in di Stefano, 'The *Tangentenflügel* and Other Pianos with Non-Pivoting Hammers', Figure 8, p. 90)—this instrument is owned by the Osaka College of Music Museum, Japan; and 4) one of the seven 1780s instruments has a cartouche comprising an elongated rectangular form with ogee pointed ends (Plates 15, 17a and 43g). See '1782/87?', Serial Number 5008' in Appendix L, Volume 2 of this publication.

350 See 'Tangent action' in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

351 See also photograph in di Stefano, 'The *Tangentenflügel* and Other Pianos with Non-Pivoting Hammers', Figure 17, p. 101.

352 P.-L. Savary des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire universel de commerce, D; Histoire Naturelle, & des Arts & Métiers ... contenant tout ce qui concerne ... le commerce qui se fait dans les quatre parties du monde, par terre, par mer, de proche en proche, & par des voyages de long cours, tant en gros qu'en détail ... Les Chambres D'Assurances, 5 vols* (Copenhagen: Claude Philibert, 1759–66), Vol. 1 (1759), p. 566.

353 Translated by Hubbard, in *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, p. 202.

Beck's inlaid simplified Tunbridgeware-style decoration is not particularly English, and may have been regarded as attractively exotic by Beck's British customers. It may reflect the following.

1. Beck's possible German origin: between ca 1650 and 1725, 'one striking quality in the South German style' of harpsichord decoration 'is the prevalence of inlaid materials'. During the eighteenth century, North German harpsichord decoration 'carried on the ... southern German tradition in the use of contrasting ornamental materials, showing a fondness for striking ... inlay'.³⁵⁴
2. The time Beck spent in Paris,³⁵⁵ revealing the influence of the French predilection for exquisitely decorated furniture.
3. Beck's association with the immigrant Swedish-born, Paris-trained cabinet-maker and marquetry master Christopher Fuhrloh, who, in 1769, set up his workshop at 24 Tottenham Court Road, London.³⁵⁶

Frederick Beck and Christopher Fuhrloh

In 1775 and 1777, Beck and Fuhrloh produced two of the most beautiful square pianos in existence. Beck signed and dated both instruments.³⁵⁷ The casework of these unique pianos is so beyond the ordinary that they must have been specially commissioned; each instrument has been given—at what must have been the highest cost to the buyer—all the luxurious treatment of Palace furniture'.³⁵⁸

The case of the 1775 piano is

no more than a great box with a top that lifts up to disclose the keyboard and with doors at either end that enclose cabinets for storing music. The case could scarcely have been designed by a pianomaker, as ... the practical consideration of providing knee room for a seated player has been sacrificed ruthlessly to a monumental design. A plinth and the slight advance of the front corners articulate its rectilinearity.³⁵⁹

354 S. Germann, 'Germany—Southern Germany Black and White Negative Contrasts' and 'Germany—Northern Germany Keyboards and Keywells', in H. Schott (ed.), *The Historical Harpsichord* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), Vol. 4, pp. 64, 67.

355 See Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 19.

356 Two decades later, during the late 1780s and early 1790s, Tottenham Court Road 'became the hub of a huge instrument-making enterprise'. Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 101. See 'Tottenham Court Road' in Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Cm.

357 See Streeter, 'Marquetry Furniture by a Brilliant London Master', p. 422.

358 Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 106.

359 Streeter, 'Marquetry Furniture by a Brilliant London Master', p. 422. See photograph in 'English Square Piano', in *Lady Lever Art Gallery*.

The 1775 Beck/Fuhrlohg instrument manifests

ormolu borders and extensive inlays of coloured woods, with a herring-bone pattern of harewood [that is, maple tinted greenish-gold] and wood lines dyed green ... In the middle of the front panel ... [within a medallion framed by a ribbon-banded metal border, a figure] seated in a landscape with tambourine ... is suggested to be derived 'from an engraving after Angelica Kauffman's [1741–1807] "Triumph of Venus" and is made to represent the Muse Erato by the addition of a tambourine'.³⁶⁰

During the 1770s, Angelica Kauffman's compositions proved to be 'popular subjects for painted decoration on English furniture'.³⁶¹ Marquetry translations of Kauffman's designs were, however, something quite new. In London during the 1770s, there were only a limited number of cabinet-makers who could execute furniture incorporating elaborate marquetry.³⁶² 'Christopher Fuhrlohg's painterly handling of marquetry represents an important intermediary step in the evolution of English taste, lying between the stylized floral marquetry of Peter [Pierre] Langlois [fl. 1759–81], and the naturalistic flowers and scenes painted on furniture in the 1790s.'³⁶³

John Hardy accurately describes the figure in the middle of the front panel as representing the 'Muse Erato by the addition of a tambourine'³⁶⁴ (Erato, the muse of lyric poetry, especially love and erotic poetry, was frequently depicted playing either the kithara³⁶⁵ or the tambourine). James³⁶⁶ and Clinkscale³⁶⁷ erroneously identify the muse as Thalia (the muse of comedy and pastoral poetry, who was commonly depicted holding a comic mask). Erato is also depicted in each of two single corner panels located at either end of the front panel; the corner panel at the left portrays Erato playing a kithara, while the corner panel at the right shows Erato dancing with tambourine and cymbals.³⁶⁸ The designs for Erato are derived from the several ancient Hellenistic sources that were 'widely copied and adapted for various media in the eighteenth century'.³⁶⁹

360 Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 135. Gadd takes the quotation from: J. Hardy, *Lord Leverhulme*, Exhibition catalogue (London: The Royal Academy, 1980), p. 115, col. 1. See Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 254, fn. 55.

361 Streeter, 'Marquetry Furniture by a Brilliant London Master', p. 420.

362 See *ibid.*, p. 427.

363 *Ibid.*, p. 428.

364 Hardy, *Lord Leverhulme*, p. 115, col. 1. Quoted in Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 135.

365 An ancient Greek musical instrument in the lyre family.

366 James, *Early Keyboard Instruments*, p. 138.

367 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 19.

368 See Streeter, 'Marquetry Furniture by a Brilliant London Master', image 7, p. 423. See also photograph in 'English Square Piano', in *Lady Lever Art Gallery*.

369 Streeter, 'Marquetry Furniture by a Brilliant London Master', p. 422.

Fuhrlohg has discreetly draped the muse's arm and bosom. As Josiah Wedgwood said in a 1790 letter, 'none either male or female, of the present generation, will take or apply' works of the ancients 'to furniture, if the figures are naked'.³⁷⁰

When judged against contemporaneous artistic standards, Wedgwood's attitude appears to be somewhat puritanical. In late eighteenth-century painting

Baroque woman was replaced by women that were less sensual but more free in their habits, unencumbered by suffocating corsetry and elaborate hair styles. At the end of the eighteenth century it was fashionable not to conceal the breasts, which were at times openly revealed above a band that supported them and emphasised the waistline.³⁷¹

It is reasonable to assume that the lavish cabinetwork of Beck's 1775 piano was intended to function not only as an ecstatic decorative opulence, but also as a display of wealth and social status.

A spur to the creation of Beck's 1775 piano may have been provided by a design (dated 1774) by Robert Adam (1728–92). This was

published in 1775 as an engraving entitled 'Design of a Harpsichord, executed in London, with different Coloured Woods, for the Empress of Russia.' The commission must have caused a stir among London's musical instrument makers even before the publication of the engraving.³⁷²

Gadd suggests that the second of the extant Beck/Fuhrlohg instruments (dated 1777)³⁷³ represents 'a high water mark of the Neo-Classical³⁷⁴ movement and is amongst the most important furniture designs of the period'.³⁷⁵ The most striking visual characteristic of the 1777 Beck/Fuhrlohg piano is its pervasive, exquisite and elaborate marquetry.

'Marquetry ... was reintroduced into England from France late in the 1750s, but taken up by comparatively few craftsmen. In 1777, the [Beck/Fuhrlohg] instrument's marquetry-embellished casework would have been at the forefront of fashion, suggesting that Beck sometimes catered to the avant-garde taste of an extremely wealthy clientele.'³⁷⁶

370 Ibid., p. 422.

371 Eco, *On Beauty*, p. 259.

372 Streeter, 'Marquetry Furniture by a Brilliant London Master', p. 429.

373 See photographs in 'Piano; Rectangular Piano', in *Royal Ontario Museum*.

374 See 'Neo-Classical' in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

375 Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, Vol. 1, p. 135.

376 Streeter, 'Marquetry Furniture by a Brilliant London Master', p. 418.

At first sight, the instrument appears to be a commode, and is part of the beginning of a fruitful tradition of pianos disguised as commodes made for the very rich.

'By 1790, the piano making firm of Longman and Broderip was offering "Piano Fortes in Commodes, Side Boards, and Dressing Tables for convenience of small rooms" at prices that could be afforded by the "middle class".'³⁷⁷

The notion that a piano could be regarded as 'wooden furniture that happened to make music'³⁷⁸ has its roots in Saxony. That late eighteenth-century English square pianos reflect this notion (when closed, English square pianos functioned as side tables) 'may not be a coincidence, considering that many eighteenth-century English builders were trained in German-speaking Europe'.³⁷⁹ During the late eighteenth century, machines, including musical instruments, 'were celebrated for their rational efficiency, which was also a Neoclassical criterion of Beauty'.³⁸⁰

The case of the 1777 Beck/Fuhrloh piano

takes the form of a rectangular commode with canted corners on straight, tapering legs. Behind the more obvious influences of the Adam manner—rectilinearity and strictly confined decoration—a hint of contemporary French design can be detected in the presence of a central panel that overlays the front; here it drops down to reveal a cabinet [beneath the keyboard] for storing music. Beneath the goat's-head mounts, the corners are inlaid to simulate fluting and the legs to imitate panelling.³⁸¹

The front of the case is prominently decorated, and has a large central marquetry medallion within which there is a Classical figure [either the muse Erato, or the muse Polyhymnia³⁸²—the muse of sacred poetry] playing the lyre. This medallion is amongst the most ambitious and successful pictorial marquetry surviving from 18th century England.³⁸³

The marquetry that decorates the instrument's mahogany case principally comprises satinwood, harewood, amaranth, rosewood and sycamore.³⁸⁴ The 1777 Beck/Fuhrloh piano is certainly among the most beautiful furniture ever made.

377 Ibid., p. 422.

378 S. Germann, 'Central Germany—The Undecorated Saxon Tradition', in H. Schott (ed.), *The Historical Harpsichord* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), Vol. 4, p. 74.

379 Ibid., p. 74.

380 Eco, *On Beauty*, p. 393.

381 Streeter, 'Marquetry Furniture by a Brilliant London Master', p. 424.

382 See P. Macquoid and R. Edwards, *The Dictionary of English Furniture* (London: Barra Books, 1954), Fig. 12, Vol. 2, p. 377.

383 Streeter, 'Marquetry Furniture by a Brilliant London Master', p. 428.

384 See *ibid.*, p. 424. 'Sycamore: the English name for *Acer Pseudoplanatus*, the prevalent maple species in England.' Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 120.

In 1775, at one of the annual exhibitions of the Free Society of Artists of Great Britain, Fuhrloh's half-brother and business partner, Johann Christian Linning (1706–79), exhibited 'The Muse Erato in different coloured wood'.³⁸⁵ Linning gave his address as being 'At Mr Fuhrloh's, No 24, Tottenham Court Road'. Perhaps Linning was involved in the crafting of the elaborately inlaid figures on the cases of Beck's 1775 and 1777 square pianos, or perhaps there was 'cross-pollination' of ideas between Fuhrloh and Linning.

It is possible that a third Beck piano with casework of extraordinary quality and exquisite beauty has been lost. The specially created *Inventaire of confiscated instruments* made by the French revolutionary government provides estimates of the monetary value of 20 pianos. Of the 64 pianos listed, five are by Frederick Beck (*Inventaire* numbers 99, 106, 111, 207 and 322); three of these are given a monetary value (*Inventaire* numbers 106, 207 and 322):

99.—*Un forte-piano de Fredericus Beck, année 1779.*

[A piano by Fredericus Beck, year 1779.]³⁸⁶

(Owned by Brignard.)

106.—*Un forte-piano de Fredericus Beck, Londini fecit, année 1779, estimé 600 francs.*

[A piano by Fredericus Beck, made in London, year 1779, estimated 600 francs.]³⁸⁷

(Confiscated from Maison Égalité.)

111.—*Un forte-piano, de Fredericus Beck, année 1774.*

[A piano by Fredericus Beck, year 1774.]³⁸⁸

(From the administrative offices of the Menus-Plaisirs du Roi.)

207.—*Un forte-piano de Fredericus Beck, estimé 1 500 francs.*

[A piano by Fredericus Beck, estimated 1500 francs.]³⁸⁹

(Confiscated from Jean-Louis-Marie le Bascle, Count of Argenteuil, Maison de Bascle D'Argenteuil.)

322.—*Un forte-piano de Beck, fait en 1788, appartenant à Debrange, émigré, rue de Sèvres, estimé 5 000 francs.*

[A piano by Beck, made in 1788, belonging to Debrange, emigré, rue de Sèvres, estimated 5000 francs.]³⁹⁰

385 Erato is the muse of lyric poetry.

386 'XXVIII *Inventaire du 26 Fructidor l'an II'* in Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur*.

387 'XXXI *Inventaire du 14 Vendémiaire l'an III'* in *ibid*.

388 'XXXIV *Inventaire du 17 Vendémiaire l'an III'*, in *ibid*.

389 'LXX *Rue de Thorigny, 539'*, in *ibid*.

390 'C *Inventaire du 13 Prairial l'an III', rue du Regard'*, in *ibid*.

(Anne-Emmanuel-Ferdinand-François, Duke of Croÿ; from Maison de Croÿ.)

The extraordinary estimate of 5000 francs for piano number 322 (Debrange's 1788 Beck piano) is exceeded only once in the entire *Inventaire*—by a piano made by Sébastien Érard (*Inventaire* number 356):

356.—*Un forte-piano d'Erard, fait en 1787, estimé 8 000 francs.*

[A piano by Érard, made in 1787, estimated 8000 francs.]³⁹¹

(Confiscated from Antoine Doria.)

The casework of this particular Érard instrument must have been utterly beautiful.

With a considerable margin of 3000 francs, the nearest estimate to Beck's 1788 piano (5000 francs) is for a piano combined with an organ (clavioorganum, piano organisé, fortepiano organisé or forte-piano organisé) made by Érard (2000 francs) (*Inventaire* number 219):

219.—*Un forte-piano organisé de Sébastien Erard frère et Cie, fait à Paris, 1791, estimé 2 000 francs.*

[A clavioorganum by Sébastien Érard Brother & Co., made in Paris, 1791, estimated 2000 francs.]³⁹²

(Confiscated from Louis-Alexandre-Céleste d'Aumont, Duke of Villequier.)

The success of the clavioorganum 'in the upper ranks of society was prodigious; the Queen commanded one to be made for her own use, and in the construction of it Érard introduced several novel contrivances, which at that time awakened much interest'.³⁹³

Érard's *clavioorganum* receives the same estimate (2000 francs) as the two highest-valued harpsichords (*Inventaire* numbers 151 and 154):

151.—*Un clavecin anglais de Thoaner, année 1772, estimé 2 000 fr.*

[An English harpsichord by Thoaner, year 1772, estimated 2000 francs.]³⁹⁴

(Owned by Count Fernan-Nunez, the Spanish ambassador.)

154.—*Un clavecin anglais, en acajou, tout neuf, fait par Johannes Broadwood, Londini fecit, année 1789, estimé 2,000 fr.*

391 'CX *Inventaire du 21 Thermidor l'an III*, rue d'Enfer-Michel, 154', in *ibid.*

392 'LXXIV *Inventaire du 29 Nivôse l'an III*, rue des Capucines', in *ibid.*

393 F.-J. Fétis, 'Memoir of Erard', in *The Harmonicon*, 11 vols (London: Samuel Leigh, 1831), Vol. 9, p. 256. Quoted in D. Rowland, *A History of Pianoforte Pedalling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 34.

394 'XLIX *Inventaire du 12 Brumaire l'an III*, rue de l'Université', in Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur*.

[An English harpsichord, in mahogany, perfectly new, made by Johannes Broadwood, in London, year 1789, estimated 2000 francs.]³⁹⁵
 (Confiscated from the stables of Philippe-Égalité Louis-Philippe, Duke of Chartres, the future King of France.)

Érard's claviorganum is one of two listed in the *Inventaire* as being made by him.

In total, the *Inventaire* lists six claviorgana. Apart from Érard's claviorganum (*Inventaire* number 219, valued at 2000 francs), only one other of the six claviorgana is given a value (*Inventaire* number 150):

150.—*Un forte-piano organisé d'Adam Berger, Londini fecit, année 1775, estimé 1,200 francs.*

[A claviorganum by Adam Berger, made in London, year 1775, estimated 1200 francs.]³⁹⁶

(Confiscated from Count Fernan-Nunez, the Spanish ambassador.)

(Note that the clerk has mistakenly transcribed the maker's name as 'Adam Berger'. This is not surprising, given the sometimes confusingly elaborate calligraphic style found on the nameplates of pianos made by Adam Beyer.)

The only possible explanation for the astonishing 5000-franc valuation of the 1788 Beck piano confiscated from Debrange is that it must have had inlaid casework manifesting levels of intricacy and quality similar to the two extant Beck/Fuhrloh instruments of 1775 and 1777. Sadly, Debrange's piano no longer exists.

The quality and beauty of the simplified Tunbridgeware inlay on the 1780/86? square piano by Frederick Beck currently housed in the Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney, suggest (at the very least) the affirming influence of Fuhrloh's refined aesthetic on Beck's decorative sense, if not Fuhrloh's participation at some stage in the decorative design and/or making process. In short, the inlay is in extremely good taste, and proves that 'within the quiet restraint of tones of ivory ... and rich woods combined, English [pianos] ... were often among the most beautiful furniture ever made'.³⁹⁷

It appears that, like Frederick Beck, George Bouchier Worgan also had good taste (at least in relation to decorative casework). Furthermore, the date of Worgan's Beck piano (1780 or 1786?) and the unique design of its stand allow for the hypothesis that this was the instrument that Worgan brought with him to Sydney Cove in 1788, while serving on board the *Sirius*.

395 'L *Inventaire du 12 Brumaire l'an III'*, in *ibid.*

396 '*XLIX Inventaire du 12 Brumaire l'an III, rue de l'Université*', in *ibid.*

397 S. Germann, 'Veneers and Marquetry', in H. Schott (ed.), *The Historical Harpsichord* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), Vol. 4, p. 82.

Dampers

The design of Beck's pianos replicates that of Zumpe, with the exception of damping. Beck's square pianos have dampers only to c³.³⁹⁸ No other maker of square pianos used this damping pattern.

Undamped strings will sympathetically vibrate in response to any other vibrating strings that are close by. Sympathetically vibrating strings enhance the sound with a background 'glow' of overtones. In late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England, the simultaneous sounding of struck and sympathetically vibrating strings was regarded as the equivalent of resonance, and was greatly desired. Commonly, this background 'glow' of overtones was enhanced by (or, in the absence of sympathetically vibrating strings, created by) an intentionally inefficient damping system. Damper design, and therefore the degree of damping inefficiency, differed from maker to maker.³⁹⁹

English piano makers were capable of incorporating an efficient damping system into their instruments (one based, for example, upon the ultra-efficient damping of 'Viennese' pianos).⁴⁰⁰ That they did not leads one to conclude that the typically 'resonant' sound of English pianos (both square and grand) had its basis in aesthetic and musical considerations. The sound produced by inefficiently damping English pianos is far removed from the 'highly articulated delivery that was the ideal of the ... Viennese piano and its composers',⁴⁰¹ and highlights a fundamental difference between the aesthetic values represented by the two schools of piano making: Viennese pianos 'speak', and English pianos 'sing'.

Frederick Beck's idiosyncratic exclusion of dampers for the top-five notes of his square pianos represents an innovation inspired by the contemporaneously desirable English aesthetic of overtone-rich, 'background'-resonant piano sound.

398 See Cole. Beck's tangent action instrument of ca 1790 (estimate) has dampers throughout the compass—that is, up to and including f². The dampers are located below the strings. Each damper compartment comprises red woven cloth, positioned like an open book with the pages facing upwards. See Plates 447 and 448.

399 For example, following the attack of a loud staccato chord in the bass, and after the dampers have fallen onto the strings, the dampers of a restored Broadwood grand piano of 1796 (serial number 875, in the author's possession) allow the strings to resonate for approximately five seconds as the sound dies away. By way of comparison, following the attack of a loud staccato chord in the bass, and after the dampers have fallen onto the strings, the dampers of Joseph Haydn's restored Longman & Broderip grand piano of ca 1795 (part of the Cobbe Collection, Hatchlands, UK) allow the strings to resonate for approximately one to two seconds as the sound dies away. 'Richard Burnett...describes a restored 1823 Broadwood grand in which the tone takes eight seconds to die out after a staccato chord in the bass, and a 'massive concert grand' of 1848 by Broadwood, in which it takes ten seconds.' Van Oort, *The English Classical Piano Style and its Influence on Haydn and Beethoven*, p. 30, fn. 75.

400 The type of piano commonly referred to as 'Viennese' had its origins in Germany, as the brainchild of Johann Andreas Stein. The design, sound and touch of Viennese pianos are dissimilar to English pianos.

401 van Oort, *The English Classical Piano Style and its Influence on Haydn and Beethoven*, p. 34.

Beck's Absorption of Zumpe's Ideas

Beck adopted Zumpe's basic design, the most important elements of which are the action (which, being identical to Zumpe's, has no escapement), bridge design and the underlying principles of soundboard ribbing.⁴⁰² Beck's absorption of Zumpe's ideas is not the result of a lack of inventiveness, nor is it mere opportunism; rather, it shows that Beck was capable of mature creative reasoning. The principle described in 1920 by the poet Thomas Stearns ('T. S.') Eliot (1888–1965) could well apply to Frederick Beck: 'Immature [artists] ... imitate; mature [artists] ... steal; bad [artists] ... deface what they take, and good [artists] ... make it into something better, or at least something different.'⁴⁰³

Frederick Beck's pianos, which are modelled so closely on those of Zumpe and represent the creative thinking of a 'mature' and 'good' artist, call to mind the rhetorical question posed by Horace Walpole (1717–97): 'Ought one man's garden to be deprived of a happy object, because that object has been employed by another? The more we exact novelty, the sooner our taste will be vitiated.'⁴⁰⁴

402 See 'Soundboard and Bridge' in Appendix A, Volume 2 this publication.

403 'Philip Massinger', in T. S. Eliot, *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism* (London: Methuen, 1920).

404 H. Walpole, *Essay on Modern Gardening* (Strawberry-Hill: T. Kirgate, 1785).

Chapter 3

George Bouchier Worgan: The owner of the first piano to be brought to Australia

During the 1770s and 1780s, Frederick Beck was one of the most prestigious piano makers in London. His clientele would have ranged from those who wished to buy an instrument simply because it was fashionable to do so, through those for whom playing the piano was an essential skill associated with the attainment of genteel accomplishment, to those who were musical connoisseurs. One such musical connoisseur took his newly purchased Beck piano to Botany Bay on board the flagship of the First Fleet, the *Sirius*. This musical connoisseur was George Bouchier Worgan.

George Bouchier Worgan was christened on Tuesday, 3 May 1757, at St Andrew's, Holborn Hill, London.¹ His father, Dr John Worgan (1724–90), was an eminent virtuoso organist and composer.

On several occasions, George's father moved his family to a new abode.² In 1823, the English journalist and musician Richard Mackenzie Bacon (1776–1844) elaborated: 'Till a few years before his death', Dr John Worgan (and his family) 'enjoyed the alternation of town and country ... [Dr Worgan's] first residence in [London] ... was at No. 7 in Milman [Millman, or Millmans] Street, [near] Bedford Row: his next, at No. 40, Rathbone Place.'⁴

Dr Worgan's country house was in Richmond. Rate books dating from 1780 and 1790 reveal that the Worgan family occupied number 1 Maids of Honour Row, Richmond. This was one of four adjacent three-storey terrace houses, each of which was five windows wide.⁵ George Worgan referred to the family's Richmond house when writing from Sydney Cove to his younger brother Richard: 'when it is the Depth of Winter with Us, you are enjoying Richmond Hill.'⁶ This remark suggests that in summer, the Worgans occupied their country

1 See 'Holborn Hill', in Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference En, Reference Number 9.

2 See 'Close Proximity' in Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

3 See 'Millman Str', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 20; and 'Millmans Street' in 'A List of 528 of the Most Principal Streets with Reference to their Situation', in *ibid.*

4 R. M. Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan, Mus.D.', in *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (London: Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 1823), Vol. 5, No. 17, Article 26, p. 133.

5 See P. Baty, 'Private Houses: Maids of Honour Row, Richmond', in *Patrick Baty*.

6 G. Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan, Surgeon of the Sirius*, The William Dixon Foundation Publication No. 16 (Sydney: Library Council of New South Wales in association with the Library of Australian History, 1978), p. 26.

residence at Maids of Honour Row, Richmond. This was one of two dwellings that the Worgan family accessed as their country retreat. Dr Worgan's 'first and favourite country house was on Richmond Hill; his second was at No. 2, on Richmond Green'—approximately half a mile [approximately 0.8 kilometres] north-west of Richmond Hill.⁷ Dr Worgan named his abode at Richmond Green 'Nightingale Lodge'.⁸

It is not surprising that Dr Worgan selected Richmond as the location of his country house; apart from the natural beauty and serenity of the place, access from London had been improved (in 1777) by the construction at Richmond of an 'elegant stone bridge of five semicircular arches ... built over the Thames'.⁹

From the late 1770s, however, George Bouchier Worgan would not have been able to enjoy the delights of Nightingale Lodge, nor the

fine walnut tree, under the shade of which the family often took their tea, and gazed on the streamers that waved on the Thames beneath, while music swelled, and died away on the breathless air of a glowing evening, illuminated by golden gleams, darting through the dark foliage of the towering elms, and glimmering through the graceful poplars that ... decorate the foot of Richmond Hill.¹⁰

This is because in 1775, at the age of 18, George Worgan joined the British Navy. In a letter dated Monday, 16 February 1807, written to Arthur Young (1741–1820), the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture,¹¹ George confessed that although he had always been drawn towards agriculture, his father had determined that he should pursue a career in medicine: 'My very earliest inclinations and propensities led me to the study and pursuit of agriculture ... but I had a dear and honoured Father, whose wish was to bring me up to the defective Art of Physic, his will, was mine!'¹²

As a novice medic, George had little time to accustom himself to the realities of war. During the American War of Independence (1775–83), he served as a Surgeon's Mate on board the hospital ship *Tiger*.¹³ This would have involved an

7 Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 133. See T. Moule, *Environs of London* (London: George Virtue & Co., 1837), in *London and Environs Maps and Views*.

8 See Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 134.

9 Sarah Douglas Enterprises Pty Ltd, 'View from Richmond Hill', in *Old London Maps* (2006).

10 Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', pp. 133–4.

11 Arthur Young was involved in the commissioning of George Worgan to carry out an agricultural survey of Cornwall. See 'George Worgan, the Published Author', in Chapter 11, this volume.

12 Arthur Young Papers, British Library, Ad. MSS 35129. I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for his forthcoming PhD dissertation (*Working the Forge. The Lives of William Dawes, Watkin Tench and George Worgan*, The Australian National University).

13 See C. M. Pole, 'No. 26. The Examination of Mr. George Bouchier Worgan, Surgeon in His Majesty's Navy, and Late Surgeon's Mate of His Majesty's Hospital Ship *Le Caton*; Taken Upon Oath, 8th November 1803', in *The Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry. Naval hospital at East Stonehouse. Le*

apprenticeship-like context within which Worgan served under an established navy surgeon. From February 1778, George Worgan served as Surgeon's Second Mate. In 1779, Worgan was certified as a Surgeon Fifth Rate.¹⁴ According to Rogers, this resulted in Worgan's 'gazetting' as a naval surgeon in March 1780¹⁵—that is, an announcement regarding his appointment and qualification was published in *The London Gazette*. Rogers provides no evidence for his assertion that in March 1780 *The London Gazette* announced George Worgan's appointment as a naval surgeon, and unfortunately no issue of *The London Gazette* for March 1780 mentions George Worgan. The period between George Bouchier's joining the navy in 1775 and his certification in 1779, however, represents the customary three to five-year apprenticeship served under a surgeon-apothecary.¹⁶

Following his certification, George Worgan was assigned to the (moored) hospital ship *Pilote* for two years¹⁷—that is, between 1780 and 1782. The *Pilote* was a two-masted (a foremast and a main mast) 'brig-sloop' of 218 tonnes, 14 guns, which had been captured from the French in 1779. A brig-sloop

was smaller than a sailing frigate and was (by virtue of having too few guns) outside the rating system. In general, a sloop ... would be under the command of a master and commander rather than a post captain, although in day-to-day use at sea the commanding officer of any naval vessels would be addressed as 'captain'.¹⁸

Surgeon Worgan is unaccounted for between 1783 and 1785. It is likely that he continued to work as a naval surgeon. On the other hand, he may, for a period, have been on some sort of detached list (naval surgeons did not enjoy retirement on half-pay at the time, so if George Worgan was not working, his income would have been severely restricted).¹⁹

Caton Hospital Ship. Ordered to be Printed 11th July 1804 (London: House of Commons Papers, Reports of Commissioners, 1803–04), *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online*, ProQuest Information and Learning Company, p. 631.

14 Company of Surgeons, *Examinations Book 1745–1800*, p. 339. I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for his forthcoming PhD dissertation, *Working the Forge*. See also D. Steel, 'Surgeons: With the Year of their First Warrants, by Which they are Intitled to Half-Pay', in *Steel's Original and Correct List of the Royal Navy, Improved: To Which are Added their Stations, and a List of the Ships Lost or Destroyed Since the Commencement of the War, with their Commanders. Likewise a List of the Enemies Ships Taken or Destroyed Since the Commencement of the War. And an Alphabetical List of the Navy-Agents. Corrected to April 30, 1782* (London: D. Steel, January 1782), p. 31.

15 T. Rogers, 'Australia's First Piano, Clavierübung: Memorable Moments in Music No. 2', in *Bikwill: The Home of Quiet Enthusiasms*, No. 20 (July 2000).

16 See L. Brockliss, J. Cardwell and M. Moss, *Nelson's Surgeon: William Beatty, Naval Medicine, and the Battle of Trafalgar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 20.

17 See J. Copley, 'Worgan, George Bouchier (1757–1838)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1967), Vol. 2, p. 623.

18 'Classification' in 'Sloop-of-War', in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (n.d.).

19 I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for his forthcoming PhD dissertation, *Working the Forge*.

In 1786 Worgan 'had been serving ... on the Portsmouth guardship *Ganges*'.²⁰ On Wednesday, 1 November 1786, at 29 years of age, he was discharged from the *Ganges* to the *Sirius*. Perhaps one of the motivating factors that led Worgan to pursue this post was a desire to widen his experience. In 1786, the excitement, peril and wonder associated with making the journey to Botany Bay would have been equivalent to that now associated with making a journey to the Moon. It is reasonable to assume that Worgan was eager to serve as a surgeon on board the *Sirius*.

Three surgeons were assigned to the *Sirius*:²¹ George Bouchier Worgan was the senior surgeon; Thomas Jamison (ca 1753–1811) was the Surgeon's First Mate²² (Jamison, an honourable man with a strong personality, hailed from the Lake District and had qualified in London);²³ and a Mr Lowes, 'a very genteel young man'²⁴ (albeit without a Christian name), was Surgeon's Mate.²⁵ Lowes carried with him some of the writings of the mystic, scientist and philosopher Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772): 'Alternative religions were of some interest to men who saw the Church of England as little more than a ceremonial and suasive arm of government.'²⁶

George Worgan was among the 12 surgeons whom the '[g]overnment had appointed at the public expense to go to Botany Bay'.²⁷

The Life of a Surgeon

As a late eighteenth-century surgeon, Worgan's life was laden with what now may appear to be peculiarities. At that time, a careful distinction was made between physicians and surgeons. The most significant difference lay in their education: physicians were university educated; surgeons were apprenticed.

20 M. Gillen, *The Founders of Australia: A Biographical Dictionary of the First Fleet* (Sydney: Library of Australian History, 1989), p. 393.

21 See 'Ships Crew, Officials', in 'H.M.S. Sirius', in B. Chapman and M. Chapman, *A List of Marine Officers, Marines, Ships Crews and Officials, with Families. Who Arrived January 26, 1788, as Part of the Fleet. Arranged by Ship* (Ancestry.com, 2010).

22 See 'HMS Sirius 1788', in *Convict Stockade: A Wiki Site for Australian Convict Researchers* (Ozgenie Research, Last modified 10 March 2010).

23 'The term 'Mate' was used as a formal Royal Navy rank, there being such formal positions as Boatswain's Mate, Carpenter's Mate and Surgeon's Mate.' J. Pearn, 'Surgeon's Mate Lowes of H.M.S. Sirius', in *Health and History* (Sydney: Australian and New Zealand Society of the History of Medicine, 1998), Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 69.

24 See letter from Newton Digby Fowell (a midshipman on the *Sirius*) to his father, 4 March 1787. Quoted in N. Irvine, *The Sirius Letters: The Complete Letters of Newton Fowell, Midshipman and Lieutenant Aboard the Sirius Flagship of the First Fleet on its Voyage to New South Wales* (Sydney: Fairfax Library, 1988), Letter 6.

25 Pearn, 'Surgeon's Mate Lowes of H.M.S. Sirius', p. 69.

26 T. Keneally, *The Commonwealth of Thieves: The Sydney Experiment* (Sydney: Random House Australia, 2006), p. 236.

27 *The Times*, 21 December 1786. Quoted in D. Hill, *1788: The Brutal Truth of the First Fleet; The Biggest Single Overseas Migration the World Had Ever Seen* (Sydney: William Heinemann, 2008), p. 75.

Physicians were ‘only permitted to examine patients, diagnose disease, and prescribe medications’.²⁸ In 1747, R. Campbell observed: ‘The physician, in the discharge of his profession, is frequently obliged to grope in the dark, to act by guess and bare conjecture, and depends (in many cases) more upon chance and the strength of the patient’s constitution, than upon any infallible rules in his art.’²⁹

The archetypal physician was dignified and aloof, sagacious and capable of forming a diagnosis without actually touching the patient.³⁰ Even as late as 1850, physicians ‘were content to enquire about previous illness and present appetite: to feel the pulse, and to observe the appearance of the eyes, tongue, urine, and faeces, in that order of interest’.³¹ Physicians were not permitted to act as surgeons.

Unlike physicians, surgeons

performed operations, set broken bones, and treated accident cases and skin disorders. The nature of a surgeon’s work separated him from a physician in that a surgeon had to cut, manipulate, and treat disorders on the outside of the body. A surgeon was considered a skilled craftsman ... his work ‘demanded speed, dexterity, and physical strength, as well as expertise’.³²

The archetypal surgeon was muscular and practical, a man who did not mind blood and gore, and was handy with a saw, knife and stitching needle.³³ In 1747, R. Campbell remarked:

To a solid judgement, quick apprehension, and a good memory ... [a surgeon] must add a kind of courage, peculiar to himself. It is vulgarly said, that a surgeon should have a lion’s heart, a hawk’s eye, and a lady’s hand; by the lion’s heart is not meant savage ferocity, a cruel inhuman disposition, or want of sympathy for the sufferings of man-kind: he is not to have the heart to tear, lacerate, and mangle his patient wantonly; but he must have the courage to go through the most severe necessary operation, without being so much affected by the patient’s sufferings, as to shake his hand, or hinder him from performing the amputation with

28 See ‘Student Paper on 19th-Century Medicine’ (n.d.). See V. Sanborn, ‘Doctors and Medical Care in the Regency Era’, in *UK/Irish History @ Suite 101* (5 June 2010).

29 Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p. 47.

30 See R. Porter, *Bodies Politic: Disease, Death and Doctors in Britain, 1650–1900* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), p. 143. Quoted in Rosen, *Australia’s Oldest House*, p. 15.

31 A. J. Youngson, *The Scientific Revolution in Victorian Medicine* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979), p. 19.

32 ‘Student Paper on 19th-Century Medicine’. The anonymous author takes the quotation from: M. J. Peterson, *The Medical Profession in Mid-Victorian London* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), p. 9.

33 See Rosen, *Australia’s Oldest House*, p. 15.

ease and dexterity. Womanish tenderness is very improper for a surgeon; and it requires a strong command of temper, not to give way to pity and compassion, in some ... operations ... to preserve ... [a] soft sympathy of soul, without being outwardly affected by it, is expressed in having a lady's hand, or finger; that is, to be able to touch the patient so gently, as he may scarce feel you; at least, no more than is necessary to perform the operation. A quick eye is necessary to a surgeon ... especially in amputation, to discern the arteries, and other minute blood vessels, that are to be sewed up, to prevent a too great effusion of blood: it requires like-wise a good and quick eye, to discern the several changes in a wound under cure; he must be able to observe the smallest alteration in the colour of the part and consistence of the matter, the degrees of supuration, and the most distant approach of a mortification.³⁴

Eighteenth-century surgery was done without anaesthetic or antiseptic. It was brutal, agonising and often fatal. It is reasonable to assume that post-traumatic stress disorder was, for those patients who survived, a corollary of undergoing surgery without anaesthesia. Usually, surgery was undertaken only to save a life that would clearly otherwise be lost. The general perception of physicians (compared with surgeons) was that they were much 'cleaner' and 'nicer', even though physicians were quite less effective.

Surgeons did not enjoy the status afforded to physicians, being frequently satirised as 'sawbones'.³⁵ The ambition of naval surgeons was often blighted by the irksome status associated with their profession. Surgeon William Redfern (ca 1774–1833) acerbically noted that, during the 1790s and before,

it was not quite so fashionable to be dubbed M.D. from St. Andrew, where I might for the customary fee have procured one for my horse; nor to throw away the fees for a surgeons diploma, when a certain length of service in the army or navy entitled them all or nearly all the privileges external to the college or company.³⁶

In order to assess the background, training and competency of would-be naval surgeons, the board in charge of the naval medical service would conduct viva voce examinations. No practical demonstration of surgical skills was required. If judged satisfactory, 'candidates received a letter addressed to the' Company of Surgeons (formerly the Company of Barbers and Surgeons), 'requesting that they

34 Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, pp. 48–9.

35 See A. Brooke and D. Brandon, *Bound for Botany Bay: British Convict Voyages to Australia* (Kew, UK: The National Archives, 2005), p. 195.

36 J. Ritchie (ed.), *The Evidence to the Bigge Reports: New South Wales under Governor Macquarie. Volume 1: The Oral Evidence* (Melbourne: Heinemann, 1971), p. 137. Quoted in and see Rosen, *Australia's Oldest House*, p. 16.

be examined in their competence in surgery'.³⁷ The Company of Surgeons 'was the professional gatekeeper for naval surgical positions and apprenticeships',³⁸ and

had the right to license surgeons for the navy, army, and [British] East India Company ... Having passed the examination in surgery, the applicant had to take another in physic. Until 1799 this was conducted by the physician of Greenwich Hospital ...

The examiners' ability to judge an applicant's competence ... was not based on lengthy enquiry, for the oral examinations in physic and surgery, though testing, seldom lasted more than an hour ... the occasion was one of dignified informality ...

Once qualified, the new recruit received from the Board his certificate and warrant, then awaited his first posting.³⁹

'When transportation to Australia started, the supervision and management of ... medical arrangements and surgeons was in the hands of the quaintly named Commissioners of Sick and Wounded, a body noted neither for its energy nor its effectiveness.'⁴⁰

As surgeon on board the *Sirius*, George Worgan's duties would most likely have consisted of visiting the sick twice a day, presenting a daily sick list to the captain, organising a daily sick muster in order to treat minor injuries and ailments, and keeping a log of his activities. These duties were outlined in the *Regulations and Instructions Relating to His Majesty's Service at Sea*.⁴¹

Naval pay 'was around half that paid by merchantmen, and lower than that paid to a farm labourer. Astonishingly, it had been set in 1653 and was not to be increased until April 1797.'⁴² R. Campbell observed in 1747: 'The salary of a surgeon of the navy is but inconsiderable, that is, the pay he immediately receives from the Crown is but small.'⁴³

Compared with that of their army counterparts, the pay of naval surgeons was poor. Army surgeons were automatically employed as commissioned officers with the rank of Captain; they earned 10–12s a day (reckoned in today's monetary values, approximately A\$55–67),⁴⁴ and were guaranteed retirement on half-pay.

37 Brockliss et al., *Nelson's Surgeon*, pp. 13–15.

38 Rosen, *Australia's Oldest House*, p. 15.

39 Brockliss et al., *Nelson's Surgeon*, pp. 13–15.

40 Brooke and Brandon, *Bound for Botany Bay*, p. 190.

41 See Brockliss et al., *Nelson's Surgeon*, p. 6.

42 D. Parker, *Arthur Phillip: Australia's First Governor* (Warriewood, NSW: Woodslane Press, 2009), pp. 15–16.

43 Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p. 56.

44 Currency conversion using the National Archives; Universal Currency Converter.

Contrastingly, naval surgeons were ranked as Warrant Officers; they were paid a flat salary of 3s a day (reckoned in today's monetary values, approximately A\$18). This represents one-third to one-quarter the salary of an army surgeon. Only the senior 320 surgeons were eligible for retirement on half-pay.⁴⁵ To add insult to injury, 'surgeons had to purchase their own' medical equipment 'and medicines, the latter supplied at high prices by the Navy Stock Company, an offshoot of the London Society of Apothecaries'.⁴⁶

Service as a naval surgeon was not, however, without its financial enticements.

Even if the ... pay ... was poor, it was supplemented ... by various 'extras'. To begin with, every surgeon received a supplementary lump sum, known as Queen Anne's Free Gift, which varied from £16 to £62 per annum⁴⁷ dependent on the size of the ship and whether the country was at peace or war. In addition ... the surgeon received 2d. a year⁴⁸ from each man on board from his annual contribution to the Chatham Chest [a charitable foundation supported by a charge of 6d per month⁴⁹ on the wages of every man in the navy], and a further £5 per annum for every 100 men treated for venereal disease.⁵⁰ This was intended to cover the cost of medicines, but on large ships could be a serious boost to income. Moreover ... medical officers lucky enough to be based on shore had the opportunity to moonlight by building up a civilian practice. Finally, as the officers and crew were entitled to share the sale value of any enemy vessels captured at sea, on a sliding scale according to rank, the surgeon ... could look forward to a modest amount of prize money.⁵¹

Naval surgeons were usually well educated (at least according to the standards of the late eighteenth century).

Many recruits ... enjoyed a sound introduction to modern and classical languages and literature. Otherwise so many could not have [written so articulately, as did surgeon George Worgan, or] gone on to publish their observations and experiences ...

Most ... [navy] surgeons ... served the customary three-to-five year apprenticeship with a surgeon ... in order to learn the medical ropes,

45 See Brockliss et al., *Nelson's Surgeon*, p. 15.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

47 Reckoned in today's monetary values, £16–62 is approximately £1000–3900 (approximately A\$1800–6900).

48 Reckoned in today's monetary values, 2d is approximately 52d (approximately A\$0.89).

49 Reckoned in today's monetary values, 6d is approximately £2 (approximately A\$4).

50 Reckoned in today's monetary values, £5 is approximately £314 (approximately A\$560).

51 Brockliss et al., *Nelson's Surgeon*, p. 24. See also Appendix F, Volume 2 of this publication.

a move that would easily have cost their parents the not-insignificant sum of £50 to £100,⁵² or even more if the practitioner was a fashionable London doctor.

[This] ... was not usually, however, the sum of their studies ... a large proportion of [army] ... surgeons spent a further one or more years at the burgeoning medical schools in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin ... Navy surgeons ... do not seem to have done so in such great numbers as their army counterparts.

... [T]he cost to the family of sending a son to medical school was again appreciable ... most six-month courses would cost 20 guineas.⁵³ When account is taken of the cost of [medical] instruments, books, clothes, and entertainment, the average medical student could expect to spend £200 a year,⁵⁴ much the same as a young gentleman at Oxford or Cambridge ... Their parents had clearly marked them out for a medical career, invested heavily in their training, and presumably sanctioned or even intended their entry into the service ...

The choice between the army and navy must have depended largely on family connections ... Where a surgeon had made the decision off his own bat, then his preference was probably determined by people whom he encountered during his education.⁵⁵

In 1747, R. Campbell wrote: 'Thus I have said as much of surgery as is sufficient to give the parent a tolerable notion how to prepare his son for such a charge. It appears, that it requires a good genius and liberal education, which can be attained but by great expense.'⁵⁶

Of course, once literacy had been acquired, the possibility for self-education emerged (if so inclined, even a tradesman's son would have had access to the world of novels, plays, history and foreign literary masterworks in translation).⁵⁷

There can be little doubt that surgeon George Worgan was well educated. The quality of prose in his letters and journal attests to this fact. His letters and journal give clear insights into his personality and professionalism, and show him to be an intelligent, articulate man with keen observational powers and a pleasant wit.

52 Reckoned in today's monetary values, £50–100 is approximately £3100–6300 (approximately A\$5600–11 100).

53 Reckoned in today's monetary values, 20 guineas is approximately £1300 (approximately A\$2300).

54 Reckoned in today's monetary values, £200 is approximately £12 600 (approximately A\$22 000).

55 Brockliss et al., *Nelson's Surgeon*, pp. 20–3.

56 Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p. 57.

57 See Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840*, p. 90.

What Did George Worgan Look Like?

No portrait of George Worgan exists. There is, however, a picture drawn in 1789—that is, two years before George Worgan returned from Sydney Cove to London—which appears as an engraved vignette on the title page of Captain John Hunter's (1737–1821) *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*.⁵⁸ The vignette depicts Governor Phillip (1738–1814), John White (1756?–1832), the colony's principal surgeon, and George Worgan (among others) visiting a young Aboriginal woman who is recovering from an illness (Plate 48). The event portrayed transpired during an expedition to the Hawkesbury River,⁵⁹ in July 1789.

The vignette is based on a sketch drawn by John Hunter (Second Captain of the *Sirius*). Of Hunter's artistic skills, John White wrote: 'Captain Hunter has a pretty turn for drawing.'⁶⁰ ('The experienced and respected captain Hunter was regarded as a "man devoid of stiff pride ... most accomplish'd in his profession"'.)⁶¹

It is reasonable to conclude that Hunter's original sketch, and the vignette that was based on it, contains reasonable likenesses of the individuals represented—even though the original sketch was subsequently 'copied and reworked by a professional artist in order to provide' an improved and more suitable 'basis for the engraver'.⁶²

Unfortunately, John Hunter does not specifically identify each of the men represented in the vignette. We know that the expedition comprised Governor Phillip, Captain David Collins, John Hunter, marine First Lieutenant George [John] Johnston, John White, George Worgan, Newton Digby Fowell (1768–90; a 'gregarious, optimistic and well-connected' midshipman on the *Sirius*, 'destined for ... a fatal encounter with the Batavia fever'),⁶³ and marines.⁶⁴ Captain Hunter described the expedition

58 J. Hunter, *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, with the Discoveries which Have Been Made in New South Wales and in the Southern Ocean, Since the Publication of Phillip's Voyage, Compiled from the Official Papers; Including the Journals of Governors Phillip and King, and of Lieut. Ball; And the Voyages from the First Sailing of the Sirius in 1787, to the Return of that Ship's Company to England in 1792* (London: John Stockdale, 1793).

59 A river running 'for 120 kilometres from the confluence of the Nepean and Grose rivers west of Sydney to Broken Bay north of Sydney'. N. Clugston, 'Hawkesbury River', in *Dictionary of Sydney* (2008).

60 J. White, *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales with Sixty-Five Plates of Non Descript Animals, Birds, Lizards, Serpents, Curious Cones of Trees and Other Natural Productions* (London: J. Debrett, 1790), p. 107. Quoted in J. Hoorn, *Australian Pastoral: The Making of a White Landscape* (Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Press, 2007), p. 16.

61 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 10. Groom takes the quotation from Daniel Southwell (1764?–97), 'Letter to his mother', 19 May 1787. Quoted in Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 185.

62 S. Hunt, 'The Collector and the Collection', in S. Hunt and G. Davison, *Sydney Views 1788–1888 from the Beat Knoblauch Collection* (Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 2007), p. 10.

63 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 11.

64 J. Egan, *Buried Alive: Sydney 1788–1792. Eyewitness Accounts of the Making of a Nation* (Crow's Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1999), p. 123.

as comprising ‘the governor, Captain Collins (the judge-advocate), Captain Johnston, of the marines, Mr. White, principal surgeon of the settlement, Mr. Worgan, Mr. Fowell, and myself, from the Sirius, and two men, all armed with musquets’.⁶⁵

Contemporaneous portraits reveal that Governor Phillip ‘had a high forehead, a long nose, dark eyes and an olive complexion. He had a slight figure with sloping shoulders.’⁶⁶ In Plate 48, the long nose and sloping shoulders of the figure standing second from the right suggest that this may be Governor Phillip. The figure’s ‘appearance and bearing ... suggest’ calm, dignity and authority; in short, ‘sensibility—a key feature of the Enlightenment period. It was an attitude reflected in moderation and rationality. Discussion was preferred to disputation, conversation to controversy and politeness to pedantry. In polite society at least, machismo was vulgar and unfashionable. It was certainly not Phillip’s style.’⁶⁷

Surgeon John White (seated) ministers to the Aboriginal woman. White ‘was considered a conscientious and humane man, whose care ... was attentive and as caring as was possible in the circumstances’.⁶⁸ (White’s interest in the Aboriginal race extended to his adopting Nan-bar-ray, an Indigenous boy from Sydney.)⁶⁹

The figure standing between the tree and the back of the shelter—that is, the figure with the brimmed hat standing third from the right/third from the left—may be George Worgan. Like that of his seated medical colleague, surgeon John White, Worgan’s gaze is intently fixed on the Aboriginal woman. As far as can be seen, the build of Worgan’s shoulders and upper arms is similarly muscular to that of surgeon John White; for both surgeons, this muscularity not only appears to be greater than that of their colleagues, but is also consistent with the strength required by an eighteenth-century surgeon.⁷⁰

The figure standing behind the shelter (second from the left) whose hat has no brim, and whose attention is fixed upon Governor Phillip, may be Captain David Collins. Collins’ hat resembles one that is depicted in an engraving of a similar, if not the same, event, published in 1793 in Michael Adams’ (fl. 1793) *The New*

65 J. Hunter, *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*, by John Hunter, The Project Gutenberg EBook, No. 15662 (2005) [Originally published London: John Stockdale, 1793], Chapter VI, ‘Transactions at Port Jackson May 1789 to January 1790’.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

67 M. Pembroke, *Arthur Phillip: Sailor, Mercenary, Governor, Spy* (Melbourne: Hardie Grant Books, 2013), p. 165.

68 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 68.

69 See J. Barkley-Jack, *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed: A New Look at Australia’s Third Mainland Settlement 1793–1802* (Dural, NSW: Rosenberg Publishing, 2009), p. 285.

70 See ‘The Life of a Surgeon’, above.

Royal System of Universal Geography (Plate 49).⁷¹ In the Adams engraving, not only is Collins specifically identified, he is also depicted as the only member of the party wearing a hat with no brim.

In the vignette (Plate 48), the person standing behind the shelter on the extreme left, looking into the distance and supporting his gun on his shoulder, may be John Hunter. In the foreground on the right, John Johnston, in marine uniform (presenting his back to us), looks on.



Plate 48 Unknown artist, engraved from a sketch by John Hunter (1737–1821): Governor Phillip, John White and George Worgan [?] Visiting an Aboriginal Woman, Who is Recovering from Illness.

Source: Image on the title page from J. Hunter, *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island* (London: John Stockdale, 1793). Engraving: 29.0 x 23.0 cm. Reproduced with permission of the Ballarat Mechanics Institute Library.

John Hunter described the event depicted in the vignette; he records that near Pittwater:

[O]ur tents etc were no sooner up than we went to visit our young female friend, whom we now found in a little bark hut upon the beach ...

⁷¹ M. Adams, *The New Royal System of Universal Geography. Containing a Complete, Full, Particular, and Accurate History and Description of all the Several Parts of the Whole World ... Including Every Interesting Discovery and Circumstance in the Narratives of Captain Cook's Voyages Round the World. Together with all the Recent Discoveries Made in the Pelew Islands, New Holland, New South Wales, Botany-Bay, Port-Jackson, Norfolk-Island ... Carefully Written and Compiled from the Late Journals of the Voyages and Travels of Captain Phillip, King, Ball, Hunter, White ... The Whole Forming a Complete, Authentic, Copious, and Real New Geographical Library* (London: Alexander Hogg, 1793), Plate facing p. 19.

She had with her a female child about two years old and as tiny a creature of that age as I ever saw, but upon our approach, the night being cold and rainy and the child terrified exceedingly, she was laying with her elbows and knees on the ground covering the child from our sight with her body, probably to shelter it from the wet, but I rather think on account of its terrors.

On our speaking to her, she raised herself up and sit on the ground with her knees up to her chin and her heels under her, and was at that moment I think the most miserable spectacle in the human shape I ever beheld. The little infant could not be prevailed on to look up, it lay with its face upon the ground and its hand over its eyes. We supplied her ... with birds, fish and fuel to keep her fire in with. We pulled a quantity of grass to make her a comfortable bed and covered her little miserable hut so as to keep out the weather.⁷²

George Worgan makes no mention of this event in his journal. On Monday, 28 April 1788—a little more than 14 months prior to the event depicted in the vignette—Worgan expressed his hope that he might obtain Governor Phillip's '[p]ermission to accompany him' in a proposed future expedition.⁷³ The intention of the proposed expedition was to investigate 'very high mountainous land, which ... the Governor means to visit'.⁷⁴ Forty-five days later, on Thursday, 12 June 1788, Worgan writes: 'The Governor intends to visit these mountains shortly, and i have his permission to accompany him in this excursion.'⁷⁵ The proposed expedition never took place. Nevertheless, Worgan was a member of several expeditions, including to the Hawkesbury River, Broken Bay and the upper Nepean (where the Worgan River was named after him).⁷⁶

Worgan does not mention his participation in any expedition comprising the personnel depicted in the engraved vignette. As the version of Worgan's journal that has survived is *not* his 'fuller & more accurate'⁷⁷ version, we have no record written by Worgan that describes his involvement in the July 1789 expedition to the Hawkesbury River. It may be that Captain John Hunter's 1789 sketch, subsequently transformed into the engraved vignette (Plate 48) on the title page of his *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*, contains the only known representation of George Worgan. Of the seven men depicted in the engraving, however, Governor Phillip is the only person who can be identified with any certainty.

72 Quoted in Egan, *Buried Alive*, p. 124.

73 See Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 43.

74 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

76 See G. Skinner, 'Worgan, George', in *Dictionary of Sydney* (2008).

77 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 58.

The subject matter of the vignette shown in Plate 48 is strikingly similar to that of an engraving found in Michael Adams' (fl. 1793) *The New Royal System of Universal Geography*.⁷⁸ this engraving is entitled 'Captains Hunter, Collins & Johnston, with Governor Phillip, Surgeon White, etc Visiting a Distressed Female Native of New South Wales, at a Hut near Port Jackson' (Plate 49).



Plate 49 Unknown artist: *Captains Hunter, Collins & Johnston, with Governor Phillip, Surgeon White, etc Visiting a Distressed Female Native of New South Wales, at a Hut Near Port Jackson.*

Source: Plate facing p. 19 in M. Adams, *The New Royal System of Universal Geography* (London: Alexander Hogg, 1793). Engraving: 14.1 x 19.7 cm. Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Australia, Canberra. Pictures Collection, nla.pic-an7890412.

Using the order of personnel listed in the title as a means to identify those depicted, the engraving depicts (from right to left):

1. an unidentified person presenting his back to us, walking into the bushland; this person holds a gun in his left hand, and may be guarding the party
2. Captain Hunter (second on the right, the first whose face is visible) holding the barrel of a gun
3. Captain Collins (wearing a hat with no brim) wielding an axe

⁷⁸ Adams, *The New Royal System of Universal Geography*, Plate facing p. 19.

4. Captain Johnston supporting a gun on his left shoulder
5. Governor Phillip standing in the foreground; his right hand is placed upon his left, and his gun leans against his torso
6. surgeon White (on the left, standing behind the shelter) looking down upon the Aboriginal woman.

Perhaps George Worgan, who, when in the company of such colonial luminaries was not regarded as being of equivalent importance, is represented by the title 'etc'.

George Worgan's Father, Dr John Worgan

It is reasonable to assume that George gained a knowledge of (if not also a passion for) music from his father, Dr John Worgan. Dr Worgan, having sanctioned his son's entry into the navy, enjoyed a reputation and abilities as a professional musician that would have enabled him to earn an income that was more than sufficient to pay for George's medical training. Dr Worgan was organist and composer at Vauxhall Gardens⁷⁹ between 1751 and 1761, and later, a composer there between 1770 and 1774. At Vauxhall Gardens, Dr Worgan had to compete 'with fireworks, tightrope dancers, and parachuting balloonists for his audience's attention'.⁸⁰

John Worgan was born on Monday, 29 May 1724. Approximately five months later, on Thursday, 2 November, he was baptised at the church of St Botolph, Bishopsgate.⁸¹ Following the death of both his parents, John (a musical child prodigy) was educated by, and learned the organ from, one of his older brothers, James (1713–53), who was a friend of Händel.

James was ... organist at both St Botolph Aldgate⁸² and St Dunstan-in-the-East.⁸³ He has been cited as the first organist at Vauxhall Gardens, but there is conflicting evidence: Charles Burney asserted that Thomas Gladwin was the first organist, from about 1737–38, when the organ was installed, to about 1745, when [James] Worgan was appointed.

⁷⁹ 'Vauxhall Gardens was an outdoor pleasure garden in London. Those persons who paid a shilling to walk its paths could ... hear music outside, emanating from the Musical Temple, and indoors, in the Music Room.' L. Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England: Social Harmony in Literature and Performance* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), p. 133, fn. 1. See 'Vauxhall Gardens', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 52.

⁸⁰ Isacoff, *A Natural History of the Piano*, p. 61.

⁸¹ Entry 'P2119', in *Tom Hodgkinson's Ancestors*. See Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Gn, Reference Number 23 (on the western side of Bishopsgate Street, opposite Houndsditch).

⁸² See *ibid.*, Grid Reference Hn, Reference Number 22 (on the northern side of the intersection of Houndsditch and White Chapel).

⁸³ See *ibid.*, Grid Reference Go, Reference Number 29 (on the eastern side of Mincing Lane, off the southern side of Tower Street, near to the south-western side of the Tower of London).

James's [musically gifted] sister Mary (*bap.* London, 23 April 1717—after 1768) succeeded James as organist at St Dunstan-in-the-East, being elected on 11 May 1753.⁸⁴

Mary Worgan was also a composer. During the mid-eighteenth century, her song 'The Dying Nightingale' (1740) was extremely popular. Its anonymous lyric, 'Set to Musick by Miss Worgan',⁸⁵ includes a voice that purports to be that of the nightingale.⁸⁶ In the last verse, following a

farewell to Arcadia ... the nightingale offers her mate the bittersweet reflection that although she is dying and he too may soon succumb to the 'supream Decree of Fate' ... there is no delight in lingering where their lyrical gifts are no longer valued:

Yet let it not disturb our peace,
These times no more to see,
When hooting owls, & gabbling geese,
Are priz'd as much as we.

What has seemed a sedate neoclassical pastoral metamorphoses into ... allegory. Musical pedants ('hooting owls') and those who flock to new musical trends ('gabbling geese') have mobbed the cultural field previously occupied by those musical artists (nightingales) with a refined, educated, and historical sense of music's social purpose and its affective potential. The lyricist uses the ostensibly apolitical neoclassical pastoral to launch a subversive attack on the current direction of musical aesthetics.⁸⁷

On the strength of this song alone, it is reasonable to assume that Mary Worgan was not only a musician who knew her own mind, but also one who possessed unswerving integrity in relation to her philosophy of musical art.

Like his older brother James, another of John Worgan's older brothers, Charles Worgan (*bap.* Thursday, 14 February 1726), was also a musician. Charles, a merchant, settled in Port Royal, Jamaica, where he was an organist.⁸⁸

84 P. McGairl, 'Worgan' (n.d.).

85 M. Worgan, *The Dying Nightingale. Set to Musick by Miss Worgan* (London: British Library, 1740), Shelfmark H 1994 b (89); reproduced in Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 145.

86 See Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 144.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 146.

88 See Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 114. See also J. S. Sainsbury, *Dictionary of Musicians, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time: Comprising the Most Important Biographical Contents of the Works of Gerber, Choron, and Fayolle, Count Orloff, Dr. Burney, Sir John Hawkins, &c. &c. Together with Upwards of a Hundred Original Memoirs of the Most Eminent Living Musicians; And a Summary of the History of Music*, 2nd edn (London: Sainsbury & Co., 1827), Vol. 2, p. 546.

Following tuition by his brother James, John Worgan studied under the composer and organist Thomas Roseingrave (1688–1766), who was a passionate advocate of the scintillating keyboard music of Domenico Scarlatti. John Worgan also studied under the Italian composer and violin virtuoso Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762). Geminiani, who came to London in 1714, had studied under the famed violinist and composer Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713) and the celebrated composer Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725).⁸⁹

John Worgan gained a Bachelor of Music degree from Cambridge University (at St John's College)⁹⁰ in 1748. Five years later, on Saturday, 1 September 1753, he married Sarah Mackelcan at the Church of St Peter le Poor, London⁹¹ (Sarah was a music pupil of John Worgan's older brother James).

John Worgan was slightly less tall than 'the common standard, and somewhat squarely ... framed'; he was 'dark, handsome and expressive'.⁹² In late April 1780, *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* described John Worgan as a 'gentleman of the most respectable character ... and of the first rank in the profession of music'.⁹³

In 1755, John Worgan published his *Trio for Three Voices. With Instruments. Sung by Miss Burchell, Miss Stevenson, and Mr. Lowe in Vaux Hall Gardens*. The publication inscription contains details of Worgan's address at the time: 'Printed for the author and sold at his house in Millman Street, facing St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, Holborn.'⁹⁴

Eight years later, Mortimer's *London Directory* of 1763 erroneously gives John Worgan's address as St John's Square, near Clerkenwell Green (in the then northern outskirts of the city).⁹⁵ *The Public Advertiser* of Tuesday, 27 March 1764, however, provides (by not confusing the whereabouts of the relevant St John's) a correct address: 'Mr. Worgan's House, facing St. John's Chapel, Millman-street, Bedford Row, Holborn'⁹⁶ (in 1760, John Worgan became

89 See R. Southey, M. Maddison and D. Hughes, *The Ingenious Mr Avison: Making Music and Money in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Tyne Bridge Publishing, 2009), p. 30.

90 See Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 114, fn. †.

91 See 'Entry P2119', in *Tom Hodgkinson's Ancestors*. See also Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Gn, Reference Number 69 (on the northern side of Broad Street, near the intersection of Throgmorton Street).

92 Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 131. See also '16.—S. Andrew Undershaft', in C. W. Pearce, *Notes on Old London City Churches. Their Organs, Organists & Musical Associations* (London: The Vincent Music Company, 1907?), p. 82, fn.

93 See *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 28 April 1780, No. 3415, p. 1.

94 J. Worgan, *A Trio for Three Voices. With Instruments. Sung by Miss Burchell, Miss Stevenson, and Mr. Lowe in Vaux Hall Gardens* (London: Printed for the Author, 1755). See J. Stainer, *Catalogue of English Song Books Forming a Portion of the Library of Sir John Stainer* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1891), p. 92.

95 See McGairl, 'Worgan'. See also 'Worgan, John', in Highfill et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors ...*, Vol. 16, p. 273. See also 'St. Johns Square' and 'Clerkenwell Green' in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 21.

96 *The Public Advertiser*, 27 March 1764. Quoted in *Handel Reference Database 1764*.

organist of St John's Chapel, Millman Street, Bedford Row).⁹⁷ Millman Street lay one block south-east from the Foundling Hospital (it seems that Millman Street was regarded as insignificant enough to warrant its exclusion from any London map until 1795).⁹⁸ In Millman Street, John Worgan lived at number 7.⁹⁹ *The Public Advertiser* describes John Worgan's house as 'facing St. John's Chapel, Millman-street'.¹⁰⁰ It is reasonable, therefore, to propose that the Worgan family lived in a house situated on the eastern side of Millman Street, at the southern end, presumably either near, or on the corner of, Chapel Street.¹⁰¹

It seems that Dr John Worgan called 7 Millman Street home for approximately 20 years (in 1780, Dr Worgan's son Joseph [1768–1825] enrolled at Eton College; as part of Joseph's particulars, the *Eton College Register* records Dr John Worgan's address as 'Milman Street, London').¹⁰²

There is a discrepancy between the address of the Worgan family as given in the 1780 *Eton College Register* and that published three years earlier in *The Daily Advertiser* of Monday, 13 January 1777. Announcing the death of Dr Worgan's second wife, Eleanor, *The Daily Advertiser* remarks:

On Saturday [11 January 1777] at her house at Rathbone-Place, Mrs. Worgan, wife of Dr. Worgan, one of the most amiable of her sex. If the affectionate wife, the tender parent, the good Christian, the sincere friend, and agreeable companion, were ever united in one character, they most happily were in this lady's; consequently her family sustain a real loss, and her friends must ever remember her with regret.¹⁰³

The mention of Rathbone Place in *The Daily Advertiser* suggests that the Worgan family had left their previous address at 7 Millman Street, Holborn, by late 1776 (at the very least). If *The Daily Advertiser* is correct, John Worgan and his family did not reside in Millman Street in 1780. For some unknown reason, the *Eton College Register* entry is incorrect.

97 F. G. Edwards, 'Worgan, John (DNB00)', in *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Elder Smith, 1900), Vol. 63.

98 See 'Millman Str', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 20.

99 See McGairl, 'Worgan'.

100 See *The Public Advertiser*, 27 March 1764. Quoted in *Handel Reference Database 1764*.

101 See 'Millman Str', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 20. On Cary's map, St John's Chapel is designated with the number 52.

102 See 'Worgan 1780–87', in *The Eton College Register, 1753–1790* (Eton, UK: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., 1921).

103 *The Daily Advertiser*, 13 January 1777, No. 14375, p. 1.

The author is aware of three sources that associate Dr John Worgan with an address in Berners¹⁰⁴ (Berner¹⁰⁵ or Berner's)¹⁰⁶ Street (off the northern side of Oxford Street), London:

1. Mollie Gillen claims that Dr John Worgan 'had lived in Berners Street, London, not far from the residence of James Bradley' (1693–1762), astronomer royal from 1742 until his death), 'a friend of Evan Nepean' (1752–1822)¹⁰⁷ and 'later under-secretary at the India Board, whose brother Henry became superintendent of the *Dunkirk* hulk at Plymouth'¹⁰⁸ (unfortunately, Gillen does not cite her sources).
2. An assertion made by Alec Worgan (a descendant of one of George Bouchier Worgan's brothers).¹⁰⁹ Regrettably, Alec Worgan gives no evidence to substantiate his assertion.
3. A single-page printed document in Brian Jack Barrow's (b. 1946)¹¹⁰ possession, comprising a map (taken from *Google Maps*, dated Monday, 15 March 2010) showing 'Berners St Westminster, London W1 UK'. The document contains the following handwritten statement at the bottom of the page: 'The Worgan family lived in Berners St / within walking distance of the Haymarket / shop, Longman & Broderip, where the / piano may have been purchased.' The statement is signed underneath with the initials 'BB'—that is, Brian Barrow.

No late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century evidence links Dr John Worgan with an address in Berners Street.

In 1746, Berners Street was the short, first named street westward from Rathbone Place. On the northern side of Oxford Street, travelling westward from Rathbone Place, streets and entrances were:

104 See Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Cm. See also Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 27.

105 See *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Map Section: left-hand quadrant; northernmost extent Mary le Bon and southernmost extent Tothill Fields.

106 See D. Hughson, 'Walk 15th', in *Walks through London, Including Westminster and the Borough of Southwark with the Surrounding Suburbs; Describing Everything Worthy of Observation in the Public Buildings, Places of Entertainment, Exhibitions, Commercial and Literary Institutions, &c. Forming a Complete Guide to the British Metropolis, in Two Volumes* (London: W. Clarke, 1817), in *London and Environs Maps and Views* (Last updated 31 December 2011).

107 Evan Nepean was involved with arrangements made for the dispatch of the First Fleet, and the administration of the newly established penal colony in New South Wales during its early years. See V. Parsons, 'Nepean, Evan (1752–1822)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1967], Vol. 2.

108 Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 393.

109 See 'Close Proximity', in Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

110 Brian Jack Barrow is an antiques restorer, fortepiano aficionado and current owner of the Longman & Broderip square piano dated 1785/86? discussed in Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

1. Rathbone Place
2. a relatively long, narrow entrance to a stable yard
3. Marybone Pass (a narrow lane linking Oxford Street with uncultivated land)
4. a wide unnamed entrance to the same uncultivated land accessed by Marybone Pass
5. Berners Street.¹¹¹

Twenty-one years later, in 1767, Berner Street was the first named street westward from (and running parallel with) Rathbone Place.¹¹² Berner Street and Rathbone Place were linked (halfway down their length) by a relatively wide unnamed cross street,¹¹³ making it possible to describe Berner Street as being 'off Rathbone Place' (ca 20 years later, during the mid-1780s, Dr John Worgan resided at 40 Rathbone Place).

By 1775, Berners Street had become the second street westward from Rathbone Place. On the northern side of Oxford Street, travelling westward from Rathbone Place, named streets and entrances were

1. Rathbone Place
2. Newmans Street
3. Berners Street.¹¹⁴

In 1775, Berners Street and Rathbone Place were no longer connected by a cross street; consequently, Berners Street could not be described as being 'off Rathbone Place'.

In 1795, Berners Street was the third street westward from Rathbone Place. On the northern side of Oxford Street, travelling westward from Rathbone Place, named streets and entrances were

1. Rathbone Place
2. Perrys Place
3. Newmans Street
4. Berners Street.¹¹⁵

111 See 'Berners St.', in Rocque, *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark*, [B] (seq. 7), Map Reference I-12/B-7.

112 See 'Berner Str.', in *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Map Section: left-hand quadrant; northernmost extent Mary le Bon and southernmost extent Tothill Fields.

113 See *ibid.*

114 See 'Berners Str.', in Bowles, *Bowles's New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Cm.

115 See 'Berners Str.', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 28.

In 1795, no cross street connected Berners Street with Rathbone Place; Berners Street could not be regarded as being 'off Rathbone Place'.

Between 1754 and 1768, nine children were born to John and Sarah at their home in Millman Street.¹¹⁶ Of these nine children, George Bouchier Worgan was the second son and third child.

In June 1768, 'John divorced Sarah for adultery' (committed with some of John's music students: 'Mr. Rowe, Mr. Langshaw, and others.'¹¹⁷ As a result of her infidelity, Sarah communicated 'to her husband a disgraceful and disagreeable disease'.¹¹⁸ A few years later, John married Eleanor Baston(?), with whom he had two children, Thomas Danvers (1773–1832) and Michael (bur. Friday, 17 November 1775). Following the death of Eleanor in 1777, he married Martha Cooke (d. Monday, 11 May 1812), a widow, on Saturday, 12 June 1779.¹¹⁹

After gaining his Doctorate in Music from Cambridge University in 1775, Dr Worgan 'virtually retired from public life, apart from his [extensive] duties as an organist'.¹²⁰

In 1823, Richard Mackenzie Bacon, in his 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan, Mus.D', provided the following summary:

Dr. Worgan married three times. By his first wife he had nine children, of whom three sons [including George Bouchier] and two daughters are now living. By his second wife he had two sons, of whom one [Thomas Danvers] is living. By his third wife, who was a widow when he married her, he had no offspring.¹²¹

Dr John Worgan died on Friday, 20 August 1790, aged 66, 'at 22 (now 65) Gower Street'. Gower Street, off Bedford Square, is approximately four blocks to the north-east of Dr Worgan's second-last address, Rathbone Place.¹²²

Plate 50 shows the house in Gower Street in which Dr Worgan died (the entrance is the door on the left). The house currently serves as the Ridgemount Hotel.

116 See McGairl, 'Worgan'.

117 See 'Trials for Adultery', in *The London Chronicle*, 5–7 October 1779, No. 3567.

118 Ibid.

119 McGairl, 'Worgan'.

120 Ibid.

121 Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 133.

122 McGairl, 'Worgan'. See 'Gower Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 20.



Plate 50 Dr John Worgan's house, in which he died on 20 August 1790.

Source: Photo by the author.

When ill, the middle class 'did not go to the hospitals (which were for the poor) but were tended to at home and visited there by a physician'.¹²³ Burney provides us with information concerning Dr John Worgan's demise. He says that Dr Worgan

had the misfortune to labour under two dreadful calamities: a bad wife and the stone [that is, bladder stones]. He got rid of the former, after great mortifications and expense, by divorce; but in too early wishing to abridge his sufferings from the latter, he lost his life in the torture of an operation.¹²⁴

¹²³ Riding, *Mid-Georgian Britain 1740–69*, p. 73.

¹²⁴ Charles Burney quoted in A. Rees (ed.), *The Cyclopædia, or Universal Directory of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, 39 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1819), p. 106.

Techniques for the surgical treatment of bladder stones did not change from the 1500s through to the mid-nineteenth century. An anonymous sixteenth-century commentator remarked: ‘The cure itself is something horrible, grave, and perilous. The mind recoiled at the thought of so frightful a remedy.’¹²⁵ During the eighteenth century, 80 per cent of patients who endured the excruciating procedure for the removal of bladder stones died;¹²⁶ a prayer often uttered was: ‘Lord, take me not through the bladder.’ Because the malady was so agonising, many people were willing to take a chance that the operation would be successful (such as Dr John Worgan), and this despite the high risk of death either during the operation itself or resulting from ensuing septicemia. Most surgeons hesitated to perform the operation because of the high mortality rate. Eleven people were required for the procedure: the surgeon, his assistant, plus nine people to immobilise the patient (two to hold the right leg, two to hold the left leg, two to hold the right arm, two to hold the left arm, and one to hold the head).

Dr Worgan was buried on Tuesday, 31 August 1790, 11 days after his death, in the church of St Andrew Undershaft (St Mary Axe)¹²⁷ opposite the left side of the communion table.¹²⁸ During the late sixteenth century, the church of St Mary Axe was demolished, and its parish merged with that of St Andrew Undershaft (Plate 51). At Dr John Worgan’s funeral service, one of his favourite pupils, the musical genius Charles Wesley, jr (1757–1834)—the eldest son of Charles Wesley (1707–88), who was the younger brother of the founder of Methodism, John Wesley (1703–91)—played the ‘Dead March’ from Händel’s oratorio ‘Saul’ on the organ. On the same day Dr Worgan’s body was interred, his will was proven.¹²⁹

On Saturday, 13 October 1906, the memory of Dr John Worgan was honoured by the unveiling of a brass plaque in the church of St Andrew Undershaft (Plate 52). Expenses associated with the plaque and its installation were met by

125 Quoted in R. E. Greenspan, ‘Urology’, in *Collect Medical Antiques*.

126 This statistic, and ensuing information concerning bladder stones, comes from an engaging public lecture presented by Dr Alan Turner at the Hunterian Museum at the Royal College of Surgeons, London, on Friday, 15 April 2011.

127 See ‘Leaden Hall Street’, in J. Noorthouck, ‘Aldgate Ward with its Divisions into Precincts and Parishes According to a New Survey’, in *A New History of London, Including Westminster and Southwark, to which is Added, a General Survey of the Whole; Describing the Public Buildings, Late Improvements, &c. Illustrated with Copper-Plates* (London: R. Baldwin, 1773), in *London and Environs Maps and Views* (Last updated 31 December 2011). See also ‘Leaden Hall Street’ and ‘St. Mary Axe’ in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 30. On Cary’s map, the Church of St Andrew Undershaft is designated with the number 10.

128 Highfill et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors ...*, p. 273.

129 See ‘PCC Abstracts of Wills: Wills Proved at Prerogative Court of Canterbury 31st August 1790’, in *London Lives 1690–1800—Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*.

the London section of the Incorporated Society of Musicians.¹³⁰ The unveiling took place within the context of 'a special choral service, in which several of Worgan's compositions were sung'.¹³¹

Appropriately, the plaque is situated on a wall immediately next to the treble-side back of an organ made by that great genius of English organ builders Renatus Harris (ca 1652–1724) (the organ was opened on Thursday, 31 May 1696, when the Reverend Dr Towerson preached a sermon on vocal and instrumental music).¹³²



Plate 51 The Church of St Andrew Undershaft.

Source: Photo by the author.

130 See 'Appendix: XVI. S. Andrew Undershaft', in Pearce, *Notes on Old London City Churches*, p. 237.

131 *Ibid.*, p. 238.

132 See '16.—S. Andrew Undershaft', in *ibid.*, p. 80.

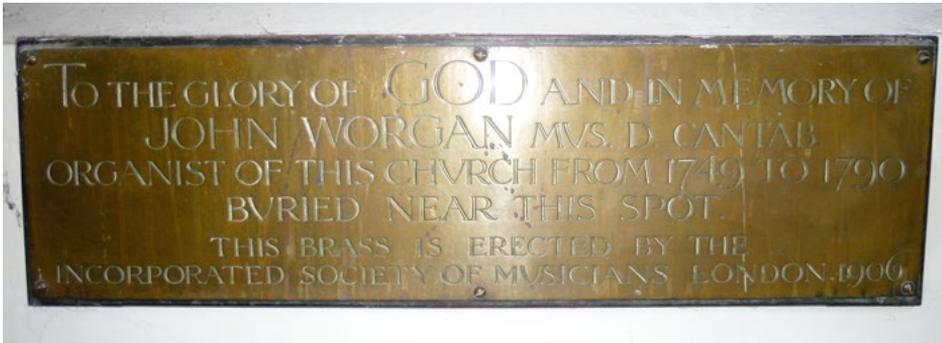


Plate 52 Brass plaque commemorating Dr John Worgan in the Church of St Andrew Undershaft.

Source: Photo by the author.

The inscription on the plaque reads:

To the glory of God and in memory of
 John Worgan Mus. D. Cantab.
 Organist of this church from 1749 to 1790
 Buried near this spot.
 This brass is erected by the
 Incorporated Society of Musicians London 1906

Of Dr John Worgan's five surviving sons, three became professional musicians:

1. Richard Worgan (bap. London, Monday, 1 October 1759 – d. after 1812)
2. James Worgan (bap. London, Saturday, 27 November 1762 – d. after 1801)
3. Thomas Danvers Worgan (1774–1832).

Dr John Worgan appears to have paid heed to the advice provided by R. Campbell in 1747 concerning a parent's response to the educative needs of a musically gifted child: 'If a parent cannot make his son a gentle-man, and finds, that he has got an itch of music, it is much the best way to allot him entirely to that study.'¹³³ Unfortunately, not much is known about the lives of Richard, James and Thomas Danvers Worgan.¹³⁴

About 1795, James Worgan compiled three volumes of organ music by his illustrious father.

¹³³ Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p. 93.

¹³⁴ See C. Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', Unpublished text of a lecture given at Liskeard ca 1990, p. 2. I am indebted to Christine Edwards for providing me with a copy of the text of her lecture.

Thomas Danvers Worgan

called himself 'Professor of Music' and taught and lectured in London in addition to composing music and writing essays. His three collections *Vocal Sonatinas forming a Coalition of Vocal and Instrumental Harmony* (1816–1820) include arrangements as well as his own compositions (rounds, canons, glees etc.). He also composed a motet in ten vocal and 35 instrumental parts, *The Heroes' Welcome* (1824), and published *Rouge et noire de musique, or Harmonic Pastimes*, described as 'Games of Cards constructed on the Principles of Music' (1807). He published three collections of 'Essays in Poetry and Music', as *Monthly Minstrelsy* (1807) and *The Composer or Contrapuntist, with Explanatory Notes* (1826). A further collection of essays, *The Musical Reformer* (1829), included a list of his own works (published and unpublished) and some of his father's. (All of his printed works were published in London.)¹³⁵

George Worgan's Father, Dr John Worgan, the Harpsichordist

Charles Burney mentions Dr John Worgan's 'reverence' for the works of Domenico Scarlatti. '[H]e became a great collector of [Scarlatti's] ... pieces, some of which he had been honoured with from Madrid by the author himself ... few have now perseverance sufficient to vanquish their peculiar difficulties of execution.'¹³⁶

In 1752, Dr Worgan obtained a licence, lasting 14 years, allowing him sole printing rights of several new keyboard sonatas by Scarlatti; a second licence was issued in 1771.¹³⁷

The keyboard sonatas of Scarlatti are consummately virtuosic works. In England, from 1738 through to the end of the eighteenth century, Scarlatti's sonatas were not only immensely popular (to the extent of having a cult following),¹³⁸ but also the most difficult keyboard works in print, representing the benchmark for skillful execution at the keyboard.¹³⁹ (Oddly, in Italy, 'Domenico Scarlatti

135 McGairl, 'Worgan'.

136 C. Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period, to which is Prefixed, a Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients*, edited by Frank Mercer, 2 vols (New York: Dover Publications, 1957), Vol. 2, p. 1009.

137 P. McGairl, 'Worgan: (3) John Worgan', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), Vol. 27, p. 566.

138 See P. Olleson, *Samuel Wesley: The Man and His Music* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2003), p. 8.

139 See T. Decker, 'Scarlattino, the Wonder of His Time: Domenico Scarlatti's Absent Presence in Eighteenth-Century England', in W. D. Sutcliffe (ed.), *Eighteenth Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Vol. 2, pp. 273–98.

was hardly more than a name. Little enough of his music was circulating there in manuscript and nothing of his was published in Italy during the eighteenth century.’)¹⁴⁰ Charles Burney wrote of his admiration for ‘the original fancy, boldness, delicacy & fire of Domenico Scarlatti [sonatas], so different from all [keyboard music] ... before & since!’¹⁴¹

Dr John Worgan’s technique, musical intelligence and style of harpsichord playing must have suited the uncompromising technical and artistic demands made by Scarlatti’s keyboard music. It is reported that as a harpsichordist, Dr Worgan evidenced a ‘bold and full manner of playing’.¹⁴² The evaluation of Worgan’s playing as ‘bold’ may refer to any one or more of several performative issues, ranging from, for example, musico-rhetorical gesturalism, through improvised ornamental passagework, to harmonic adventurousness within the context of improvisation. Worgan’s ‘boldness’ may also be associated with his performances of Scarlatti’s unpredictable, evocative and astonishingly imaginative keyboard sonatas. That Dr Worgan revealed a ‘full manner’ of playing suggests that he used an Italian continuo style,¹⁴³ which at the time was characteristically manifested by a preponderance of thick chordal textures and rhythmically prominent patterns. The remark also suggests that Worgan’s tone was inherently rich, indicating that he knew how to draw high-quality sounds from the instrument.

In 1772, the *London Evening Post* of Saturday, 29 February – Tuesday, 3 March described Dr Worgan as a ‘most excellent original harpsichord-composer and performer’.¹⁴⁴

In 1823, Richard Mackenzie Bacon published the following anecdote related to Dr Worgan’s expertise as a harpsichordist:

140 R. Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 125. Quoted in L. Plantinga, *Clementi: His Life and Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 6.

141 Quoted in K. Anderson, ‘About this Recording 8.570368—Scarlatti, D.: Keyboard Sonatas (Complete), Vol. 9’, in *Scarlatti, D.: Keyboard Sonatas (Complete): Volume 9* (n.d.), Vol. 9.

142 ‘Charles Wesley’, in Clarke(?), *The Georgian Era: Memoirs of the Most Eminent Persons, who have Flourished in Great Britain, from the Accession of George the First to the Demise of George the Fourth, in Four Volumes. Volume IV: Political and Rural Economists; Painters, Sculptors, Architects, and Engravers; Composers; Vocal, Instrumental, and Dramatic Performers* (London: Vizetelly, Branston & Co., 1834), p. 317.

143 Continuo (basso continuo, thoroughbass) is ‘a largely practical discipline of music ... in which’ a keyboardist—or within some contexts, a player of a strummed instrument such as a guitar or theorbo, or a bowed string instrument such as a viola da gamba or violoncello—plays (or ‘realises’) ‘chords ... encoded in figured-bass notation ... One of the most salient features of thoroughbass is that it asks us to think of music in terms of a series of successive chords. These chords are encoded in a notation of Arabic numerals ... that indicate their interval structure above a ... continuo bass line.’ T. Christensen, ‘Thoroughbass as Music Theory’, in T. Christensen, R. Gjerdingen, G. Sanguinetti and R. Lutz, *Partimento and Continuo Playing in Theory and in Practice* (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2010), pp. 9–10.

144 ‘To all Harpsichord Performers’ [Advertisement], *London Evening Post*, 29 February – 3 March 1772, No. 6889.

Soon after [Giovanni] Manzoli [1720–82], the [castrato] singer,¹⁴⁵ had arrived in England [ca 1764–65], he was invited to a musical meeting, where several eminent performers displayed their powers at the harpsichord. Manzoli listened to them with polite attention, and complimented them on their exertions. It so happened that Dr. Worgan [then about 24 years old], who was present, was the last person requested to go to the harpsichord. He had scarcely touched the instrument when Manzoli, who sat by the fire at some distance, turned towards him with a look expressive of surprise and delight. As the Doctor proceeded in his performance, the Italian drew nearer and nearer the harpsichord; and at length, unable to repress his feelings, threw himself into the enchanter's arms.¹⁴⁶

According to Richard Bacon, Dr Worgan's 'hands were delicately formed' and 'he deserved some credit for reaching octaves'.¹⁴⁷ Dr Worgan's small hands, however, did not hinder the effectiveness of his playing, which was so overtly virtuosic that once, when Dr Worgan's creative powers 'stormed, an electrified listener exclaimed, "Zounds! the man has three hands"'.¹⁴⁸

George Worgan's Father, Dr John Worgan, the Organist

In London, between 1750 and 1850, of the 971 organists for whom documents survive, 71 percent were employed primarily as organists, although they usually had other employment, particularly as teachers ... the majority of organists worked for churches, cathedrals, or royal chapels.

Organists also performed in a few secular settings such as the ... [late eighteenth] century London pleasure gardens, Vauxhall¹⁴⁹ and Ranelagh.¹⁵⁰ Even London concerts sometimes employed organists. For example, Samuel Wesley [1766–1837] (the nephew of John Wesley ...)

145 Charles Burney described Manzoli's voice as 'the most powerful and voluminous soprano that had been heard on our stage since the time of Farinelli'. Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, Vol. 2, p. 868. During October and November 1771, Manzoli (aged 58) sang as *primo uomo* in W. A. Mozart's 'Ascanio in Alba'. See J. A. Rice, *A Dispute Involving the Musico Giovanni Manzoli and Mozart's Ascanio in Alba* (n.d.).

146 Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 121.

147 Ibid., p. 120.

148 Ibid., p. 120.

149 See 'Vauxhall Gardens', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 52.

150 See 'Ranelagh', in *ibid.*, Map Reference 50.

'received six guineas a night ... for playing the organ at the oratorio concerts at Covent Garden Theatre with an additional four guineas for playing a concerto 'between the Acts'.¹⁵¹

Appointment to a position as a church organist had an implied tenure of office ... [Dismissal was usually] due to gross negligence of duties, never to musical inadequacy. [For example, in 1771 at Lincoln Cathedral] ... the organist was 'arraigned and reprov'd for playing one Anthem while Mr. Binns was singing another' and for 'insolence' ... in contrast to theatre musicians, whose association with the stage made them morally suspect, organists' association with religion enhanced their status and respectability, making them more eligible for private patronage as teachers.¹⁵²

Dr Worgan was something of a child prodigy. At the age of 11 (as an applicant for the post of organist at Christ Church Spitalfields),¹⁵³ he was referred to as 'the ingenious Mr. Worgan'.¹⁵⁴

On Saturday, 8 April 1752 (almost a year and a half before his first marriage), Dr John Worgan was appointed as organist at the Church of St Andrew Undershaft (St Mary Axe).¹⁵⁵ He remained the church's organist until his death in 1790. (Church documents reveal that on Monday, 28 March 1785, Dr Worgan was censured because 'he very seldom attended, and ... the performance of his duties was very indifferent'.)¹⁵⁶

The organ in the Church of St Andrew Undershaft (Plate 53) is mentioned in the 12 questions forming *Queries about St Paul's Organ*; this document was written by the organ builder Renatus Harris, or some of his friends, its aim being to disparage the knowledge and skill of a rival organ builder Bernard Smith (ca 1630–1708). The eighth and ninth queries read:

151 D. Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 88–9. Rohr takes the quotation from: J. Lightwood, *Samuel Wesley, Musician: The Story of His Life* (London: Epworth Press, 1937), pp. 114–15.

152 Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850*, p. 93. Rohr takes the quotation from: J. E. West, *Cathedral Organists, Past and Present: A Record of the Succession of Organists of the Cathedrals, Chapels Royal, and Principal Collegiate Churches of the United Kingdom, from about the Period of the Reformation Until the Present Day: With Biographical Notes, Extracts from the Charter Books, Anecdotes, &c.* (London: Novello & Co., 1899), p. 49.

153 See 'Wood Street' and 'Silver Str.', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 29. On Cary's map, Christ Church Spitalfields is designated with the number 29.

154 See D. Gwynn, *The Renatus Harris Organ at St Botolph Aldgate* (Worksop, Nottinghamshire: Ratcliff & Roper, 2007), p. 6.

155 See T. F. Bumpus, *London Churches Ancient and Modern* (London: T. B. Bumpus, 1883?), Vol. 1, p. 154. See also 'Leaden Hall Street' and 'St. Mary Axe', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 30. On Cary's map, the Church of St Andrew Undershaft (St Mary Axe) is designated with the number 10.

156 See Bumpus, *London Churches Ancient and Modern*, Vol. 1, p. 153.

VIII. Whether there been't organs in the City, lowder, sweeter, and of more variety than St Paul's (which cost not more than one-third of the price) and particularly, whether Smith at the Temple has not outdone Smith of St Paul's. And whether St Andrew Undershaft has not outdone them both?

IX. 'Whether the open diapason of metal that speaks on the lower set of keys at St Andrew Undershaft be not a stop of extraordinary use and variety, and such as neither St Paul's has or can have?'¹⁵⁷



Plate 53 Organ by Renatus Harris in the Church of St Andrew Undershaft.

Source: Photo by the author.

On Monday, 14 May 1753 (only four months before his first marriage), the 29-year-old Dr Worgan was elected as the organist at the medieval Church of St

157 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 153.

Botolph, Aldgate¹⁵⁸ (on the corner of Houndsditch and White Chapel Road),¹⁵⁹ a job for which he was paid £25 a year.¹⁶⁰ When Dr Worgan began his duties there, the organ at St Botolph's would have been 48 years old. The organ was made by Renatus Harris, and dates from ca 1704–05 (Plate 54).

This instrument is now England's oldest working church organ. Although older pipes and cases exist elsewhere, the organ of St Botolph's contains the oldest collection of pipes in their original positions on their original wind chests.

The instrument was rebuilt in 1886, 1898 and 1966. Between 2005 and 2006, the organ was restored to its original ca 1704–05 condition, including the case (if he were alive today, Dr John Worgan would recognise the instrument immediately).

The pitch of the organ is $a^1 = 445.6 \text{ Hz}^{161}$ at 18°C. Throughout the life of the instrument, this common seventeenth and eighteenth-century English church pitch has never been altered.

The organ is currently tuned according to Renatus Harris's own tuning instructions, published as *Harris the Organ Makers Way of Tuning His Organs by Imperfect 5ths & True Octaves*, which appears as a postscript in Godfrey Keller's (d. 1704) *A Compleat Method for Attaining to Play a Thorough Bass Upon Either Organ, Harpsichord, or Theorbo-lute*.¹⁶²

Through Dr Worgan, the congregation at St Botolph's 'would have had the opportunity to hear some of the most up-to-date church music of the day',¹⁶³ played by one of England's finest organists.

158 See 'St Botolph Aldgate Parish: Minutes of Parish Vestries 19th May 1690 – 22nd May 1771', in *London Lives 1690–1800*.

159 See Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Hn, Reference Number 22.

160 See 'St Botolph Aldgate Parish: Miscellaneous Parish Account Books 1st May 1770 – 12th February 1802', in *London Lives 1690–1800*.

161 'Hz is the International Standard symbol for Hertz, the unit of frequency, defined as the number of cycles per second of a periodic phenomenon ... Sound is a travelling wave which is an oscillation of pressure. Humans perceive frequency of sound waves as pitch.' Each note (sounding pitch) in music 'corresponds to a particular frequency which can be measured in Hertz'. 'Hertz', in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (n.d.). See 'Hz (Hertz)' in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

162 G. Keller, *A Compleat Method for Attaining to Play a Thorough Bass Upon Either Organ, Harpsichord, or Theorbo-Lute, by the Late Famous Mr. Godfrey Keller. With a Variety of Proper Lessons and Fugues ... and a Scale for Tuning the Harpsichord or Spinnet, All Taken from His Own Copies which He Did Design to Print* (London: John Cullen, 1707).

163 Gwynn, *The Renatus Harris Organ at St Botolph Aldgate*, p. 6.

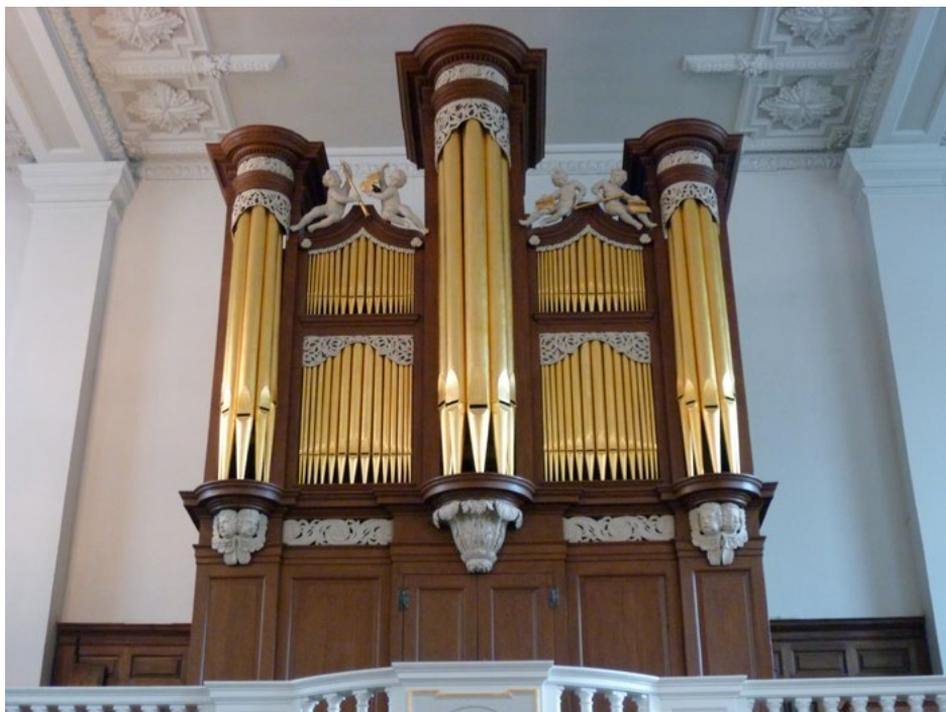


Plate 54 Organ by Renuus Harris, dating from 1704–05, in the Church of St Botolph, Aldgate.

Source: Photo by the author.

In 1760, Dr Worgan was appointed organist at St John's Chapel, Millman Street, Bedford Row, Holborn.¹⁶⁴ Dr Worgan held this position concurrently with the posts he occupied at St Andrew Undershaft and St Botolph's.

In 1779, upon the death of the composer and organist William Boyce (1711–79), Dr Worgan may have applied for the position of 'Master of the King's Musick'. The organist John Langshaw (1725–98) 'contemplated the unseemly spectacle of rival organists jockeying for the vacant post, and had written to' Reverend Charles Wesley (the younger brother of the founder of Methodism, John Wesley): 'Now for the whipping between Dr. Worgan & Dr. [Benjamin] Cooke [1734–93], for the King's Plate.' (Boyce's job as Master of the King's Musick went to the blind organist Charles John Stanley [1712–86].)¹⁶⁵

Dr John Worgan's abilities as an organist were so finely developed that some of his contemporaries compared him with the then greatest organist in England,

¹⁶⁴ See 'Millman Str', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 20. On Cary's map, St John's Chapel is designated with the number 52.

¹⁶⁵ Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 213.

Georg Frederic Händel. The outstanding English composer of church music and organist Jonathan Battishill (1738–1801) went so far as to make the following remark: ‘In my opinion, Worgan was the greater performer of the two.’¹⁶⁶ The English clergyman, writer and amateur musician Martin Madan (1726–90),¹⁶⁷ in a satirical song entitled ‘The Organ Laid Open, or, the True Stop Discovered’, implies that as organists, John Worgan and Georg Händel were famous equals: ‘For let Handel or Worgan go thresh at the organ.’¹⁶⁸

Charles Burney, having described Dr Worgan as one of England’s ‘great organists’,¹⁶⁹ wrote that Worgan was ‘a very masterly fughist on the organ, and as a concerto player a rival of [Charles John] Stanley ... His organ playing, though in the style of Handel than of any other school, is indeed masterly, in a way quite his own’.¹⁷⁰

In his *Recollections* (1828/29?), the organist of St Michael’s, Cornhill,¹⁷¹ Richard John Samuel Stevens (1757–1837), described Dr John Worgan as being ‘unquestionably’ among ‘the greatest organists of the English School’.¹⁷² He also described him as ‘a musician of a most eccentric mind’, and ‘a man of the greatest genius, and a most admirable organ player’.¹⁷³

Stevens recalls that in 1773, as a student, he was frequently sent ‘to the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft in Leadenhall Street, to hear Doctor Worgan (then Mr. Worgan,) play the organ: his voluntaries were always extempore; and they were in general the sublime efforts of a great genius.’¹⁷⁴ (Voluntaries were used ‘to beguile and settle the congregation ... before and after the service, and before or after the lesson at morning and evening prayer.’ On the other hand, ‘Psalm tunes ... were ... ornamented with preludes and interludes’.)¹⁷⁵

It was reported that when Dr Worgan improvised at the organ, ‘his imagination was of that original and captivating kind, [so] that his audience often looked on each other with significant astonishment, and remained open-mouthed and breathless for several seconds after the organ had ceased’.¹⁷⁶

166 Bacon, ‘Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan’, p. 116. See also ‘16.—S. Andrew Undershaft’, in Pearce, *Notes on Old London City Churches*, p. 82, fn.

167 Martin Madan was godfather to Charles Wesley jr’s son, Samuel, as well as a drinking companion of Charles Wesley jr. Charles Wesley jr was the eldest son of Charles Wesley (who was the younger brother of the founder of Methodism, John Wesley). See D. Milton, ‘Charles Wesley’s Son was a Polygamist’, in *Christian Marriage: Preaching and Teaching Biblical Marriage* (2006).

168 Olleson, *Samuel Wesley*, p. 56. See also Edwards, ‘Worgan, John (DNB00)’, Vol. 63, p. 28.

169 Quoted in Bacon, ‘Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan’, p. 115.

170 Quoted in Gwynn, *The Rhenatus Harris Organ at St Botolph Aldgate*, p. 6.

171 See Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 30. On Cary’s map, St Michael’s, Cornhill, is designated with the number 91.

172 M. Argent (ed.), *Recollections R. J. S. Stevens: An Organist in Georgian London* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), p. 8.

173 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

174 Richard John Samuel Stevens, ‘Recollections of the Life of Richard John Samuel Stevens’, in *ibid.*, p. 12.

175 Gwynn, *The Rhenatus Harris Organ at St Botolph Aldgate*, pp. 5–6.

176 Charles Burney, quoted in Bacon, ‘Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan’, p. 120.

In 1790, Dr Worgan was described as 'a celebrated performer on the organ'.¹⁷⁷ 'Whenever [Dr Worgan] ... played, crowds ... resorted to hear him.'¹⁷⁸ As organist at London's Vauxhall Gardens, Dr Worgan was 'surrounded by professors, and the cognoscenti' who afterwards 'followed him in throngs' to hear him play the organ in 'his churches'.¹⁷⁹ Many of the visitors to Vauxhall Gardens, however, were not sufficiently educated to appreciate the levels of sophistication inherent in Dr Worgan's organ playing. A contemporaneous caricature appeared in which 'Apollo was represented as kicking [Dr Worgan] ... out of heaven, for wasting celestial energies on the profane vulgar'.¹⁸⁰

The leading evangelical Anglican clergyman Richard Cecil (1748–1810) confessed to experiencing a state of ravished bewilderment when he heard Dr Worgan play the organ during a church service. Reverend Cecil writes:

Admiration and feeling are very distinct from each another. Some music and oratory enchant and astonish, but they speak not to the heart ... Dr. Worgan has so touched the organ at St. John's [Chapel, near Bedford Row], that I have been turning backward and forward over the Prayer Book for the First Lesson in Isaiah, and wondered that I could not find Isaiah there!¹⁸¹

It was said that when John Worgan was 'in the vein'—that is, inspired—his organ improvisations were 'not a puerile show of single stops, nor a continuous ramble of Gargantuan chords; but a perpetual excitement of intense interest in the bosom of taste ... so that, as it was related of Handel, he was the worst organist in the world for playing a congregation *out of church*'.¹⁸²

'For most keyboardists in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, improvisation was an essential part of being a musician. As most auditions [for church organists] at that time consisted primarily of improvisation, organists in particular practiced improvisation as regularly as most professional musicians now practice repertoire.'¹⁸³

177 S. Urban, 'Obituary of Considerable Persons; With Biographical Anecdotes', in *The Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Chronicle. For the Year MDCCXC. Volume LX. Part the Second* (London: John Nichols, 1790), p. 770.

178 C. Cudworth, 'Worgan: (2) John Worgan', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 20, p. 530.

179 Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 119.

180 'John Worgan', in Clarke(?), *The Georgian Era*, p. 315.

181 Quoted in J. Pratt, *The Rev. Richard Cecil, M. A. Late Rector of Bisley, and Vicar of Chobham, Surrey: And Minister of St. John's-Chapel, Bedford-Row, London; With a Memoir of His Life. Arranged and Revised, with a View of the Author's Character* (London: L. B. Seeley, & Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 1816), Vol. III, p. 538.

182 Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 127.

183 P. Ruiter-Feenstra, *Bach & the Art of Improvisation* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: CHI Press, 2011), p. 2.

John Worgan was often engaged to give the opening recital on newly built organs; these included the instruments at St Mary's, Rotherhithe,¹⁸⁴ on the southern bank of the Thames (29 September 1765); St Martin's, Ludgate¹⁸⁵ (26 January 1766); the chapel of the Asylum for Female Orphans (25 November 1766);¹⁸⁶ St Mary's, Islington (1772);¹⁸⁷ and 'the Collegiate Church of St. Catherine, near the Tower' (27 September 1778).¹⁸⁸

At the Church of St Mary Axe with St Andrew Undershaft, Dr Worgan consistently attracted a congregation of listeners into the middle aisle, who avidly listened to his improvising at the conclusion of the service.

On one occasion an admirer of Worgan's, hastening to the church to be in time for the Doctor's [improvisation] ... found the doors open, and the place silent and deserted ... with the exception of one stranger who stood ruminating by the fire. The hurry, the disappointed look of the new comer and his late arrival at church made his [intention] ... easily understood. Without any introduction, therefore, the stranger accosted him, 'The Doctor was very great, to-day, Sir.'

He, himself, had evidently been enjoying [Dr Worgan's playing] ... and the admirer, though vexed that he had arrived too late for the feast, could not help noticing the incident as a pleasant illustration of the ... brotherhood of musical amateurs.¹⁸⁹

George Worgan's Father, Dr John Worgan, the Teacher

Dr Worgan insisted that his children should have a thorough musical education regardless of the profession they intended to pursue.¹⁹⁰ As a teacher, Dr Worgan did not apply his pedagogical insights and expertise only for the exclusive benefit of his own children. In 1780 (seven years before his son George Bouchier

184 See Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Kp, Reference Number 94. See also Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 47. On Cary's map, St Mary's, Rotherhithe, is designated with the number 87.

185 See Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 29. On Cary's map, St Martin's, Ludgate, is designated with the number 68.

186 McGairl, 'Worgan: (3) John Worgan', p. 566.

187 See Bumpus, *London Churches Ancient and Modern*, Vol. 1, p. 154.

188 *The Daily Advertiser*, 26 September 1778, No. 14898, in 'Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers—Justices' Working Documents', in *London Lives 1690–1800*.

189 Bumpus, *London Churches Ancient and Modern*, Vol. 1, p. 154.

190 See J. King, *The First Fleet: The Convict Voyage that Founded Australia 1781–88* (South Melbourne: Macmillan Australia, 1982), p. 12.

departed for Sydney Cove), Dr Worgan published his *Pieces for the Harpsichord, Composed Purposely for Forming the Hands of Young Pupils to that Instrument*¹⁹¹ (Plate 55).

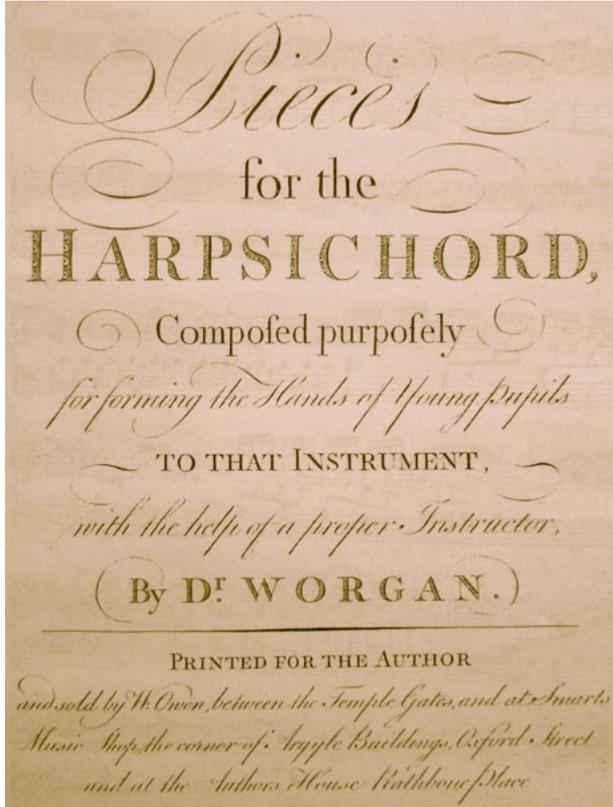


Plate 55 Dr John Worgan: title page from *Pieces for the Harpsichord, Composed Purposely for Forming the Hands of Young Pupils to that Instrument, with the Help of a Proper Instructor* (London: W. Owen, 1780).

Source: Geoffrey Lancaster Collection, Perth. Photo by the author.

Unusually for the time, 'the works in this pedagogical collection contain many notated articulation markings (most commonly, slurs), as well as specific instructions for *cantabile*, *legato*, *tenuto*, and *marcato*'.¹⁹² (Dr Worgan's use of the term '*marcato*' is intriguing, as one would reasonably expect the term to occur in piano music rather than in repertoire specified for the harpsichord.) The influence of Domenico Scarlatti's keyboard works is suggested by occurrences of hand crossing.

191 J. Worgan, *Pieces for the Harpsichord, Composed Purposely for Forming the Hands of Young Pupils to that Instrument, with the Help of a Proper Instructor* (London: W. Owen, 1780).

192 C. V. Pilkington, 'A Collection of English 18th Century Harpsichord Music', in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 83rd Session (16 May 1957), p. 102.

That works calculated for students were commercially viable is suggested by the title page of a harpsichord concerto composed by John Worgan and published two years prior to George Bouchier's departure for Sydney Cove: *A New Concerto for the Harpsichord, with the Parts of Accompaniment, Consisting of Two Violins and a Violon-Cello Composed by Dr. Worgan Purposely for the Practice and Improvement of his Pupils, and Others Who are Attaining a Command of that Instrumt.*¹⁹³

As an organist, John Worgan's association with religion would have enhanced his status and respectability, and made him more eligible for private patronage as a teacher.¹⁹⁴ As one of London's most fashionable and gifted teachers, Dr Worgan taught music to the prodigiously talented Charles Wesley, jr; Charles studied thorough-bass and composition under Dr Worgan. (Dr Worgan told Charles Wesley, sr, that his son 'would become an "eminent master" ... if he was not sidetracked by other studies'.)¹⁹⁵ Like Dr John Worgan, Charles Wesley, jr, 'became specially distinguished as a performer of Scarlatti's [keyboard] sonatas'.¹⁹⁶

The following anecdote, published in 1827, suggests that Dr John Worgan was not only an uncompromising educator in relation both to his standards and to his expectations, but also that he could adapt to new and challenging teaching contexts. Dr Worgan taught Samuel Jarvis (1742–84), organist at the Foundling Hospital¹⁹⁷ (an institution closely connected with Händel) and at the Churches of St Sepulchre¹⁹⁸ and St Botolph. Jarvis was inducted as a member of the Royal Society of Musicians on 6 January 1765. Samuel Jarvis was blind.

'The extraordinary playing of Dr. Worgan determined him [Jarvis] *inter silvas avademi quaerere verum*' (to seek truth among the woods—that is, to seek truth among the pipes of an organ).

The doctor had never before instructed the blind, and was naturally rather averse from the undertaking; but when he heard Jarvis play, he resolved to try the experiment; and said Mr. Jarvis, 'I thought my performance not despicable, yet how great was my astonishment and mortification when the doctor said to me, 'Sir, you do very well, but

193 J. Worgan, *A New Concerto for the Harpsichord, with the Parts of Accompaniment, Consisting of Two Violins and a Violon-Cello Composed by Dr. Worgan Purposely for the Practice and Improvement of His Pupils, and Others Who Are Attaining a Command of that Instrumt* (London: Published by the Author, 1785).

194 See Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850*, p. 93.

195 Olleson, *Samuel Wesley*, p. 5.

196 H. Davey, 'Wesley, Charles (1757–1834)', in *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885–1900* (Last modified 31 January 2011), Vol. 60.

197 See *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Map Section: northernmost extent Lambs Conduit Fields and southernmost extent Lambeth.

198 See 'Snow Hill', in Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Fn. On Bowles's map, the Church of St Sepulchre is designated with the number 70.

you have been wrongly taught, and if you come to me, you must begin your practice all over again.' Accordingly,' added Jarvis, 'he began with me as if I had been a child, making me play my five notes up and down and saying, 'There, sir, you must work much in that way before we proceed any farther.'" The master-pupil went away in dudgeon, but wisely determining not to lose the benefit of instruction by neglect, adhered strictly to the doctor's injunctions. He had not done so long before he exclaimed, 'The doctor's right, and I have been practicing in a wrong way all my life.' This conviction was followed by immediate reformation, the master and pupil were soon satisfied with each other, and Jarvis became a distinguished ornament to a school which no such pupil ever deserted.¹⁹⁹

In 1823, Richard Mackenzie Bacon observed:

Provincial organists, during the vacations, flocked to hear ... [Dr John Worgan], and astonished at his powers, frequently applied to him for instruction. 'They come to me,' said he, 'for a few lessons, in which they require me to do for them what has cost me the labour of forty years' ... Yet many of these become fashionable masters. 'These gentlemen,' said the Doctor, 'dress well, bow politely, pocket the money, and music is their very humble servant; but I am music's very humble servant.'²⁰⁰

George Worgan's Father, Dr John Worgan, the Composer

Richard Mackenzie Bacon, in the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* of 1823, wrote: 'the bulk of Dr. Worgan's compositions are neglected manuscripts; enriched with science, and illuminated with genius.'²⁰¹ Bacon, by way of summary, continues: 'In a word', Dr John Worgan 'is a sound and original classic, a pillar of his art, an honour to his country, and the victim of unjust neglect.'²⁰²

'Very little of John Worgan's music was published during his lifetime, and unfortunately most of his manuscripts have been lost.'²⁰³ Some indication of the scope of Worgan's compositional output can be gained from comments made by

199 Sainsbury, *Dictionary of Musicians*, Vol. 1, p. 390.

200 Charles Burney. Quoted in Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 130.

201 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

202 *Ibid.*, p. 128.

203 McGairl, 'Worgan: (3) John Worgan', p. 566.

his son Thomas Danvers Worgan, who was a composer and music theorist. In his *The Musical Reformer*, Thomas states that his father composed ‘oratorios, anthems, organ concertos, and voluntaries, vocal harmony, sonatas’.²⁰⁴

In the main, Dr John Worgan’s compositions are written in what at the time was called the ‘ancient’ style.

The ‘Ancient’ Style

In London during the late eighteenth century, there were two prominent and warring musical factions. Conflict between these two factions was manifested in a public war of words. Each faction supported a particular style of music.

The first (conservative) faction supported the so-called ‘ancient’ style. In 1776, at the instigation of John Montagu, Fourth Earl of Sandwich (1718–92), this faction founded a musical institution called the ‘Concert of Ancient Music’ (also known as the ‘King’s Concert’). The Concert of Ancient Music was a socially exclusive organisation, whose members did not like any music that was ‘modern’, and consistently supported performances of repertoire composed more than 20 years earlier—that is, music including, and written before, Händel. For some members of the Concert of Ancient Music, ‘this involved reviving the works of’, for example, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (ca 1525–94) and William Byrd (ca 1540–1623); ‘for others it meant merely reasserting the virtues of Corelli and Geminiani and composers of their generation’.²⁰⁵ When the Concert of Ancient Music was first formed, it explained that ‘by ye Compositions of the Ancients is meant of such as lived before ye end of the sixteenth century’.²⁰⁶

The founders saw themselves not only as protectors of the national taste, but also as perpetuators of national values based on ‘a conservative political consensus, the Anglican church, the aesthetic doctrine of the sublime—and therefore, in the gender-coded world of British aesthetics ... masculinity’ (and, by extension, an appeal to British patriotism).²⁰⁷ The Concert of Ancient Music also saw themselves as providers of a focal point for the cohesion of the aristocracy through ‘a deliberate and self-conscious closing of ranks. More subtly, the Concert of Ancient Music attempted to link taste for great music of the past with the social elite, creating the powerful social myth of the congruence of class and

204 T. D. Worgan, *The Musical Reformer, Comprising, an Apology for Intellectual Music; The Musical Utopia; The Penultimate; And Some Account of a Musical Composition, in Forty-five Parts* (London: Maunder, 1829), p. 64.

205 Southey et al., *The Ingenious Mr Avison*, p. 122.

206 B. Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth Century England* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2006), p. 22.

207 H. Irving, ‘Haydn and the Consequences of Presumed Effeminacy’, in I. Biddle and K. Gibson (eds), *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), p. 99.

taste.²⁰⁸ By the final decade of the eighteenth century, having been faced with 'threats to their authority posed by the American and French Revolutions ... [the aristocracy] attempted to bolster their position by posing as the arbiters of good taste and the protectors of traditional values. In music this meant support for so-called "ancient" music.'²⁰⁹

The social and political conservatives inhabiting the ranks of the Concert of Ancient Music imagined that they were saving English music from a newly emergent and degenerate style 'produced by an attempted musical insurrection carried out by foreigners who were determined to subvert the manly native music of England through the introduction of effeminate, Italian-inspired decadence'.²¹⁰

Italy had long been associated with effeminacy and male homosexuality—for example, a poem published in London in August 1708 links Henry Sidney, First Earl of Romney (1641–1704; a famous and handsome English libertine), effeminacy and male homosexuality with Italy:

Thus pretty S[i]d[n]y reigns among the Fair,
And passes for the bright *Idalian* star,
The men are apt to take him for a she,
And pay false homage to the deity.
'Tis pity *Nature* so mistook her way,
To make at once both sexes go astray,
That when she did the masculine create,
He should turn tail, and prove effeminate.
But this in camps may of more service prove,
Where male with male are forc'd to kindle love.²¹¹

Fear of the deleterious effects on English society of 'effeminate' Italian music (especially opera) had been present in England from the early 1700s. In 1732, for example, Händel received a letter from Aaron Hill (1685–1750), the manager of the Queen's Theatre. In his letter, dated Tuesday, 5 December, Hill urges Händel to cast aside Italian opera (especially Italian castrati) in order to 'deliver us from our Italian bondage'.²¹² Hill writes:

208 S. McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 23, 25.

209 Southey et al., *The Ingenious Mr Avison*, p. 122.

210 Irving, 'Haydn and the Consequences of Presumed Effeminacy', p. 103.

211 *Almonds for Parrots: Or, a Soft Answer to a Scurrilous Satyr, Call'd, St. James's Park. With a Word or Two in Praise of Condons* (London, 1708). Quoted in R. Norton (ed.), 'Almonds for Parrots, 1708', in *Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century England: A Sourcebook* (5 June 2004, updated 15 June 2008). This poem is one of the first written in English that mentions the condom ('condon').

212 Quoted in van Til, *George Frideric Handel*, p. 98.

[M]ale and female voices may be found in this kingdom, capable of every thing, that is requisite; and, I am sure, a species of dramatic opera might be invented, that, by reconciling reason and dignity, with musick and fine machinery, would charm the ear, and hold fast the heart, together.²¹³

In 1747, R. Campbell wrote: 'As *Italian Music*, and the Love of it, has prevailed in these Islands [that is, in England], Luxury, Cowardice, and Venality has advanced upon us in exact Proportion.'²¹⁴

[A] refinement of our taste into a love of soft *Italian* music, is debasing the martial genius of the nation; and may one day be a means to fiddle us out of our liberties. I would chuse, if we are to be improved in music, that the composers would keep to the old *British* key, and let us sing *English* as well as speak it.²¹⁵

Not only was Italian music suspect, but also Italian food; concerning a '*macaroni*'—that is, a fop or dandy—the *Oxford Magazine* stated:

There is indeed a kind of animal, neither male nor female, a thing of the neuter gender, lately started up amongst us. It is called a Macaroni. It talks without meaning, it smiles without pleasantry, it eats without appetite, it rides without exercise, it wenches without passion ... Apparently, the condition was caused by too much of a liking for pasta.²¹⁶

Members of the Concert of Ancient Music believed that

the effeminate [Italian] opera threatened the masculine basis of British culture and 'questioned and threatened the stability of those gender distinctions essential to maintaining stable social institutions.'²¹⁷ An aristocracy spending large sums of English money to import homosexuality, castrati, Catholicism, and [degenerate] music into London threatened masculine, Protestant 'British sense, reason, wit, and virtue.'²¹⁸

In 1784, the Reverend William Jones of Nayland (1726–1800), in a book dedicated '[t]o the Right Honourable, &c. the Directors of the Concerts of Antient Music', complains that modern composers

213 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 98.

214 Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p. 90.

215 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

216 Paxman, *Empire*, p. 47.

217 T. McGeary, "Warbling Eunuchs": Opera, Gender, and Sexuality on the London Stage, 1705–1742', in *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* (Denver, Colo.: Department of English, University of Denver, 1992), 2nd series, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 16.

218 The English critic and dramatist John Dennis (1657–1734), *Essay on the Operas After the Italian Manner* (1706), cited in McGeary, "Warbling Eunuchs", p. 5; Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850*, pp. 18–19.

have introduced many improvements into melody, and some into harmony; but by no means such as will compensate for their corruptions. Novelty and custom, two overbearing tyrants, have given a sanction to degenerate harmony, wildness of air, effeminacy, tautology and affected difficulties, inconsistent with the powers of expression ...²¹⁹

Had it not been for the Concerts of Antient Music, some of the finest compositions, and the manly entertainment arising from the superior manner in which they have been performed, would probably have been lost to this country. The stream of fashion would have carried on its surface what is light and frothy; while that which is more solid and valuable would have sunk to the bottom.²²⁰

The Concert of Ancient Music's links with

social and political conservatism, and ... with an evangelical piety [ultimately] ... led to the mighty Handel commemoration celebrations of 1784, held over five days in Westminster Abbey with a choir and orchestra of over five hundred, an unprecedented number for England. These celebrations were so successful that they were repeated in 1785–87, 1790, and in 1791, the last with over one thousand performers, and in the presence of George III.²²¹

The aristocratic directors of the Concert often planned programs in conjunction with King George III; the Concert's programming often reflected a capitulation to the King's predilection for Händel. Young provides the following pertinent observation:

The King was no passive patron. He was ready to express his views and to exert his influence. Thus he sent a memorandum to Lord Carmarthen regarding a programme submitted to him from the Ancient Concerts: 'Lord Carmarthen's List of Musick for next Wednesday is very excellent and meets with the approbation of those whose opinion on the subject he wished to know.'²²²

219 William Jones, *A Treatise on the Art of Music; In which the Elements of Harmony and Air are Practically Considered, and Illustrated by an Hundred and Fifty Examples in Notes Many of them Taken from the Best Authors: The Whole being Intended as a Course of Lectures, Preparatory to the Practice of Thorough-Bass and Musical Composition* (Colchester, UK: W. Keymer, 1784), 'Introduction', p. iv.

220 Ibid., 'Dedication', p. i.

221 J. Black, *Culture in Eighteenth-Century England: A Subject for Taste* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), pp. 221–2.

222 P. M. Young, *A History of British Music* (London: Ernest Benn, 1967), p. 342. Young takes the quotation from: Egerton MS 2159, f. 57, held in the British Library.

The concert's blatant conservatism does, however, represent one expression of an evolving musical canon,²²³ reflecting the 'remarkable breadth of thinking [that] ... existed in England concerning the very new idea that music from the past might be preserved as a corpus of great works'.²²⁴

The 'Scientific' Style

The second of the two dominant musical factions in late eighteenth-century London supported music that was written in the so-called 'scientific' style. This style of music comprised anything that was contemporary. According to the English composer and organist William Crotch (1775–1847), the musical aesthetic of the scientific style allowed for the inclusion of 'eccentric passages, varied rhythm, wild melody & violent contrasts'.²²⁵ Music written in the scientific style was also characterised by the inclusion of abrupt structural and/or harmonic transitions, orchestral crescendi (modelled on the Mannheim device) as well as an overt sense of playfulness. The minuet commonly featured in works composed in the scientific style.

The eighteenth-century English music theorist Sir John Hawkins was not enamoured of the scientific style. In his *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music* (published in 1770), he passes harsh judgment:

For reasons, which no one is willing to avow, *adagio* music is exploded, and we are content to forego the majesty and dignity of the *largo* and *andante* movements, with all the variety arising from the interchange of various airs and measures, for the noise and rattle of an unisonous *allegro*, to which no name can be given, or the intoxicating softness of that too-often iterated air, the minuet.²²⁶

Hawkins 'dismissed' music written in the scientific style as 'noise without harmony ... the frittering of passages into notes ... trash'.²²⁷ Other censorious voices echoed Hawkins' sentiments: 'it becomes a mechanical art, it dazzles, but cannot affect the mind.'²²⁸ Even as late as 1823, Richard Mackenzie Bacon remarked: 'All insects are attracted by the brilliancy of modern composition; but

223 See Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850*, p. 46.

224 W. Weber and D. Burrows, 'Henry Purcell and the *Universal Journal*: The Building of Musical Canon in the 1720s', in J. H. Jackson and S. C. Pelkey (eds), *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005), p. 182.

225 W. Crotch, Manuscript lecture notes (Norfolk Record Office, n.d.), MS Col/7/43.

226 Quoted in Hogwood, Liner notes for *Johann Christian Bach*, p. 2.

227 Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 183.

228 Musidor, 'A Censure of the Present Taste in Music', in *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature, for the Year 1772* (London: J. Dodsley, 1773), p. 183. Quoted in Young, *The Concert Tradition*, p. 145.

the rainbow of today is but a transient offspring of the ancient sun; and should a taste for ancient music become totally extinct, the rest would be "but leather and prunella".²²⁹

Scientific composers were musicians such as Carl Friedrich Abel, Johann Christian Bach, Christian Ernst Graf (1723–1804), Joseph Haydn, Ignaz Jacob Holzbauer (1711–83), Josef Mysliveček (1737–81) and Ignaz Joseph Pleyel (1757–1831). As with the performances of the 'degenerate' Italian Opera in London, which were so disparaged by members of the Concert of Ancient Music, 'concerts comprising scientific music were often attended by aristocratic and middle-class elites jockeying for social status'.²³⁰

The organist and composer Richard John Samuel Stevens describes the scientific style as 'the modern German style'.²³¹ In 1791, Stevens

regularly attended the professional concert, at which Pleyel presided; and Haydn's twelve concerts, at which *he* presided; in order to hear the modern German style of music, and the method of conducting it, by two of its most eminent composers. Haydn had his benefit [concert on] ... May the 17th 1792, when I was astonished at the amazing effects of some of his instrumental compositions, and particularly of those written for a full orchestra.²³²

Haydn's symphonies were jointly directed by Johann Peter Salomon (the first violinist) and Haydn (at the keyboard). In London, such joint direction was a commonly encountered performance convention in relation to symphonies. That Stevens attended 'Haydn's twelve concerts ... in order to hear ... the method of conducting' attests not only to his curiosity concerning the distribution of joint direction (first violin and keyboard), but also to his interest in interpretative aspects (such as accentuation, articulation and tempi).

The flourishing in London of concerts given by the two warring musical factions does not, however, indicate the emergence of a large and musically inquisitive middle-class audience.

The aristocracy controlled taste, and ensured that subscription tickets (rather than individual tickets) were sold, prices for tickets were kept high and subscription lists were carefully controlled—all purely to maintain aristocratic

229 Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 129.

230 J. Hall, *The Re-Fashioning of Fashionable Society: Opera-Going and Sociability in Britain, 1821–1861*, Unpublished PhD dissertation (Yale University, 1996). Quoted in Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850*, p. 46.

231 'Recollections of the Life of Richard John Samuel Stevens', in Argent, *Recollections R. J. S. Stevens*, p. 79.

232 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

exclusivity. The aristocracy cultivated concert-giving not so much for its commercial potential as for its role in defining a less tangible cultural status and leadership.²³³

Compositional Output

Dr John Worgan was composer and organist at Vauxhall Gardens²³⁴ (on and off) between 1751 and 1773. During this time, he wrote at least 13 published volumes of 'Vauxhall Songs',²³⁵ as well as numerous other songs that were published singly or in anthologies.²³⁶ The emphasis at the Vauxhall Gardens was on

entertainment, with the music tending to be a mere background to strolls, chatting with friends and partaking of supper. As a result, much of the music performed in the gardens was vocal music—songs, short cantatas and other slight pieces often performed by attractive and engaging young actresses ... [The music often represented] a pandering to popular taste with little regard for ... quality.²³⁷

When compared with repertoire performed at aristocratic subscription concerts, music heard at the Vauxhall Gardens was decidedly populist.

In 1823, Richard Mackenzie Bacon wrote:

[A]t a late period of Dr. Worgan's life, a friend told him that he had just bought a complete collection of his Vauxhall Songs. 'Then' replied the Doctor, 'you have bought a great deal of trash, for many of them were penned either when I was fatigued with business or straitened for time, or from some cause or other not at all in the humour for composition'.²³⁸

'Vauxhall Gardens programmes for the 1786 and 1787 seasons identify some orchestral works by John Worgan. These works however, may have been in the Vauxhall repertory for some years, and cannot be accurately dated from these performances.'²³⁹

233 McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, p. 12.

234 See 'Vauxhall Gardens', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 52.

235 See 'Close proximity', in Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

236 See *ibid.*

237 Southey et al., *The Ingenious Mr Avison*, p. 92.

238 Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 117.

239 McGairl, 'Worgan: (3) John Worgan', p. 566.

Sadly, many of Worgan's manuscripts were lost after his death. '[A]ll that survive of his sacred works are those that were published during his lifetime, namely the anthem *We Shall Rejoice in Thy Salvation* from 1759 (at least five anthems were part of John Worgan's sacred music output), and the oratorio *Hannah*.'²⁴⁰

'Dr. John Worgan's oratorio *Hannah* (published in 1764 as his opus 1) was given its premiere performance at the King's theatre, Haymarket,²⁴¹ on 3 April 1764.' It failed miserably.²⁴² A second oratorio, *Manasseh* (now lost) was first performed at the chapel of the Lock Hospital on 30 April 1766.'²⁴³

A third oratorio is also lost.

In 1811, not long after Dr Worgan's death, the English composer, musician and writer Thomas Busby summarised the history of the oratorio in England. He judged Dr Worgan as being the equal of several of England's finest composers:

The first *Oratorios* performed in England were those produced by Mr. Handel, with the excellence of which the English public are well acquainted. Since that great master, Mr. [John Christopher] Smith [1712–95], Mr. [Charles John] Stanley, Dr. [Thomas Augustine] Arne [1710–78], Dr. Worgan, and Dr. [Samuel] Arnold [1740–1802], have tried their powers in this higher walk of composition: but though some of their respective productions possessed a degree of merit highly honourable to British talent, yet so inadequately were they encouraged, that from about the year 1771, no new work of the kind appeared for nearly thirty years, i.e. till the spring of 1799.²⁴⁴

During his lifetime, Dr Worgan's compositions were not widely appreciated, attracting only 'a little circle of intelligent admirers'.²⁴⁵ Forty-four years after Dr Worgan 'descended to the grave to await the tardy and barren retribution of posthumous justice', Clarke remarked that Dr Worgan's compositions abounded in 'taste, learning, and genius'.²⁴⁶

240 'Recollections of the Life of Richard John Samuel Stevens', in Argent, *Recollections R. J. S. Stevens*, p. 57, fn. 4.

241 See Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Co. On Bowles's map, the theatre is designated with the letter 'm'.

242 Highfill et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors ...*, Vol. 14, 'S. Siddons to Thynne', p. 121.

243 McGairl, 'Worgan: (3) John Worgan', p. 566.

244 T. Busby, *A Complete Dictionary of Music: To Which is Prefixed a Familiar Introduction to the First Principles of that Science, Third Edition, with Additions and Improvements* (London: B. McMillan, 1811), 'ORC'.

245 'John Worgan', in Clarke(?), *The Georgian Era*, p. 315.

246 *Ibid.*, p. 315.

Three books of psalms and hymns composed by Dr John Worgan were published between 1767 and 1769. 'Worgan is persistently credited with having composed the Easter hymn. As a matter of fact the tune appeared (anonymously) in "Lyra Davidica" (1708) sixteen years before Worgan was born.'²⁴⁷

A moment of conspicuous opportunism (and an indication of a predilection for compositional conservatism) is revealed by a concert held in 1787 at Dr John Worgan's home. At this concert, a selection of Worgan's own sacred compositions was performed. The concert was attended by 'most of the directors of the Concert of Ancient Music'.²⁴⁸

Members of the Concert of Ancient Music felt that the incursion of the scientific style into church music threatened to destroy its traditional and characteristically English beauty. In the face of what was regarded as a particularly heinous threat, Bishop George Horne (1730–92), as one of several contemporaneous irate clerics, inveighed from the pulpit against 'the light movements of the theatre, with the effeminate and frittered music of modern Italy', which ought to be banned from the church in favour of 'our English classics in this sacred science'.²⁴⁹

That Italian music and musicians were regarded as a threat to the English character for much of the eighteenth century is evidenced in 1743, when the entrepreneur responsible for a series of outdoor concerts in Clerkenwell let it be known that he would only engage English instrumentalists because their 'manly vigour [is] ... more suitable to the ear and heart of a Briton than the effeminate softness of the Italian'.²⁵⁰

The style of the sacred works composed by Dr Worgan that were performed at the concert held in his home in 1787 would doubtless have reflected the musical biases of the attending Directors of the Concert of Ancient Music. The concert itself appears to have been Dr Worgan's attempt to exploit (and/or to strengthen) social connections with members of that particular and exclusive faction. According to the organist and composer Richard John Samuel Stevens, who was 'taken by [his] ... friend John Dyne, to Doctor Worgan's concert, to

247 Edwards, 'Worgan, John (DNB00)'.

248 'Recollections of the Life of Richard John Samuel Stevens', in Argent, *Recollections R. J. S. Stevens*, p. 57.

249 W. Jones, *The Works of the Right Reverend George Horne, D.D. Late Lord Bishop of Norwich; To which are Prefixed Memoirs of His Life, Studies, and Writings by William Jones, M.A., F.R.S. One of His Lordship's Chaplains, and Long His Most Intimate and Confidential Friend*, 2 vols (New York: Onderdonk & Co., 1848), Vol. 2, p. 370. Quoted in Irving, 'Haydn and the Consequences of Presumed Effeminacy', p. 103.

250 Quoted in G. Holmes, *Augustan England: Professions, State and Society, 1680–1730* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), p. 30.

lead the tenor chorus',²⁵¹ the Directors of the Concert of Ancient Music 'seemed exceedingly gratified with the doctor's compositions, and the manner in which they were performed'.²⁵²

Twenty-seven years earlier, on Saturday, 31 May 1760, *The London Chronicle* described Dr John Worgan's conservative compositional style as an outgrowth of Händel's:

Handel may be said as justly as any man ... to have founded a new school of music. When he first came into England, his music was entirely Italian: he composed for the opera; and though, even then, his pieces were liked, yet did they not meet with universal approbation ... in his Oratorios he is perfectly an original genius. In these, by steering between the manners of Italy and England, he has struck out new harmonies, and formed a species of music different from all others. He has left some excellent and eminent scholars, particularly *Worgan* and *Smith*, who compose nearly in his manner; a manner as different from *Purcel's* as from that of modern Italy.²⁵³

In 1823, Richard Mackenzie Bacon defended Dr John Worgan's 'established predilection, or prejudice, as many would have it, in favour of the antients':²⁵⁴

As Dr. Worgan was decidedly a composer of the old school, it may not be amiss here to animadvert on an expression commonly applied to the antients, by those oracles whose mouths are filled with 'wise saws and modern instances.' It is usual with these hypercritics to 'damn with faint praise' an antient composer, by saying, 'Aye, it was very well for the time when it was composed, but it would not do now ... O shame! where is thy blush?' Will the philharmonist, will the professor, graze with the vulgar herd, and speak profanely of Corelli, the father of harmonists, and of Purcell and Handel, the Shakspeare and Milton of music? Did they dishonour their art? A homogeneous question.—Handel they revered. Had they not, never would they have risen above the level of their foolish admirers.²⁵⁵

Charles Burney was of the opinion that John Worgan's compositional style had been wrecked through his studying with the virtuoso Italian violinist Francesco Geminiani, who 'taught him that originality was the only virtue'.²⁵⁶ Burney's

251 'Recollections of the Life of Richard John Samuel Stevens', in *Argent, Recollections R. J. S. Stevens*, p. 57.

252 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

253 *The London Chronicle: Or Universal Evening Post*, 29–31 May 1760, No. 535, p. 526.

254 Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 126.

255 *Ibid.*, p. 125.

256 Pilkington, 'A Collection of English 18th Century Harpsichord Music', p. 101.

remark, however, does not support the general lack of originality evidenced in the majority of Worgan's compositions, let alone the musical conservatism of Geminiani's works. Burney writes:

At length [Dr John Worgan] ... got acquainted with Geminiani, swore by no other divinity, and on consulting him on the subject of composition, he was told he would never be acquainted with all the arcana of the science without reading *El porque della Musica*, a book written in Spanish by Andres Lorente [1624–1703], in Alcalá [de Henares], 1672.²⁵⁷

The value of Lorente's music treatise is described 'by Sir John Hawkins ... This book, of which ... Mr. Geminiani said it had not its fellow in any of the modern languages, is questionless a very learned work: it is in truth a musical institute, and may be said to contain all that is necessary for a practical composer to know'.²⁵⁸

Although Burney disparaged Geminiani for (supposedly) teaching Worgan that 'originality was the only virtue',²⁵⁹ the English composer Charles Avison (1709–70) regarded Geminiani in a much more favourable light:

In later life ... [Avison] paid a poignant and unstinting tribute to his teacher [Geminiani] in a letter written to the *Newcastle Courant* in September 1768. Geminiani, he said, 'spoke all the European languages, and his conversation was lively and entertaining ... He had seen many courts, many men, many customs ... He loved the arts, and assisted many artists.' This cosmopolitan man, according to Avison, loved music, painting and sculpture and advised his pupil not to accept praise if he knew it to be undeserved, nor to get down-hearted if his merits were neglected. Above all, he recommended truth and simplicity as being of paramount importance, in music and in life.²⁶⁰

There can be little doubt that part of Geminiani's notion of 'truth in music' involved a large degree of performative spontaneity. When Geminiani first worked in Naples,

he was placed at the head of the orchestra; but ... he was soon discovered to be so wild and unsteady a timist, that instead of

257 Charles Burney, in Rees, *The Cyclopædia*. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 106. See Andrés Lorente, *El porqué de la música: en que se contiene los quatro artes de ella, canto llano, canto de organo, contrapunto y composición: y en cada uno de ellos nuevas reglas, razon abreviada, en utiles preceptos, aun en las cosas mas difíciles, tocantes a la harmonia musica: numerosos exemplos con clara inteligencia, en estilo breve, que al maestro deleytan, y al discipulo enseñan, cuya direccionse verà sucintamente anorada antes del prologo* [*The Precepts of Music*] (Alcalá de Henares: Nicolás de Xamares, 1672).

258 Quoted in Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 127.

259 Pilkington, 'A Collection of English 18th Century Harpsichord Music', p. 101.

260 Southey et al., *The Ingenious Mr Avison*, p. 31. Southey et al.'s quotation is taken from the *Newcastle Courant*, 17 September 1768.

regulating and conducting the band, he threw it into confusion; as none of the performers were able to follow him in his *tempo rubato*, and other unexpected accelerations and relaxations of measure. After this discovery ... he was never trusted with a better part than the tenor [that is, the viola], during his residence in that city.²⁶¹

If Burney's account is to be believed, it reveals the limitations of the Neapolitan orchestra as much as Geminiani's unconventional and imaginative ideas concerning musical gesturalism and meaning. Unfortunately, Burney 'is a far from impartial source about Geminiani, not so much because he did not rate the man or his music, as because Sir John Hawkins, his arch musico-historiographical rival, did'.²⁶² Similar reports of the effect of Geminiani's directorial unpredictabilities arise during his later years in London. There is, for example, the instance of a concert 'that included song passages to be conducted by Geminiani' as first violinist: 'it ended in a disaster and was interrupted'.²⁶³

As a solo violinist, however, Geminiani was highly esteemed. Geminiani's performing style reflected his Italian temperament and training. His contemporaries described him as 'the furious one'.²⁶⁴ The French author and priest François Raguenet (ca 1660–1722), in his *Paralèle des italiens et des françois, en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéra* [*Comparison of the music and opera of Italy and France*],²⁶⁵ compared French with Italian music: the dissertation 'caused a lively controversy because of its author's manifest preference for Italian music'.²⁶⁶ Raguenet's words are well suited to what must have been Geminiani's performing style:

Since Italians are more vivacious than the French, they are also more sensitive than the French to passion and besides this they express passion with more vigour in all of their works ... Everything ... is so vivacious, so intense, so penetrating, so impetuous and so touching that the imagination, the senses, the mind and the ... body are dragged by

261 Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, Vol. 2, p. 991.

262 'Francesco Geminiani Concerti Grossi VII–XII (after Corelli, Op. 5)', in A. Manze, Liner notes for *Geminiani: Concerti Grossi VII–XII (after Corelli, Op. 5)* (Harmonia Mundi France, 1999/2007), CD, HMX 2907262, p. 7.

263 'Geminiani: Late Orchestral Works', in M. Schneider, Liner notes for *Francesco Geminiani: Der Zauberwald* (Cappriccio/Deutschlandfunk WDR 3, 2004), CD, 67081, p. 11.

264 See G. Nasillo, Liner notes for *Sonatas Pour le Violoncello a Basso Continuo Par Monsieur Geminiani* (Symphonia, 2000), CD, SY 00182, p. 8.

265 F. Raguenet, *Paralèle des italiens et des françois, en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéra* (Paris, 1702; English translation, London, 1709).

266 J. E. Galliard (trans. and attrib.) and O. Strunk (ed.), 'François Raguenet, A Comparison between the French and Italian Music', in *The Musical Quarterly* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1946), Vol. 32, No. 3, (July), pp. 411–36; 'Abstract', in *Oxford Journals, The Musical Quarterly* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

a common impetus ... the violinist ... cannot fail to be swept away ... to torment his violin, his body; he has lost all self control, he gets as excited as a mad person, he is powerless to do otherwise.²⁶⁷

Given the likelihood that Geminiani's violin playing was compelling, capricious and passionate, it is odd that his works frequently lack the equivalent in compositional terms. As a composer, Geminiani appears not to have been able (or willing?) to constantly exercise the full extent of his stated aesthetic beliefs: 'The intention of musick is not only to please the ear, but to express sentiments, strike the imagination, affect the mind, and command the passions.'²⁶⁸

Geminiani, as a composer, and (one assumes) as a teacher of composition, upheld the conservative musical ideals of the Concert of Ancient Music—so much so, that in 1746, he dedicated his last set of concerti grossi, Opus 7, '*alla celebre Accademia della buona ed antica musica* [to the celebrated Academy of good and ancient music]'. The influence of the scientific (modern) style on the musical life of London led Geminiani to complain that 'the hand was more considered than the head; the performance than the composition ... instead of labouring to cultivate a taste—the publick was content to nourish insipidity'.²⁶⁹ Somewhat unenthusiastically, Sir John Hawkins summed up Geminiani's traditionalist compositional style (in the process, damningly linking Geminiani's music with the public's lack of musical discernment):

Notwithstanding the fine talents which as a musician Geminiani possessed, it must be remarked that the powers of his fancy seem to have been limited. His melodies were to the last degree elegant, his modulation original and multifarious, and in their general cast his compositions were tender and pathetic; and it is to the want of an active and teeming imagination that we are to attribute the publication of his works in various forms.²⁷⁰

Geminiani taught composition to Dr John Worgan. It is reasonable to assume that Geminiani's preference for the ancient style—along with a cultural context in London that was defined, for the most part, by a musically unsophisticated public—was responsible for Worgan's compositional conservatism.

267 Quoted in Nasillo, Liner notes for *Sonatas Pour le Violoncello a Basso Continuo Par Monsieur Geminiani*, p. 8.

268 F. Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin Containing All the Rules Necessary to Attain to a Perfection on that Instrument, with Great Variety of Compositions, which will also be Very Useful to those who Study the Violoncello, Harpsichord & ... Opera. IX.* (London, 1751; facsimile edn London: Travis & Emery Music Bookshop, 2009), p. 1.

269 Manze, 'Francesco Geminiani Concerti Grossi VII–XII', pp. 9–10.

270 C. Bartlett, Liner notes for *Geminiani: La Folia and Other Concertos and Sonatas* (Hyperion, 1988), CD, CDA66264, p. 6.

Keyboard Music

Although Dr John Worgan's organ improvisations were startlingly original, his published keyboard music does not reflect the same spirit of adventurousness.

Much of John Worgan's music presents a somewhat learned style and looks backwards to the Baroque;²⁷¹ the [three volumes of] organ pieces selected and published after John Worgan's death by his son James ... capture the typical 18th century character of English voluntaries, with [conventional] echo effects and 'trumpet tune' melodic lines.²⁷²

In their lack of daring and innovation, Worgan's 'Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord'²⁷³ (Plate 56) are similarly disappointing. 'Figural clichés and the simplicity of harmonic schemes invite modern musicians (whose sensibilities are formed by the mature works of Haydn and Mozart) to approach these works with a certain amount of disdain.'²⁷⁴ Worgan's 'Six Sonatas' border on the vacuous: fast movements tend to be emotionally empty and noisy;²⁷⁵ slow movements often begin with beautiful and pleasingly tuneful ideas, but these are ultimately not developed and, as a result, movements become all too often predictable and directionless. This critique flies in the face of pronouncements made, in 1823, by Richard Mackenzie Bacon, who remarks that Dr Worgan's 'sonatas ... are happy blendings of the "utile dulci", excellently qualified to steady the finger, and prominently characteristic of an original style'²⁷⁶ (Bacon's recurrent hagiolatrous attitude in relation to the works of Dr Worgan is reflected in his typically favourable comments). Regrettably, Worgan's rather pallid 'Six Sonatas' reveal a surprising absence of sophistication and ingenuity.

271 In a widely accepted and commonly encountered periodisation schema of Western civilisation's music history, the 'Baroque' era is defined as the period between ca 1600 and ca 1750.

272 McGairl, 'Worgan: (3) John Worgan', p. 566.

273 J. Worgan, *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord* (London: Mrs Johnson, 1769).

274 See Gustafson, 'The Music of Madame Brillon', p. 533.

275 Especially, for example, 'Sonata No. 2' in C major, movements 1 and 3. See also the 'Sonata No. 3' in F major, movement 3.

276 Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 118.

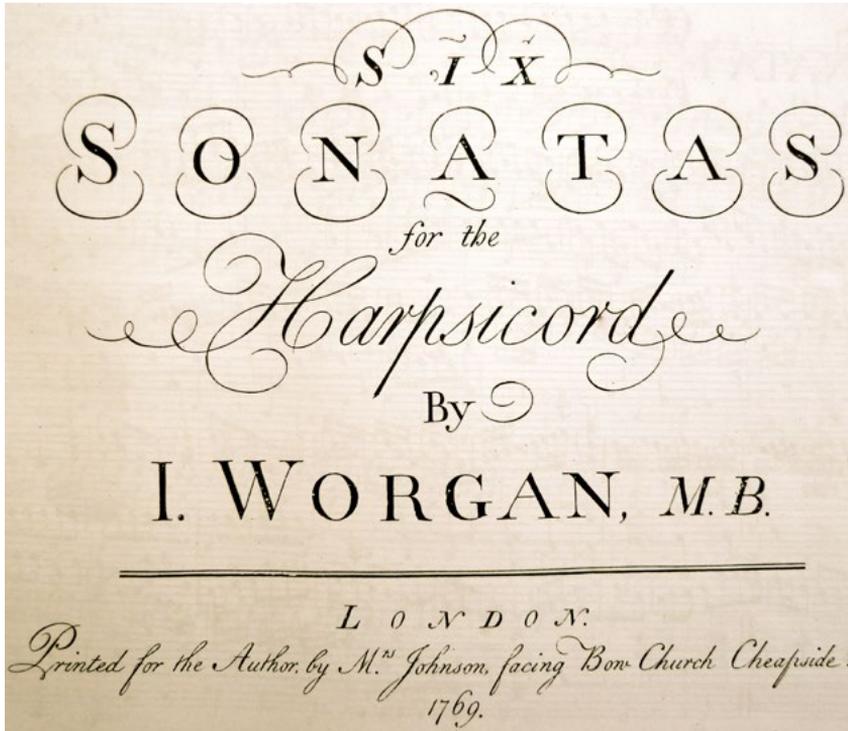


Plate 56 Dr John Worgan: title page from *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord* (London: Mrs Johnson, 1769).

Source: Geoffrey Lancaster Collection, Perth. Photo by the author.

One ray of light, however, pierces the bleakness. Redemption for Dr Worgan is offered in what may be described as a healthy disdain for compositional propriety: the first full bar of the opening *Larghetto* from the Sonata No. 5 in E-flat major contains a series of descending, ‘prohibited’ consecutive fifths!²⁷⁷ These would have scandalised the players and listeners in polite musical circles; knowing this, Worgan (somewhat cheekily) writes at the top of the first page of the sonata: ‘Lest the consecutive fifths at the beginning of the theme of this movement should escape the critic, the author here apprises him of them’ (Plate 57).²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ A ‘consecutive fifth’ is the ‘simultaneous duplication of the melodic line ... by another at the interval of a perfect fifth’, the resultant interval (comprising two musical parts) being immediately followed, within the same two musical parts, by another simultaneous duplication of the melodic line at the interval of a perfect fifth. W. Drabkin, ‘Consecutive Fifths, Consecutive Octaves’, in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 4, p. 666. During the eighteenth century, consecutive fifths were strongly discouraged. See ‘Consecutive Fifths’, in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

²⁷⁸ J. Worgan, *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord*, p. 22.



Plate 57 Dr John Worgan: *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord* (London: Mrs Johnson, 1769)—Sonata No. 5 in E-flat Major, i (*Larghetto*), p. 22.

Source: Geoffrey Lancaster Collection, Perth. Photo by the author.

Worgan's textures and accompanimental figurations are reminiscent of those found in the (far superior) late harpsichord music of the French composer Jacques Duphly (1715–89). In Worgan's 'Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord', however, 'there is certainly no need to make room for Dr. John Worgan on Parnassus if the qualifications are grandeur of musical thought and technical virtuosity'.²⁷⁹

Worgan's single harpsichord concerto was composed when he was aged 63, and is his last published work. According to Richard Mackenzie Bacon, it is 'replete with spirit, unblemished by senility or infirmity. The name of Haydn would have given this composition that celebrity which the worshippers of a name conspire to establish'.²⁸⁰

In his published keyboard works, Worgan appears to have been careful never to offend or to 'tax' the tastes of the London public.²⁸¹ The melodic lines of his keyboard music sometimes have an almost folksong quality about them. In some instances, Dr Worgan's melodies contain a 'shaping' derived from 'melodic peaks', where 'the melody, after soaring to what sounds like the highest [note] ... or peak, then soars still higher'.²⁸² Perhaps this is what the eighteenth-century German organist and music theorist Georg Joseph Vogler (1749–1814) perceived as being the 'bracing' quality of some English melodic lines.²⁸³ Contemporaneous English ears would have been charmed by the inclusion of such a compositional device within Dr Worgan's musical landscape.

279 Gustafson, 'The Music of Madame Brillon', p. 534.

280 Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 118.

281 See Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, p. 307.

282 Hertz, *Music in European Capitals*, p. 918. See, for example, the third movement of the 'Sonata No. 1' in G major. See also the first movement of the 'Sonata No. 2' in C major.

283 Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 918–19.

The nineteenth-century Romantic view of the tormented composer does not fit either Dr John Worgan or eighteenth-century musical reality. Rather than being a suffering, autobiographically motivated artist, struggling in isolation against the world, seeking to express the deepest personal feelings, a typical eighteenth-century English composer worried 'less about the meaning of art' and 'strove [only] to touch' a listener's 'sentiments'.²⁸⁴

The notion that a sad piece ... was about the composer's sadness would have seemed just as strange as the idea that a tart sauce prepared by [a] ... chef was about the chef's tartness ... [Eighteenth-century] composers lived the life of a musical craftsman ... [producing] music for immediate consumption ... with a view toward keeping up with [musical] fashion.²⁸⁵

As a composer, Dr Worgan was simply a man of his time.

284 R. O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 6–7.

285 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Chapter 4

Surgeon George Worgan Purchases a Square Piano

There can be little doubt that the domestic life of Dr John Worgan's family was played out against a less than ordinary setting. The activities of the Worgan household would have been geared primarily towards music. The sounds of music-making, arising from practising, teaching and composing, would have filled the home. Within such a context, and from their earliest days, Dr John Worgan's children (George Bouchier Worgan among them) would have been surrounded by music; George 'was taught music, played music, and probably wrote music as soon as he was able'.¹

Although there are no extant critiques of George Worgan's pianistic abilities, it is not surprising that, having been raised in a musically stimulating environment (and being financially self-sufficient as a navy surgeon), he purchased a piano and brought it with him on his voyage to Botany Bay.

When Did George Worgan Purchase His Piano?

It is not known exactly when George Worgan purchased his square piano. Unfortunately, the sales records of Frederick Beck have been lost.

Nor do we know exactly when Worgan's instrument was completed² (the piano's original nameboard reveals that it was made in 1780 or 1786?).³ The date of the instrument's manufacture is a vital element in the formulation of any hypothesis regarding the date Worgan purchased his piano. This is because Worgan's career path has ramifications in relation to his ability to afford to buy an instrument.

- 1775: George Bouchier joins the British Navy, and serves as a Surgeon's Mate on the hospital ship *Tiger*.⁴
- 1778–79: George Bouchier serves as a Surgeon's Second Mate.
- 1779: George Bouchier is certified as a Surgeon Fifth Rate.⁵

1 N. Kenyon, 'Bach for All', in *The Guardian*, 12 March 2011.

2 See Appendix C, Volume 2 of this publication.

3 See 'Date' in Chapter 2, this volume.

4 See Pole, 'No. 26. The Examination of Mr. George Bouchier Worgan', p. 631.

5 Company of Surgeons, *Examinations Book 1745–1800*, p. 339. I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*. See also Steel, 'Surgeons', p. 31.

- 1780–82: George Bouchier serves on board the hospital ship *Pilote*.⁶
- 1783–85: George Bouchier is unaccounted for; perhaps he worked as a naval surgeon ('on the Portsmouth guardship *Ganges*'),⁷ or was on some sort of detached list (naval surgeons did not enjoy retirement on half-pay at the time, so if Worgan was not working, his income would have been severely restricted).⁸
- 1786: George Bouchier serves 'on the Portsmouth guardship *Ganges*'.⁹
- Wednesday, 1 November 1786: George Bouchier is discharged from the *Ganges* to the *Sirius*.¹⁰
- Sunday, 13 May 1787: George Bouchier departs Portsmouth for Botany Bay on board the *Sirius*.

If the Instrument Dates from 1780

If Worgan purchased the instrument new, he would have had to part with possibly one-third to one-fifth of his annual income—a not inconsiderable proportion of his earnings.¹¹ Perhaps he celebrated his 1779 certification as a Surgeon Fifth Rate by purchasing a new piano in 1780. From 1780 through to 1783, Worgan's serving on the moored hospital ship *Pilote* (rather than working on the high seas) represented a context within which he could visit piano makers in London (in order to select an instrument) with relative ease. The same could be said when, in 1786 (if not also between 1783 and 1785),¹² he served 'on the Portsmouth guardship *Ganges*'.¹³ Frederick Beck would have run his business

as a typical craftsman's atelier of the period. He worked with a small team of assistants, doing ... [the most important] work on site, and selling almost every instrument directly to an end user. Most clients who were able to get to London came in person to choose an instrument from among the finished examples on display. Those who could not, generally sent a proxy to select one on their behalf.¹⁴

Given George Bouchier's limited financial means, it is possible that he purchased a second-hand piano. At a cost of one-tenth to one-seventeenth of his normal

6 Cobley, 'Worgan, George Bouchier (1757–1838)', p. 623.

7 Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 393.

8 I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*.

9 Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 393.

10 See *ibid.*, p. 393.

11 See 'How Much did George Worgan's Piano Cost?', below.

12 See Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 393.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 393.

14 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, pp. 53–4.

annual income, even the price of a second-hand instrument represented a fairly high level of expenditure. If so, he could have purchased the instrument at any time between 1780 and his joining the *Sirius* on Wednesday, 1 November 1786.

Worgan may have purchased a second-hand instrument during the period between his joining the *Sirius* in November 1786 and the departure of the First Fleet in May 1787 (although, because of his work commitments, his location at Portsmouth and the relatively small time frame, this seems unlikely). It seems unlikely that the instrument would have been purchased second-hand if the instrument's unique frame was made: 1) specifically for the journey to Botany Bay, and 2) at the same time as the piano was made.

If the Instrument Dates from 1786

If Worgan purchased the instrument newly made in 1786, he may have acquired it between its completion (at the earliest) in January 1786 and Wednesday, 1 November 1786 (when he joined the *Sirius*).

On the other hand, Worgan may have purchased the instrument second-hand prior to his joining the *Sirius* on 1 November 1786 (if so, the piano's owner would have had the instrument in his or her possession for only 10 months—or less—before selling it).

It is also possible that Worgan purchased the second-hand piano during the period between his joining the *Sirius* in November 1786 and the departure of the First Fleet in May 1787 (although, because of his work commitments, his location at Portsmouth and the relatively small time frame, this seems unlikely).

How Much Did George Worgan's Piano Cost?

Well into the early nineteenth century, English square pianos remained relatively cheap to buy. In London during the 1780s, 'a prosperous tradesman's family lived well on £350' (approximately A\$56 000). 'People with incomes of between £50 [A\$8000] and £200 [A\$32 000] a year who could afford some of life's pleasures constituted about a quarter of the population.'¹⁵

During the late eighteenth century, 'life was in a material sense incomparably different from life today. But if blessed with decent health, the average ... middle class [person] can scarcely be said to have been less happy than his or her counterpart today.'¹⁶

¹⁵ Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 146.

¹⁶ Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes*, pp. 203–4.

With a usual cost ranging between 15 and 20 guineas¹⁷ (approximately A\$2200 and \$3700), a square piano made in London during the mid-1780s represented approximately one-fifteenth of an annual middle-class income (analogously, the current equivalent of the cost of a good-quality home entertainment system).

The approximate cost of a new Beck square piano can be deduced from the financial records of the illustrious Parisian harpsichord maker Pascal Taskin, who, on 19 April 1777, owed 'Mr. Beck in London 660 *livres* ... Taskin's debt arose from the purchase of pianos'.¹⁸ In 1777, 660 *livres* was the equivalent of 48 guineas (14 *livres* equals 1 guinea).

Taskin's financial records reveal that he bought five pianos from Beck, each piano costing him 14 *louis*.¹⁹ Each instrument therefore cost 336 *livres* (1 *louis* equals 24 *livres*), or 24 guineas. At the time, the usual cost of a plain square piano made in London was between 15 and 20 guineas. Assuming that Beck did not inflate his price for Paris, and that the instruments he sold to Taskin were representative and without elaborate casework,²⁰ his price of 24 guineas per instrument sits above contemporaneous London norms.

A precedent had been set, however, for inflating the price of a newly made English square piano destined for a Parisian buyer. Whilst brokering the sale of a Zumpe piano to the French essayist and philosopher Denis Diderot,²¹ Charles Burney quoted a price of 28 guineas (at the time, in London, a Zumpe square piano usually cost only 16 guineas). This represents an unscrupulously opportunistic mark-up of 75 per cent.²² ('Before they learn there is a God', said a contemporaneous German describing the Georgian English, 'they learn there are Frenchmen to be detested'.)²³

Given that the cost of a square piano made in London during the mid-1780s lay between 15 and 20 guineas, and assuming that Frederick Beck charged a premium rate—that is, 20 guineas—to his London buyers,²⁴ Beck's mark-up on the pianos that he sold to Taskin (24 guineas each) amounts to 20 per cent.

17 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, pp. 62–3, 77, 91, 100, 354.

18 Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, p. 295.

19 Battault, 'Les premiers pianoforte français', p. 105, fn. 76.

20 In London, pianos with plain cases constituted the majority of sales. Beck's price of 24 guineas for the instruments he sold to Taskin would normally have been associated with more decorative, inlaid pianos. See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, pp. 48–9.

21 See Diderot, *Correspondence*, pp. 197, 213. Reckoned in today's monetary values, 28 guineas is the equivalent of approximately £1800 (that is, approximately A\$3300). Currency conversion using *The National Archives*; Universal Currency Converter.

22 I am indebted to Anne-Maree O'Brien, Manager of The Australian National University School of Music, for her mathematical erudition and assistance in relation to the calculation of this percentage.

23 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 78.

24 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, pp. 62–3, 77, 91, 100, 354.

If, on the other hand, Beck's normal London price was the 24 guineas that he had charged Pascal Taskin, how might George Worgan have regarded such an outlay for the purchase of a new square piano?

According to Brockliss et al.,²⁵ Worgan, as a surgeon, would normally have received an annual basic salary of approximately £70–116. This comprised, at the very least:

Flat salary (3 shillings per day) £54 15s 0d
 Queen Anne's Free Gift £16 0s 0d
 Total £70 15s 0d

At the most, Worgan's normal annual basic salary comprised:

Flat salary (3 shillings per day) £54 15s 0d
 Queen Anne's Free Gift £62 0s 0d
 Total £116 15s 0d

In addition, Worgan may have received an extra 12s 6d per year, comprising:

Chatham Chest (that is, 2d per year from each man on board the *Sirius*, assuming a crew of 30) 5s 0d
 Treatment of venereal disease (£5 per year for every 100 men treated, assuming one-quarter of the crew of the *Sirius* was infected—a probable underestimation) 7s 6d
 Total 12s 6d

This brings Worgan's usual annual earnings to between about £71 7s 6d and £117 7s 6d—that is, between 68 and 112 guineas.²⁶

At 24 guineas, the cost of a new square piano by Frederick Beck corresponds with a possible one-third to one-fifth of Worgan's normal annual income.

During the time Worgan spent on board the *Sirius*, as well as during his stay at Sydney Cove, his annual salary increased to £182 10s—that is, 174 guineas. This figure is specified in a document entitled 'Staff Establishment for the Settlement at New South Wales', prepared on Tuesday, 15 August 1786, by Evan Nepean (1752–1822; a senior administrator at the Home Office, London).²⁷ A new Beck piano, at 24 guineas, represents only about one-seventh of the increased annual earnings that Worgan would have received as a result of his participation in the colonial adventure.

²⁵ See Brockliss et al., *Nelson's Surgeon*.

²⁶ See *ibid.*, pp. 15, 24. See also 'The Life of a Surgeon' in Chapter 3, this volume.

²⁷ See A. Frost, *The First Fleet: The Real Story* (Collingwood, Vic.: Black Inc., 2011), pp. 49–50, 227, fn. 1.

If Beck charged his London customers an uninflated, yet premium rate of 20 guineas, Worgan would have had to part with a possible one-third to one-sixth of his normal annual income in order to acquire an instrument. Regardless of whether or not Beck charged his London customers a premium (20 guineas) or inflated (24 guineas) price, for George Worgan the purchase of such an instrument would have represented a significant level of expenditure.

During the 1780s in London, an ordinary second-hand square piano cost approximately £7—that is, 6 guineas.²⁸ On Monday, 15 March 1779, *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* announced the sale of a second-hand Frederick Beck piano. At approximately £10, the asking price for the instrument lay on the high side of the London average for preloved square pianos: 'Henry Thorowgood, No. 6, North Piazza, Royal Exchange. Where may be had an excellent second hand Forte Piano by Beck, price ten guineas [that is, approximately £10].'²⁹

At a little less than half the price of a new Beck piano, this instrument may have been regarded as good value (especially given the consistent high quality of Beck's pianos). On the other hand, given the average cost of second-hand square pianos in London (£7—that is, 6 guineas), the asking price may have been seen as opportunistic.

At the very least, a price range of £7–10 represents a possible one-tenth to one-seventeenth of George Worgan's normal annual income (even the average price of a second-hand instrument represented a fairly high level of spending); however, the cost of a square piano made by Frederick Beck (either new or second-hand) lay within Worgan's purchasing power.

In 1782, David Steel published the pay scale for navy surgeons.³⁰ Steel's figures differ from those detailed by Brockliss et al.³¹ In 1779, Worgan was certified as a Surgeon Fifth Rate.³² According to Steel, the flat annual salary of a Surgeon Fifth Rate was, at £5 per month, £60.³³

This brings Worgan's early 1780s annual earnings (at the very least) to:

Flat salary £60 0s 0d
Queen Anne's Free Gift £25 19s 6d
Total £85 19s 6d

28 See Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 203. In mid-eighteenth-century London, £6 6s would buy a mahogany bureau. James E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England. Volume 7: 1703–1793* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 467.

29 *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 15 March 1779, No. 3063, p. 4.

30 Steel, 'Surgeons', p. 32. See Appendix F, Volume 2 of this publication.

31 Brockliss et al., *Nelson's Surgeon*, pp. 15, 24.

32 Company of Surgeons, *Examinations Book 1745–1800*, p. 339. I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*.

33 See Appendix F, Volume 2 of this publication.

Assuming that George Worgan's piano was made in 1780, that he purchased the instrument in 1780 new rather than second-hand, and that he was able to save during the years prior to 1780, a new Beck piano would have cost him approximately one-quarter of his annual salary. It appears that, with thrift, George Worgan managed to afford what would have been (for him) the considerable expense associated with the purchase of a new Beck square piano.

If Worgan's instrument was made in 1786, he may have been encouraged to buy the piano knowing that his impending 'all-expenses-paid' trip to Sydney Cove would provide a context within which he would be forced (by circumstance) to save his increased colonial salary, easily recouping his outlay as time passed. After all, at the new colony the possibilities for spending were limited, and, as Elizabeth Macarthur remarked (writing from Parramatta in 1798 to her friend Bridget Kingdon in London), 'shops there are none'.³⁴

Despite the intricate decorative casework found on Worgan's piano,³⁵ the calligraphic style of the instrument's nameboard inscription (Plate 17a) is not particularly fine-lined. The nameboard inscription of a square piano by John(?) Simpson (fl. 1767–95) represents an example of what was possible in relation to the most extreme degree of calligraphic intricacy and elaborative decoration (Plate 17c).

When compared with Beck pianos dated 1778 (Plate 20e), 1783 (Plate 20g), 1786 (Plate 20a) and ca 1790 (estimate) (Plates 20j and 43q), the nameboard of Worgan's piano lacks the intricate decorative infills and fine penwork scrolls and dots found on the 1778 (Plate 20e) and ca 1790 (estimate) (Plate 20j) instruments; it also lacks the exquisite handpainted swags on either side of and around the inscription cartouche of the 1783 instrument (Plates 20g, 43o and 43p), and the handpainted sprays of flowers on either side of the inscription of the ca 1790 (estimate) instrument (Plates 20j and 43q). Furthermore, it lacks the extravagantly decorated upper-case letters of the 1783 (Plate 20g) and 1786 (Plate 20a) instruments.

Ornamental elaboration 'was the chief visual reminder of the quality that owners had paid for'.³⁶ The relatively modest style of the nameboard inscription on Worgan's piano is in keeping with the type of instrument that may have been not only commissioned by, but also found in the possession of, a person with fairly limited financial means—a person such as George Bouchier Worgan.

Following Zumpe's invention of the square piano, innovations in piano design and piano playing represented a significant and influential part of London's music culture. By the 1780s, several makers in London had become 'key figures

³⁴ Quoted in Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. xvii.

³⁵ See 'Inlay', in Chapter 2, this volume.

³⁶ Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 93.

in the further development of the English square piano, and, to judge from the qualities of the surviving instruments, their craftsmanship was generally of a higher standard than that of [Zumpe]'.³⁷

During the 1780s there were at least 31 piano makers in London from whom George Worgan may have purchased a square piano:³⁸

1. George Astor (fl. 1785–1810)
2. James Ball (fl. ca 1787–1819)
3. Frederick Beck (fl. 1756–98)
4. Adam Beyer (fl. 1768–1801)
5. Lorence Beyer (d. 1789)
6. Thomas Bradford (fl. 1784–89)
7. John Broadwood (fl. 1771–1812)
8. Gabriel Buntebart (fl. 1768–95)
9. Thomas Culliford (fl. 1777–98)
10. Sébastien Érard (1786)
11. George Fröschle (fl. 1776–1800)
12. Christopher Ganer (fl. 1774–1809)³⁹
13. Thomas Garbutt (fl. ca 1770–80s)
14. George Garcka (fl. ca 1778–92)
15. John Geib (fl. ca 1777–97)
16. John Goldsworth (fl. 1784–93)
17. John Crang Hancock (fl. 1779–94)⁴⁰
18. Henry Holland (fl. 1783–98)
19. Jacob Kirckman (fl. ca 1772–92)
20. William Le Blond (fl. 1780–92)
21. James Longman and Francis Broderip (fl. 1773–95)

37 See *ibid.*, p. 70.

38 The following list is substantially based on that found in James, *Early Keyboard Instruments*, pp. 63–80. James lists keyboard instrument makers (excluding the organ) working and/or selling in England up to the year 1820. James does not claim that his list is complete. See Appendix E, Volume 2 of this publication.

39 In 1775, Christopher Ganer insured his stock and utensils for £400. See Barnett, *The Structure of Industry in London 1775–1825*, p. 236.

40 See Harding, *The Piano-Forte*, p. 411.

22. George Pether (fl. 1775–94)
23. Johannes Pohlmann (fl. 1767–93)
24. John Preston (probably only a dealer)
25. William Rolfe (fl. ca 1785 – ca 1808)
26. Frederick and Christian Schoene (fl. 1780s)
27. John Henry Schrader (fl. ca 1768–1802)
28. John and James Simpson (fl. ca 1767–95)⁴¹
29. William Southwell (1736/37?–1825)⁴²
30. Robert Stodart (fl. ca 1770–96)
31. Charles Trute (fl. 1760–94).

These makers ‘were solely concerned with manufacturing pianos. In earlier decades no [craftsman] ... had ever earned his living in this way.’⁴³

Although the English square piano developed in complexity during the late eighteenth century, it consistently remained compact and portable. By the 1790s the piano had grown in popularity to such an extent that at least 45 piano makers were flourishing in London. (‘At this time London was a vibrant city, reaping the early advantages of the Industrial Revolution ... piano makers’ were commercially engaged with ‘a market that must have seemed limitless’.)⁴⁴ Some of these made grand pianos as well as square pianos. The demand for square pianos was so great that in 1798, for example, the piano maker James Shudi Broadwood ‘had to write apologetically to an irate customer’ in relation to the delivery of a new instrument that had been ‘delayed: “Would to God we could make them like muffins ... many others have been waiting as long, or longer than you have”’.⁴⁵

Why did George Worgan select Frederick Beck from among the myriad expert piano makers in London? We may never know.

If the instrument was made in 1780, Worgan may have bought his square piano (newly made) in that year; if it was bought second-hand, Worgan may subsequently have had modifications made to the instrument’s stand.

41 In 1769, John and James Simpson insured their stock and utensils for £1000. See Barnett, *The Structure of Industry in London 1775–1825*, p. 236.

42 See Bozarth and Debenham, ‘Piano Wars’, p. 45, fns 2, 95.

43 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. v.

44 Bozarth and Debenham, ‘Piano Wars’, p. 54.

45 Goold, *Mr. Langshaw’s Square Piano*, p. 208. In Vienna between 1791 and 1815, ‘there were ... at least 135 ... keyboard instrument builders’. ‘The Directory of the Development of the American Piano Chronological Summary 1775–2007’, in *Bluebook of Pianos* (2011).

If the instrument was made in 1786, perhaps it was Beck's willingness to provide the instrument with a unique stand—either in response to Worgan's specific request or as Beck's response to knowledge of the instrument's imminent shipboard journey—for a certain price.

It may have been the quality and attractiveness of the inlaid casework of Beck's pianos (a suitable beauty befitting Worgan's naval and social status). It must, at the very least, have been the fine musical qualities of Beck's instruments.

When was George Worgan's Piano First Brought on Board the *Sirius*?

It is not known precisely when Worgan brought his piano on board the *Sirius*. It is reasonable to assume that he had his piano with him on Wednesday, 1 November 1786, when he joined the *Sirius* (perhaps he already had the instrument with him during his period of service that same year on the *Ganges*).⁴⁶ Three weeks later, news came from the town of Portsmouth that 'apartments are fitting up for the reception of some of the principal officers who are going to Botany Bay, they being expected in a fortnight to arrive here, to see that all things they are to take over with them are safely put on board'.⁴⁷ By the time *The Hampshire Chronicle* had published this observation, Worgan may already have placed his piano safely on board the *Sirius*.

Why Did George Worgan Purchase a Piano to Bring with Him to Botany Bay?

Broadwood company records show that on Thursday, 10 April 1783, a 'Mr Worgan' purchased one of their square pianos.⁴⁸ Was this George Bouchier Worgan? Unfortunately, no information substantiates the notion.⁴⁹ If George Bouchier purchased the Broadwood square piano on 10 April 1783, was this instrument the one that he took with him on board the *Sirius* four years later, bound for Botany Bay? Attractive as an affirmative answer to this question may be, no evidence exists that unequivocally proves this to be the case.⁵⁰

46 See Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 393.

47 *The Hampshire Chronicle*, 20 November 1786, No. 740. Quoted in J. H. Thomas, 'Portsmouth and the First Fleet 1786–1787', in *The Portsmouth Papers*, No. 50 (April) (Portsmouth, UK: Portsmouth City Council, 1987), p. 9.

48 See John Broadwood's workbook for the period 1771–85, held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Call No. Ms. Eng. misc b 107, Journal 1771–1785. This book is bound in white vellum, and has 'Journal 1771–1785' marked on the spine. See Mould, 'The Broadwood Books', p. 1. See also Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance: Australia's First Piano'; Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 190.

49 See Appendix C, Volume 2 of this publication.

50 See *ibid.*

George Worgan's decision to purchase a square piano may have been influenced by factors such as price, the square piano's compact dimensions (ideal for the cramped conditions on board ship) and the contemporaneous rage for square pianos.

Given the nature of Worgan's upbringing, it is reasonable to assume that music was a prominent part of his life. That George brought his piano with him to Botany Bay strongly suggests that he valued music. (He may even have been, at heart, a musician.) In his journal (the extant version⁵¹ of which takes the form of a letter to his younger brother Richard⁵² in England), he states: 'Oh, now I think of it, you are a musician so *Volte Subito*.'⁵³ Richard (who was a professional musician) had been raised in the same musically oriented home environment as George. George's remark suggests that camaraderie existed between he and his younger brother, arising perhaps, not only from brotherly affection, but also from the fact that both had enjoyed a lifelong experience of, and felt a love for, music.

Perhaps Worgan thought that because he was travelling to 'a land barely touched by European civilisation, there was an urgent need to assert European [aesthetic] values', especially through the musical riches of 'European culture'⁵⁴—a high-minded purpose indeed.

Perhaps Worgan also regarded his piano, as well as its presence on board the ship, as a source of comfort (both in a material and a musical sense). The fact that he took such a valuable personal item with him on the long and dangerous journey to an alien land reveals his confidence in the officers and sailors with whom he worked to get the First Fleet (including his piano) safely to its destination.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century in England, instrumental music underwent a 'revaluation ... which reversed the long-standing hierarchy that figured vocal music, both in sacred genres and in opera, as superior to instrumental'.⁵⁵ Worgan's association with the piano, both as an owner and as a player, connects him with this 'revaluation', and may help to explain why, after having been provided with what must have been a consistent (if not also rigorous) musical training by his father, he chose to bring his piano to Botany Bay.

Worgan would doubtless have felt the atmosphere of nationalistic and cultural confidence that attended the notion of Britain establishing a colony in New South Wales. After all, 'the settling of eastern Australia was a startlingly costly

51 In his journal, 'Worgan makes references to a fuller journal which he is keeping and also to his 'rough' journal from which ... entries have been copied out but these have not been located'. 'George Bouchier Worgan (1757–1838)', in *Discover Collections* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, n.d.).

52 Richard Worgan was born when George was two years old.

53 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 27.

54 Crisp, 'The Piano in Australia, 1770 to 1900', p. 25.

55 'Education and the Social Roles of Music', in D. Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 121.

solution to the [problem of] crowded British prisons'.⁵⁶ The cost of 'the New South Wales colony between October 1786 and the end of 1789' was in excess of '£200,000 ... the raw cost per convict per year was £82, or between 2.5 and 4.5 times the cost of keeping them at home'.⁵⁷ Major Robert Ross (1740?–94) caustically commented that 'it would have been cheaper to have fed the convicts on turtle and venison at the London Tavern'.⁵⁸

'Why the First Fleet was sent when it was and not before, and why convicts were used ... [were matters] intimately related to ... issues of imperial and home policy bearing on the continuing security of the eastern empire of trade and commerce based in India.'⁵⁹ Rather than functioning purely as a dumping ground for England's convicts, 'a port so capacious and secure as Port Jackson'⁶⁰ created distinct advantages. First,

according to European notions of international law prevailing at the time, by transferring some of their population and at least a portion of their laws to New South Wales, the British made *actual* the *preliminary* right to possess this territory that they had acquired as a consequence of [Captain James] Cook's having been its first discoverer,⁶¹ and of his having claimed it on behalf of the King.⁶²

Second, the British Government also

wanted the southern whalers and the Nookta Sound fur traders to be able to ... operate anywhere in the Pacific Ocean east of the latitude of Canton (113°E)—that is, to be able to trade not only among the Pacific Islands and to Korea and Japan, but also to the Philippines, among the Molucca Islands, and along the coasts of New Guinea and New Holland.⁶³

56 Major Robert Ross (1740?–94) to Nicholas Nepean (1757–1823), 10 July 1788, in *Historical Records of New South Wales*, 7 vols (Sydney: Government Printer, 1892–1901), Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 176. Quoted in Frost, *The First Fleet*, p. 194.

57 Frost, *The First Fleet*, p. 194.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 194.

59 R. A. Swan, *To Botany Bay ... if Policy Warrants the Measure. A Re-Appraisal of the Reasons for the Decision by the British Government in 1786 to Establish a Settlement at Botany Bay in New South Wales on the Eastern Coast of New Holland* (Canberra: Roebuck Society, 1973), inside jacket text.

60 Henry Dundas (1742–1811) to Arthur Phillip (1757–1823), 10 January 1792, in *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 585. Quoted in Frost, *The First Fleet*, p. 197.

61 If the Dutch mariner Jacob Le Maire (ca 1585–1616), who circumnavigated the globe between Sunday, 14 June 1615 and Friday, 28 October 1616, 'had kept a westerly course after rounding Cape Horn in 1616, the Dutch would have had a chance of discovering Australia 150 years before James Cook'. Derek McDonnell, director of antique booksellers Hordern House, Sydney. In D. McDonnell, 'Nautical Treasures', in *Ocean* (Pyrmont, NSW: Ocean Media, 2011), No. 38 (July–August), p. 48.

62 Frost, *The First Fleet*, pp. 27–8.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 196.

Such trade was prohibited not only by the East India Company's monopoly (the British East India Company 'ran much of South Asia as a private fiefdom'),⁶⁴ but also by the *Navigation Acts* that prevented British colonies from trading with foreign ships.⁶⁵ Britain stood to benefit from a colony at Port Jackson. The harbour lay near one of only three viable routes into the Pacific Ocean. This advantage provided the justification for spending huge amounts of money on establishing the colony.⁶⁶

The voyage was therefore carefully prepared,⁶⁷ and at an enormous cost. Worgan was probably aware of these facts, and may, as a result, have felt that the piano would remain safe during its journey to Botany Bay. That Worgan brought his piano with him on the voyage reflects, at the very least, a substantial optimism.

The *Sirius*

In relation to Australia's musical and cultural heritage, the inherent importance of George Worgan's piano far exceeds the quality of its mode of transport from Portsmouth to Sydney Cove aboard the *Sirius*.

The *Sirius* was built in 1780, at Whitby,⁶⁸ by Christopher Watson & Co. of Rutherford. Whitby—a late eighteenth-century centre for the whaling industry—is on the north-east coast of England, at the mouth of the River Esk.

The navy bought the ship, which was originally known as the *Berwick*, in 1781.

The *Berwick*

The *Berwick* 'had been sent once to America as a storeship during' the American War of Independence, and 'once after the peace' to the West Indies.⁷⁰

In their book *Sirius Past and Present*, Graeme Henderson and Myra Stanbury⁷¹ prove that frequently occurring descriptions of the *Berwick* as an 'East Indiaman' are the result of a misunderstanding. The ship's construction reveals that it was

64 Morris, *Why the West Rules*, p. 7.

65 See I. Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour: A History* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009), p. 65.

66 See Frost, *The First Fleet*, p. 197.

67 See *ibid.*

68 M. J. Gregory, 'Settlement of Australia. The First Fleet. 1787–1788', in *Ahoy—Mac's Web Log: Naval, Maritime, Australian History and More* (Garden Island, NSW: The Naval Historical Society of Australia, 1984–2008).

69 'The Sixth Berwick 1781–1786—Storeship/Troopship', in *HMS Berwick* (n.d.).

70 P. G. King, *The Journal of Philip Gidley King: Lieutenant, R.N. 1787–1790*, edited by P. G. Fidlon and R. J. Ryan (Sydney: Australian Documents Library, 1980), p. 5.

71 G. Henderson and M. Stanbury, *Sirius Past and Present* (Sydney: Collins, 1988).

originally built for the 'Eastern'—that is, Baltic—trade.⁷² This is because 'it had a spar deck, so that mast timber might be rolled on board. It is reasonable to speculate that [the *Berwick*] ... was chosen [for the First Fleet] because of the service it was to perform at Norfolk Island.'⁷³ This service was inspired by the pronouncements of Captain James Cook (1728–79), who, having named the island in honour of the Duchess of Norfolk, had placed

great hope in the worth of the Norfolk Island pine as a marine timber: a mast made from a single trunk was preferable to one composed of several, and the pines ... [he] had seen were tall and straight. Exploitation of these trees, and of the island's flax plants for sailcloth and rope, was the only commercial or strategic imperative in the final 1786 plan to settle 'Botany Bay'. However, on closer inspection the colonists found the trees 'unfit for large masts' and too brittle even for an oar.⁷⁴

'The native flax could not be processed and the pine was hollow.'⁷⁵ It was assumed that 'the recent problems of the Royal Navy in acquiring masts and canvas from the Baltic, and under the French blockade of the American colonies during the recent revolution in America, might be solved by Norfolk Island'.⁷⁶ This plan conformed with the British Government's overall initiative

to exploit or encourage the exploitation of the resources of the Pacific region generally ... the government, for pressing reasons of commercial and naval strategy, could not afford to see the island occupied by or left available for the use of a foreign power (especially France). Although it was some one thousand miles by sea from Port Jackson, it was adjacent to the sailing route to Canton from that port, as well as being strategically situated in relation to New Zealand.⁷⁷

Alan Frost identifies the source of the erroneous and oft-repeated notion that the *Berwick* plied East Indian waters. He states: 'This characterization was evidently first made by M. Barnard Eldershaw (the *nom-de-plume* of Marjorie Barnard and Flora Eldershaw) in *Philip of Australia* in 1938.'⁷⁸ It was thereafter frequently repeated.'⁷⁹

72 Frost, *The First Fleet*, p. 4.

73 *Ibid.*, p. 84.

74 D. Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales: From its First Settlement in January 1788 to August 1801: With Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country, to which are Added, Some Particulars of New Zealand; Compiled, by Permission, from the Mss. of Lieutenant-Governor King; And an Account of the Voyage Performed by Captain Flinders and Mr. Bass* (London: A. Strahan for T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1804), Vol. 1, p. 63; Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 59.

75 Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, p. 30.

76 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 118.

77 Swan, *To Botany Bay*, p. 165.

78 M. B. Eldershaw, *Philip of Australia: An Account of the Settlement of Sydney Cove, 1788–92* (London: Harrup, 1938), p. 34.

79 Frost, *The First Fleet*, p. 4.

Lieutenant Philip Gidley King (1758–1808),⁸⁰ second lieutenant of the *Sirius*, reports that a catastrophic fire burnt the ship down ‘to her wales’.⁸¹ One can only wonder how the ‘ambitious and energetic King’⁸² came to this conclusion, because the Deptford dockyard officers who inspected the ship before purchase by the navy in 1781 ‘found it to be “building” in Mr Watson’s yard, and made no mention of any fire-damage’.⁸³

The *Berwick* was a ‘full, round build’ and ‘all together a very capacious and convenient vessel’.⁸⁴ ‘In order to address the wear and tear resulting from 5 years of service, the *Berwick* underwent repairs and alterations in 1786–87 which put it in excellent condition.’⁸⁵ The *Berwick* cost the Navy Board almost £6000 to restore.⁸⁶

Immediately following these repairs, further alterations were made (at the request of the Navy Board) to fit the ship out ‘for a voyage to remote parts’.⁸⁷ Among the repairs and alterations, ‘major interior work was undertaken including enlarging storerooms, and fitting them with bins, shelves and lockers as well as building a sailroom and two more storerooms on the lower deck’.⁸⁸ The Admiralty ordered that the ship be ‘supplied with a camp forge and copper oven, and to have their coppers fitted with Mr Irving’s apparatus for rendering salty water fresh, and to furnish them with Lieutenant Orsbridge’s machine for rendering stinking water sweet’.⁸⁹ ‘Twenty guns were ... hoisted aboard to give her the appurtenances and force of a warship.’⁹⁰

80 A portrait of Philip Gidley King by an unknown artist, dated ca 1800–05, on ivory (in an oval-shaped gold frame with a glass front and a loop at the centre top for hanging), is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call No. Min 62; Digital Order No. a830002).

81 King, *The Journal of Philip Gidley King*, p. 19. The ‘wale’ or ‘gunwale’ is the strengthening band added to the upper edge of the side of a ship.

82 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 10.

83 Frost, *The First Fleet*, p. 4.

84 J. Hunter, *An Historical Journal, 1787–1792*, edited by J. Bach (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1968), p. 1. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 85.

85 Henderson and Stanbury, *Sirius Past and Present*, p. 61.

86 See Frost, *The First Fleet*, p. 85.

87 Admiralty instructions quoted in *ibid.*, p. 86.

88 ‘Object H4052 Ship Model, HMS *Sirius* Armed Storeship and Flagship of First Fleet, 1:24 Scale, Timber/Brass, Made by Geoffrey Ingleton RAN, for Sesqui-Centenary of Arrival of First Fleet, Sydney, NSW, 1937–8, History Notes’, in *Objects from the Collection of the Powerhouse Museum* (Sydney: Powerhouse Museum, n.d.), para. 3.

89 Public Record Office, The National Archives, ‘Admiralty, Minute, Wednesday, 1 November 1786, Admiralty 3/102, and To Navy Board, Wednesday, 1 November 1786, A/2816’ (London: Public Record Office, The National Archives, 1786). Quoted in Frost, *The First Fleet*, p. 86.

90 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 52.

After Refurbishment

Following its refurbishment, the ship was renamed by the navy (with an uncharacteristically poetic flair) *Sirius*, 'so called from the bright star in ye Southern constellation of the Great Dog'.⁹¹

At first sight, the *Sirius* would have appeared new. The *Sirius* had three masts, and 'was painted bright yellow with a broad black band near the waterline'.⁹² Lieutenant King, however, was not impressed with the ship. He described the *Sirius* as 'the refuse of the yard',⁹³ and recorded in his journal entry for Friday, 28 September 1787: 'on inspection we found that not only the top Timbers were rotten, but also that many of the futtocks [the lower part of the ribs in the frame of the ship] were in the same condition.'⁹⁴ Since the futtocks are the ribs, and the keel is the spine, it is not surprising that Lieutenant King was concerned. Some of the rotten timbers were below the waterline; potentially, the *Sirius* could fall apart.

The *Sirius* was clearly affected by dry rot ... Ships left unused for a period of time, such as the *Berwick* and other navy storeships, were susceptible to dry rot, and the quality of dockyard inspections in the late eighteenth century was not sufficient to ensure detection of dry rot ... It was a routine maintenance matter on all ships for accessible areas of rot to be attended to by the carpenter.⁹⁵

Rotten timbers, however, were not enough to hinder the *Sirius's* voyage to Botany Bay. Unfortunately for the First Fleet, however, in 'favourable conditions, the *Sirius's* best speed was about 10 knots'.⁹⁶ The ship always held the First Fleet back. For example, 'where the north-east trades blew, ships were capable of making good time ... the *Friendship* logged a refreshing 174 nautical miles to the *Sirius's* 163 ... on a bad day ... [the] *Friendship* made 29 nautical miles to *Sirius's* 25'.⁹⁷ On board the *Sirius*, the American sailor Jacob Nagle (1761–1841) observed that during the voyage to Botany Bay the ship was 'so deep with stores', and had such 'large buttocks, we could scarcely steer her until we got better acquainted with her'.⁹⁸

91 King, *The Journal of Philip Gidley King*, p. 5.

92 M. Perrem, 'Articles and Facts: The Ships of the First Fleet', in *First Fleet Datum* (Woolloomooloo, NSW: Fellowship of First Fleeters, n.d.).

93 King, *The Journal of Philip Gidley King*, p. 19.

94 *Ibid.*

95 Henderson and Stanbury, *Sirius Past and Present*, pp. 71–2.

96 S. Thompson, 'Statement of Significance: HMS *Sirius* Anchor and Canon c.1780–1790', in *Objects through Time* (Sydney: Migration Heritage Centre New South Wales at the Powerhouse Museum, 2006).

97 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 71.

98 J. Nagel, *The Nagel Journal: A Diary of the Life of Jacob Nagel, Sailor, from the Year 1775 to 1841*, edited by J. C. Dann (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988), p. 85. Quoted in Hill, 1788, p. 91.

The Wreck of the *Sirius*

As fate would have it, the *Sirius* did not survive any longer than two years after the establishment of the colony at Sydney Cove. In February 1790, Phillip had only five months' supplies left to feed the settlement at Sydney Cove.⁹⁹ The *Sirius* was ordered to undertake a critical voyage 'to China to purchase ... supplies'. On the way to China, the *Sirius* took convicts to Norfolk Island (1676 kilometres north-east of Sydney Cove) 'in an endeavour to reduce the strain on the dwindling supplies in Sydney'.¹⁰⁰

Even convicts knew that Norfolk Island presented difficulties in relation to anchorage. An anonymous First Fleet female convict who was employed in sewing wrote on 24 July 1790: 'Norfolk Island [is] ... very bad for shipping; there is no place to land but in fine weather.'¹⁰¹

'Norfolk Island has no natural harbour and it is necessary for sailing ships to dodge the wind, using either Cascade Bay on the north side or Sydney Bay on the south.'¹⁰²

Cascade Bay was selected as the safest place to anchor; the wind blew south-westerly. Landing the marines and convicts involved rowing them to a projecting rock and (when the waves allowed) having them jump on to it.¹⁰³ After 270 people had been landed,¹⁰⁴ the subsequent offloading of supplies was thwarted by a change in wind direction (to an easterly). For four days the *Sirius* (and the *Supply*) sailed back and forth waiting for winds that favoured a landing. On Friday, 19 March 1790, the wind changed to the south-east. This made a landing in Sydney Bay (on the opposite side of the island) possible.¹⁰⁵

Sydney Bay is a trap for sailors who lack local knowledge—its two rocky arms coax ships towards scattered reefs that lie parallel to the shore. The ... *Sirius* anchored in the bay ... The crew ... began unloading provisions into boats. At first, all seemed well ...

The danger came, however, not from wind or wave but from an unnoticed current.¹⁰⁶

99 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 31.

100 C. Dunn and M. McCreddie, 'The Founders of a Nation: Australia's First Fleet—1788', in *The First Fleet* (n.d.).

101 Quoted in Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. 5.

102 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 31.

103 See *ibid.*, p. 32.

104 See Hunter, *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*, Ch. 7, February 1790 to February 1791.

105 See Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, pp. 32–3.

106 *Ibid.*, pp. 33–4.

Captain John Hunter and the *Sirius* had never been to Norfolk Island before, and ... despite [his] best efforts, and a complicated series of manoeuvres with sails and helm, *Sirius* was blown stern-first howling and creaking onto the reef, where the surf began to batter her to pieces.¹⁰⁷ Sailors began cutting away the masts and rigging and throwing them over the side in the hope that the loss of weight might refloat her.¹⁰⁸

In his journal, marine officer First Lieutenant Ralph Clark (1755?–94) reveals his despair at seeing the *Sirius* run aground upon the reef:

[G]racious god what will become of us all, the whole of our provisions in the ship now a wreck before us. I hope in god that we will be able to save some if not all, but why doe I flatter myself with (s)uch hopes ... There is at present no prospect of it except that of starving ... what will become of the people that are on board for no boat can goe along side for the sea ... I who has nothing more than what I stand in and not the smaless hope of my getting any thing out of the ship for every body expects that she will goe to pices when the tide comes in ... Saturday 20 [March 1790:] have been up all night as has every body in the place soon after the ship went on shore trunks, boxes bed &c what was nearest at hand was thrown over board in hopes it would float on shore a great dele has come on shore but as yet nothing of mine.¹⁰⁹

Two convicts volunteered to swim out to recover the livestock, but once on board, they broke open the spirits, got hopelessly drunk and set fire to the ship.¹¹⁰

The fire 'burnt thro' ye gun deck but was happily Extinguished by the Man that went aboard to send them out ... everything that remained on board the Wreck & the provisions ... [were] not ... damaged as every thing [was] ... on the Gun, & upper decks'.¹¹¹

The *Sirius* took many days to break up on the reef at Norfolk Island; this not only shows its basic strength,¹¹² but also puts pay to any notion that the ship had left Portsmouth as a renovated decrepit wreck.

107 An ink and watercolour drawing entitled *The Melancholy Loss of HMS Sirius off Norfolk Island, 19 March 1790*, by George Raper (1768?–97), is housed at the National Library of Australia, Canberra (Pictures Collection, nla.pic-an21511971).

108 T. Keneally, *Australians: Origins to Eureka. Volume 1* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2009), p. 133.

109 R. Clark, *Journal Kept on the Friendship during a Voyage to Botany Bay and Norfolk Island; And on the Gorgon Returning to England* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales Heritage Collection: Nelson Meers Foundation, 19–20 March 1790).

110 C. Pybus, *Black Founders: The Unknown Story of Australia's First Black Settlers* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2006), pp. 106–7.

111 King, *The Journal of Philip Gidley King*, p. 347.

112 See Frost, *The First Fleet*, p. 94.

Four days after news of the loss of the *Sirius* reached Sydney Cove, a desperate colonist wrote:

In all the Crusoe-like adventures I ever read or heard of, I do not recollect anything like it ... if you was to see with what ardent expectations some of the poor wretches watch an opportunity of looking out to sea, or the tears that are often shed upon the infants at the breast, you must have feelings that otherwise you never could have any experience of.¹¹³

Housing George Worgan's Piano on the *Sirius*

On Sunday, 13 May 1787, when the *Sirius* departed from Portsmouth for Botany Bay, the ship carried 160 people (including 22 marines), and had a crew of around 30. Most of the crew were in their twenties or thirties, reflecting the fact that the navy was (generally) a young man's occupation.

Conditions on board the *Sirius* were both crowded and cramped, and it is something of a miracle that surgeon Worgan managed to find space enough to safely and conveniently house his piano.

The Great Cabin

In accordance with navy regulations, specific areas of the ship were designated for the occupancy of officers. Whilst on board ship, the captain lived in the Great Cabin, located at the stern. The windows of the Great Cabin formed part of

the ornate structure seen from the outside at the stern of the ship ... The Great Cabin was strictly the domain of the Captain. He used the area as his day cabin, his office and his meeting room. It was a space that no one entered without the Captain's permission. A marine guard posted at the door 24 hours a day saw that this rule was enforced. The Captain of a ship often had to perform diplomatic functions, and the Great Cabin became the meeting room and dining room for these occasions. It was not uncommon for a Captain to invite his officers to dine with him, though he was under no obligation to do so.¹¹⁴

The Great Cabin was on the same level as the gun deck. The captain was the only officer who lived on this level.

113 Letter from a 'young man at Port Jackson', in J. Cobley (ed.), *Sydney Cove 1789–1790* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1965), p. 166. Quoted in Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, pp. 51–2.

114 HMS Rose Foundation, *The Great Cabin* (Wellfleet, Mass.: HMS Rose Foundation, 1996–98).

Other commissioned officers (lieutenants) 'and warrant officers of wardroom rank (surgeon, sailing master, purser) lived in the Ward Room on the berthing deck directly below the Great Cabin'. The Ward Room functioned as a recreation room, and 'consisted of a series of small cabins along the sides of the ship with a long dining table in the middle'.¹¹⁵ During the 1780s, naval surgeons were ranked as 'un-uniformed warrant officers', and as a consequence 'could not eat and drink in the wardroom by right', but rather by invitation.¹¹⁶ Rarely was a naval surgeon excluded from the Ward Room. George Worgan was very well regarded,¹¹⁷ and there can be little doubt that he was consistently welcomed into the Ward Room as a valued member of the officers' company.

The Ward Room

Typically, a cabin adjacent to the Ward Room was 1.5 by 2 metres 'and large enough only for [one or] two bunks and a little storage space'.¹¹⁸ If surgeon Worgan managed to make room for a piano in his cabin—the case of the 1780/86? Beck square piano is a little more than 1455 millimetres long, a little less than 505 millimetres wide and 191 millimetres high—he probably kept the instrument unassembled both for space-related and for protective reasons.¹¹⁹ The portable nature of the piano, however, would have enabled it to be moved into the Ward Room where it may have functioned as a side table (one of the advantages of the square piano's design). It seems unlikely, however, that the piano was permanently placed on its legs in the Ward Room on board the rolling ship; rather, the instrument was probably assembled (when needed) when conditions were comparatively calm.

George Worgan's Square Piano Heard in the Ward Room of the *Sirius*

Square pianos are not loud instruments (at least when compared with the flatulent stridency of that overrated thing, the modern piano). They were 'not intended to produce the stentorian tones of an orator, haranguing the public in an open

115 Ibid.

116 Brockliss et al., *Nelson's Surgeon*, p. 15.

117 Arthur Bowes Smyth, surgeon on the First Fleet's women's convict ship the *Lady Penrhyn*, remarked that George Worgan was 'a very agreeable good kind of Man'. Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 42. See also 'George Bouchier Worgan's Character and Personality' in Chapter 12, this volume.

118 Hill, 1788, p. 76.

119 When standing on its legs, the 1780/86? Beck piano's height from the floor to the upper surface of the keyboard's naturals is 668 millimetres.

space'. Rather, the voice of a square piano 'was more like the conversation of an intimate friend: learned, charming, flexible and well-modulated'. Square pianos were 'heard for the most part in domestic recreations'.¹²⁰

Soft, subtle and sweet-sounding square pianos perfectly suited the domestic context for which they were designed. During the eighteenth century, square pianos were usually placed within a 'décor and spatial environment that is very different from subsequent epochs'.¹²¹

A square piano was most likely to have been placed in a room with dimensions commonly found in houses built in west London during the eighteenth century: no more than approximately 7 metres by 5 metres, with a ceiling approximately 3 metres high.¹²² (Double-manual harpsichords were often the instrument of choice for those who had larger rooms in, for example, a grand house or a country mansion; these instruments were designed for such a situation.)¹²³

The acoustics of such rooms would have been somewhat lively, because there were fewer soft, sound-absorbing surfaces than is the norm now. Eighteenth-century domestic spaces were the antithesis of the crammed but comfortable room arrangements seen after 1850:¹²⁴

Any carpet would cover no more than a small central part of the floor surface. Large sash windows at the front of the house had wooden shutters, not the heavy fabric curtain drapes favoured in the Victorian era. Furnishings were more sparse, arranged with an eye to symmetry, and mostly pushed back against the four walls.¹²⁵

The Ward Room on board the *Sirius* was certainly no longer or wider than rooms ordinarily found in eighteenth-century west London houses, and it was probably not as acoustically lively. If, however, Worgan played his piano either in his tiny cabin or in the Ward Room, the instrument would have produced a sonorous enough sound to be both clearly and easily heard within the space, even with the piano's main lid closed (as was the late eighteenth-century norm). The dimensions and acoustics of the environment within which Worgan may have performed on board the *Sirius* would not necessarily have compromised his listeners' ability to hear the tonal variety of the sounds produced by his square piano. It is unlikely, however, that Worgan played his piano as the *Sirius* sailed on the high seas: 'the movement of timbers and the chafe of rigging would have created a discordant symphony of sounds—creaks, groans, shrieks, wails and

120 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 88.

121 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

122 See *ibid.*, p. 88.

123 See *ibid.*, p. 88.

124 See *ibid.*, pp. 88–9.

125 *Ibid.*, pp. 88–9.

vibrations that never ceased.¹²⁶ The sea would have hissed and banged against the hull of the ship,¹²⁷ and there was always the motion of the ship to consider (the ship's pitching, rolling and scending would have been hazardous for the physical stability of the instrument).

126 Pembroke, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 168.

127 See J. Byrne, 'Cook's Tour', in *Qantas: The Australian Way* (Sydney: ACP Magazines, 2012), No. 223 (January), p. 74.

Chapter 5

The First Fleet Departs from England

On Wednesday, 1 November 1786, when George Worgan joined the *Sirius* (having been discharged from the Portsmouth guardship *Ganges*),¹ he could not have imagined the adventures that lay ahead—for his piano, for the ship or for himself. It is reasonable to assume that he would have felt some pride in being assigned to the First Fleet's leading vessel.

The First Fleet was not large; its 11 ships comprised two small navy warships (the small flagship *Sirius*, and the even smaller brig-rigged sloop *Supply*) and nine other ships that had been hired to the British Government by private shipowners for the duration of the voyage. Six of the nine contracted ships were used as convict transports, whilst the remaining three carried two years' provisions and equipment. Most of the nine contracted vessels were quite new, the oldest having been built in 1781.

Being a naval officer ... [Phillip] would have been aware of the government's plan to strengthen the Royal Navy after the American War of Independence. This plan provided for sixty ships of the line by the end of 1786, and ninety-three by the end of 1790. But by 1787 only forty were ready for action and this, coupled with the growing crisis in the United Provinces [that is, Holland] was doubtless the reason why the First Fleet's naval escort was so small and weak.²

On Friday, 13 April 1787, the British Ambassador in the Hague reported that the French were using Dutch East India Company ships to send troops and political agents to the Far East. The British Government 'simply could not spare any more or larger vessels for the ... [First Fleet], having to husband ... naval resources in readiness for a possible showdown with France'.³

The departure of the First Fleet from Portsmouth was preceded by nine months of preparations.

As soon as the convicts came under the control of the Central Government, they were cleaned, clothed, fed and had their ailments treated.

1 See Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 393.

2 Swan, *To Botany Bay*, pp. 161–2.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 161–2. See also Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 156.

'According to [the] Navy Board official' responsible for the fitting out and loading of the transport ships, Captain George Teer, the ships of the First Fleet were "'completely fitted, their provisions and accommodations ... better than any set of transports I have ever had any directions in". For two months at Portsmouth, [the convicts] and the marines were given fresh foods in abundance, and the surgeons obtained adequate medical supplies (at a cost of some £1200).'⁴

The first convicts began to be loaded onto the transports at Portsmouth towards the end of 1786.

Phillip had asked for 'healthy young men and breeding women' for his colony, but was given [among 734 others] Dorothy Handland, a sprightly 82-year-old perjurer, and Elizabeth Beckford, a septuagenarian cheese thief. The youngest convict was John Hudson, a thirteen-year-old chimneysweep who had been imprisoned since the age of nine.⁵

By March 1787, all 736 convicts had been loaded onto the six convict transports; the 11 ships making up the First Fleet lay anchored at the Mother Bank off the Isle of Wight outside Portsmouth Harbour. 'Here Phillip joined the fleet on 7 May.'⁶ 'At three in the morning of Sunday, May 13 [1787], before the first cold gristle of pre-dawn light had spread upon the sea',⁷ 'the signal to weigh anchor was made in the Commanding Officer's ship the Sirius'⁸ and the First Fleet, with its cargo of founding felons, 'weighed anchor and shaped its course in a rising wind for Tenerife'⁹—the first of three ports of call on the fleet's journey. George Worgan wrote in his diary: 'each Ship like another Noah's Ark, away we steered for Botany Bay.'¹⁰ The voyagers

left behind a country where green fields subsided in an orderly pattern to the sea, and where grey stone villages claimed with English restraint their modest portion of land. The fleet turned instead towards the open ocean and the possibilities of a land of disorderly colour, dizzyingly empty horizons and animals and plants whose designs would suggest a whole new template.¹¹

4 Public Record Office, The National Archives, 'George Teer to Navy Board, Thursday, 7 December 1786' (London: Public Record Office, The National Archives, 1786). Quoted in Frost, *The First Fleet*, p. 210.

5 D. Hunt, *Girt: The Unauthorised History of Australia* (Collingwood, Vic.: Black Inc., 2013), p. 103.

6 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 12. Arthur Phillip was appointed 'as Commander of the First Fleet on 12 October 1786, one day after his forty eighth birthday'. J. F. Brock, *Australia's First Surveyor General and Governor, Alt and Phillip—The First Settlers of German Origin!* (2006), p. 4.

7 R. Hughes, *The Fatal Shore* (London: Vintage, 2003), p. 77.

8 W. Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay; With an Account of New South Wales, its Productions, Inhabitants, &c. to which is Subjoined, a List of the Civil and Military Establishments at Port Jackson* (London: J. Debrett, 1789), p. 5.

9 Hughes, *The Fatal Shore*, p. 77.

10 George Worgan, letter dated Thursday, 12 June 1788, in Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon*.

11 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, pp. 12–13.

Marine Captain Lieutenant Watkin Tench (1758?–1833), sailing on board the *Charlotte*, observed that the male convicts were more upset to be leaving England than the females. He wrote:

[I]n general, marks of distress were more perceptible among the men than the women; for I recollect to have seen but one of those affected on the occasion, ‘Some natural tears she dropp’d, but wip’d them soon.’ After this the accent of sorrow was no longer heard; more genial skies and change of scene banished repining and discontent, and introduced in their stead cheerfulness and acquiescence in a lot, now not to be altered.¹²

Somewhat aptly, Tench derived his poetic paraphrase from a line contained in John Milton’s (1608–74) *Paradise Lost*: ‘another tale of man’s fall from grace and journey into banishment.’¹³ By alluding to Milton’s text—‘Som natural tears they drop’d, but wip’d them soon’¹⁴—Tench may have entertained the hope that his readers not only were aware of Milton’s ensuing lines, but also recognised the aptness of Milton’s sentiments in relation to the departure of the First Fleet:

The World was all before them, where to choose
Thir place of rest, and Providence thir guide¹⁵

George Worgan’s Piano Heard on the *Sirius* as a Solo Instrument

During the late eighteenth century, the piano played a central role within the context of the bourgeois world of intensely private emotion, sentiment and solitude.¹⁶ Surgeon Worgan’s piano provided the perfect medium through which the musical pleasures commonly associated with solitude might be induced. ‘Private music-making at the keyboard was invested in the popular imagination of the time with special, even exalted status ... Paradoxically, only in the internal world of thought and emotion might the freedom that was lacking in daily political and social life be found.’¹⁷

In 1784, the Swiss physician Johann Georg Zimmermann (1728–95) argued that the context of solitude gave artists the freedom to create without regard for

12 Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*, p. 7.

13 J. Birmingham, *Leviathan: The Unauthorised Biography of Sydney* (Milsons Point, NSW: Vintage, 2000), p. 34.

14 J. Milton, *Paradise Lost. A Poem in Twelve Books. The Author John Milton. The Second Edition. Revised and Augmented by the Same Author* (London: S. Simmons, 1674), Book 12, line 645.

15 *Ibid.*, Book 12, lines 646–7.

16 See A. Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 155.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 148.

the constraints of convention.¹⁸ Within the 'private' sphere, improvising at the piano represented a context within which musical freedoms might be explored in the hope of resultant apotheosis.

Because of the thorough musical education that George Worgan had received at the hands of his father, he was doubtless conversant with the harmonic, figurative and rhetorical principles associated with keyboard improvisation. We will probably never know how skilfully, compellingly or indeed if George Worgan improvised when he was alone at his piano. It is pleasant to imagine that within such a circumstance he may have spontaneously explored a musical language 'which perhaps in society he would not have dared openly to hazard without precaution'.¹⁹ If he played extempore to others, perhaps his improvisations caused some listeners to respond in the manner described by Carl Friedrich Cramer (1752–1807) on Saturday, 5 August 1786. Cramer, the editor of the *Magazin der Musik*, speaks of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's enthralling improvisations at the piano: listeners 'have been astonished ... [and] have rubbed their brow' in disbelief, 'and expressed regret that they did not have such knowledge' and skill.²⁰

Not that the sound of Worgan's 'private' playing on board the *Sirius* would have remained his alone to enjoy. The acoustics associated with shipboard life would have ensured that some (if only perhaps a few officers) may have overheard Worgan's intimate musical musings.

Documentary evidence reveals that George Worgan played his piano within a 'social' context on board the *Sirius*, at Rio de Janeiro.²¹ Worgan appears to have been only too pleased to perform for a select audience. It is not known, however, whether such a performance—or for that matter, Worgan's private, solitary playing—was a commonly occurring event during the journey to Botany Bay.

Captain John Hunter, the second captain of the *Sirius*, may have been only too happy to hear Worgan play his piano. As a former pupil of the English music

18 J. G. Zimmermann, *Über die Einsamkeit [On Solitude]* (Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1784). See Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque*, p. 171. Zimmermann attended George III and Frederick II, and was a panegyrist of solitude. His book was frequently reprinted.

19 J. G. Zimmermann, *Solitude Considered, with Respect to its Influence upon the Mind and the Heart. Written Originally in German by M. Zimmermann, Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty, at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier* (New-London, Conn.: Cady & Eells, 1806), Internet Archive: American Libraries, University of California Libraries, pp. 124–5.

20 C. F. Cramer, 'Claviersonaten und freye Phantasien, nebst einigen Rondos fürs Fortepiano, für Kenner und Liebhaber, componirt von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Fünfte Sammlung [Keyboard Sonatas and Free Fantasias, Together with Some Rondos for the Fortepiano, for Connoisseurs and Amateurs, Composed by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Fifth Collection]', in *Magazin der Music [Magazine of Music]*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (5 August 1786) [reprint Hildesheim: George Olms, 1971], p. 871.

21 See 'Worgan Plays His Piano in Rio de Janeiro' in Chapter 6, this volume.

historian Dr Charles Burney, Captain Hunter was an appreciative listener whose passion for the sea only narrowly overcame his passion for music.²² After John Hunter's father

was shipwrecked, John was sent to his uncle, a merchant of Lynn, who sent the boy to school, where [in his mid teens] he became acquainted with Charles Burney, the musician. Dr Burney wanted to make a musician of him, and Hunter was nothing loth, but the uncle intended the boy for the Church, and sent him to the Aberdeen University. There his thoughts once more turned to the sea.²³

It seems likely that Captain Hunter maintained a lifelong love of music as well as friendship with Charles Burney.²⁴

In their introduction to *The Journal of Philip Gidley King*,²⁵ Paul G. Fidlon and R. J. Ryan observe that during the voyage to Sydney Cove, 'Mr. Worgan, the ship's surgeon, gave pianoforte concerts which were much appreciated by officers of the *Sirius* and of the other ships too'.²⁶ This is pure conjecture.

In his journal, Lieutenant King remarks '*c'est bien a propos ce soir*²⁷ [it is well by the way this evening]'. Perhaps King's comment—made on Thursday, 29 November 1787, almost 12 weeks after departing from Rio de Janeiro—cryptically alludes to the delights of an evening piano recital given by George Worgan. It is more likely, however, that King is pragmatically referring to the fact that following 'one of the most confused Tumbling seas I ever beheld ... the Sea abated much The latter part of this day had very pleasant & serene Weather, which in a Vessell of this kind is a very desirable circumstance'²⁸—therefore, 'it is well ... this evening'.

Victor Crittenden remarks that whilst the First Fleet lay at anchor off Santa Cruz on the island of Tenerife, surgeon Worgan 'entertained the officers of the *Sirius* with sonatas on his piano which ... he had on board'.²⁹ Moreover, Colin Steele and Michael Richards state that 'George Worgan ... took a piano on board the *Sirius* on which he played Mozart'.³⁰ Unfortunately, no extant contemporaneous documentary evidence supports either Crittenden's or Steele and Richards'

22 See Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 49.

23 L. Becke and W. Jeffrey, *The Naval Pioneers of Australia* (London: John Murray, 1899), p. 43.

24 See R. Barnes, *An Unlikely Leader: The Life and Times of Captain John Hunter* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2009), p. 27.

25 King, *The Journal of Philip Gidley King*, pp. xv–xix. King was Second Lieutenant of the *Sirius*.

26 *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

29 V. Crittenden, *The Voyage of the First Fleet 1787–1788: Taken from Contemporary Accounts* (Canberra: Mulini Press, 1981), p. 21.

30 C. Steele and M. Richards (eds), *Bound for Botany Bay: What Books Did the First Fleeters Read and Where Are they Now?* (Canberra: The Australian National University in association with the Friends of the ANU Library, 2006), p. 8.

assertions. Steele and Richards may have based their understanding on a statement made by the eminent Australian historian Manning Clark (1915–91). Steele and Richards write:

We were intrigued when Professor Manning Clark was quoted in *The Bulletin* of September 1, 1987 that 'the First Fleeters brought with them a piano, sheet music of Mozart, an authorised version of the Bible and the complete works of Shakespeare—this is one of the things we have to try to remember in telling the history of Australia'.³¹

Crittenden's mention of 'sonatas' is perplexing, given the lack of contemporaneous evidence related either to the specific compositional genres or to the repertoire that Worgan played whilst on board ship. Crittenden's conjecture that Worgan played sonatas is, however, a reasonable one. During the late eighteenth century, sonatas (as a genre) were commonly associated with a specific type of player and listener.

Liebhaber and Kenner

Eighteenth-century music theorists designate players and listeners as belonging to one of two categories: the *Liebhaber* (lovers of music, with little knowledge of the art), and the *Kenner* (knowledgeable musical connoisseurs). Both types of musician could be what were commonly referred to in England as 'amateurs'—that is, non-professional musicians. Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, 'writers traditionally assign a spontaneous response of the heart to the music lover (*Liebhaber*), and a more studied (and discriminating) taste to the musical connoisseur (*Kenner*). Both might be moved by music of quality, but the *Kenner* could explain the reasons for the excellence of a work.'³²

'The primary arbiters in matters of "good" taste were the *Kenner*—the connoisseurs who, by virtue of their training, possessed true knowledge of music.'³³

The *Liebhaber* tended to relate to music 'at the same level of accomplishment at which, as amateur musicians, they could play'.³⁴ The *Kenner* tended to fixate on 'musical convention, artistry' and 'the rules of the genre'.³⁵

31 Ibid., p. 4.

32 G. A. Wheelock, *Haydn's Ingenious Jestings with Art: Contexts of Musical Wit and Humor* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), p. 230, note 49.

33 Ibid., p. 36.

34 P. Cogley, 'Communication and Verisimilitude in the Eighteenth Century', in D. Mirka and K. Agawu (eds), *Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 27.

35 Ibid., p. 27.

Works written with the *Liebhaber* in mind were sometimes described as being 'easy', whilst works composed for the *Kenner* were often regarded as 'difficult'.

Elements identifying a piece of music as being calculated either for the *Liebhaber* or for the *Kenner* included

1. the technical demands placed upon the performer
2. the complexity or simplicity of the harmonies
3. the number and nature of the musical ideas
4. the general trajectory of form
5. the extent and nature of the counterpoint.³⁶

Music for the *Kenner* manifested

1. 'variety in melodic embellishments and rhythmic contour'³⁷
2. contrasts achieved by the juxtaposition of contrapuntal textures and homophonic or unison passages
3. 'a capricious sequence of gay, tender, sad, or sublime feelings' and 'tone pictures' that 'allow the imagination free play'.³⁸

In particular, imitative counterpoint 'provided something of a litmus test dividing *Kenner* from *Liebhaber*'.³⁹

Certain styles of music and specific compositional genres were associated with the *Liebhaber* and with the *Kenner*. 'This accords with the premise of a place for everything and everything in its place. But there is, in addition, a largely unspoken assumption of a place for everyone and everyone in his place.'⁴⁰ This is because the complex metaphor of late eighteenth-century social harmony comprised 'an intricate nexus of ideals pertaining to gender, social station, sensibility, religion, and national identity. Each person occupied his or her correct place ... with decorum, the result was harmonious balance within the individual, and in society.'⁴¹

36 See M. E. Bonds, 'Listening to Listeners', in D. Mirka and K. Agawu (eds), *Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 36.

37 Wheelock, *Haydn's Ingenious Jestings with Art*, p. 38.

38 Ibid., p. 39. Wheelock takes the quotation from: H. C. Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon [Musical Lexicon]* (Hildesheim: George Olms, 1964) [Originally published Frankfurt am Main: August Hermann beim Jüngern, 1802], 'Styl, Schreibart'.

39 Bonds, 'Listening to Listeners', p. 36.

40 Wheelock, *Haydn's Ingenious Jestings with Art*, p. 39.

41 Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 1.

Music for the *Liebhaber*

In late eighteenth-century England, *Liebhaber* pianists usually played:

1. pieces based on popular tunes (usually taken from 'the ballad operas recently performed in London theatres')⁴²
2. Scottish or Welsh folk tunes (real or imitative)
3. simple arrangements of oratorios (usually oratorios by Händel; these were often arranged by the organist, composer and pupil of Johann Christian Bach, Joseph Mazzinghi [1765–1844])
4. sonatinas
5. 'accompanied' sonatas (usually accompanied by a violin or flute, and occasionally with a 'cello doubling the bass line'); the sonata 'with accompaniment' was 'the mainstay of the drawing-room and a staple of publishers' catalogues into the early nineteenth century. Usually fairly easy to play and destined for amateur use, they were primarily meant for convivial evenings at home. The keyboard part was always most prominent, with the accompanying instruments playing a subordinate role'⁴³
6. illustrative 'program' music commemorating an important event—such as Domenico Corri's (1746–1825) 'Lunardi's Flight'. On Wednesday, 15 September 1784, Vincenzo Lunardi (1759–1806), in front of a crowd of 200 000, made the first hydrogen-filled balloon ascension over London. 'He was accompanied by a dog, a cat and a caged pigeon.'⁴⁴

Lunardi, who had hopes of advancing through the air by rowing, had brought along oars of different shape, one of which broke when he started. But he remained convinced that the oars were instrumental in his reaching a cornfield near North Mimms, some 13 miles north of London. Here he landed at 3.30 p.m., divested himself of his remaining ballast and released the cat, which by now was quite benumbed with cold. Though Lunardi throughout the trip had stayed at altitudes of below 1,000ft, he had registered temperatures as low as -16°C .⁴⁵

A particularly fine example of illustrative 'program' music is Jan Ladislav Dussek's (1760–1812) 'The Sufferings of the Queen of France' (Plate 58).⁴⁶

42 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 88.

43 de Val, 'The Ascent of Parnassus', p. 55.

44 'Vincenzo Lunardi', in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (2012).

45 'The Balloon Ascents of Vincenzo Lunardi in Great Britain', in *Fiddlers Green Paper Models* (1994–2012).

46 J. L. Dussek, *The Sufferings of the Queen of France: A Musical Composition, Expressing the Feelings of the Unfortunate Marie Antoinette, during Her Imprisonment, Trial, &c. The Music, Adapted for the Piano Forte, or Harpsichord, Op. 23* (Edinburgh and Soho: Corri & Co., 1793).

Dussek's work 'graphically depicts the guillotining of Marie Antoinette',⁴⁷ and, characteristically for solo piano music in this genre, not only borders on the histrionic, but is also deeply moving.⁴⁸ The unrelenting emotional intensity of this work may be explained by the fact that Dussek was Marie Antoinette's favourite musician.⁴⁹

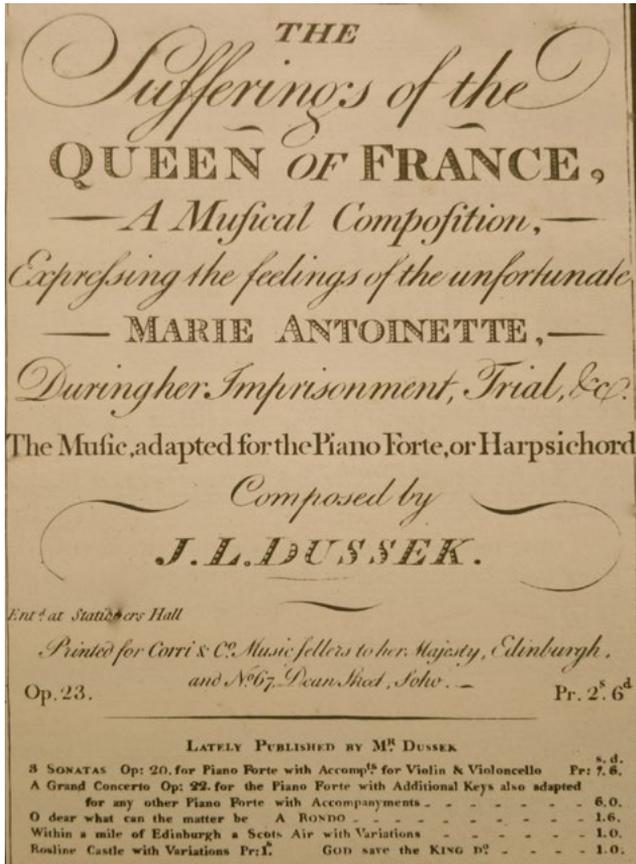


Plate 58 Jan Ladislav Dussek: title page from *The Sufferings of the Queen of France: A Musical Composition, Expressing the Feelings of the Unfortunate Marie Antoinette, during Her Imprisonment, Trial, &c. The Music, Adapted for the Piano Forte, or Harpsichord, Op. 23* (Edinburgh and Soho: Corri & Co., 1793).

Source: Geoffrey Lancaster Collection, Perth. Photo by the author.

47 de Val, 'The Ascent of Parnassus', p. 58.

48 Illustrative program music was so popular that even the genius Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach composed a sonata entitled 'The Battle of Bergen' for harpsichord, fortepiano, organ or harp. See C. P. E. Bach, *Sonata pour le Clavecin, Forte-Piano, Orgue ou Harpe qui représentent le Bataille de Bergen* [Sonata for Harpsichord, Forte-Piano, Organ or Harp Depicting the Battle of Bergen] (Courlay: Éditions J. M. Fuzeau, 2007) [Originally published Paris: Huberty, 1776]. This work is devoid of the compositional, aesthetic and technical sophistication usually found in Bach's music, and appears to be calculated for the most basic kind of *Liebhaber* player.

49 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 73.

Pieces in this genre were popular as far afield as America. In 1797, for example, 'James Hewitt (1770–1827), one of early America's important composers, wrote *The Battle of Trenton* ... to mark one of George Washington's important Revolutionary War victories' over the English.⁵⁰

Importantly for late eighteenth-century amateur pianists, illustrative program music usually did not present many technical challenges. The inherent dramatic implications of the music were obvious, and could be easily understood. All that was required was a player who possessed a reasonable technique and a modicum of emotional sensitivity and imagination.

The Battle of Prague

Five years prior to the publication of Dussek's 'Sufferings of the Queen of France' (1793), a hugely popular piece of illustrative program music swept through England: the work (for piano), entitled 'The Battle of Prague',⁵¹ was composed by František Koczwara (Francis Kotzwara; ca 1750–91), a Czech violinist, violist and double bassist living in London. Kotzwara 'was also a consummate and convincing forger of other composers' styles (in particular J Haydn and Pleyel) and supplemented his income thereby'.⁵² 'Few composers can have become so famous on account of one single work to quite the same extent as Kotzwara.'⁵³ 'The Battle of Prague' is replete with musical banalities: 'marches, bugle calls, "the word of command", the hail of bullets, cannon shots, an "attack with swords", cries of the wounded, and so forth, all captioned in the text and musically illustrated in a highly flimsy', harmonically bland and often 'noisy manner'.⁵⁴

Following its publication by James Harrison in Dublin ca 1788,⁵⁵ 'The Battle of Prague' was, for 50 years (at least within the context of English-speaking

50 Hoover et al., *Piano 300*, p. 15.

51 The historical 'battle of Prague was an early engagement in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763)'. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, p. 514, fn. 25.

52 'Koczwara, František', in D. Carew, *The Companion to the Mechanical Muse: The Piano, Pianism and Piano Music, c. 1760–1850* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), p. 149.

53 D. McCulloch, *Frantisek Kotzwara Op. 23. The Battle of Prague: A Favourite Sonata for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin, Violoncello (etc.)*, edited by Ian Gammie (St Albans: Corda Music Publications, 1996), p. 1.

54 Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 244.

55 See R. R. Kidd, 'Koczwara, Frantisek', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 10, p. 136. Ireland was not 'slow in adopting the [piano] ... the first recorded public solo performance on a pianoforte in Dublin' took place on Thursday, 19 May 1768. 'It was given by Henry Walsh, organist of St. Patrick's Cathedral.' One of the account ledgers of the Dublin-based Ferdinand Weber (1715–84) gives 'information concerning the supply and tuning of harpsichords, "Spinnets" and 'Forte Pianos' going back to 1764. This may well be one of the earliest detailed keyboard instrument-maker's accounts of this kind to survive in Europe ... Weber was almost certainly the first piano-maker in Ireland, and contemporary with the earliest makers of the instrument in England: an entry in his ledger for Mrs. David Latouche records a sum due for tuning her "Forte Piano" from [Thursday, 17] October 1765.' Cobbe, *Composer*

countries), the most played and the best-known piano work in existence. 'Its fame reached America', where in late eighteenth-century 'Boston it was described as "the indispensable climax to every concert"', spawning a spurious *Siege of Quebec*⁵⁶ which incorporated some of ... [Kotzwara's] music'.⁵⁷

Well into the nineteenth century, Kotzwara's 'The Battle of Prague'

appeared in countless editions on both sides of the Atlantic ... at any moment ... [its] loud, silly clatter-clutter might have resounded simultaneously in Llandudno and Londonderry, in Philadelphia and Annapolis, in Malta, Madras, and Melbourne—wherever a form of English was the speech of the realm and ... London piano [makers] ... could ship their products.⁵⁸

The work's first performance was given by a Miss Hoffmann, who 'placed it on the program of a concert given for her own benefit at the Assembly Rooms, Turnham Green', approximately 6 kilometres west of London,⁵⁹ in June 1792. 'Miss Hoffmann ... had already enjoyed the honour of having her playing graciously received by Their Royal Highnesses in Windsor Castle; thus, her concert's success [was] ... pressured.'⁶⁰ For the occasion, Miss Hoffmann was accompanied on the timpani by her brother (who, at the time, was three-and-a-half years old). Miss Hoffmann was six.

Child 'prodigies' such as Miss Hoffmann and her brother represent the kind of idiocy through which the late eighteenth-century English public's hunger for musical stunts was satisfied. Child prodigies were in fashion: the eight-year-old Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, for example, 'on his visit to London in the 1760s ... was followed most notably ... by the 3-year-old [William] Crotch', Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778–1837), aged nine, and Miss M. C. Poole (later the famous singer Mrs Dickons) 'at a Benefit in 1785 ... not eleven years of age'.⁶¹

A fine example of the musical inanities available to late eighteenth-century London audiences concerns an Italian who, in 1789, 'came to London and gave

Instruments, pp. 17–18. 'With a population of some 140,000 in 1760, Dublin was the second largest city in the British Isles', and the eleventh-largest city in Europe. Patronage of the arts by the colonial Protestant ruling class ensured that Dublin 'had a thriving musical community'. J. Nex and L. Whitehead, 'A Copy of Ferdinand Weber's Account Book', in J. P. Wainwright (ed.), *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* (Chippenhams, UK: CPI Antony Rowe, 2000), Vol. 33, p. 89.

56 W. B. de Krift, *Siege of Quebec, a Sonata for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte with Accompaniments for Violin, Violoncello & Tympano Ad Libitum* (London: J. Bland, 1792).

57 McCulloch, *Frantisek Kotzwara Op. 23 The Battle of Prague*, p. 1.

58 Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 244.

59 See Moule, *Environs of London*, middle of the top half of the bottom left-hand quadrant.

60 Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 244.

61 S. Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 73.

a concert with eleven cats. The animals were well trained: each one had its own particular timbre and range; each one made correct entrances upon a given signal and also kept pretty good time. So it was said.⁶²

The late eighteenth-century London taste for novelty was nothing new. On Monday, 14 April 1746 (43 years prior to the concert given by the 11 Italianate cats), the composer Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–87) exploited the London taste for ridiculousness by performing ‘a Concerto upon Twenty-six Drinking Glasses, tuned with Spring-Water, accompanied with the whole Band, being a new instrument of his own invention’.⁶³ Having plumbed the depths of bad taste, Gluck left England shortly thereafter, and never returned.

During the early 1770s, at Vauxhall, ‘thousands of people paid 10s 6d—the price of a good seat at the opera’ (in the boxes or pit), and about one-thirtieth of a prosperous tradesman’s annual income, ‘to gaze on a ... mechanical pineapple that opened to reveal a nest of mechanical singing birds’.⁶⁴

The public’s fascination for musical machinery was indulged at ‘Maillardet’s Automatical Exhibition, Spring Gardens’, where, as the *The Observer* advertised in August 1798, there was to be found ‘*Conjuring, Music, Rope-dancing, and Singing-bird*. This combination of amusement, in the highest degree of perfection, is conveyed by the pleasing and wonderful efforts of Mechanism, in the stile of excellence, superior to any comparative idea that can be formed.’⁶⁵

Thomas Danvers Worgan, in an address he gave in London to the Philharmonic Society, reveals that musical silliness was still to be found as late as 1820:

If any proof were wanting of the frivolity of a taste, however refined, that is not consolidated by knowledge, such proof can easily be found. On questioning ladies, who have attended concerts, where the first performers have been engaged, and the most masterly compositions performed, I have generally found, that almost every harmonious impression has been effaced by some trifle, such as an old ballad, a new face, or the performance of a child: and I will venture to affirm, that if the Philharmonic Society were to exert themselves to inspiration, and in the course of their performances, to put an infant with a fiddle in his

62 Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 242.

63 *General Advertiser*, 31 March 1746, fo. 2r. Quoted in Howard, *Gluck*, p. 19.

64 Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 225. See also E. T. Harris, *George Frideric Handel: A Life with Friends* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), p. 374.

65 *The Observer*, 12 August 1798, No. 347, p. 3.

hand on a table, nineteen in twenty of a female audience, would the next day remember little or nothing of the concert but the child and the fiddle.⁶⁶

‘Musical mice’ were also ‘a phenomenon’ in London in 1847. The mouse that ‘was exhibited at Palmer’s Hair Cutting Rooms in the Strand ... not only boasted a voice “whose notes resemble those of a bird in spring” but also played [a] ... cottage piano’.⁶⁷

Musical absurdities continued to surface throughout the nineteenth century, and not just in London. For example, in 1869, in America, the December issue of the periodical *Folio* advertised an instrument that produced its sound by means of different-sized cats (this is reminiscent of the Italian who employed 11 cats for performances given 123 years before in London). A certain Mr Curtis announced a ‘Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert’ to be given in Cincinnati, featuring no less than 48 cats in his ‘Cat Harmonicon’. The first work on the program was to be ‘Auld Lang Syne’. Unfortunately (according to a report of the concert), the cats became more than usually excited,⁶⁸

paid no attention to time, tune, rhythm or reason, but squealed, mewed, yelled, spat, and phizzed in the madness of pain and terror,’ drowning out the accompanying organ in a welter of wails.

There must be something special about Cincinnati. Apparently that same city was the first to introduce a Porco-Forte in 1839, which used pigs instead of cats.⁶⁹

In 1803, the German medical theorist Johann Christian Reil (1759–1813) published his *Rhapsodien über die Anwendung der psychischen Kurmethode auf Geisteszerrüttungen* [*Rhapsodies on the Application of Psychological Methods of Cure to Disorganised Spirits*].⁷⁰ In his long polemic, Reil proposed that a keyboard instrument comprising

66 Quoted in R. M. Bacon, ‘An Address to the Philharmonic Society on the Following Subjects: 1. On Musical Education. – 2. On the General State of Musical Taste and Knowledge in this Country. – 3. On the Study of Music in Score. – 4. On a Work Now in the Course of Publication, Entitled Vocal Sonatas, &c. and on a System of Education Connected with that Publication; To which is Prefixed a Proem, Explanatory of the Address. By T. D. Worgan, Professor of Music. London’, in *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (London: Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 1821), Vol. 3, No. 9, Art. XI, p. 72. Thomas Danvers Worgan gave the address on Tuesday, 26 September 1820.

67 D. Wainwright, *The Piano Makers* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1975), p. 59. A ‘cottage piano’ is an upright form of piano, whose height is approximately 1.5 metres, with vertical strings extended to the floor, and whose floor area occupies no more than a square piano. It was invented by Robert Wornum in 1811. See M. N. Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano. Volume 2: 1820–1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 470.

68 See Isacoff, *A Natural History of the Piano*, p. 57.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

70 J. C. Reil, *Rhapsodien über die Anwendung der psychischen Kurmethode auf Geisteszerrüttungen* [*Rhapsodies on the Application of Psychological Methods of Cure to Disorganised Spirits*] (Halle: in der Curtschen Buchhandlung, 1803).

cats whose tails were played like the strings on a piano by key levers with nails attached (in order to induce a yowling meow from the cats) 'could be used to treat patients with a modern day equivalent of Attention Deficit Disorder'.⁷¹

Perhaps it was the general popularity of 'The Battle of Prague' (and a cathartic realisation of just how mediocre the work really is) that explains why Francis Kotzwara went to Vine Street, St Martin's,⁷² on Thursday, 2 September 1791, and hanged himself in a brothel.

On the other hand, Kotzwara 'was reputed to have had unusual taste in his vices, and was accidentally hanged while conducting an experiment in a house of ill-repute. Susan Hill, his accomplice in the experiment, was tried for murder at the Old Bailey on 16 September 1791 and was acquitted.'⁷³

The emergence during the late eighteenth century of a debased popular taste is perhaps best exemplified by descriptive musical vacuities such as Kotzwara's 'The Battle of Prague'. During the 1780s and 1790s, the emergence of popular musical mediocrities was catalysed by the increasing availability of cheaper pianos, composers hoping for an easy profit and an intensifying trend towards a culture of consumption.⁷⁴

Nowadays, we tend not to take late eighteenth-century illustrative program music very seriously, finding in its melodramatic excesses too many similarities with the style of music once used to accompany silent movies, and levels of sentimentality and emotional intensity that border on the hysterical.⁷⁵ Oddly, in a sentimental culture, we find sentimentality quaint and, at worst, embarrassing.

Sentimentality is feeling that shuts out action, real or potential ... So far is the sentimentalist from being one whose emotions exceed the legal limit that he may be charged with deficient energy in what he feels; it does not propel him. That is why he finds pleasure in grief and when he is in love never proposes ... [The sentimentalist revels] in irresponsible

71 Steven [Gawker Help], 'The History of the Katzenklavier, or Cat Piano', in *Observation Deck* (New York: Gawker Media, 26 February 2013). See also J. C. Reil, *Rhapsodien über die Anwendung der psychischen Kurmethode auf Geisteszerrüttungen [Rhapsodies on the Application of Psychological Methods of Cure to Disorganised Spirits]*, 2nd edn (Halle: in der Curtschen Buchhandlung, 1818), p. 205.

72 See 'Vine Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 35.

73 Kidd, 'Koczwara, Frantisek', p. 136.

74 See McVeigh, 'Industrial and Consumer Revolutions in Instrumental Music', p. 12. See also O. Jokiharju, 'Reflections of Instrumental Chamber-Music Making in Sheet Music Related to the Gluck-Calzabigi Operatic "Reform"', in R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2010), p. 393.

75 The dramatic intensity and musical gesturalism of late eighteenth-century program music acted, in part, as a catalyst for the development of nineteenth and early twentieth-century melodrama.

grief and love. This condition explains why the sentimentalist and the cynic are two sides of one nature. In such matters the arts are transparent and the connoisseur can easily tell imitation feeling from the real thing.⁷⁶

Apart from pieces based on popular tunes, Scottish or Welsh folk tunes, simple arrangements of oratorios, sonatinas, accompanied sonatas and illustrative program music, four remaining genres were commonly associated with *Liebhaber* pianists:

1. minuets
2. rondos (a favourite genre of the dilettanti)
3. sets of variations
4. lessons from instructional piano methods.

Music calculated for the *Liebhaber* was usually 'easy ... to comprehend, and easy to hum afterward'.⁷⁷ As the middle (professional) class

gained prominence and prestige ... composers responded to their needs and wishes, creating a musical style that ... suited middle-class musical ideals. Whereas many if not most aristocrats (not coincidentally associated with languor and laziness by the middle classes) tended to enjoy music passively, performed by servants or employees ... bourgeois families and their friends actively made music together in the comfort of their parlors and music rooms.⁷⁸

Music for the *Kenner*

Musically challenging piano music was composed with the *Kenner* in mind. *Kenner* pianists were commonly associated with

1. sonatas specifically calculated for the connoisseur
2. conceptually uncompromising, virtuosic 'grand sonatas'
3. pre-composed or spontaneously improvised fantasias.

⁷⁶ Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence*, p. 411.

⁷⁷ Wheelock, *Haydn's Ingenious Jestings with Art*, p. 39. Wheelock takes the quotation from: K. D. von Dittersdorf, 'Über die Grenzen des Komischen und des Heroischen in der Musik [Beyond the Boundaries of the Comic and the Heroic in Music]', in *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* [*General Music Journal*] (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1798), Vol. 1, No. 9, Col. 141.

⁷⁸ M. S. Lott, 'Changing Audiences, Changing Styles: String Chamber Music and the Middle Class', in R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2010), p. 175.

During the late eighteenth century, music for the *Kenner* (that is, high art) and music for the *Liebhaber* (that is, entertainment) were not regarded as incompatible. Mark Evan Bonds, in relation to Joseph Haydn, states that

recent attempts to equate Haydn's 'popular' style with a 'pandering' to the lowest common denominator ... rest on nineteenth- and especially twentieth-century aesthetic notions that value the learned over the popular, the challenging over the readily accessible. [James] Webster has convincingly argued that 'there is no reason why an approach to composition as entertainment should be considered either morally suspect or inherently incompatible with the production of great art.'⁷⁹

The value judgment that simple, compositionally uncomplicated music that is easy to listen to is unworthy is founded on the untenable assumption that 'great' music is necessarily intense and overtly complex. 'In one of its most compelling guises', music is 'art that disguises its artistry (which is the composer's business and, to a lesser extent, the performer's) yet fully reveals its emotional expressiveness (which is the listener's business)'.⁸⁰

George Worgan, as a result of the musical training provided by his father (if not also because of his inclinations), was more than likely a musical *Kenner*. It is possible that some of the higher-ranking and commissioned officers who listened to Worgan play his piano on board the *Sirius* may also (as a result of their upbringing and the educational benefits associated with their social status) have been musical connoisseurs.

By the 1770s in London,

there were over a hundred papers and journals, and men of affairs met in coffee houses all over the city to read them and discuss and settle the questions of the day. One of the most influential journals ... was the *Spectator*. In conveniently short essays it advocated a system of polite behaviour by which men could accommodate the complexities of modern life and live in harmony by cultivating good taste and regulating and refining their natural passions to a greater Elegance. Gratification of the passions was effeminate, in the sense of womanish; intellectual pursuits [such as literature and the arts] were deemed manly ... in late

79 Bonds, 'Listening to Listeners', p. 38. Bonds takes the quotation from: J. Webster, 'Haydn's Symphonies between *Sturm und Drang* and "Classical Style": Art and Entertainment', in W. D. Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 231.

80 D. Moroney, *Bach: An Extraordinary Life* (London: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 2000), p. 23.

eighteenth-century England such manners were promoted as the key to civilized living. Politeness was a *modus vivendi*, essentially urban, sociable and cultured.⁸¹

Perhaps the higher-ranking and commissioned officers of the *Sirius* exercised their cultivation of good taste, elegance and intellectual pursuits by ensuring that they found occasion to listen to George Worgan play his piano. In 1788, the educator, writer, moralist and social reformer Hannah More (1745–1833), in her *Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great to General Society*, reflected on ‘the progressive refinement of manners, the art of polite conversation and the sociable sharing of ideas and cultural pastimes. Such civilized social intercourse found its natural home in ... convivial gatherings of like-minded connoisseurs who joined together for exclusive evenings of refined music-making.’⁸² For any officer on board the *Sirius* who may have been a musical *Kenner*—for example, Captain John Hunter—there was probably a certain sense of safety in like-minded exclusivity.

Worgan, however, may have been hard-pressed to find many musical cognoscenti amongst his companions of similar rank. After all, cultural and intellectual interests, particularly of literature and music, ‘may have been available to young gentlemen of independent fortune, but were unlikely interests of subordinate officers engaged in active service’.⁸³ In this respect, Worgan’s close colleagues probably differed from higher-ranking and commissioned officers.

As a musical *Kenner*, Worgan may have been ‘anxious to appeal to a broad listenership even while cultivating the approval of connoisseurs’.⁸⁴ As a keyboard player, he may have found himself in the same situation as many composers: needing to find ‘the fine line between’ presenting works that could be ‘appreciated by a wide range of musicians and listeners and yet at the same time [rising] ... to the highest standards of art’.⁸⁵

Despite the absence of contemporaneous documentary sources detailing the specific repertoire that George Worgan performed on board the *Sirius*, Victor Crittenden’s assertion that Worgan played ‘sonatas on his piano’⁸⁶ is plausible. If George Worgan had a virtuoso technique, he may well have inherited his father’s enthusiasm for

81 Goold, *Mr. Langshaw’s Square Piano*, p. 147. ‘What changed in the decades after 1800 was the growing acceptability of the idea that composers might not be writing for a universal audience. They could compose for such an audience if they chose to, of course, and they often did just that. But when they did so, they now ran the risk of being accused of “pandering” to the public taste, as opposed to creating great art. It is a division that continues to shape the ways in which we listen to—and analyse—music today.’ Bonds, ‘Listening to Listeners’, p. 47.

82 *Ibid.*, p. 149.

83 J. Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta: A History and a Guide* (Glebe, NSW: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 1995), p. 8.

84 Bonds, ‘Listening to Listeners’, p. 37.

85 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

86 Crittenden, *The Voyage of the First Fleet 1787–1788*, p. 21.

the keyboard sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti. If Worgan was a musical *Kenner*, he may also have played some of the sonatas intended for connoisseurs composed by Joseph Haydn, or perhaps keyboard works written specifically with the *Kenner* in mind by C. P. E. Bach. Having been raised in an environment that was so constantly associated with music, George Worgan would doubtless have formed his own strong ideas (despite his father's musical conservatism) concerning the repertoire that he found attractive.

As a Londoner, Worgan would have had access to a wealth of keyboard repertoire written not only by English or London-based non-English composers, but also by composers who lived and worked on the Continent.

George Worgan Plays Music Written by English and/or London-Based Non-English Composers

Piano music written by English and/or London-based non-English composers may have occupied much of George Worgan's time spent at the piano. The six suave, beautiful sonatas comprising Johann Christian Bach's Opus 5 (1766) and/or the six sonatas of J. C. Bach's Opus 17 (1779) may well have been part of Worgan's repertoire. (J. C. Bach's Opus 5 'were the first compositions to appear in London with a title-page mentioning the *Piano Forte* as an option to the harpsichord'.)⁸⁷ Even though by the time of Worgan's First Fleet voyage, J. C. Bach's keyboard sonatas were generally considered to be almost antiquarian, they were immensely popular, having been written (with Zumpe's square pianos in mind) by 'an accomplished composer with the highest credentials'.⁸⁸ Bach's piano sonatas 'were well calculated to please a public who expected to be able to play the notes without ... [too much] struggle'.⁸⁹

If George Worgan's technique was up to the task, he may also have played some of Muzio Clementi's (1752–1832) difficult solo sonatas Opus 2, composed ca 1770. An anonymous writer in the English music journal *The Harmonicon* described the reaction to Clementi's Opus 2 of the Leipzig-born pianist who became the 'Master of the Queen's Musick' in 1782, Johann Samuel Schroeter (Schröter; ca 1750–88):

[T]hough it is now, from the immense progress which manual dexterity has made in the last sixty years, within the powers of even second-rate performers—was, at the period of its production, the despair of such pianists as J. C. Bach and Schroeter, who were content to admire it,

87 Latcham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', p. 362.

88 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 63.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

but declined to attempt to play what the latter professor declared could only be executed by its own composer, or by that great performer of all wonders, and conqueror of all difficulties, the Devil.⁹⁰

A critic writing in the *Quarterly Musical Magazine & Review* in 1820 declared that Clementi's Opus 2 sonatas were 'the basis on which the whole fabric of modern sonatas for the pianoforte has been erected'.⁹¹ Clementi was fortunate enough to be 'a polymath, with an almost alarming ability to excel at whatever he touched'.⁹² It was Clementi who 'figured out how to link instrument sales, printed music, journal subscriptions, concert tickets, piano lessons, musical keepsakes—and dreams—so that they all promoted one another'.⁹³

It is also possible that George Worgan had his father's 'Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord' (1769) in his repertoire. Performing music originally written for the harpsichord on a piano was a common occurrence in late eighteenth-century England. Documentation shows that late eighteenth-century performers had a more flexible attitude in relation to their choice of keyboard instrument (often determined by what was available) than that held by many twenty-first-century early instrument specialists. The late eighteenth-century musical bourgeoisie played the latest keyboard music on harpsichord, clavichord or fortepiano, whether the composer really wanted this or not.⁹⁴ (A reading of contemporaneous accounts of composer-performers' flexibility in this regard—including C. P. E. Bach, W. A. Mozart and Joseph Haydn—supports the notion that an informed performance-based exploration of late eighteenth-century 'common practice' may invigorate our understanding of Classic-era soundscapes and musical meaning.)

Solo keyboard music written by any of the following English or London-based non-English composers may have formed part of Worgan's repertoire (published works written by these composers were available for purchase in London):

1. Carl Friedrich Abel
2. John Alcock (1715–1806)
3. Thomas Arne

90 'Memoir of Muzio Clementi', in *The Harmonicon*, Vol. 9, August (London: Samuel Leigh, 1831), p. 183. Quoted in J. Parakilas, 'Clementi: Virtuoso and Businessman', in J. Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene, 2001), p. 66.

91 'Mr. Clementi', in *Quarterly Musical Magazine & Review* (London: Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 1820), Vol. 2, No. 17, p. 308.

92 Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 67.

93 J. Parakilas, 'Introduction', in J. Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene, 2001), p. 5.

94 See E. M. Ripin, 'Haydn and the Keyboard Instruments of His Time', in *Haydn Studies: Proceedings of the International Haydn Conference, Washington, 1975* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981), p. 305.

4. Samuel Arnold
5. Thomas Attwood (1765–1838)
6. Theodore Aylward (1730–1801)
7. Samuel Babb (?–?)
8. François-Hippolyte Barthélemon (1741–1808)
9. John Beckwith (1750–1809)
10. J. D. Benser (fl. ca 1770–85)
11. George Berg (1730s–70s?)
12. Thomas Billington (ca 1754–1832)
13. Robert Broderip (1758–1808)
14. John Burton (1730–82?)
15. Thomas Busby (1755–1838)
16. Thomas Butler (ca 1755–1823)
17. John Camidge (1734–1803)
18. Charles Carter (ca 1735–1804)
19. Matthew Cooke (?–?)
20. Miles Coyle (?–?)
21. William Dale (?–1827)
22. William Dance (1755–1840)
23. Charles Dibdin (1745–1814)
24. William Duncombe (?–?)
25. William Flackton (1709–93)
26. John Garth (1722?–1810?)
27. Tommaso Giordani (ca 1733–1806)
28. Thomas Gladwin (ca 1710–99)
29. William Goodwin (?–?)
30. Philip Hayes (1738–97)
31. Joseph Holder (1765–1832)
32. James Hook (1746?–1827)
33. William Howard (fl. ca 1782–90)

34. Maximilian Humble (?–?)
35. Samuel Jarvis (? – ca 1785)
36. Matthew Peter King (ca 1733–23)
37. John Christian Luther (fl. 1775–85)
38. James Lyneham (?–?)
39. Lawrence Cornelius Nielson (fl. ca 1785–1800)
40. Marmaduke Overend (?–1790)
41. Stephen Philpot (?–?)
42. Venazio Rauzzini (1746–1810)
43. Alexander Reinagle (1756–1809)
44. Jane Savage (fl. ca 1780–90)
45. Johann Schroeter
46. Alexander Scouler (fl. ca 1775–85)
47. Francis Sharp (fl. ca 1775–95)
48. William Smethergell (fl. ca 1770 – ca 1800)
49. Charles John Stanley
50. Raynor Taylor (1747–1825)
51. Thomas Tremain (?–?)
52. Robert Wainright (1748–82)
53. Henry Walsh (fl. ca 1780)
54. Samuel Webbe (1740–1816)
55. Samuel Wesley.

George Worgan Plays Music Written by Continental Composers

English or London-based composers ‘jostled with their foreign colleagues for space in publishers’ catalogues, but they were a beleaguered set, pitted against a public who usually preferred the music of their continental contemporaries’.⁹⁵ That ‘foreign music and musicians dominated serious musical life in London’⁹⁶ not only created a musical cosmopolitanism, but also fostered

⁹⁵ de Val, ‘The Ascent of Parnassus’, p. 53.

⁹⁶ S. C. Pelkey, ‘Music, Memory, and the People in Selected British Periodicals of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries’, in J. H. Jackson and S. C. Pelkey (eds), *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines*

a self-conscious Britishness. This comes out rather consistently and most forcefully in articles that imply that a national musical crisis existed and was manifested in the preference for foreign music and the lack of British musical genius. Various explanations were offered for this situation, but in such discussions we find strongly nationalistic utterances about British music and its relationship to the nation.⁹⁷

Late eighteenth-century England's prolific music-publishing industry and innovations in piano design and manufacture interlocked in 'a commercial network that embraced European music in every dimension. Britain was a world-leader in instrument technology, and its international trade benefited from what was already a commercially and financially mature economy.'⁹⁸

Numerous music publishers in late eighteenth-century London were quick to buy (or pirate) the works of Continental composers such as

1. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach
2. Georg Anton Benda (1722–95)
3. Ludwig Berger (1777–1839)
4. João Domingos Bomtempo (1775–1842)
5. Carlo Campioni (1720–88)
6. Jean-Frédéric Edelmann (1749–94)
7. Franz Jacob Freystädtler (1768–1841)
8. Philipp Joseph Frick (1740–98)
9. Felice Giardini (1716–96)
10. Adalbert Gyrowetz (1763–1850)
11. Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783)
12. Joseph Haydn
13. Friedrich Himmel (1765–1814)
14. Nicolas-Joseph Hüllmandel
15. Johann Nepomuk Hummel
16. Feliks Janiewicz (1762–1848)
17. Johann August Just (ca 1750–?)

(Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005), p. 75.

97 Ibid., p. 75.

98 McVeigh, 'Industrial and Consumer Revolutions in Instrumental Music', p. 34.

18. Leopold Kozeluch (1747–1818)
19. Johann Georg Lang (1724 – before 1800)
20. Willem Lootens (1736–1813)
21. C. R. Molenaer (?–?)
22. Gabriele Piozzi (1740–1809)
23. Ignaz Joseph Pleyel (1757–1831)
24. Venazio Rauzzini (1746–1810)
25. Francesco Antonio Rosetti (ca 1750–92)
26. Johann Schobert
27. Ferdinand Philippe Joseph Staes (1748–1809)
28. Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel (1750–1817)
29. Jacob Tours (ca 1759–1811)
30. Johann Baptist Vanhal (1739–1813)
31. J. Xalon (?–?).⁹⁹

Given the possible influence of Worgan's father on the development of his son's musical abilities and taste, it is highly likely that George Worgan played solo keyboard music written by at least some of these Continental composers. Much of the latest keyboard music composed by 'foreign' musicians was procurable in London. During the 1760s, the importation into England of music written by non-English composers

was accepted practice for any publisher with pretensions to a wide audience ... by the last part of the eighteenth century importation ... [represented] the primary distinguishing feature of the more sophisticated publishing establishments ... these houses [went] ... to considerable lengths to be able to uphold the claim that on their lists was indeed to be found music 'by the first talents of Europe'.¹⁰⁰

Keyboard repertoire written by Parisian composers had much in common with English keyboard music; this set French keyboard repertoire apart from the

⁹⁹ See de Val, 'The Ascent of Parnassus', p. 53. See also J. Caldwell, *English Keyboard Music before the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Dover Publications, 1985), Appendix II List of Composers Part 2 1660–1800, pp. 255–89.

¹⁰⁰ J. Burchell, 'The First Talents of Europe: British Music Printers and Publishers and Imported Instrumental Music in the Eighteenth Century', in S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh (eds), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), p. 113.

keyboard works written by composers who resided outside France. Generally, French keyboard music contained the hallmarks of the newly developed, overtly virtuosic English piano style. This innovative style comprised

1. expansive, lyrical legato phrases
2. melodies written in octaves
3. new standards of virtuosity, such as passagework in thirds, sixths and octaves, flamboyant arpeggio and scalic passages, wide leaps, and thick chords
4. the use of thick chords at the extreme ends of the keyboard (notably in the treble)
5. the use of extremes of dynamic
6. the notated use of raised dampers over many bars at a time
7. hocket-like figuration (alternating notes in the left and right hands)
8. 'drum bass' figuration (an accompanying figure comprising repeated bass notes with a simultaneous pedal point one octave lower, an oscillating bass octave divided into small note values or an oscillating bass octave enriched by added texture).

Contrastingly, 'composers writing within the Viennese musical tradition tended to emphasise invention and craftsmanship, harmonic sophistication, and the sensuous richness of instrumental colour'.¹⁰¹ Virtuosity was rarely explicit.

Given the traditional tensions that existed between France and England, it seems remarkable that the French so readily absorbed a demonstrably English piano style. The French tendency towards English-style virtuosity was not so much the result of adopting an English aesthetic, as a rejection of the overrefinement associated by contemporaneous commentators with 'the Italian school'.¹⁰² Late eighteenth-century French piano music, with its focus on technical prowess, represents a move away from what was seen as an effeminate aristocratic salon culture. The French composer François-Joseph Gossec (1734–1829) articulated this attitude in a speech given on Thursday, 8 November 1793: 'The soul of the French, restored to its original grandeur, should not be weakened any more by effeminate sounds in the salons or

101 J. A. Rice, *Empress Marie Therese and Music at the Viennese Court 1792–1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 2.

102 See L. Chassain, 'Le Conservatoire et la notion d'École française [The Conservatory and the Notion of the French School]', in A. Bongrain and A. Poirier (eds), *Le Conservatoire de Paris: deux cents ans de pédagogie, 1795–1995* [*The Paris Conservatoire: Two Hundred Years of Education, 1795–1995*] (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1999), p. 16.

in the temples dedicated by the Imposture.¹⁰³ ‘Only after ca 1800 did a more refined and sentimental French piano style begin to surface again, perhaps simply because it became evident that Napoléon [Bonaparte (1769–1821)] favoured Italian opera.’¹⁰⁴

Music Publishing in Late Eighteenth-Century London

In London, the ‘creation of a substantial market for music’,¹⁰⁵ catalysed by a ‘massive growth of music publishing after 1750’,¹⁰⁶ stimulated music making within both domestic and public contexts. Between the 1760s and 1780s in London, as a commercial response to the intense demand for printed music, at least 62 music publishers plied their trade. These included

1. Samuel Babb
2. Thomas Baker
3. John Bew
4. Birchall & Andrews
5. John Bland
6. James Blundell
7. R. Branston
8. Robert Bremner
9. J. Buckland
10. Thomas Cahusac
11. Cobb & Watlen
12. J. Coote
13. Joseph Dale
14. P. Evans
15. Robert Falkener
16. Catherine Fentum

103 C. Pierre (ed.), *Conservatoire de Musique et de Déclamation* [*Conservatory of Music and Declamation*] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900), p. 90.

104 M. van Epenhuysen Rose, ‘Un clavecin piano et forte, d’une harmonie ronde et moëlleuse [Aesthetic Features of the Early French Piano]’, in *Musique, Images, Instruments No. 11. Revue française d’organologie et d’iconographie musicale: Le pianoforte en France 1780–1820* [*Music, Images, Instruments No. 11. Review of French Organology and Musical Iconography: The Pianoforte in France 1780–1820*] (Paris: Laboratoire d’organologie et d’iconographie of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 2009), p. 177.

105 Cobley, ‘Communication and Verisimilitude in the Eighteenth Century’, p. 21.

106 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

17. John Fentum
18. John Fielding
19. William Forster
20. Henry Fought
21. James Freeman¹⁰⁷
22. J. French
23. G. Gardom
24. William Gawler
25. Goulding & Company; Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine
26. John & Andrew Gow
27. James Harrison
28. Joseph Hill
29. P. Hodgson
30. Robert Horsfield
31. A. Hummell
32. John Johnson
33. John Kerpen
34. Thomas Knibb
35. J. Lewer
36. James Longman & Company; Longman, Lukey & Company; Longman, Lukey & Broderip; Longman & Broderip
37. William Napier
38. William Owen
39. John & Sarah Phillips
40. A. Portal
41. John Preston
42. William Randall
43. Michael Rauche
44. John Rutherford

107 See Young, *The Concert Tradition*, p. 144.

45. George Smart
46. William Smith
47. Richard Snagg
48. Thomas Straight & Thomas Skillern
49. Thompson & Sons
50. Charles & Samuel Thompson
51. Samuel & Ann Thompson
52. Samuel, Anne & Peter Thompson
53. Henry Thorowgood
54. S. Vache
55. John & Gerard Vogler
56. John Walsh, jr
57. W. Warrell
58. John Welcker
59. Charles Wheatstone
60. Maurice Whitaker
61. Robert Wornum
62. Harman Wright & Company.

Because of the proliferation of music publishers in London, and the extraordinary amount of musical activity taking place there, it could be argued that during the second half of the eighteenth century, England ‘was the most musical country in Europe’.¹⁰⁸

The extensive 1789 music catalogue of the music-publishing house Longman & Broderip provides a glimpse into the types of music available to pianists in late eighteenth-century London. Longman & Broderip ‘were the first music publisher to deposit [their] ... new publications at Stationers Hall for copyright purposes, and [were] probably the most prolific of all London music publishers in the 1790s’.¹⁰⁹

108 Copley, ‘Communication and Verisimilitude in the Eighteenth Century’, p. 22.

109 D. W. Krummel and S. Sadie (eds), *Music Printing and Publishing* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990), p. 102. See also ‘21) James Longman (ca 1740–1803) and Francis Broderip (d. 1807)’ in Appendix E, Volume 2 of this publication.

In order to survive, publishers had not only to supply their customers with music, but to provide them with the sort of music they wanted to play or hear, not just the sort of music that composers thought they should publish. The problematic nature of this endeavour may be one of the reasons for the bankruptcy of so many eighteenth-century music publishers [including Longman & Broderip].¹¹⁰

Longman & Broderip's 1789 catalogue lists 1664 works. Of these, 565 are for harpsichord or pianoforte. Of these 565 works, 300 are sonatas or lessons, and 30 are duets. There are 333 songs for solo voice accompanied by harpsichord, 90 dances (such as cotillions, country dances and minuets) involving the use of a keyboard instrument, favourite airs with variations, and arrangements for keyboard solo of overtures taken from popular operas. Almost 60 per cent of the listed music involving a keyboard instrument—that is, 988 works—could only have appealed to people who owned pianos or harpsichords.¹¹¹ There can be little doubt that George Worgan's repertoire would have included works written in most, if not all, of these genres.

When Muzio Clementi and his business partners purchased Longman & Broderip on Thursday, 1 November 1798,¹¹² he immediately embarked on a frenzied letter-writing campaign in order to establish business relationships with important Continental composers and music publishers. Among the first to be contacted was Artaria in Vienna, who had published some of Clementi's works in the early 1780s and who had previously collaborated with Longman & Broderip.¹¹³ Within a matter of months, he was also writing to Pleyel in Paris and Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig.¹¹⁴

'Not only did Clementi's firm have regular contact with the likes of Haydn and Beethoven [1770–1827], but it also negotiated for works by a whole host of lesser figures including Berger, Bomtempo ... Gyrowetz, Himmel, [and] Janiewicz.'¹¹⁵

As the son of one of London's finest musicians, George Worgan (despite the musical conservatism of his father) was probably aware of, and perhaps owned some of, the latest 'fashionable' music released by London music-publishing houses.

110 Burchell, 'The First Talents of Europe', p. 109.

111 See Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, pp. 229–31.

112 See D. Rowland, 'Clementi's Early Business Career: New Documents', in R. Bösel and M. Sala (eds), *Muzio Clementi. Cosmopolita della musica [Muzio Clementi. Cosmopolitan musician]* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2004), pp. 49–59. See also '21) James Longman (ca 1740–1803) and Francis Broderip (d. 1807)' in Appendix E, Volume 2 of this publication. Clementi was a careful businessman who brought an improved level of shop practice to the Longman & Broderip firm.

113 D. Rowland, 'Clementi & Co. in International Markets', in R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2010), p. 527.

114 *Ibid.*, p. 527.

115 *Ibid.*, p. 537.

George Worgan's Piano Heard on the *Sirius* as an Accompanying Instrument

For centuries, when European sailing ships headed south out of the North Atlantic, they made their first port of call at the Canary Islands [off the coast of north-west Africa] ... The route to the Canaries was second nature to European navigators. It was facilitated by the northeast trade winds and the surface currents of the North Atlantic.¹¹⁶

Jonathan King writes that on Wednesday, 6 June 1787, whilst the First Fleet lay at anchor off the Spanish island of Tenerife in the Canary Islands,¹¹⁷ Governor Phillip and 'twelve carefully selected officers ... dined with the Spanish Governor in his Santa Cruz palace'.¹¹⁸ Captain Lieutenant Watkin Tench was amongst the chosen few, and was astonished by the 'profusion of ices which appeared in the dessert',¹¹⁹ which he found 'surprising, considering that we were enjoying them under a sun nearly vertical'.¹²⁰ Tench must have expressed his surprise, and in turn received an explanation, for he continues: 'But it seems the caverns of the Peake, very far below its summit, afford, at all seasons, ice in abundance.'¹²¹

Apart from ices, jellies and creams constituted popular late eighteenth-century desserts, and would probably have been offered to the Spanish Governor's dinner guests. During the late eighteenth century, jellies were made with isinglass (a type of gelatine derived from the air bladders of sturgeon and certain other fish), fruit, sugar and occasionally brandy. Savoury jellies were also produced.¹²² Other sweet delicacies were part of late eighteenth-century cuisine:

Cherries were often bottled when they were in season for use later in the year. Favourite dessert fruits were oranges, pineapples, strawberries, peaches and occasionally grapes. Quinces, rhubarb, damsons, plums and apples [may also have] ... featured on the menu, and the juice of lemons [may have been] ... used for flavouring.¹²³

Jonathan King suggests that whilst Governor Phillip and his 12 select officers were enjoying the hospitality of the Spanish Governor at the palace, on board the

116 Pembroke, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 170.

117 A watercolour drawing entitled *Santa Cruz on the SE Side of Teneriffe; Sirius and the Convoy in the Roads, June 1787*, by William Bradley (1757?–1833), is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney: Call No. ML Safe 1/14 opp. p. 19; Album ID. 823705; Digital Order No. a3461002.

118 King, *The First Fleet*, p. 53. See also King, *The Journal of Philip Gidley King*, p. 9.

119 Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*, p. 11.

120 *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12.

121 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

122 See S. Palmer, *The Soanes at Home: Domestic Life at Lincoln's Inn Fields* (London: The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum, 2002), p. 56.

123 *Ibid.*, pp. 55–6.

Sirius 'there were sing-songs around' surgeon Worgan's piano.¹²⁴ Although it is possible that, on occasion, Worgan may have played his piano to accompany 'sing-songs', no contemporaneous evidence describes him using his piano within this repertoire-based context (the few details that have come down to us consistently imply that George Worgan used his piano to perform solo repertoire).

During the late eighteenth century, the compositional genres commonly associated with 'sing-songs' were

1. canons
2. catches
3. glees.

Canons

A canon is a musical form in which a melodic line is introduced by a single first voice; at some place during this melodic line (after a specified duration, for example, one bar, two bars, and so on), the first voice's melodic line is repeated exactly by a second voice; during the second voice's presentation of the melodic line (and after the same specified duration), the melodic line is repeated exactly by the third voice, and so on. All voices may continue repeating the melodic line indefinitely. When all voices (usually three or four) are singing, different parts of the melodic line not only coincide, but also fit harmoniously together.

A canon (sometimes called a 'round') is a simple form of part-singing, because only a single melodic line needs to be learned by all involved. As typical examples, three well-known canons (rounds) are: 'Three Blind Mice', 'Row, Row, Row Your Boat' and 'Frère Jacques'.

Catches and Glees

In London in 1761, a society called the Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Catch Club was formed to provide a context within which catches and glees might be sung.¹²⁵ Another particularly well-known glee club was formed in London in 1783, and lasted until 1857.¹²⁶

The terms 'catches' and 'glees' were frequently interchangeable. Catches and glees are both part-songs.

¹²⁴ King, *The First Fleet*, p. 53.

¹²⁵ The club is still in existence, and is currently based at the House of Lords.

¹²⁶ See Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, p. 39.

Compositionally, a catch functions in the same way as a canon (round). What sets a catch apart from a canon is the text. In a catch, a word or a phrase that is not apparent in the text emerges when the text is sung by all voices in performance.

The text of a catch frequently breached the decorum of polite society. For example, in 1774, the Anglo-Irish politician and composer Garret Colley Wesley, First Earl of Mornington (1735–81), wrote a catch entitled ‘See the Bowl Sparkles’. Within the context of each separate voice, the text is innocuous. In performance, however, between bars five to eight, different voices successively sing and hold the words ‘see’ (sounding as the letter ‘c’), ‘you’ (sounding as the letter ‘u’), ‘end’ (sounding as the letter ‘n’) and ‘tea’ (sounding as the letter ‘t’), clearly spelling out the word ‘cunt’. A profusion of such obscenities necessitated the publication of collections of catches without ribald texts—‘The Words Consistent with Female Delicacy’.¹²⁷

A glee often comprises several short, musically contrasting movements. The glee’s (respectable) text may be convivial, fraternal, idyllic, tender, philosophical or dramatic, making its performance appropriate for refined female company.¹²⁸ The glee is usually scored for three or four solo voices. Generally, the glee was a manifestation of politeness. ‘The glee ... selected or written for public concerts was undoubtedly of the more genteel and artistic type.’¹²⁹

On the other hand, in 1787, the British musician, dramatist, novelist, actor and songwriter Charles Dibdin suggested that Thomas Arne’s ‘catches and glees had caused half the drunkenness and disorder that pervaded’ the Noblemen’s and Gentlemen’s Catch Club’s ‘convivial meetings’.¹³⁰

John Wall Callcott (1766–1821), an acquaintance of Joseph Haydn in London, was one of the most prolific composers of catches and glees.¹³¹ In his *Essays on Musical Subjects*, Callcott reveals that

devotion to the past was ... at least in part responsible for the establishment of ... the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club ... in

127 See, for example, T. Arne et al., *Musicae Vocalis Deliciae being a Collection of Scarce & Celebrated Madrigals, Glees, Catches, Canzonets, Rounds & Canons, both Antient and Modern Composed by Arne, Atterbury, Brewer, Bird, Baidon, Berg, Battishill, Croft, Ford, Gregory, Hilton, Howard, Hayes, Long, Morley, Morington, Norris, Purcell, Rogers, Smith, Weelks, Webbe, & Other Eminent Masters; Most of which are Sung at the Noblemens Catch-Club, Anacreontic Society, and Je ne scai quoi Club. The Words Consistent with Female Delicacy* (London: T. Skellern, ca 1790).

128 See ‘Glee (Music)’, in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (21 September 2012).

129 McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, p. 110.

130 C. Dibdin, *The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin* (Sheffield: J. Gales, 1788), p. 162.

131 ‘Haydn’s most lasting contribution to the glee was to provide piano (or harp) accompaniments for ‘Twelve Sentimental Catches and Glees, for Three Voices’, ‘by the Earl of Abingdon ... a patron and friend of the composer’. Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth Century England*, p. 124.

1761 ... In Callcott's words, the objective of the Catch Club [was] 'to encourage the efforts of rising composers', an ambition that would gain fulfilment in a unique repertoire of [English] ... music.¹³²

As the name implies, the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club's members came from the upper echelons of the social spectrum. 'The earliest use of the title Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club discovered to date is on the title page of a collection of glees and catches by' the composer, organist and singer Joseph Baidon (ca 1727–74) published in 1768.¹³³ Membership of the club 'was firmly controlled and the club developed a strict set of rules that included fines and expulsion for non-attendance'.¹³⁴

'Catch clubs were usually located in an alehouse or tavern.'¹³⁵ In London, the consumption of alcohol was an ordinary part of daily life. 'Men, women and children all drank "small" or weak beer, partly because there was no reliable supply of clean water, while stronger drinks of "spirituous liquors", primarily gin, were relatively cheap and easily available.'¹³⁶ Singing with friends in a tavern became a common pastime for many late eighteenth-century English gentlemen.

The craze for catches and glees reached such a pitch in the late eighteenth century that prizes were instituted for new compositions, and pubs even ran competitions for the best performances ...¹³⁷

By the late 18th Century there were numerous Glee Clubs in London, where gentlemen met to eat, drink and sing English 'glees' or part songs. The degrees of bawdiness in the punning lyrics depended on whether ladies were admitted.¹³⁸

According to the popular mid-eighteenth-century English composer of catches, glees and canons William Hayes (1708–77), the fundamental ethos of glee clubs was 'cheefulness, and good humour, friendship and love of harmony'.¹³⁹

In the same year that Captain Cook sailed northward along the east coast of Australia, 1770, the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club passed a resolution 'to invite professional musicians to become' (styled variously) privileged,

132 B. Robins, 'The Catch and Glee in Eighteenth-Century Provincial England', in S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh (eds), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), p. 142.

133 Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth Century England*, p. 32.

134 Robins, 'The Catch and Glee in Eighteenth-Century Provincial England', p. 142.

135 J. Nex and L. Whitehead, 'Musical Instrument Making in Georgian London, 1753–1809: Evidence from the Proceedings of the Old Bailey and the Middlesex Sessions of the Peace', in W. D. Sutcliffe (ed.), *Eighteenth Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Vol. 2, p. 259.

136 *Ibid.*, p. 259.

137 Copley, 'Communication and Verisimilitude in the Eighteenth Century', p. 22.

138 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

139 W. Hayes, *Catches, Glees & Canons for Three, Four, and Five Voices* (Oxford: Printed for the Author, 1757), Preface.

professional ‘or honorary members of the club’.¹⁴⁰ This resolution suggests that the club was not solely concerned with conviviality, but also with standards of music making. The presence of professional musicians ensured that musical standards remained high, and may also have ensured that there was a constant availability of newly composed catches and glees. The London-based organist and composer Richard John Samuel Stevens recalled that, in 1782, ‘to be an Honorary Member of the Catch Club appeared to me (at this time of my life) to be a desirable thing for a young Musician’.¹⁴¹

The first professional musicians to become members of the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club were

1. John Beard (1716–91), the finest English tenor of his day
2. the eminent composer of church music and organist Jonathan Battishill
3. the leading English composer Thomas Arne
4. Gaetano Quilici (fl. 1754–80), ‘a good musician with a base [that is, bass] voice’¹⁴²
5. the German émigré and eminent viola da gamba virtuoso Carl Friedrich Abel
6. the Italian composer and London’s principal resident violinist during the 1750s and 1760s Felice Giardini,¹⁴³ whose ‘great hand, taste, and style of playing, were so universally admired, that he had soon not only a great number of scholars on the violin, but taught many ladies of the first rank to sing’¹⁴⁴
7. a singer by the name of Cowper
8. William Savage (1720–89), who had a ‘pleasant bass voice ... clear articulation [and] ... perfect intonation’¹⁴⁵
9. Samuel Champness (d. 1803), ‘a bass who was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and who sang at the Covent Garden oratorios’.¹⁴⁶

As an independent gentleman, George Worgan—along, no doubt, with some of his fellow officers—may have been aware of the more risqué glee club repertoire. The prudish Exeter essayist and composer William Jackson (1730–1803) criticised the London Catch Club for singing bawdy catches; in the tenth of his *Thirty Letters on Various Subjects*, Jackson made a ‘thinly veiled attack

140 Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth Century England*, p. 40.

141 Argent, *Recollections R. J. S. Stevens*, p. 43.

142 Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, Vol. 2, p. 858.

143 Giardini maintained this status until Wilhelm Cramer (1746–99) settled in London in 1772.

144 Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, Vol. 2, p. 1012.

145 R. J. S. Stevens, ‘The Life of Mr William Savage’, Handwritten in Stevens’ copy of Savage’s works, Euing Library, University of Glasgow: MS Euing R.d.23. Quoted in Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth Century England*, p. 41.

146 Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth Century England*, p. 45.

on the Catch Club and its espousal of a form “not judged perfect, if the result be not the rankest indecency”¹⁴⁷. After all, ‘openly and without danger to their rank or their claim to be Christians, the gentlemen and nobles of England lived ... dissolute lives; gambling, drinking, Sabbath breaking, and committing adultery’.¹⁴⁸ Both in England and in France, the overt rejection of traditional Christian sanctions and indifference to religion resulted in the close association of freedom of ideas and free-living; ‘the pedlars of radical Enlightenment tracts often mixed [their] ... trade with the sale of pornography’.¹⁴⁹

In late eighteenth-century London, as the music publishing industry boomed, and concerts proliferated,

sexual licence became ever more flagrant, especially by the royal princes. During the late 1780s ... a movement of serious moral concern arose over the course that public life had taken. Even before the French Revolution one can see [the English] ... beginning to rethink their life and trying to establish stricter standards of behaviour, embracing a kind of early Victorianism.¹⁵⁰

Through bawdy glees, the culture of the catch club reflected a level of moral laxity that had intensified in London during the 1770s and 1780s. Such laxity extended to the Grand Tour, which was ‘often regarded as an episode which might include sexual as well as cultural initiation’.¹⁵¹ The culture of the catch club was dependent on ‘the basic tenets of male conviviality—drinking, smoking and male companionship’.¹⁵² Bawdy texts set as glees were congruous with the risqué lyrics and double entendre traditionally inherent in some drinking songs.

The English composer William Hayes proposed that the performance of catches and glees should ideally manifest subtlety and sophistication in relation to dynamics, tone colour and expressivity. Hayes writes:

I must beg leave to suggest, that, so often as it [the catch] is repeated, an Alternacy of *Forte* and *Piano* or *Loud* and *Soft*, in imitation of the *Chiaro Oscuro*, or *Light* and *Shade* in painting, has an agreeable effect;

147 Robins, ‘The Catch and Glee in Eighteenth-Century Provincial England’, p. 150, fn. 31.

148 J. Hirst, *Freedom on the Fatal Shore: Australia's First Colony* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2008), p. 11. ‘Addiction to drink and gambling ... was a strong characteristic of Georgian England.’ Cumes, *Their Chastity Was Not Too Rigid*, p. 16.

149 J. Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 49.

150 W. Weber, ‘Music Culture and the Capital City: The Epoch of the Beau Monde in London, 1700–1870’, in S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh (eds), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), p. 85.

151 See J. Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (Beckenham, Kent: Croom Helm, 1985), p. 109–16.

152 Robins, ‘The Catch and Glee in Eighteenth-Century Provincial England’, p. 147.

except in such, where the humour of the Subject requires a certain Jollity to be kept up throughout the whole, which the Performer will very easily distinguish. And if ... any should be found worthy of being *pathetic*, or to have anything *delicate* in their *Taste* or *Construction*, I would recommend *Mezzo Piano* (at least sometimes under the full Tone of Voice) as being more expressive of Tenderness.

... [T]he best Guide will be a true Perception of the Sense and Drift of the Design; and ... Expression ... resulting from ... instantaneous Feeling.¹⁵³

The scores of many catches and glees contained precise dynamic markings; these markings included pianissimo, piano, forte, fortissimo, sforzando, crescendo and diminuendo. (This range of dynamic indicators may, representatively, be seen in *A Twenty Sixth Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees for Three, Four and Five Voices Most Humbly Inscribed to the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Catch Club at the Thatch'd House Tavern, St. James's by their Much Obligated and Devoted Servant Thomas Warren*.)¹⁵⁴ Just how often an ideally crafted performance was achieved under the influence of alcohol and conviviality is, however, another matter.

Not all glees were ribald. Most were compositionally intricate, overtly beautiful and had texts that reflected pious, noble, polite and/or heartfelt sentiments. 'By the end of the 1780s the glee had become firmly established among amateur musicians, its entry into the domestic sphere of music long established.'¹⁵⁵

As might be expected, the standard of performance of glees sung within the domestic context sometimes left much to be desired. Richard John Samuel Stevens recalled that, in 1793, he sang the tenor part in the domestic performance of a glee that he had written: 'Ye Spotted Snakes':

[H]ow we got to the end I scarcely know: but of all the exorable Music that was ever howled by any set of Infernals, the discord, yell, and grumbling ... could never be exceeded: I have never in my life heard anything so very diabolical and detestable ... Mrs. Hughes has often mentioned my look after this *divine* performance: she often says, 'that she shall never forget it as long as she lives'.¹⁵⁶

153 Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 144–5. Robins takes the quotation from: W. Hayes, *A Supplement to the Catches, Glees, and Canons Lately Published by Dr. Hayes* (Oxford: Published for the Author, 1765).

154 T. Warren (ed.), *A Twenty Sixth Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees for Three, Four and Five Voices Most Humbly Inscribed to the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Catch Club at the Thatch'd House Tavern, St. James's by their Much Obligated and Devoted Servant Thomas Warren* (London: Longman & Broderip, n.d.). Edmund Thomas Warren (ca 1730–94) was the founding secretary of the Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Catch Club.

155 Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth Century England*, p. 83.

156 'Recollections of the Life of Richard John Samuel Stevens', in Argent, *Recollections R. J. S. Stevens*, p. 93.

Accompanied Gleees

Did Worgan accompany gleees with his piano on board the *Sirius*? During the last two decades of the eighteenth century, an 'increasing and controversial employment of keyboard accompaniment'¹⁵⁷ was incorporated into the performance of gleees within the domestic context.

'The practice of accompanying gleees on the keyboard dates at least from the early 1770s'¹⁵⁸—the earliest recorded instance occurring during 1773. The organist and composer Richard John Samuel Stevens recalled that in 1773, during his student days as a chorister at St Paul's Cathedral, the leading English composer 'Doctor [Thomas] Arne accompanied some Gleees, but his method of playing the Harpsichord, and his figure at the Instrument being remarkable and rather ridiculous, could not but tickle the fancy of us boys: we, also particularly noted his bad habit of swearing'.¹⁵⁹ That Stevens does not express surprise at the existence of a keyboard accompaniment, choosing instead to comment on the *way* in which Dr Arne *played*, suggests that by 1773, the accompaniment of gleees using a keyboard instrument was not unusual.

By the early 1780s, the domestic performance of gleees may often have involved the use of an accompanying keyboard instrument. For example, during a visit to Bath in April 1782, after a social breakfast, the gentleman composer John Marsh (1752–1828) 'sang some gleees, accompan'd on the harpsichord by Miss H', the daughter of the prominent amateur glee composer Dr Henry Harington (1727–1816).¹⁶⁰ By way of further example, Stevens remembered that during mid-1788, 'after breakfast, the Ladies persuaded the Glee party to go to the Piano Forte, and to sing' his glee 'Sigh No More, Ladies' 'several times over'.¹⁶¹ Stevens' account implies that, at least by the late 1780s, the use of a piano to accompany the performance of a glee was not considered abnormal. Stevens also recalled that in 1793, at a private 'Concert Room, which was intolerably full of a mixture of Company ... we were absolutely in an Oven',¹⁶² he 'conducted'—that is, accompanied—the performance of a glee from the harpsichord:

Miss Bruton (an Apothecaries daughter in Duke Street, St. James's) kindly undertook to sing the Soprano part; Stephen Groombridge (now President of the Glee Club), undertook the Base; I was to sing the Tenor;

157 Robins, 'The Catch and Glee in Eighteenth-Century Provincial England', p. 160.

158 Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth Century England*, p. 106.

159 'Recollections of the Life of Richard John Samuel Stevens', in Argent, *Recollections R. J. S. Stevens*, pp. 10–11.

160 Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth Century England*, p. 106, fn. 18. Robins takes the quotation from: B. Robins (ed.), *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752–1828)* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1998), p. 262.

161 'Recollections of the Life of Richard John Samuel Stevens', in Argent, *Recollections R. J. S. Stevens*, p. 64.

162 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

and a Gentleman (who I afterwards found) did not know a note from an Oyster, was to sing the Alto. I sat down to the Harpsichord as Conductor, and we began.¹⁶³

Controversy abounded, however, when in the same year (1793), John Marsh was censured for providing (within the context of an evening's domestic music making) a piano accompaniment in the performance of a glee. Marsh writes:

[W]e all went to a musical party at Mr Middletons to whom I lent my piano forte for the occasion on w'ch amongst other things I accomp'd a new glee sung by Mrs S. Hemming, Mess'rs Moore & Toghil, the latter of whom immediately afterw'ds observ'd that it wo'd have a better effect another time *without* accompaniment ... tho' ... saying he did not mean to criticise on *my* accompaniment in particular, but on accomp'ts in general.¹⁶⁴

Three years later, in September 1796, during a visit to the Nottingham Catch Club, Marsh heard 'some glees &c. very decently done, some of w'ch I accompanied on the piano forte'.¹⁶⁵

'In the glee, admittedly a minor genre in the grander scheme, the British developed an indigenous achievement that was unique.'¹⁶⁶ Perhaps George Worgan, gentleman and up-to-date musician, consented to play his piano as an accompaniment to glees in the 'sing-songs'¹⁶⁷ that may have taken place on board the *Sirius*. If so, his improvised accompaniments may have produced the effect described by the Genevan philosopher, writer and composer Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78) in relation to bass lines and/or textures that supported a melodic line: 'a light murmur comparable to the sound of a brook or the twittering of the birds.'¹⁶⁸ Then again—if indeed glees were sung on board the *Sirius*—Worgan may have adopted a more circumspect and traditional musical response, his piano remaining silent.

Although there is no documentary evidence to support the hypothesis, Worgan (weather permitting) may have accompanied hymn singing within the context

163 Ibid., pp. 92–3.

164 Robins, 'The Catch and Glee in Eighteenth-Century Provincial England', p. 160. Robins takes the quotation from: Robins, *The John Marsh Journals*, p. 533.

165 See Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth Century England*, p. 106.

166 S. McVeigh, 'Introduction', in S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh (eds), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), p. 15.

167 See King, *The First Fleet*, p. 53.

168 'Lettre sur la musique françoise' in J.-J. Rousseau, *Oeuvre completes de J.-J. Rousseau* [*Complete Works of J.-J. Rousseau*] (Paris: Werdet et Lequien, 1827), Vol. 15, pp. 195–6. Quoted and translated in E. E. Lowinsky, *Taste, Style, and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Music* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), p. 173, fn. 23.

of religious services held on board ship (whilst anchored at Rio de Janeiro and at Cape Town, 'Mr. Johnson, the chaplain, preached on board two of the transports every Sunday').¹⁶⁹

During the late eighteenth century, the playing of keyboard music was part of a wide and complex social intercourse. Piano music's discourse was 'practiced at many different levels: seriously and frivolously'.¹⁷⁰ George Worgan may have used his piano to play repertoire ranging from improvised fantasias, through sonatas, to accompanying glees and (possibly) hymns; he may also have played his piano within 'private' and 'social' contexts.

Playing with the Lid Closed

In all probability, George Worgan would have played his piano with the lid closed—not propped open and acting as a sound reflector as is currently fashionable. We can make this assumption because during the 1770s and 1780s many square pianos by English makers had no internal 'sideways-folding music desk fitted to the back of the name board',¹⁷¹ which, when extended, held the lid open. Often, 'the only provision for music sheets was a ledge fitted to the inside face of the lockboard, to be used with the lockboard opened and standing in its vertical position' (Plate 59).¹⁷² This meant that when a music score was used, the main part of the lid of many square pianos had to remain closed, the upright lockboard serving as a convenient prop for the score.

A notable exception to this design is found in a square piano by Frederick Beck dated 1782/87?¹⁷³ (Plate 59b). Rather than being split into discrete hinged parts by a longitudinal cut over the nameboard (extending the length of the instrument) and a short lateral cut over the right-hand cheek (Plates 361 and 362), the lid is cut along its entire length in the middle; this forms two large rectangular segments, which are hinged to one another.

The lockboard is hinged to the inside face of the front-half segment of the lid (Plate 59c). The front-half segment of the lid can be folded backwards to lie flush against the back-half segment. When the front-half segment of the lid is in this state, the hinged lockboard may be brought to its vertical position and used as a music desk. The 'half-open' lid, however, does not fully expose the

169 D. Collins, *A Voyage to New South Wales with Governor Phillip 1787–1788*, edited by J. Currey (Malvern, Vic.: The Banks Society, 2012 [1798]), p. 55.

170 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 89.

171 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

172 *Ibid.*, p. 90.

173 The instrument is owned by the Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA.

soundboard or strings. As a consequence, the closed back-half segment of the lid acts as a damper, inhibiting the effect of action noise, and suppressing some upper partials of the sound. The result is a sound that has no trace of harshness.

When the lid is fully opened, the outside face of the front-half segment of the lid acts as a music desk (Plates 59a and 59b). With a fully opened lid, space is created along the entire length of the instrument for sound to be liberated. The fully opened lid, however, does not fully expose the soundboard or strings. Once again, as a result, the lid acts as a damper, blocking out intrusive action noise and some overtones. A smoother, richer and slightly more distant timbre emerges.

The disadvantage of this remarkable design lies in the fact that the player is limited to the sonic character resulting from the influence either of a half-open or a fully opened lid; the player is never allowed to exploit the piano's unadulterated volume or character of sound.

Visually, the fully opened lid is beautiful. For the time, its proportions are exotic (Plate 59a): inlaid lines (stringing) of satinwood form an ornamental rectangular panel that emphasises the shape of the instrument's case; and the elaborate patterns of the grain of the lid's yellow mahogany¹⁷⁴ are clearly visible (Plate 59b).

During the late eighteenth century, playing pre-composed music from memory was not a commonly encountered or expected element of the performance aesthetic. The use of a music score in performance was the norm.¹⁷⁵ This is confirmed by many late eighteenth-century paintings, drawings and cartoons, in which the use of a music score in performance is depicted.

The English organist and composer Richard John Samuel Stevens describes a domestic performance within which context the score was used: 'A little time after, a ... Girl ... entertain[ed] us with a Harpsichord Lesson; and Mr. Peter Denys ... was to accompany her on the Violin. I was on the left hand of the young lady, and had the honour of turning the Book for her.'¹⁷⁶

174 See 'English Square Pianoforte by Frederick Beck, London, circa 1782', in Norfolk Charitable Trust records. I am indebted to Elisabeth McGregor, Curator/Archivist of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, for providing me with this information.

175 Improvisation created a performance context within which a music score was usually absent.

176 'Recollections of the Life of Richard John Samuel Stevens', in Argent, *Recollections R. J. S. Stevens*, p. 93.



Plate 59 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): lockboard music desk—right-hand front lid flap closed.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 59a Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?): lid open—the backwards-slanting outside face of the front-half of the lid acts as a music desk.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA.



Plate 59b Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?): lid open—the backwards-slanting outside face of the front-half of the lid acts as a music desk.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA.



Plate 59c Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?): lid standing open, revealing the hinged lockboard music desk (top centre of image).

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA.

This is not to say that performance from memory did not take place. C. P. E. Bach, for example, goes so far as to suggest that works that have been memorised should be played in the dark, in order (ultimately) to increase proficiency in sight reading: 'In order to become oriented at the keyboard and thus make easier the acquisition of a necessary skill at sight reading, it is a good practice to play memorized pieces in the dark.'¹⁷⁷

Many late eighteenth-century paintings, drawings and cartoons also show square pianos being played with their lids down. This may not always have been because the lockboard of some square pianos was an integral component of the music desk; perhaps the closed lid also functioned as a moderator of tone.

The closed lid of square pianos not only filters out extraneous action noise, but also suppresses the effect of some of the upper partials of the sound. This produces a slightly 'darker' and more mellow timbre. Arguably, the quality of the sound is enhanced, although the volume is less. Late eighteenth-century players and listeners were attracted to this 'warmer' timbre.

That the lid of a square piano usually remained closed in performance may also have been so because, 'in an age when elegance and refinement were all-important, exposing the working parts of the hammer action would be somehow indecorous'.¹⁷⁸ If a stronger tone was required, a 'small lid flap at the right might be opened, for a more immediate sound, at the player's discretion' (Plate 60).¹⁷⁹

The provision of a prop-stick (in order to hold the entire lid open) fitted in some English square pianos made during the 1780s and 1790s suggests that it gradually became 'increasingly common to open up the piano to maximize the immediacy and loudness of the instrument' (Plate 61).¹⁸⁰

The lid-stick of Worgan's piano is missing. The lid-stick would most probably have been tapered, and made of wood. It was hinged at the bottom (wide) end of the taper on a screw (extant). On Worgan's piano, the lid-stick fastening hole is located at the bass end of the underside of the lid. Witness marks show the lid-stick's arc of rotation around its hinging screw (Plate 62).

By the end of the final decade of the eighteenth century,

177 C. P. E. Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, Translated and edited by William J. Mitchell as *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1949) [Originally published Berlin: Christian Friedrich Henning, 1753 (Part 1) and George Ludewig Winter, 1762 (Part 2)], Introduction to Part 1, 21, p. 39.

178 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 79.

179 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 90.

180 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, pp. 78–9.

there were thus three options. A square piano could be played with the lid entirely closed ... which ... is ... the [option] most frequently seen in contemporary pictures. Alternatively, it could be played with the lid flap open on the right, in which position most of the sound is available. Or, if the maximum sound was required, as, for example, when playing a sonata with violin and cello, the whole lid could be propped open.¹⁸¹



Plate 60 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): right-hand front lid flap open.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 79.



Plate 61 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): entire lid held open (manually).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 62 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): witness marks indicating the (missing) lid-stick's arc of rotation.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Tuning George Worgan's Square Piano: A keyboard all at C

George Worgan would have been acutely aware of temperature and humidity changes on board the *Sirius*, because the vagaries of the weather would have constantly compromised the tuning stability of his piano, which was wooden-framed. Keeping his piano constantly in tune may well have been akin to an uninterrupted nightmare.

Not all owners of keyboard instruments were capable of keeping their harpsichords and/or pianos in tune; as a result, many professional keyboard performers found recurring alternative employment as tuners. An idea of the scale of such activity is revealed by 'the accounts of Thomas Green (1719–1791), a Hertfordshire organist, tuner of musical instruments, and teacher of music. In 1755–65, he tuned about 180 different harpsichords, 115 spinets¹⁸² and 40 pianofortes, nearly all within eight miles of Hertford.'¹⁸³

Owing to the overtly musical environment within which George Worgan was raised, the comprehensive nature of his musical training and the apparent importance of music in his life, it is reasonable to assume that he was a sensitive and erudite musician who would not easily have tolerated an out-of-tune instrument. Despite the fact that no extant document mentions Worgan (or anyone else for that matter) tuning his piano, it is highly probable that this is something he would have done himself, and possibly (because of changes in temperature and humidity) quite often.

In 1824, Carl Dieudonné (ca 1780–1825) and Johann Lorenz Schiedmayer (1786–1860) remarked in their *Brief Manual on the Proper Use and Knowledge Concerning the Playing, Tuning, and Maintenance of Fortepianos*:

As for the strings ... they ... suffer ... from heat and cold ... If a piano were tuned in a room at 16 degrees, and the temperature were to drop overnight to 10 degrees, the bass would already be higher, and vice versa ...¹⁸⁴

182 Although the English bent-side spinet had 'neither the resources nor the depth and brilliance of the harpsichord, 'neither did [it] ... have the cost or upkeep of the larger' instrument. It did, however, 'provide the middle and upper classes with harpsichords of a sort, capable of playing the contemporary literature'. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, p. 499, fn. 25.

183 Black, *Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 109.

184 C. Dieudonné and J. L. Schiedmayer, *Kurze Anleitung zu einer richtigen Kenntnis und Behandlung der Forte-Pianos* (Stuttgart: G. Hasselbrink, 1824); and the English translation and annotation of the original text in P. de Silva, *The Fortepiano Writings of Streicher, Dieudonné, and the Schiedmayers: Two Manuals and a Notebook, Translated from the Original German, with Commentary* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), p. 289.

A very good, durable piano can be tuned today and in a few days, indeed, even on the next day, the purity of the tuning could be lost, because the composition of the air ... has changed itself completely ...¹⁸⁵

Such a piano can ... in very stable ... air ... do without tuning for an entire quarter year.¹⁸⁶

The circumstances of George Worgan's upbringing represent a context within which the tuning of a keyboard instrument would have been both ordinary and recurrent. Worgan's father was one of London's professional master musicians, and doubtless would have tuned his own harpsichord. For a professional harpsichordist 'to call someone in to tune a harpsichord would have been as preposterous an idea as calling someone in to tune a violin for a professional violinist'.¹⁸⁷

George Worgan received a complete musical training from his father. It is probable that his training included learning how to tune and maintain a harpsichord and piano.

Tuning a harpsichord or piano was a skill that did not take very long to master. In 1810, Captain Thomas Williamson observed that the skill

may be effected in the course of a month, or six weeks, by attention to the instructions of a regular tuner, who would feel himself well satisfied under a moderate compensation ... Besides, in a country whose climate deranges the most skilful adjustment of the wires, often in a few minutes, merely by a slight exposure to heat, or to damp, the expence attendant upon such frequent tunings, as are indispensably requisite, would speedily absorb the full value of the instrument itself; the ordinary rates being a guinea for a grand-piano, and twelve shillings for a square one. Therefore, whether considered as a convenience, or as a matter of economy, too much cannot be said in recommendation of every [player] ... learning to tune [their] ... piano.¹⁸⁸

Tuning a harpsichord or piano involved two important tasks. First, fixing the basic pitch of the instrument, and second, dividing the octave into its 12 constituent notes.

185 Ibid., p. 291.

186 Ibid., pp. 291–3.

187 G. Green, 'History of Piano Tuning', in *UK Piano Page* (2004).

188 Williamson, *East India Vade-Mecum*, Vol. 1, p. 48.

Fixing the Basic Pitch

Usually, fixing the basic pitch of a keyboard instrument was achieved either by using a pitchpipe or (more uncommonly) a tuning fork. A contemporaneously representative recommendation for the use of a pitchpipe was made, for example, in *Apollo's Cabinet*,¹⁸⁹ a publication that contained eight song settings written by George Worgan's father, John Worgan, amongst the 141 song settings by 45 other composers.

A pitchpipe is a small end-blown, square-bodied wind instrument without finger holes, 'fitted with a moveable wooden plunger or piston on which a scale of notes with a range of about an octave [is] ... marked'.¹⁹⁰ When blown, the pitchpipe sounds the note of the scale as marked on the plunger. The mouthpiece of a pitchpipe may be shaped like that of a recorder—that is, 'beaked'—or as a central turned element.

Typically, pitchpipes were made of mahogany. In his *Elementa musica* of 1739, Quirinus (Gerbrandzoon) van Blankenburg (ca 1654–1739) wrote: 'you can make a square flute without finger holes, in which a sliding rod fits. On the four sides of the rod, different [pitch] levels can be marked ... This is called a pitchpipe.' Pitchpipes have limitations, as they can be 'unstable in sound because of warmth and cold, humidity and dryness', and the pitch 'can be raised or lowered ... by blowing harder or softer'.¹⁹¹

Generally, however, 'pitch-pipes operate on the same level of accuracy as recorders, since they use the same blowing technique. They are thus well within a useable range of tolerance for conveying musical pitch'.¹⁹² Unlike recorders, a pitchpipe's sound is harsh and consistently piercing.

Haynes compellingly reveals that a 'considerable' amount of historical evidence exists to support the fact that during the eighteenth century 'the pitchpipe was the usual means of carrying pitch',¹⁹³ and that 'pitchpipes were often used

189 Various Composers, *Apollo's Cabinet: Or the Muse's Delight. An Accurate Collection of English and Italian Songs, Cantatas and Duets, Set to Music for the Harpsichord, Violin, German-Flute, &c. with Instructions for the Voice, Violin, Harpsichord or Spinnet, German-Flute, Common-Flute, Hautboy, French-Horn, Basson, and Bass-Violin. Also, a Compleat Musical Dictionary, and Several Hundred English, Irish and Scots Songs, without the Music* (Liverpool: John Sadler, 1756), Vol. 1, p. 44.

190 B. Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of 'A'* (Lanham, Md, and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2002), p. 19. Haynes' book comprehensively details the history of pitch standards in European art music.

191 Q. van Blankenburg, *Elementa musica, of nief Licht tot het welverstaan van de musiec en de bas-continuo* [*Elements of Music, or New Light On Understanding Music and Basso Continuo*] ('s-Gravenhage: Laurens Berkoske, 1739), p. 110. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 20.

192 Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, p. 20.

193 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

to fix the basic pitch of keyboards'.¹⁹⁴ Pitchpipes were small, portable and convenient to use. George Worgan may well have used one to fix the basic pitch of his piano.

Pitchpipes were used well into the nineteenth century. In 1862, James Eardley submitted a patent for an 'improved chromatic' pitchpipe. Eardley's pitchpipe was made of nickel, and was sometimes used in England and Scotland by church organists and choirmasters.

In 1905, the Scottish nonagenarian William Arthur stated:

In the Auld Kirk, in my younger days, there was neither choir nor organ. On William Durie—the old precentor—sounding the keynote from his whistle [that is, a pitchpipe], immediately all the people joined in, and, keeping time to the evolutions of the pitchpipe, they sang together with great sound and evident pleasure.¹⁹⁵

Furthermore, William Arthur observed that by pushing a pitchpipe's moveable wooden plunger or piston in or out,

an adept could play a tune: only, the tone being somewhat strident and coercive, it is better adapted as a prelude to the singing of the Psalms in the house of God. Directly attacking the nervous system, the shrill notes of the pitchpipe roused the sleepers when everything else had failed, and at the same time indicated the keynote to the congregation.¹⁹⁶

During the eighteenth century, tuning forks were used only sometimes to fix the basic pitch of a keyboard instrument. 'Most references to tuning forks through the 18th century imply that they were a novelty and not commonly used.'¹⁹⁷

Sometimes, a non-keyboard instrument was used to fix the pitch of a keyboard instrument. For example, in a 'somewhat lascivious letter written by' the novelist Laurence Sterne (1713–68) 'to Mrs Elizabeth Draper', around March 1767, Sterne suggests that 'your Piano Forte must be tuned from the brass middle string of your Guittar, which is C'.¹⁹⁸

194 Ibid., p. 19.

195 Quoted in *Proceedings of the Society, December 11 1905*, p. 43.

196 Ibid., p. 44.

197 Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, p. 19.

198 Quoted in Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, pp. 60–1. Cole takes the quotation from: L. Sterne, *Letters from Yorick to Eliza, London, 1773*—see M. New and P. J. de Voogd (eds), 'The 1773 Edition of Letters from Yorick to Eliza: A Facsimile', in *The Shandean* (Utrecht: Faculty of Arts, Utrecht University, 2004), Vol. 15, pp. 79–105.

During the eighteenth century, the context of performance often determined the range within which a basic pitch might sound. ‘Opera pitch’ and ‘chamber pitch’ were usually different from one another (opera pitch was often lower). ‘Church pitch’ was usually the highest.¹⁹⁹

During the 1720s, in London, the basic pitch of Händel’s opera orchestra was approximately $a^1 = 415 \text{ Hz}^{200}$ (a^1 above middle C vibrates at 415 cycles per second, which is about a semitone²⁰¹ below modern concert pitch). By 1751, Händel’s opera orchestra played at about $a^1 = 423 \text{ Hz}^{202}$. The anonymous pitchpipe (made in London?) that Händel gave to Charles Burney (currently owned by the Royal Society of Musicians) possibly dates from the 1750s; this pitchpipe gives a pitch of $a^1 = 429 \text{ Hz}^{203}$.

An original English pitchpipe stamped 1747 and made by Samuell Bennet gives a pitch of $a^1 = 407 \text{ Hz}^{204}$. ‘This pitch-pipe is about 40 cm long, and 12 in diameter. Its size suggests that it stayed in one place, and was meant to be quite accurate.’²⁰⁵

The eminent (and tone-deaf) English scientist Alexander J. Ellis (1814–90), in his article ‘On the History of Musical Pitch’,²⁰⁶ ‘noted the existence of [tuning] forks probably made about 1750 in London that sound A[a^1]-424. The famous tuning fork left by Händel at the Foundling Hospital²⁰⁷ when the *Messiah* was performed in 1751 is at A[a^1]-423, and is supposed to represent the pitch of the organ’²⁰⁸ ($a^1 \approx 423 \text{ Hertz}$ was the so-called ‘new consort pitch’).

199 Currently, we think of all instruments as being tuned to the same pitch, $a^1 = 440 \text{ Hz}$ —that is, a^1 above middle C vibrates at 440 cycles per second. This pitch standard is commonly referred to as ‘concert pitch’. Worldwide, many orchestras now tune slightly higher than $a^1 = 440$, with ‘concert pitch’ sitting somewhere between $a^1 = 440$ and $a^1 = 443 \text{ Hz}$. A pitch standard near $a^1 = 440$ is actually quite old. It is about the same as Beethoven’s Wiener-Ton, for instance. And because Viennese music was influenced by Italy, Wiener-Ton was inherited from Corista Veneto, which was itself derived from a standard known as *tutto punto* that had been common in northern Italy since before [Claudio] Monteverdi’s [1567–1643] time. All these names, used in different periods, referred to a pitch in proximity to $a^1 = 440$. Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, p. xxxvi.

200 Ibid., p. 291.

201 Commonly, the octave is divided into 12 notes. The distance (‘interval’) between each adjacent note is called a semitone.

202 Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, p. 291.

203 Ibid., p. 475.

204 Ibid., p. 290. This pitchpipe is currently owned by the Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester. See *ibid.*, p. 475.

205 Ibid., p. 475.

206 A. J. Ellis, ‘On the History of Musical Pitch’, in *Journal of the Society of Arts* (London: Bell & Daldy, 1880), Vol. 28 (5 March), pp. 293–336; reprinted in A. J. Ellis, *Studies in the History of Music Pitch: Monographs by Alexander J. Ellis and Arthur Mendel* (Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1968), pp. 11–62.

207 See *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Map Section: northernmost extent Lambs Conduit Fields and southernmost extent Lambeth.

208 Quoted in Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, p. 290. Haynes takes the quotation from Ellis, ‘On the History of Musical Pitch’, under ‘422.5’, p. 37.

Between 1770 and 1800, the pitch of woodwind instruments built in England moved upwards; extant instruments are 'pitched between $a^1 = 419$ Hz and $a^1 = 445$ Hz, the range of a semitone, with an average of $a^1 = 434$ '.²⁰⁹ English chamber organs range between $a^1 = 419$ Hz and $a^1 = 428$ Hz, with most extant instruments pitched at around $a^1 = 423$ Hz.

It is likely that George Worgan, using a pitchpipe, or even a tuning fork, fixed the basic pitch of his piano on board the *Sirius* at somewhere between $a^1 = 419$ Hz and $a^1 = 434$ Hz.

Dividing the Octave into its 12 Constituent Notes

After fixing the basic pitch of a keyboard instrument, musicians who tuned their own harpsichords or pianos would then divide the octave into its 12 constituent notes. This tuning was usually done by ear. Eighteenth-century ears were very sensitive to interval²¹⁰ differences. Tuning a keyboard instrument involved judging the 'relationships between the two notes of an interval by listening to the two notes melodically only'.²¹¹ 'The first note was never sustained while the second note was being played. Therefore, no beats could be heard. In other words, tuners tuned in the manner that singers sing.'²¹²

Currently, the system of tuning commonly used for modern pianos results in every one of the 12 adjacent notes in an octave being the same sounding distance apart from one another; the size of the interval between each adjacent note (100 'cents'—a cent is one one-hundredth of a semitone) is identical. This means that each of the 24 major and minor scales has identical interval relationships.²¹³ The musical consequences are

1. that every tonality or 'key' has the same 'flavour' or 'character'
2. any tonality can be transposed to any other tonality, without the transposition having a different 'flavour' or 'character' from the original.

This tuning system is now commonly referred to as 'equal temperament'.

209 Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, p. 318.

210 An 'interval' is the sounding distance between two pitches.

211 See A. Merrick, 'Remarks on the Rev. C. J. Smyth's Letter on Systems of Tuning Musical Instruments, Vol. XXXV, p. 448', in *The Philosophical Magazine* (London: Richard Taylor & Company, 1810), Vol. 36 (July–December), pp. 165–7.

212 O. H. Jorgensen, *Tuning: Containing the Perfection of Eighteenth-Century Temperament, the Lost Art of Nineteenth-Century Temperament and the Science of Equal Temperament, Complete with Instructions for Aural and Electronic Tuning* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1991), p. 4.

213 See *ibid.*, p. 769.

The 'Common Established Temperament' (‘Well Temperament’)

During the eighteenth century, a tuning system emerged (as one of many available tuning systems) within the context of secular keyboard music that resulted in every one of the adjacent notes in an octave not being the same sounding distance apart. The size of the interval between each adjacent note could be different.

This meant that each of the 24 major and minor scales contained its own unique interval relationships ...²¹⁴

During the 18th century, this tuning system replaced previous tuning systems to such an extent that it was referred to as the ‘common established temperament.’ Instruments tuned with the common established temperament were also sometimes described as being ‘well tuned,’ or ‘well tempered’ ...²¹⁵

In the early 1960s, the term ‘well temperament’ replaced the eighteenth-century term ‘common established temperament’.²¹⁶

The English composer, music theorist, writer on music and Fellow of the Royal Society the Reverend William Jones described well temperament in 1781, and credited its invention to the Italian composer and theorist Francesco Antonio Vallotti (1697–1780).²¹⁷ Vallotti probably developed his temperament as early as the 1720s.²¹⁸

The musical consequence of well temperament is that certain tonalities feel ‘tense’ (because they sound relatively out of tune), whilst others feel ‘relaxed’, pure and sonorous (because they sound either relatively or perfectly in tune). This results in each tonality having a distinct character or flavour. Eighteenth-century composers wrote with these characters or flavours in mind, and ‘incorporated the psychological effects of the various sizes of intervals into the emotional contents of the music itself’.²¹⁹

214 Ibid., p. 769.

215 See *ibid.*, pp. 173 and 294, note 5.

216 *Ibid.*, p. 173.

217 W. Jones, *Physiological Disquisitions; Or, Discourses on the Natural Philosophy of the Elements* (London: J. Rivington & Sons, G. Robinson, D. Prince, Merrils, W. Keymer, Drummond & W. Watson, 1781), p. 325.

218 Jorgensen, *Tuning*, p. 179. The German theorist, organist and composer Andreas Werkmeister (1645–1706) described well temperament as early as 1698 in his *Erweiterte und Verbesserte Orgel-Probe* [*Advanced and Improved Organ-Practice*] (Quedlinburg: Theodori Philippi Calvisii, 1698).

219 Jorgensen, *Tuning*, p. 157.

According to the 'philosopher, physician, writer, administrator of science, and master of many languages'²²⁰ Thomas Young (1733–1829), the eighteenth-century preference for well temperament resulted from the 'considerable advantage' obtained from the 'difference of character produced by ... various keys'—that is, the differing character of various tonalities.²²¹ Young states:

[W]hen it is considered, that upon an average of all the music ever composed, some particular keys [tonalities] occur at least twice as often as others, there seems to be a very strong ... reason for making the harmony the most perfect [that is, in tune] in those keys which are most frequently used; since the aggregate sum of all the imperfections [that is, the 'out of tune' intervals and tonalities] ... must by this means be diminished in the greatest possible degree, and the diversity of character [that is, the emotional 'character' or 'flavour' of each tonality is] ... preserved. Indeed, in practice, this method, under different modifications, has been almost universal.²²²

In his *Il Principio or a Regular Introduction to Playing on the Harpsichord or Organ*²²³ of 1760, the organist, composer and master of the Chapel Royal (England's most prominent school of music) James Nares (1715–83) implied that well temperament was the most commonly encountered English secular tuning system.

George Worgan, as a thoroughly trained late eighteenth-century English musician, may have tuned his piano to well temperament; in order to facilitate this, he would have used a T-shaped tuning hammer to turn the wrest-pins.

On the other hand, the tuning method adopted by Worgan may have been that published by Nicolo Pasquali (1718–57). Pasquali's 'An Approved Method of Tuning the Harpsichord', printed on a single page at the conclusion of his *The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord* (written between 1743 and 1757?),²²⁴ was both popular in England and widely available.

Pasquali migrated from Italy to London in about 1743, and he quickly established himself as a composer in both Dublin and Edinburgh. His tuning system is meant for harpsichords, not pianos; however, the popularity and easy availability of

220 Ibid., p. 251.

221 T. Young, 'Outlines of Experiments and Inquiries Respecting Sound and Light: XVI. Of the Temperament of Musical Intervals', in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* (London: W. Bulmer & Co., 1800), Vol. 90, Part I, p. 144.

222 Ibid., pp. 144–5.

223 J. Nares, *Il Principio or a Regular Introduction to Playing on the Harpsichord or Organ* (London: Welcker, 1760).

224 N. Pasquali, *The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord; Illustrated with Examples in Notes; To which is Added, an Approved Method of Tuning this Instrument* (Edinburgh: Robert Bremner, n.d. [1743–57?]), p. 28.

Pasquali's treatise in England may have meant that Worgan was not only familiar with Pasquali's tuning plan, but also adopted Pasquali's recommendations when tuning his piano.

In relation to well temperament, Pasquali's tuning system is old fashioned. Pasquali advises that '[t]he firste Note G [should] ... be Tuned by a pitch Pipe or any other wind Instrument. The 5ths must be Tuned rather flat than otherways.'²²⁵ If the resulting thirds are 'fine ... what has been done may be depended on; if otherways it will be best to begin afresh, and Tune all over again ... By this Method of Tuning the imperfection of the Instrument is thrown in A^b and E^b its 5th'.²²⁶

That Pasquali mentions an 'imperfection' lying between the interval of the fifth A^b–E^b reveals the temperament to be 'meantone temperament'—or, 'the old tuning'—not well temperament. This is because in Pasquali's tuning plan, the G-sharps do not function as A-flats. In playing terms, for piano, the difference between G[#] and A^b is usually one of nomenclature only; both notes are usually played by depressing the same key lever, and both notes are usually sounded by the same string (or strings). In Pasquali's tuning plan, bearing in mind that G[#] and A^b are the same key lever and string(s), the interval E–G[#] is acceptably in tune, whilst the interval A^b–C sounds hideously out of tune. The disadvantage of meantone temperament is that modulation is severely restricted; only tonalities such as C, F, G, B^b, D, E^b and A-major will sound in tune.

A late eighteenth-century anonymous amateur poet even went so far as to compose a poem on the subject of tuning, likening the difficulties of eradicating any severely out of tune tonalities (along with their 'sick semitone')²²⁷ to 'the trouble a lady has in expunging that last troublesome pimple from her visage!'²²⁸

Maintaining George Worgan's Square Piano

String Breakage

Apart from keeping his piano in tune, George Worgan would have had to take responsibility for its maintenance. Instrument maintenance was a useful sideline associated with piano ownership.²²⁹

225 Ibid., p. 28.

226 Ibid., p. 28.

227 Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*, p. 80.

228 Ibid., p. 80.

229 See *ibid.*, p. 61.

During the early nineteenth century, the inevitability of string breakage was an issue that was discussed in several tuning and instrument maintenance manuals.²³⁰ Structural weaknesses arising from impurities (nonmetallic inclusions) in handmade iron strings often caused some strings to snap spontaneously, especially when a sudden rise in pitch occurred as a result of the increase in humidity and drop in temperature associated with a storm. (Despite the fact that strings become more brittle over time, 'the majority of historical strings that remain in instruments today will probably not break. Any faulty original strings will have had the opportunity to break during the past centuries. Any surviving historical strings are bound to represent the very best standard of historical string.')²³¹

Sudden changes in the environment, such as sudden drafts, the heat from candles and the increase in humidity and temperature caused by an audience located in proximity to the instrument, may cause historical strings to break. In the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Thursday, 20 January 1831, an anonymous author wrote:

The pitch of a pianoforte is lowered in a warm day or in a warm room, owing to the expansion of the strings being greater than the wooden frame-work; and in cold the reverse will happen. A harp or piano, which is well tuned in a morning drawing-room, cannot be perfectly in tune when the crowded evening party has heated the room.²³²

Within such contexts, the rapid expansion and contraction of the strings may cause some of them to snap. Tuning the piano to a high basic pitch may also result in string breakage.

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the English had already encountered the problem of broken piano strings in extreme climates. For example, in 1810, Captain Thomas Williamson recommended that travellers to India take an abundance of spare piano strings: 'Nor would it be superfluous for a lady to take with her several sets of wires for her piano: they being very scarce.'²³³

230 See, for example, J. Gall (ed.), *Clavier-Stimmbuch, oder deutliche Anweisung wie jeder Musikfreund sein Clavier-Flügel, Fortepiano und Flügel-Fortepiano selbst stimmen, reparieren, und bestmöglichst gut erhalten könne* [The Book of Keyboard Instrument Tuning, or Instructions for Friends of Music Concerning the Tuning, Repairing and Keeping in the Best Possible Condition Wing-shaped Keyboard Instruments, Square Fortepianos, and Wing-shaped Fortepianos] (Vienna: Carl Kupffer, 1805), pp. 119–20; and A. Streicher, *Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Fortepiano, welche von Nannette Streicher, geboren Stein in Wien verfertigt worden 1801* [Brief Remarks on Playing, Tuning and Maintaining the Fortepianos of Nannette Streicher, born Stein in Vienna in 1801] (The Hague: Lelieveld, 1979), pp. 10, 21, 23–4.

231 T. Skowronek, *Beethoven the Pianist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 54, fn. 89.

232 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 20 January 1831, Vol. 29, p. 4.

233 Williamson, *East India Vade-Mecum*, p. 48.

Fine music wire [had] ... relatively high value for weight and could be shipped long distances with profit ... [During the late eighteenth century] as now, wire was used for a wide variety of decorative and mechanical purposes and so called 'music wire' was often chosen for use in other trades because of its superior quality. Studies of guild regulations and of trade records such as import and export documents have shed light on wire as an item of commerce.²³⁴

If Worgan had to replace any broken strings in the bass register of his piano—that is, brass strings—he would have been forced to deal with the ensuing sonic and musical ramifications:

When a brass string breaks ... and is replaced, the new string at first sounds duller than the old one and will stand out from its neighbours even if they all came from the same spool of wire. The effect, disturbing to musicians ... is called 'brightening' because with time the duller sound of the new string becomes brighter until it eventually matches that of the other strings. This process occurs most rapidly in the first few days but can take weeks, even months, to complete.²³⁵

When compared with modern steel strings (which sound 'brighter' and less 'sweet' than historical strings, being 'filled with partials ... that are too pronounced to be pleasant'),²³⁶ iron strings—used in all registers, excluding the bass, of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century pianos—are 'drawn'²³⁷ at a lower temperature. The lower forging temperature can result in impurities (nonmetallic inclusions) in the strings. In a metal wire, nonmetallic inclusions 'have the effect of reducing the area of metal that bears the load and in extreme cases will cause fracture of the wire at that point. This loss of strength is called *overdrawing*.'²³⁸ The impurities problem was rectified by Henry Bessemer (1813–98) in 1856, with his invention of the so-called 'Bessemer converter'. The converter—a furnace for forging steel—enabled blasts of cold air to be blown through the heated liquid metal, which burned off excess carbon and any other impurities that may have been present. The Bessemer converter had an enormous impact on the quality of steel piano strings—strings that were cheaper, more durable and that could take greater tension than the iron strings, which they quickly replaced.

234 M. Goodway and J. S. Odell, 'The Metallurgy of 17th and 18th-Century Music Wire', in H. Schott (ed.), *The Historical Harpsichord*, 4 vols (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1987), Vol. 2, pp. 19–20.

235 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

236 T. Strange, 'Wire', in *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos* (Last updated 16 April 2012).

237 'To draw wire ... metal [is] formed into a strip or rod which is then pulled through a tapered hole shaped somewhat like a funnel.' Goodway and Odell, 'The Metallurgy of 17th and 18th-Century Music Wire', p. 21.

238 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

During the eighteenth century, wire for stringing keyboard instruments was 'carefully manufactured to meet an exacting set of service requirements'. Evidence concerning the drawing of wire does not point to

exotic alloys and arcane 'lost' processes but rather of common materials transformed by traditional skill and craft into a commercial product of superb quality. If there was any 'secret' of the old wire it was in this skilled and knowing craftsmanship, comparable in its way to that of the instruments upon which it was strung.²³⁹

George Worgan, as the owner of a piano within a context that was located far from the piano technicians of London, would have needed the skills necessary to replace broken strings; he had probably obtained such skills as part of his upbringing in a musical home. There can be little doubt that Worgan would have had the foresight to travel with at least one spare set of strings.²⁴⁰

Re-Leathering Hammerheads

Re-leathering hammerheads is a standard procedure in fortepiano maintenance. With a lot of playing, the density of the leather that covers the hammers changes; the leather becomes compacted and hardened. This results in the tone of fortepianos becoming brighter, more metallic and harsh. If George Worgan played his piano often (and if the leather that Frederick Beck had used to cover the hammerheads was not very durable),²⁴¹ the hammerhead leather would have eventually hardened and produced an unpleasant tone. In order to maintain the characteristically sweet sound of his piano, George Worgan may, on occasion, have had to re-leather some hammerheads.

On English square pianos, there were always at least two layers, and usually three, of leather over each wooden hammerhead core. Worgan's piano, in the manner of Zumpe, has three layers (Plate 63); this is consistent with Beck's usual practice, as is representatively evidenced, for example, by the hammerhead coverings on a Beck square piano dated 1778 (Plate 63a).

When replacing the two leather under layers of a hammerhead (this would not often have been necessary), Worgan would have selected thinner leather for the treble (about 1 millimetre), and thicker for the bass (about 1.2 millimetres).

239 *Ibid.*, pp. 127–8.

240 Most of the iron strings on Worgan's 1780/86? Beck square piano are original. It is not known when the strings that failed were first replaced. See 'Stringing', in Appendix A, Volume 2 of this publication.

241 Ozone, oxygen and humidity also affect the durability of leather.



Plate 63 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): leather-covered hammerheads of the first four bass notes (FF–GG#)—for each hammerhead, two thin foundation layers of brown vegetable-tanned leather are overlaid with approximately 1 millimetre of firm, fibrous buff leather stretched tightly around a flattened semicircular solid limewood(?) core (no larger than a shirt button). The leather is glued to the core only on the sides.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Frederick Beck's pianos are closely modelled on those of Zumpe. Beck's aesthetic of sound, however, differed from that of Zumpe. In any piano, the hammerhead covering is the most influential factor in the creation of timbre. Zumpe's hammerheads comprise a fairly thin outer layer of leather, which produces a sweet, light and percussive style of voicing. On the other hand, Beck's thicker outer layer of leather creates a tone that is more mellow than that of Zumpe's pianos. Worgan would have been sure to maintain the characteristic tone of his Beck piano by re-leathering hammerheads with a fairly thick outer layer (Plate 63). The 'leather is always glued to the ... sides' of the hammerhead core, 'never over the top surface, even for [the] under layers. The leather is wrapped like a [jam] roll' (Plates 63 and 63a), with the glue remaining 'out of the string contact area all the way to the

[wooden] core. The layers must be in good physical contact [with one another], but not stretched so tightly that they become hard. This was, and is, a technique that is acquired with practice.'²⁴²

Worgan would then have shaped (shaved) the layers of leather, thinning them downwards on the lower sides of the hammerhead.



Plate 63a Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1778): leather-covered hammerheads of the first six bass notes (FF–AA#)—for each hammerhead, two thin foundation layers of brown vegetable-tanned leather are overlaid with approximately 1 millimetre of firm, fibrous buff leather stretched tightly around a flattened semicircular solid limewood(?) core(no larger than a shirt button). The leather is glued to the core only on the sides.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Thomas Strange. Photo by Thomas Strange.

Because Beck's instruments are closely modelled on those of Zumpe, it is likely that Worgan would have used vegetable-tanned²⁴³ sheep leather to cover the hammerheads. (Typically, this leather type was 'used for the outer covering of' hammerheads on English pianos 'from the 1760s' to ca 1795.²⁴⁴ 'The leather used on English squares from c1800 onwards was oil-tanned Chamois (the alpine goat-like animal *Rupicapra-rupicapra*).'²⁴⁵

242 Strange, 'Re-Leathering Your Square Piano Hammers and Action Parts', pp. 6–7.

243 See 'Tanning', in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

244 T. Strange, 'A New Initiative to Produce Hammer Covering Leather', in *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos* (Last updated 16 April 2012).

245 Strange, 'Re-Leathering Your Square Piano Hammers and Action Parts', p. 5.

Although at Sydney Cove during the last years of the eighteenth century 'leather made from the skins of cattle, kangaroos²⁴⁶ and seals, and tanned with the bark of the wattle tree proved good',²⁴⁷ there can be little doubt that any hammerheads covered with such leather would have sounded different to those adjacent to them. Perhaps Worgan brought a small supply of hammerhead leather with him from England, in order to be able (as needed) to maintain the sonic aesthetic of his piano.²⁴⁸

246 Kangaroo leather is highly flexible, and is three times stronger than cow leather.

247 I. Lee, *The Coming of the British to Australia 1788–1829* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906), Project Gutenberg eBook No. 0900091h.

248 The hammerhead leathering found on Worgan's 1780/86? Beck square piano may be original. It is not possible to cut a replacement layer of leather so that it fits exactly with the layer underneath. Layers of original hammerhead leathering are all cut together, and so are exact; this can be seen on Worgan's piano (see Plate 232).

Chapter 6

George Worgan Plays His Piano in Rio de Janeiro

If George Worgan had the skills and time to tune and maintain his piano during the First Fleet's journey to Botany Bay, there would have been nothing to prevent him from deriving satisfaction from playing the instrument when conditions at sea, and his workload, allowed. The piano would have needed to be in good working order when, according to fellow voyager Arthur Bowes Smyth, Worgan used the instrument in performance on board the *Sirius*.

During the First Fleet's journey to Botany Bay, a week-long stopover in Tenerife, in the Canary Islands, was made between Sunday, 3 June and Sunday, 10 June 1787. 'Santa Cruz, with its warmth, humidity and Spanish architecture set against a backdrop of dramatic, rocky mountains, must have seemed like another world'¹ to some of the First Fleet's officers and crew.

Whilst in Tenerife, John Turnpenny Atree (1736–98), the surgeon volunteer appointed to the women's convict ship the *Lady Penrhyn*, became ill and was taken off the ship. He was replaced with 'the 37-year-old assistant surgeon'² Arthur Bowes Smyth.

'Bowes Smyth was born in Tolleshunt D'Arcy in Essex, the seventh son of a surgeon, and as a youth would follow in his father's footsteps, working locally as a surgeon, before signing up with the First Fleet.'³ Smyth, 'an evangelical Christian',⁴ joined the *Lady Penrhyn* in late March 1787,⁵ arriving in Portsmouth by mail coach⁶ four months after George Worgan had been discharged from the Portsmouth guardship *Ganges*⁷ to the *Sirius*. (As will be seen, the articulate and perceptive Smyth provides us with a detailed account of the context within which Worgan played his piano for a select group of his fellow officers.)

Having sailed down the coast of Tenerife, past the 'spectacular high peak of the island with its ruffled collar of clouds'⁸—'the altitude of which ... was 15,396 feet

1 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 13.

2 Hill, 1788, p. 75.

3 Ibid., p. 75.

4 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 124.

5 See Hill, 1788, p. 75.

6 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 61.

7 See Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 393.

8 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 13.

[4693 metres], only 148 yards [135.3 metres] short of three miles'⁹—the First Fleet made its way to the Portuguese port of Rio de Janeiro (commonly known as St Sebastian).

It may, at first, seem odd that after leaving Tenerife—that is, the Canary Islands, off the coast of north-west Africa—the fleet should make for the Cape of Good Hope (Africa's southern tip) via Rio de Janeiro (South America). Why not simply follow the West African coast southwards?

During the eighteenth century, time-honoured 'sailing rituals remained fundamentally unchanged—follow the currents, sail before the winds and follow the paths of seabirds'.¹⁰ The route from Tenerife to the Cape of Good Hope was

designed to avoid the Doldrums—or the Intertropical Convergence Zone as the meteorologists call it ... In this region ... violent thunderstorms and stagnant calms ... are ... frequent. Often there is no wind, not the slightest breeze. And a ship becalmed in extreme heat is a danger to the health of its crew, let alone to any human cargo below decks without adequate ventilation ... If a ship persisted in maintaining a southerly bearing, it would, when finally emerging from the Doldrums, be slowed by ... [a current known as the South Atlantic Gyre] flowing in the opposite direction. And if it stayed close to the West African coast, it would encounter head-on the full force of [the so-called Benguela Current thundering up from the Antarctic] ... Phillip therefore steered a south-westerly course from Tenerife.¹¹

From Rio de Janeiro, a strong current—known as the Southern Connecting Current—flows eastwards to the Cape of Good Hope, and this provided the First Fleet with 'a red carpet ride to Cape Town'.¹²

On Tuesday, 7 August 1787, the fleet arrived at Rio de Janeiro, anchoring 'in a harbour graced by 40 islands, and surrounded by peaks ... with rainforested slopes'.¹³

9 Currey, *A Voyage to New South Wales with Governor Phillip 1787–1788*, pp. 32–3.

10 Pembroke, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 170.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 170–2.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 171.

13 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 13. A watercolour drawing entitled *City of St. Sebastians, Rio Janeiro; Sirius & Convoy at Anchor. 1787*, by William Bradley (1757?–1833), is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney: Call No. ML Safe 1/14, opp. p. 37; Album ID. 823705; Digital Order No. a3461005.

In elegant, closely written copperplate,¹⁴ Smyth informs us in his journal¹⁵ that on 7 August 1787—the start of a month-long stopover in Rio de Janeiro—he received

a pressing invitation [from Worgan] to dine on board the *Sirius* while we lay in harbour, & to hear him play on the piano forte. He has a very fine one on board, is the son of Dr. Wogern D. Mus [Doctor of Music]: & seems a very agreeable good kind of man.¹⁶

In ca 1790, Smyth compiled a fair copy of his journal.¹⁷ When compared with the original journal, the fair copy's entry for Tuesday, 7 August 1787 is slightly enlarged:

This day Mr. Wogan Surgeon of the *Sirius* dined on board, to whom I was introduced by Mr. [John] Watts [a naval lieutenant, who was a sketcher and diarist], & rec^d an Invitation to dine wth him in the *Sirius*, & to hear his piano forte; he is a son of Dr. Wogan D. Music: & seems a very sensible good kind of man.¹⁸

Smyth's evaluation of Worgan's piano as being 'very fine' suggests that the instrument may have been the beautifully veneered 1780/86? Beck square piano. Smyth's opinion concerning the quality of Worgan's piano raises several questions.

1. Was his evaluation based on comments made by others?
2. Was his evaluation based on a comment made by Worgan?
3. Had Smyth already seen, but not heard Worgan's piano?
4. Had Smyth already both seen and heard Worgan's piano?
5. Was Smyth's evaluation based singly upon his observation of the piano's ornate casework and unique legs? (As luck would have it, the design and quality of manufacture of British furniture were at their zenith just as British culture took root in the Antipodes.)¹⁹

14 See P. Grist, 'The First Fleet Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', in *Library of Dreams: Treasures from the National Library of Australia* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2011), p. 30.

15 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth'.

16 *Ibid.*, Parts 41–2.

17 There are three extant manuscript versions of Smyth's journal. What is believed to be the original version is held at the National Library of Australia, Canberra. The British Museum, London, and the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, each hold a version that is believed to be a fair copy.

18 A. B. Smyth, *A Journal of a Voyage from Portsmouth to New South Wales and China in the Lady Penrhyn, Merchantman William Cropton Sever, Commander. By Arthur Bowes Smyth, Surgeon—1787–1788–1789; Being a Fair Copy Compiled ca 1790* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures, 1790), Image 37 (no. a1085037).

19 See Williams and Lloyd, *The Australian Room*, p. 9.

6. Was Smyth's evaluation based upon an informed perception of the inherent musical qualities of the instrument?
7. What were Smyth's criteria for judging the quality of a piano?
8. Was Smyth simply being polite?

Unfortunately, Smyth provides no information concerning his prior experience with pianos, music or his criteria concerning the evaluation of quality and aesthetic worth.

On Saturday, 18 August 1787, 11 days after receiving Worgan's 'pressing invitation' to dinner and a recital, Smyth states: 'Mr. Wogan the Surgeon of the *Sirius* dined with us this day & made me promise to dine with him on board the *Sirius* on Monday & after dinner ... go into the town to visit 2 monasteries where there were organs to play upon.'²⁰

In the ca 1790 fair copy of his journal, Smyth's equivalent entry reads: 'Mr. Wogan did us the favor of his company to dinner this day, & made me promise to dine on board the *Sirius* wth him on Monday & proposed after dinner going into the town to visit two monasteries where there were excell^{nt} organs.'²¹

Smyth was true to his promise and, on Monday, 20 August 1787, he reports that he 'went wth Mr Watts to dine on board the *Sirius* wth Mr. Wogan (the Surgeon)'.²²

In the fair copy of his journal, Smyth's entry for Monday, 20 August 1787 begins: 'Went accompanied by Mr. Watts to dine on board the *Sirius* with Mr. Wogan';²³ this was 13 days after Worgan had first issued his invitation for Smyth 'to dine on board the *Sirius* ... & to hear him play on the piano forte'.²⁴ During this 13-day period, Worgan would have had time to stabilise the tuning of his piano, as well as to practise. (Given that the *Sirius* lay anchored in the calm waters of Rio de Janeiro Harbour at the time, it is likely that these activities took place with greater ease than would have been possible on the rolling open ocean.)

When Smyth and Watts arrived on board the *Sirius*, Commodore Arthur Phillip²⁵ and Captain John Hunter,²⁶ captain of the *Sirius*,

20 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 51.

21 Smyth, *A Journal of a Voyage from Portsmouth to New South Wales*, Image 45 (no. a1085045).

22 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 51.

23 Smyth, *A Journal of a Voyage from Portsmouth to New South Wales*, Images 45 (no. a1085045) and 46 (no. a1085046).

24 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Parts 41–2.

25 An engraved portrait of Arthur Phillip by Francis Wheatley (1747–1801), dated 1786, is housed at the National Portrait Gallery, Canberra (Catalogue No. 2010.54).

26 An engraved portrait of Captain John Hunter by Daniel Orme (1766 – ca 1832), dated 1792, is housed at the National Library of Australia, Canberra (Pictures Collection, nla.pic-an9631633).

were on deck ... the Commodore inform'd me that he had mention'd my going to use my drudge [medical skills] to the Vice Roy & that I had permission to use it when & where I pleased, & that when I went he w[oul]d supply me wth 2 men & a Portuguese from the Pallace.²⁷

In this instance, Governor Phillip gave Smyth permission to use his medical skills within contexts other than on board the ships of the First Fleet. The granting of such permission was both a gracious gesture and a required protocol, given the context.

Smyth recalls the event in simpler terms in the ca 1790 fair copy of his journal: 'When I went on board the *Sirius*, Governor Philip & Cap^t Hunter were both walking the quarter deck & behaved very politely to me.'²⁸

Smyth names seven of those who sat at table together: Lieutenant Maxwell of the navy (most probably George William Maxwell, Third Lieutenant of the *Sirius*); Lieutenant John Long, the Adjutant of Marines and Second Lieutenant of the *Sirius*; 'Mr. Wogan the Surgeon'; John Palmer, the Purser of the *Sirius*; '& three others, names unknown to me'.²⁹

A subtly altered version appears in Smyth's ca 1790 fair copy: 'These were present at dinner Lieu^t Maxwell, Lieu^t Long the Adjutant of Marines, Mr. Wogan the Surgeon, Mr. Palmer the Purser, & 3 other gentlemen unknown to me.'³⁰

Given that Smyth 'went w[i]th Mr Watts to dine on board the *Sirius* w[i]th Mr. Wogan (the Surgeon)',³¹ it is reasonable to assume that Lieutenant John Watts was also a member of Worgan's dinner party.

The eight officers 'sat down to a fine dinner freshly cooked and the wine sparkling in the glasses was drunk freely'.³² As officers, Worgan and his seven dinner companions would have eaten better food than that normally available to the marines and ordinary sailors on board ship.

The following list of daily rations, issued by the Royal Navy in 1796, shows that ordinary sailors were expected to endure alarmingly monotonous and unappetising culinary fare:

Sunday: One pound of biscuit, one gallon of small beer [that is, watered-down beer], one pound of pork, and a half-a-pint of pease.

27 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 51.

28 Smyth, *A Journal of a Voyage from Portsmouth to New South Wales*, Image 45 (no. a1085045).

29 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 52.

30 Smyth, *A Journal of a Voyage from Portsmouth to New South Wales*, Image 45 (no. a1085045).

31 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 51.

32 Crittenden, *The Voyage of the First Fleet 1787–1788*, p. 46.

Monday: One pound of biscuit, one gallon of small beer, one pint of oatmeal, two ounces of butter, and four ounces of cheese.

Tuesday: One pound of biscuit, one gallon of small beer, and two pounds of beef.

Wednesday: One pound of biscuit, one gallon of small beer, half-a-pint of pease, a pint of oatmeal, two ounces of butter, four ounces of cheese.³³

Ensuing days of the week saw a repetition of the same. Additional protein was provided in the form of weevils, which inevitably burrowed into all stored foodstuffs.

The gastronomic delights of shipboard food are described, for example, by Joseph Banks (1743–1820), who, travelling on the *Endeavour* as part of Captain Cook's Tahitian expedition to observe the transit of Venus, writes:

Our bread indeed is but indifferent, occasioned by the quantity of vermin that are in it, I have seen hundreds nay thousands shaken out of a single basket. We in the cabin have however an easy remedy for this by baking it in an oven, not too hot, which makes them all walk off, but this cannot be allowed to the private people who must find the taste of these animals very disagreeable.³⁴

A daily ration of 160 ounces of beer may have been of some assistance to navy crews, helping them to ignore the tiny beetles scurrying through their food. Relief from this dietary horror often depended 'on the next port of call on a ship's voyage ... [where] the crew might look forward to fresh tropical fruit, raisins, currants, olive oil, mutton, pickled beef suet, and the substitution of brandy, rum, or arrack (made from fermented coconut palm sap) in place of the beer allowance'.³⁵

Captain David Collins tells us that while the First Fleet lay 'in harbour in Rio, every convict was regularly given one and a half pounds of fresh meat, a pound of rice, a suitable portion of vegetables and several oranges. Sailors returning from jaunts ashore brought a great number of oranges and even pelted the convicts with them.'³⁶

The diet of First Fleet officers was more varied than anyone else's and would have been 'regularly supplemented by the slaughter of a chicken, a pig or some

33 J. G. Dill, *Myth, Fact, and Navigators' Secrets: Incredible Tales of the Sea and Sailors* (Guilford, Conn.: The Lyons Press, 2006), p. 37.

34 Quoted in Hunt, *Girt*, p. 60.

35 Dill, *Myth, Fact, and Navigators' Secrets*, p. 38.

36 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 74.

other animal on board'.³⁷ Smyth's journal reveals that officers also had access to port and other wines (during the eighteenth century, red port wine was a dry table wine, not the heavily fortified sweet wine of today). Sometimes, a small quantity of spirits was added to the wine as a preservative for long sea voyages.³⁸

Smyth informs us that following the convivial meal of Monday, 20 August 1787 held on board the *Sirius*, 'Mr. Wogan play'd after dinner on the piano forte, & soon after Major Ross came from the Great Cabbin to us, & Mr. White the Surgeon General also came there'.³⁹

In the ca 1790 fair copy of his journal, Smyth describes events in slightly different terms: 'After dinner Major Ross & Mr. White who din'd that day with the governor on board, came down to us to hear the piano forte.'⁴⁰

Major Robert Ross (1740?–94) was both Lieutenant-Governor of the new colony and the officer in charge of the First Fleet's marine garrison. Presumably, Major Ross (and perhaps also White) had just dined with Governor Phillip in the Great Cabin, and came from there to hear George Worgan's performance, arriving either soon after it had begun (perhaps having been enticed by the sounds of the piano) or soon after it had concluded.

If Major Ross and Surgeon White had dined with Governor Phillip in the Great Cabin, it is not surprising that the fleet's commanding officer did not join his dinner companions to hear George Worgan play the piano; Governor Phillip, it seems, was not particularly interested in music.⁴¹

Smyth's remark 'came from the Great Cabbin to us'⁴² suggests that Worgan's piano was not housed in the Great Cabin. Smyth does not tell us the exact location on the ship where Worgan's recital took place. As the concert occurred directly after dinner, it is reasonable to assume that

1. the dinner took place in the Ward Room
2. Worgan's piano was located either in or close to the Ward Room.

If Worgan normally stored his piano in his cabin (with the instrument's stand dismantled and the hinged legs folded underneath the piano), it is likely that prior to the dinner party, he would have

1. brought the instrument to the location of the recital

37 Hill, *1788*, p. 77.

38 See Palmer, *The Soanes at Home*, p. 59.

39 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 52.

40 Smyth, *A Journal of a Voyage from Portsmouth to New South Wales*, Images 45 (no. a1085045) and 46 (no. a1085046).

41 See Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 224.

42 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 52.

2. assembled the instrument on its stand
3. stabilised the instrument's tuning.

He may even have done these things some days earlier, in order to practise for the concert (unless he was so talented that he did not need to practise—there is, however, no evidence that Worgan was blessed with such genius).

If the recital took place in the Ward Room, Worgan's piano, with its lid closed during dinner, may have functioned as a side table during the meal.

After Worgan's concert, Smyth and Lieutenant John Watts 'accompanied by Mr. White & Surgeon Wogan left the *Sirius* ab[out] 6 o'clock & went on board the *Lady Penrhyn*; where they did us the favor of their company to supper'—that is, the late evening meal—and 'went away ab[out] 10 o'clock'.⁴³

In the fair copy of his journal, Smyth's recounting of these events includes Watts by name: 'Ab^t 6 o'clock left the *Sirius* & return'd accompanied by Mr. Watts, Mr. White, Mr. Wogan on board the *Lady P*: where they all staid [for] supper it being too late to go to the town as was at first proposed.'⁴⁴

Counteracting normal protocol, the Viceroy of Brazil, Luiz de Vasconcelos (1742–1807), had given the British officers permission not only to go ashore without guards, but also to wander freely through Rio de Janeiro's streets up to 8 kilometres from the town centre.⁴⁵ 'This gesture was almost unheard of in security-conscious Rio de Janeiro', and it was taken 'for granted that it was due to the standing of [Arthur] Phillip in the Portuguese community'.⁴⁶ First Fleet convicts were allowed to exercise on the *Ilha das Enxadas* (Isle of Hoes).

Smyth's mention of the approximate time at which he and George Worgan left the *Sirius* for the *Lady Penrhyn* and the fact that Worgan 'play'd after dinner' confirm that these events took place immediately following the second-last meal of the day. Under normal circumstances, 'dinner' was taken between 2 pm and 5 pm. If this was the case on Monday, 20 August 1787 (there is no evidence to the contrary), Worgan would have had more than enough time after the meal had concluded to demonstrate his pianistic skills and the beauties of the sound of his piano, before leaving the *Sirius* 'about 6 o'clock'.

It is not known exactly how long Worgan's recital took, nor whether he played repertoire calculated for the *Kenner* or the *Liebhaber*. At the very least, Worgan

43 Ibid.

44 Smyth, *A Journal of a Voyage from Portsmouth to New South Wales*, Image 46 (no. a1085046).

45 See P. C. e Menezes and J. Bandeira, *O Rio de Janeiro na Rota dos Mares do Sul* [*Rio de Janeiro on the South Seas Route*] (Rio de Janeiro: Andrea Jakobsson Estúdio, 2007), p. 214.

46 Pembroke, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 177.

may only have run his fingers cursorily over the keys. At best, he may have played one or several pre-composed works in their entirety. He may also have improvised.

Crittenden states that ‘this was only one of many such dinner parties held while the fleet was at Rio’.⁴⁷ Crittenden implies that Worgan’s piano playing formed the conclusion to more than one dinner held on board the *Sirius*. Although contemporaneous documentary evidence does not support Crittenden’s statement, it is tempting to hypothesise that Worgan gave more than one piano recital on board the *Sirius* whilst the ship lay at anchor during its month-long stopover in Rio de Janeiro.

That several officers heard Worgan play was, in microcosm, a reflection of the rage in England during the 1780s for attending concerts.

Music is everywhere the rage ... a very elegant concert was given a few evenings ago at a butcher’s near Leadenhall-market ... *Three-penny* concerts in a hay-loft, and *six-penny* Sunday concerts, at a common public-house, are proofs that the rage for music is extending from the higher to the *lowest* classes of society.⁴⁸

Because a disproportionate share of the eighteenth-century written record has been left behind by the literary representatives of bourgeois culture, the idea that the music-listening norms of the bourgeoisie represent the activities of the lower classes is dubious in the extreme.

Musical discourse of the period was by no means concerned only with marking itself off from the old ruling order but was also intent on distinguishing itself from, and considering its relationship to, the lower classes of society.⁴⁹

It seems that attendance at public concerts (as well as at the theatre) had a particular attraction for men of the sea. Sailors (and not just the officers)

were a conspicuous ... presence in British theatres. Seamen worked under conditions of danger, deprivation and harsh discipline. After a voyage, which could last for a year or more, they were given their wages as a lump-sum payment and discharged. The money was then thrown away in a wild round of whores, drink and theatre, followed by a sheepish return to the sea.⁵⁰

47 Crittenden, *The Voyage of the First Fleet 1787–1788*, p. 46.

48 *The Times*, 23 February 1788; *The Morning Chronicle*, 15 December 1791. Quoted in McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, p. 34.

49 ‘Music, the Public Sphere, and Enlightenment Ideology’, in D. Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 8.

50 Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840*, p. 13.

Despite the fact that in late eighteenth-century London there was a strong taste for public concerts amongst the lower orders, many of London's successful concert venues reveal that public recitals represented a form of entertainment that was calculated for the refined. It is reasonable to assume that several of the officers who heard Worgan play his piano on board the *Sirius* were erudite listeners. Some may even have suffered from the late eighteenth century's most celebrated disorder: extreme sensitivity.⁵¹

What Feelings were Engendered by George Worgan's Recital?

The English passion for attending concerts was an outgrowth of the broad intellectual trends of the age. That listeners were regarded as important reflects a mid-century move away from early eighteenth-century theories of music aesthetics and composition. The 'rationalism that traced its descent from [René] Descartes [1596–1650] was a dominant paradigm of the Enlightenment',⁵² as were 'Cartesian ideas about the passions as they were applied to music'.⁵³ Johann Mattheson, in his *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, proposed that specific emotional states were best expressed musically by specific intervals—for example, joy by wide melodic leaps, and grief by small, often chromatic intervals.⁵⁴ 'Such conventions were the basis of the mechanistic system of musical figures employed by composers of the early eighteenth century. Like the systems derived from rationalistic philosophers, this doctrine of the affects gave little attention to the perception of the listener.'⁵⁵

A legitimisation of the perception and responses of the listener took place during the 1750s, with recognition that 'affects were not only conveyed by the composer, but sensed by the listener ... It was to a Lockian paradigm,⁵⁶ the inclusion of sensory perception as a valid aspect of cognition, that many writers ... looked to ... legitimise the response of listeners and spectators'.⁵⁷ Within the context of musical performance, mid-century listeners could now pay composers

51 See Berg, *The Correspondence of Christian Gottfried Krause*, p. xxvi.

52 *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

53 *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

54 See J. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister [The Perfect Chapelmaster]* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739), pp. 15–16.

55 Berg, *The Correspondence of Christian Gottfried Krause*, p. xxi.

56 The English philosopher John Locke (1632–1704) defined the self as a self-aware and self-reflective consciousness, fixed in a body; knowledge of the self is determined only by experience derived from sense perception. See F. E. Baird and W. Kaufmann, *From Plato to Derrida* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2008), pp. 527–9.

57 Berg, *The Correspondence of Christian Gottfried Krause*, p. xxi.

the supreme compliment: music could make them weep.⁵⁸ In 1793, the English clergyman and writer on music the Reverend Richard Eastcott (ca 1740–1828) described such an event:

Whilst writing this article, a musical friend who accidentally called upon me, told me, that he had very lately met this same person at a gentleman's house, in the vicinity of the town of Tiverton, in Devonshire; that the lady of the house, who sings with great taste, and is a very pleasing performer on the piano-forte; obligingly sat down to entertain her friends on that instrument, but was soon interrupted by [an unnamed gentleman] bursting into a flood of tears, and appearing to be greatly affected; she was obliged to desist.⁵⁹

Generally, however, by the very end of the eighteenth century the fashion for delicacy of feeling publicly displayed had waned. An article published in the *Monthly Magazine* of October 1796, for example, sought an answer to the question 'Ought sensibility ... be cherished, or repressed?' The anonymous author of the article concluded that the 'current of taste and opinion seems at present, to tend towards the negative side of this question'.⁶⁰

No extant documents describe the emotional responses of the men of feeling who heard George Worgan play his piano on board the *Sirius*. The absence of descriptions concerning the effect that Worgan's music making had upon the audience may not be due to the fact that his playing was merely competent, or that none of the listeners at his recital was musically sensitive. Rather, his audience comprised men of 'their time' and profession, officers who would have regarded the display of tears within the context of Worgan's concert not only as an exaggerated, self-indulgent gesture, but also as a feminine expression (it was commonly theorised that the effect of music on women was especially profound). The 'growing artistic and rhetorical convention of praising "nature" over "art" was reflected in ... authors' praise of "natural" feminine behaviour. They translated these concepts into minute rules of behavioral practice, thereby revealing links between gender, science, and the aesthetics of sentimentality.'⁶¹

58 See *ibid.*, p. xvii.

59 R. Eastcott, *Sketches of the Origin, Progress and Effects of Music, with an Account of the Ancient Bards and Minstrels. Illustrated with Various Historical Facts, Interesting Anecdotes, & Poetical Quotations* (Bath: S. Hazard, 1793), p. 62.

60 *Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 9 (October 1796), p. 706.

61 I. H. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690–1760* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2002), p. 219. See A. Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986).

During the late eighteenth century, the rise of an overtly emotional musical style⁶² not only created socially acceptable musical contexts within which women might be 'profoundly' and openly moved, but also caused one writer to lament:

Our music has become so totally changed. It is not now sought as a repose for the mind after its fatigues, but to support *tumults*,—not to impress the *delights of calm reason*, or prevail on us to *listen* to the *charmer*; but she must leave the purity of her *own nature*, and by divesting herself of *simplicity*, force us to *admire*, not *feel*, and yield to *astonishment* and *absurdity*, instead of *chaste beauty* and delight.⁶³

On the other hand, late eighteenth-century English men were encouraged to perceive music as a science rather than as a catalyst for the overt expression of emotion:

*Music is a science established on the most sublime parts of mathematical truths; its theory founded on the doctrine of proportion; on the most wonderful, though the most simple and few principles; the knowledge of which, fills the enquiring mind with the most transcendent pleasure, and admiration of the wisdom of the Creator, who 'hath filled all things with good.'*⁶⁴

Music was associated with logic and ratio. Music was abstract. 'For men, as listeners, a constrained emotional response was regarded as appropriate because music was "a masculine and mental practice [whose aims were] ... utilitarian".'⁶⁵ 'Intellectual pursuits were deemed manly.'⁶⁶

A man was expected to 'maintain his rank through his manners: assuming an air of personal dignity, the appearance of easy assurance, a controlled deportment, the repression of emotional display, the assumption of distinguished speech, and by proper decorum in his relations with the world in all its various degrees'.⁶⁷

62 Commonly referred to as the *empfindsamer stil* ('sensitive style'). Music composed in this style reveals an emphasis on 'the expression of a variety of deeply felt emotions within a musical work'. 'Empfindsamer Stil', in *Encyclopædia Britannica Online* (Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2011).

63 *Euterpe: Or, Remarks on the Use and Abuse of Music, as a Part of Modern Education* (London: J. Dodsley, ca 1778), p. 6. Quoted in R. Leppert, 'Social Order and the Domestic Consumption of Music: The Politics of Sound in the Policing of Gender Construction in Eighteenth-Century England', in A. Bermingham and J. Brewer (eds), *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (Milton Park, Oxon: Routledge, 1997), p. 519.

64 *Euterpe*, p. 15. Quoted in Leppert, 'Social Order and the Domestic Consumption of Music', p. 515.

65 Leppert, 'Social Order and the Domestic Consumption of Music', p. 515.

66 Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 147.

67 A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 202.

If, within a music-making context, a

performer was a man, his very identity was at risk precisely as regards that component of his identity most central to himself and all other men who might view him, his sexuality ...

Writers of the period commonly urge the man who would be a musician to practice his art 'at his private recreation'—a tacit acknowledgment of shame. The sight of men making music was derogatively described with considerable consistency.⁶⁸

Men who played keyboard instruments were not exempt from such negative criticism. Some conduct books linked women and femininity specifically with the harpsichord. The English physician, naturalist and writer John Berkenhout (1726–91), for example, wrote: 'As two gentlemen were passing the window, I heard one of them exclaim—"I hate to see a *man* at the harpsichord!" I had never before annexed the idea of effeminacy to that instrument, but from that moment, I began to be of that gentleman's opinion.'⁶⁹ It is not surprising that such a view should have been given contemporaneous credence; after all, late eighteenth-century English culture was 'steeped in hedonism and sexual intrigue ... culture was bound up with the giddy round of social pleasures that its critics found so morally offensive. It provided the public space for gustatory and bibulous excess, the venue for courtship, seduction, and the pleasures of the flesh.'⁷⁰

In 1722, the English dancing master and choreographer John Essex (ca 1680–1744) created a list of instruments that he considered appropriate for women, along with a list of those that were not. Essex regarded instruments with phallic similarities as tainting:

The *harpsichord*, *spinnet*, *lute* and *base violin*, are instruments most agreeable to the ladies: there are some others that really are unbecoming to the fair sex; as the *flute*, *violin* and *hautboy*; the last of which is too manlike, and would look indecent in a woman's mouth; and the *flute* is very improper, as taking away too much of the juices, which are otherwise more necessarily employ'd, to promote appetite, and assist digestion.⁷¹

68 Leppert, 'Social Order and the Domestic Consumption of Music', p. 518.

69 Quoted in Leppert, 'Music, Domestic Life and Cultural Chauvinism', p. 112.

70 J. Brewer, "'The most polite age and the most vicious": Attitudes towards Culture as a Commodity, 1600–1800', in A. Bermingham and J. Brewer (eds), *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (Milton Park, Oxon: Routledge, 1997), p. 348.

71 J. Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct: Or, Rules for Education, under Several Heads: With Instructions upon Dress, Both Before and After Marriage. And Advice to Young Wives* (London: J. Brotherton, 1722), pp. 84–5.

'During the late 18th century, harpsichords were generally replaced by fortepianos, lutes by English guit[t]ars,⁷² violas da gamba [also called base violins]⁷³ by violoncellos.'⁷⁴ On the other hand, some felt that 'the unladylike position required for playing the bass viola da gamba and the cello'⁷⁵ precluded these instruments from feminine patronage. For example, in his *Lettre de Monsieur l'Abbé Carbasus*, the composer François Campion (ca 1686–1748), publishing under the pseudonym Abbé Carbasus, remarked that 'decency, modesty, and the hoopskirt fashion effectively prohibit the fair sex from playing the viol'.⁷⁶ An anonymous writer in the *Musikalischer Almanach für 1784* [*Musical Almanac for 1784*], observing that when a woman plays a 'cello she must spread her legs', prudishly remarked: 'In thousands of people it calls up pictures that it ought not to call up.'⁷⁷ (If a woman played the cello, it was recommended that she play it 'in the "side-saddle" position, an attitude that persisted in certain educational institutions well into the twentieth century'.)⁷⁸

The English aristocrat Peter Beckford (ca 1740–1811), a patron of Muzio Clementi and a hunting enthusiast, expressed a distrust of music because of its links with femininity:

Though music is a charming talent, I think more time is allotted to it than it deserves, considering the little use that is made of it afterwards; besides, it increases sensibility, particularly in a female breast, which surely is no advantage, and frequently procures a tête-à-tête that had always better be avoided.⁷⁹

No extant contemporaneous document suggests that the officers who gathered around George Worgan as he played his piano for them on board the *Sirius* regarded him with any derision; after all, 'the traditional bastion of male security (from fear of female fickleness) is male solidarity'.⁸⁰ There can be little doubt that the officers in question 'were mostly young men, educated and shaped by the Enlightenment, romantic, well meaning and impressionable'.⁸¹ Perhaps Smyth's perfunctory description of the event—'Mr. Wogan play'd after dinner on the

72 Unlike Spanish guitars, an English guit[t]ar is strung with metal instead of gut, and has a pear-shaped body.

73 See Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct*, p. 84.

74 Leppert, 'Music, Domestic Life and Cultural Chauvinism', p. 85, fn. 29.

75 Sadie, 'Musiciennes of the Ancien Régime', p. 205.

76 Campion, *Lettre de Monsieur l'Abbé Carbasus*, pp. 25–6. The letter is addressed to Voltaire.

77 Quoted in Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 65.

78 D. Hyde, *New-Found Voices: Women in Nineteenth-Century English Music* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998), p. 31.

79 Peter Beckford. Quoted in A. H. Higginson, *Peter Beckford Esquire. Sportsman, Traveller, Man of Letters. A Biography* (London: Collins, 1937), p. 88.

80 J. Shepherd, 'Music and Male Hegemony', in R. Leppert and S. McClary (eds), *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 165.

81 Pembroke, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 197.

piano forte⁸²—reflects the fact that Worgan’s colleagues cast no aspersions on their musical fellow officer concerning his performative involvement with piano music. On the other hand, Smyth’s seeming lack of feeling concerning the event may represent an attempt to mask his reservations (this is unlikely, however, as his account is consistent with the generally unemotional tone and descriptive nature of his journal entries).

We may never know exactly how Worgan’s audience felt about his playing the piano for them, nor what their emotional response to his music making was as they heard his pianistic musings after dinner on board the *Sirius* on Monday, 20 August 1787.

The Effect of the Weather on George Worgan’s Square Piano: Weather during the First Fleet’s voyage

Whilst George Worgan played his piano on the *Sirius* as the ship lay at anchor in the tranquil waters of the ‘very commodious’⁸³ Rio de Janeiro Harbour, there can be little doubt that surrounding levels of temperature and humidity would have caused significant stress to the instrument. This was not the first time during the voyage to Botany Bay that Worgan’s piano would have been exposed to a potentially harmful atmospheric environment. Since leaving London, the 11 ships of the First Fleet had already experienced weather at its most uncomfortable—and there were still many surprises to come as the fleet made its way across thousands of kilometres of little-known and mostly uncharted waters.

Every owner and player of historical musical instruments will tell you from experience that rapid fluctuations of temperature and/or (especially) humidity are deleterious for any fortepiano. This is because the resultant expansion and/or contraction of the soundboard and bridge may cause these vital parts of the instrument to split. Overly high temperatures can also soften the animal glue that holds the piano together, and the instrument can shift. As Carl Dieudonné (ca 1780–1825) and Johann Lorenz Schiedmayer (1786–1860) state in their *Brief Manual on the Proper Use and Knowledge Concerning the Playing, Tuning, and Maintenance of Fortepianos*:

[W]ood is a material that is unable to resist the effects not only of *heat* and *cold*, but especially also of *dryness* and *humidity*.⁸⁴

82 Smyth, ‘Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth’, Part 52.

83 G. Barrington, *A Voyage to New South Wales* (Sydney: View Productions, 1985), p. 42.

84 Dieudonné and Schiedmayer, *Kurze Anleitung zu einer richtigen Kenntnis und Behandlung der Forte-Pianos*, p. 286.

... [O]ne can assume that the temperature of 15–18 degrees [Celsius] ... is the best for the piano ... pianos ... are soon ruined in rooms that are overheated, or at least lose their good tone; the action loses its precision and clatters and one is lucky if such an instrument, which has been reduced to a shambles, does not come apart at its main joints.

[Dampness] ... can be absolutely ruinous for the piano. [Humidity can cause] ... such destructive effects that the glue in the joints dissolves.⁸⁵

Inevitably, and at the very least, tuning stability is utterly compromised; even a slow humidity fluctuation of 3–4 per cent is enough to undermine tuning stability.

During the eighteenth century, ocean voyages were usually planned with major atmospheric and oceanic circulation systems in mind. This is because long journeys necessarily included stops at established supply ports. Data originating from the First Fleet itself tell us of the atmospheric environments within which Worgan's piano found itself: aboard the *Sirius*, Lieutenant William Bradley (1757?–1833) 'kept a daily logbook of weather observations including temperature, barometric pressure and winds'.⁸⁶ Lieutenant Bradley, 'who excelled in navigation ... was the nephew of the astronomer royal and son of a mathematics master'.⁸⁷

Portsmouth to Tenerife

'On leaving the English Channel, the [First Fleet] ... sailed south past Spain and northwest Africa into the latitudes of the northeast trade winds and the Canary Current.'⁸⁸ Lieutenant Bradley's observations reveal that during the time it took to travel to Tenerife, the temperature climbed steadily, and the humidity rose and fell wildly.

Tenerife to Rio de Janeiro

Between Sunday, 3 June and Saturday, 9 June 1787, the First Fleet took on fresh water and provisions at the port of Santa Cruz, on the island of Tenerife (in the Canary Islands).

Of all the ports visited by the [First Fleet] ... Santa Cruz had the longest history of European possession and was the most familiar to navigators; however, it had not been the most prosperous of colonies ... a successful

85 Ibid., p. 293.

86 J. Gergis, P. Brohan and R. Allan, 'The Weather of the First Fleet Voyage to Botany Bay, 1787–1788', in *Weather*, Vol. 65, No. 12 (December) (Melbourne: Royal Meteorological Society & Crown, 2010), p. 315.

87 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 10.

88 Gergis et al., 'The Weather of the First Fleet Voyage to Botany Bay', p. 315.

commerce in wine [had been established] but the harsh environment was not generally suited to European agriculture ... the inhabitants relied on costly shipments of grain from Spain, America and Germany ... [In general, the food left much to be desired, and there was] a scarcity of fresh water.⁸⁹

The fleet departed Santa Cruz on the morning of Sunday, 10 June. The fleet passed the Cape Verde Islands (off the coast of north-west Africa), but was prevented by the wind from landing at Port Praya on the island of St Iago (the largest and most fertile of the Cape Verde Islands). And so the fleet continued onward towards Rio de Janeiro.

Between Monday, 18 June and Wednesday, 20 June, the fleet entered the Doldrums in the Atlantic Narrows. As the First Fleet entered the Doldrums, 'the European world was [on the verge of being] ... turned upside down';⁹⁰ in France, because of the failed harvest and resultant famine, discontent was rising, and 'in London a group of Christian gentlemen formed a society to abolish the slave trade'.⁹¹

On the evening of Saturday, 14 July 1787, the fleet crossed the Equator in serene conditions, after which it encountered hot, humid and squally weather. 'The extreme heat of the tropics brought ... rotting food, the stench of unwashed people, sickness and diarrhoea. Six convicts died on the passage from Tenerife; many suffered from low spirits, [whilst] ... some of the officers ... gave the most cause for concern as they argued and drank to excess.'⁹²

Following a period of light, variable winds, 'the ships progressed south and southwest in the Brazil Current and southeast trade winds to Rio de Janeiro where they anchored ... [on Tuesday, 7] August 1787'.⁹³ So far, the fleet had followed a tried and true trade route. Captain David Collins (1756–1810) observed: 'the track which we had to follow was too beaten to afford us anything new or interesting.'⁹⁴

Whilst in Rio de Janeiro, Bradley did not record any meteorological observations. The weather may well have been characteristically humid and sultry. (It was on Monday, 20 August 1787, 13 days after the fleet's arrival in Rio de Janeiro, that Worgan played his piano for some of his companions on board the *Sirius*.)⁹⁵

89 N. Starbuck, *Constructing the 'Perfect' Voyage: Nicolas Baudin at Port Jackson, 1802*, PhD dissertation (University of Adelaide, 2009), p. 46.

90 G. Davison, 'The Panorama and the Printing Press', in S. Hunt and G. Davison, *Sydney Views 1788–1888 from the Beat Knoblauch Collection* (Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 2007), p. 14.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

92 Brooke and Brandon, *Bound for Botany Bay*, p. 45.

93 Gergis et al., 'The Weather of the First Fleet Voyage to Botany Bay', pp. 315–16.

94 Quoted in Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 21.

95 See Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 52.

Since the First Fleet's departure from Tenerife (on Sunday, 10 June 1787), the journey to Rio de Janeiro had taken a longer than expected two months. To this point, Worgan's piano had been subjected to typically warm equatorial air and fluctuations in humidity, both of which represented massive departures from the cool English climate in which the instrument had sat during the first year(s) of its life. 'High temperatures and heavy tropical rain caused distress and anxiety.'⁹⁶ The heat was enervating, the humidity debilitating. By the time of the piano's arrival in Rio de Janeiro, it is possible that the proper functioning and physical integrity of the instrument may already have been adversely affected by extremes in the weather.

Rio de Janeiro to Cape Town

After replenishing supplies in Rio de Janeiro, the fleet departed on Wednesday, 5 September 1787, riding the westerly winds south to the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa. During the more than five weeks that it took to complete this leg of the journey, temperatures rose and fell, ranging from the mid 20s to 12°C. Humidity levels rapidly soared and plummeted. These were conditions of extreme stress for Worgan's piano.

The weather was stormier than it had been during the first and second stages of the voyage and the convoy encountered strong gales for the greater part of the passage to the cape. The transports pitched and rolled, sometimes shipping large quantities of water.⁹⁷

On Saturday, 13 October 1787, the fleet arrived at Cape Town—the Dutch headquarters in Africa⁹⁸—where it anchored for a month.

After the seductive luxuriance of Rio, the ... Protestant settlement at Cape Town proved a contrast ... Some of the officers and gentlemen from the fleet visited the Dutch East India Company's garden, near the centre of the town. In the garden was a menagerie, which contained 'a vicious zebra ... two of the birds called secretaries, [and] a crane'.⁹⁹

Although there is no documentary evidence to support the notion, it is possible that during the preparations at Cape Town for the final and longest stage of the voyage to Botany Bay, George Worgan may have given a piano recital for some of his colleagues.

96 Pembroke, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 173.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 179.

98 Keneally, *Australians*, p. 68.

99 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 16. Groom takes the quotation from: D. Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, &c. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country*, edited by B. H. Fletcher (Sydney: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1975 [1798]), Vol. 1, p. lxxxv.

It is likely that the extremes of temperature and rapid changes in humidity during the journey to Cape Town had already caused some damage to Worgan's piano (crudely repaired cracks in the soundboard and bridge of the 1780/86? Beck square piano¹⁰⁰ testify to the deleterious effect of such climatic extremes).

Cape Town to Botany Bay: Ferocious storms, violent extremes

The fleet departed from Cape Town, in quiet conditions, on Tuesday, 13 November 1787, and sailed

into the westerly winds and tremendous swell of the Southern Ocean. The voyage from Cape Town to Botany Bay took about eight weeks.¹⁰¹

Above decks was a babble of complaints from animals ... There were Captain Phillip's greyhounds and horses on *Sirius*, Reverend [Richard] Johnson's kittens on the store ship *Golden Grove*, as well as on every ship a number of newly purchased sheep, pigs, cattle, goats, turkeys, geese, ducks, chickens, rabbits and pigeons penned in various structures on every deck.¹⁰²

The fleet split up [into two divisions: the faster and the slower ships]. Phillip went ahead in the *Supply*, accompanied by three transports full of male convicts whom he intended to set to work [building storehouses and huts] immediately [upon arrival, before the remaining ships reached Botany Bay. Second Captain John] Hunter followed in the flagship *Sirius* [as an escort to the slower] ... seven other transports.¹⁰³

Arguably, 'this was the [most] dangerous part of the voyage ... Phillip had to sail deep into the Southern Ocean to make full use of the Trade Winds, [and] there was ... the threat of icebergs in this region'.¹⁰⁴

The Southern Ocean is the largest stretch of unbroken water on Earth. It extends continuously around the globe, separating America, Africa and Australia from Antarctica. Nowhere else does the sea roll uninterrupted around the world, nor the winds have such an unimpeded range.¹⁰⁵

100 See 'Soundboard' and 'Bridge', in Appendix A, Volume 2 of this publication.

101 Gergis et al., 'The Weather of the First Fleet Voyage to Botany Bay', pp. 316–17.

102 Keneally, *Australians*, p. 69.

103 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 21.

104 P. G. Christian, 'The First Fleet Part 1', in *Short Tales and Stories* (Woolloomooloo, NSW: Fellowship of First Fleeters, n.d.).

105 Pembroke, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 185.

As the fleet sailed on the vast stretch of ocean between Africa and Australia, it was often battered by ferocious summer storms.

A little more than two weeks into the journey, on Wednesday, 28 November 1787, John Easty (fl. 1786–93), a marine on the *Scarborough*, recorded in his journal that the sea was 'the heaviest ... as ever I saw in my life'.¹⁰⁶ The next day, on Thursday, 29 November 1787, Arthur Bowes Smyth wrote: 'The wind was very high ... The Sea rose in most prodigious mountains ... In the night the ship rolled at the most prodigious rate that every thing which was moveable was thrown over in every part of the ship.'¹⁰⁷

Except for ballast, the [First Fleet's] ships were wholly made from materials derived from trees and grass. The hull, masts and spars were of wood; the rigging, rope and cordage of hemp; and the sails of flax. At sea, the ships would pitch and roll, searching for equilibrium.¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, the average length of the ships making up the First Fleet was 27 metres; the average width 8.5 metres.¹⁰⁹ In such small and fragile vessels, the havoc caused by pitching and rolling in violently stormy seas is unimaginable.

In 1849, the Irish political prisoner John Martin (1812–75), on board the *Mount Stuart Elphinstone* sailing from Cork to Van Diemen's Land, described the consequences of a storm that must have been similar to that encountered by the First Fleet on 29 November 1787:

[The ship] rocked abominably ... she was laying her sides alternately upon the water, down to the very hammock nettings. Such abominable sensations as the rocking produced! For noises there was the continual creaking & groaning of the strained timbers, the rolling clashing rattling & thumping of every moveable upon deck & in the cabins, except such as were firmly lashed ... What a mess! I was sitting on my bed, holding on by hands & feet, and thanking my stars that I had two legs & thighs & hands & arms ... We heard that the poor convicts in the prison thought the ship was going to the bottom & many of them fell on their knees in the water to pray for mercy.¹¹⁰

106 J. Easty, *Pt Jn^o Easty Book A Memorandum of the Transa of a Voiage from England to Botany Bay in The Scarborough Transport Gaptn Marshall Commander Kept by Me Your Humble Servan John Easty Marine wick Began 1787* (1787).

107 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 75.

108 Pembroke, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 168.

109 Data concerning the length and width of each of the First Fleet ships can be found in Perrem, 'Articles and Facts'.

110 John Martin, diary entry, in P. A. Sillard, *The Life and Letters of John Martin. With Sketches of Thomas Devin Reilly, Father John Kenyon, and Other 'Young Irelanders'* (Dublin: James Duffy & Co., 1901). Quoted in Brooke and Brandon, *Bound for Botany Bay*, pp. 160–1.

Such conditions cannot in any way have been favourable for Worgan's piano. The instrument would have been stowed away (doubtless lashed to something immovable) in the hope that it would not be thrown around the cabin (how successfully it was stowed, we will never know). Even if the case of the instrument was protectively immobilised, the key levers, hammer shanks and dampers would have moved in response to every heave of the ship. At least the piano was not 'tumbled about, and shivered to atoms, by the vessel's motion'.¹¹¹ The violence of the storms through which the fleet sailed was such that the *Prince of Wales* lost its topsail and a man overboard.¹¹²

Extreme fluctuations in weather continued. On Friday, 7 December 1787, Smyth, on board the *Lady Penryn*, wrote that 'the Sun shines so very hot that the seats upon the round House burnt you as you sat down upon them'.¹¹³

As the fleet made its way through the Roaring Forties, temperatures fell and humidity, wildly fluctuating, climbed. On Tuesday, 18 December 1787, Second Lieutenant Philip Gidley King on board the *Sirius* observed that there were 'great quantities of rain, sleet, & large hail stones ... the cold is as extreme here as in England at this time of y^e year, altho' it is the height of summer here'.¹¹⁴ Winds from the Antarctic brought low temperatures and misery. 'The convicts must have been particularly cold as all they had to clothe them was their regulation dress and one blanket each.'¹¹⁵

Two days later, Smyth remarked: 'This day very cold.'¹¹⁶ On Saturday, 22 December, he wrote that the 'swell of the sea [was] very great'.¹¹⁷ Conditions continued to deteriorate, and as Christmas approached, Lieutenant King on the *Sirius* observed that there were 'very heavy gales & a tumbling sea'.¹¹⁸

In the big seas and constant swells that confronted Phillip's fleet, the most critical situation was in the troughs, in the valleys between the waves. If a ship wallows, losing some of her way at the bottom, she runs the risk that she will not have the speed to outrun the following sea. If the sea overtakes her, a mass of breaking water will crash over the stern ... More likely than not, she will slew around, presenting her broadside, and the next seas will overwhelm her, turning her on her beam-ends, carrying way her masts and rigging and consigning all on board to a watery grave. On the crests of waves the danger is different. As the crest

111 Williamson, *East India Vade-Mecum*, Vol. 1, p. 48.

112 See Gergis et al., 'The Weather of the First Fleet Voyage to Botany Bay', p. 317.

113 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 84.

114 King, *The Journal of Philip Gidley King*, p. 29.

115 Brooke and Brandon, *Bound for Botany Bay*, p. 46.

116 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 84, entry for Thursday, 20 December 1789.

117 Ibid., Part 94.

118 King, *The Journal of Philip Gidley King*, entry for Monday, 24 December, p. 29.

breaks and curls, streaming in a white cascade down the leeward side of the wave, the air is filled with flying spume, the wind shrieks and the ship simply slides, practically rudderless, barely in control.¹¹⁹

The activities and trappings of a traditional late eighteenth-century English Christmas would have been absent for those sailing to Botany Bay: decorating with holly and ivy; Christmas trees (these were introduced to England by Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz when she married George III in 1761); sending food (principally fowls, hams, hares, pheasants and turkeys) to friends; giving presents (traditionally, presents were exchanged at New Year, but the custom of giving them at Christmas originated with Princess Charlotte); and entertaining and getting together with friends, in the evening, during the 12 days of Christmas (from 25 December to 6 January). The ritual of sending Christmas cards has its origins with the Victorians and Prince Albert during the late 1840s.

Four days after Christmas, during a respite between storms, Smyth had time to reflect: 'We reckon ourselves this day at 12 o'clock at noon ab[out] 1000 miles [1600 kilometres] from the South Cape of New Holland, and 2000 [3200 kilometres] from Botany Bay.'¹²⁰

On Monday, 31 December, Smyth wrote: 'long and high swells, ship often rolls gunnell under. The sea the most mountainous of any since we sail'd ... the sea was so very outrageous ... The foretopsail was ... split from top to bottom tho' the canvas was double ... at one time in the night there was hail fell.'¹²¹

Meanwhile, on board the *Sirius*, William Bradley's measurements reveal that around New Year's Day 1788, the temperatures were the lowest the fleet had experienced since leaving England.¹²²

On New Year's Day, Smyth described how the sea poured into his cabin on the *Lady Penryn*:

The seas ... perpetually broke over the decks & even the round house ... just as we had done dinner ... a most tremendous sea broke in ... it pour'd in all across the cabin and my cabin as the door happen'd not to be quite close shut [it] was half fill'd with water, the sheets & blanketts all in a flow: the water ran from the main deck nearly into the Great

119 Pembroke, *Arthur Phillip*, pp. 189–90.

120 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 101, entry for Saturday, 29 December.

121 *Ibid.*, Parts 102–3.

122 See Gergis et al., 'The Weather of the First Fleet Voyage to Botany Bay', p. 317.

Cabin, it struck against the main and missen chains & the shock it gave the ship at first alarm'd us all greatly; but particularly me, as i really thought the ship was drove in pieces—not an hour's sleep all ... night.¹²³

Newton Digby Fowell, a midshipman on the *Sirius*, described the violent weather that greeted the new year in a letter written to his father: 'This year began with very bad tempestuous weather, it blew much harder than any wind we have had since our leaving England.'¹²⁴

John Hunter, Second Captain of the *Sirius*, reveals that as the storm continued, the fleet was forced to slow in order to ensure that the ships' sails did not tear.¹²⁵ The people of the First Fleet 'celebrated their New Year ... with "hard salt beef and a few musty pancakes"'.¹²⁶ On 2 January 1788, 'it blew so hard that we could not set any sail'.¹²⁷

Breaks in the weather allowed the *Sirius*' company to observe some of the strange phenomena of the southern hemisphere. On a night early in the new year of 1788, the *Sirius* sailed through a sea of lights more than a mile wide—a luminous appearance or substance ... lights floating on the surface of the water'. The strange lights were fickle: when the crew tried to scoop some up, they collected only dark sea water. On a night soon afterwards, the aurora australis put on a spectacular display of constantly changing red, orange, yellow and white streamers.¹²⁸

From late November 1787 to this point in the epic journey (early January 1788), it is unlikely that Worgan's piano would have been used for either practice or performance at any time. The rough weather and extremes of temperature and humidity were not conducive, and were potentially detrimental to the instrument. It is likely that the piano would have been placed within a protective context, its unique hinged cabriole legs tucked underneath (Plate 213) and its campaign-furniture-inspired stand's two long detachable stretchers (Plate 203) safely stored nearby.

123 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 104.

124 N. D. Fowell, 'Letter to His Family, 1786–1790, 12 July 1788', *Discover Collections at Your State Library* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Discover Collections, 1788), p. 1.

125 See Hunter, *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*, Chapter 2, September 1787 to January 1788.

126 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 3.

127 H. Waterhouse, 'Letter to William Waterhouse, 11 July 1788', in *Discover Collections at Your State Library* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Discover Collections, 1788), p. 1.

128 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 16. Groom takes the quotation from: W. Bradley, *A Voyage to New South Wales: The Journal of Lieutenant William Bradley RN of HMS Sirius, 1786–1792, Reproduced in Facsimile from the Original Manuscript with a Portfolio of Charts* (Sydney: Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales, 1969), p. 51.

Van Diemen's Land

In the first week of January 1788, the majority of the fleet 'sailed past the southeast corner of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania)'.¹²⁹ Extreme changes in the weather abounded. On Saturday, 5 January, Smyth wrote:

[I]n the night I was so hot in my cabin that I was obliged to throw off the cloaths from my bed. There are at this time in the window of the great cabin, a very fine grape vine w^{ch} flourishes much, also some scarlet geraniums in full blossom, there is also myrtles, banana plants, & several other sorts, bro^t from Rio de Janeiro.¹³⁰

The South Coast of New South Wales

'Navigating now with the aid of maps made by [Captain] Cook',¹³¹ the fleet made its way northwards along the coast of New South Wales. On Wednesday, 9 January 1788, Smyth observed that

the swell of the sea [was] greater than at any other time during the voyage ... Many heavy seas wash'd entirely over the ship, & many of the fastenings to the different articles in the [great] cabin gave way, the tubs w^h the bananas, grape vine, &c^a, &c^a overset & all except the vine were totally demolish'd ... sometimes the spritsail yard dipp'd into the water, the ship pitched so much; towards morning it hail'd.¹³²

The next day, many of the ships were damaged in the most severe storm the fleet had yet encountered. Smyth's journal entry for 10 January 1788 reveals how terrifying the storm was:

[T]he sky grew very black, & the wind arose, & in half an hour or less, it blew a perfect hurricane ... The sea ran mountains high ... The ship was laid along side in such a manner as alarm'd every body much, & some very great flashes of lighteng were seen, & heavy peals of thunder immediately followed the lighteng ... I never before saw the sea in such a rage; it was all over as white as snow; it rain'd prodigiously ... Every other ship in the fleet (except the *Sirius*) sustained damage ... During the storm the convicts on board our ship were so much frighten'd that most of them were on their knees at prayers ... Towards even[in]g it cleared up and the wind was in our favor.¹³³

129 Gergis et al., 'The Weather of the First Fleet Voyage to Botany Bay', p. 318.

130 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 107.

131 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 16.

132 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Parts 110–11.

133 *Ibid.*, Parts 111–13.

A week later, Smyth noted: ‘tis so intensely hot we are obliged to sit wth cabin windows open; under the necessity of sleep & wth my cabin door open, & throwing off most of the bed cloaths.’¹³⁴ Throughout the fleet, below decks, the heat must have been unbearable for the convicts, who did not have the luxury of lightweight clothes to wear. (Eighty-six years later, those passengers who were fortunate enough to have a choice of clothing on their journey from England to New Zealand had their discomfort, in similar circumstances, alleviated, ‘there being a general turn out of boxes (in which clothes are stored) to let people get their light things for the heat’.)¹³⁵

A Recalcitrant Goat

Unfortunately, during that hot night, in the Great Cabin, the grapevine that had so stoically survived the journey from Rio de Janeiro through violent storms and extremes of temperature met its untimely demise. Smyth describes the fateful event: ‘Last night one of the goats got by some means imperceived into the great cabin & eat off all the green shoots of the grape vine.’¹³⁶ However dire the situation may have seemed, all was not lost. Smyth continues: ‘since the weather has been so very hot the banana plant w^{ch} was brot from Rio de Janeiro & w^{ch} had never before appear’d to grow, has sprouted out several inches.’¹³⁷ (Ultimately, ‘the plants and seeds collected at Rio de Janeiro’ that survived the journey were sown at Sydney Cove ‘in front of the governor’s house’.)¹³⁸

The extreme vacillations of temperature and humidity during the journey from Rio de Janeiro would have more than tested the fabric of Worgan’s piano.

Botany Bay

The *Sirius* arrived at Botany Bay on Saturday, 19 January 1788 (only two days after the recalcitrant goat’s banquet in the Great Cabin of the *Lady Penryn*, and two days before the slower vessels of the First Fleet arrived). The fleet’s arrival at its destination did not mean that the weather became any less stressful for Worgan’s piano.

‘Finding the soil, water and anchorage at Botany Bay unsuitable’,¹³⁹ Governor Philip gave orders (on Wednesday, 23 January) for the entire fleet to leave Botany

134 Ibid., Parts 115–16, entry for Thursday, 17 January 1788.

135 L. Mayers (transcriber), ‘You will find a towel very useful ...’, in *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 143 (March) (Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society, 2012), p. 33. In this extract from *Chambers’ Journal* (No. 551, July 1874) entitled ‘A Female Emigrant’s Letter’, the writer (a servant girl from Aberdeen) advises her sisters how best to equip themselves for the long sea voyage to New Zealand.

136 Smyth, ‘Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth’, Part 116, entry for Thursday, 17 January 1788.

137 Ibid.

138 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 29.

139 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 16.

Bay for Port Jackson, 12 kilometres to the north. Strong headwinds, however, prevented the fleet from leaving Botany Bay. (Whether or not these conditions 'can be associated with a La Niña¹⁴⁰ is not entirely clear, but should not be ruled out'.)¹⁴¹

Lieutenant Gidley King, having transferred from the *Sirius* to the *Supply* (as had Governor Phillip), wrote on Friday, 25 January 1788: 'the wind blowing strong from NNE prevented ... our going out ... The wind blew so strong from y^e SSE that we were obliged to anchor & wait for the ebb tide & at noon we weighed & turned out of the harbour.'¹⁴² On the same day, on board the *Sirius*, George Worgan wrote: 'the Governor sailed for Port-Jackson, in the *Supply* ... but the wind coming on to blow hard, right into ... [Botany] Bay, the *Sirius* and transports could not possibly get out.'¹⁴³

The following day, Saturday, 26 January 1788, First Lieutenant Ralph Clark, a marine officer on the *Friendship* (one of the transports for female convicts), described how the ships were blown dangerously close to the rocky coastline:

[I]f it had not being by the greatest good luck we should have been both on the shore on the rocks and the ships must most have been all lost and the greater part if not the whole on board drowned for we should have gone to pieces in less than a half of an hour but how good the Almighty is to us.¹⁴⁴

Smyth, on the *Lady Penryn*, described the difficulties and damage—including ripped sails and a lost boom—associated with battling the huge seas that rolled into Botany Bay as the fleet attempted to leave:

The ships having attempted to get out of the bay yesterday 3 times in vain, lay at single anchor till this morning in order to proceed out, but the wind ... is still blow[in]g directly from [the] sea into the mouth of the bay ... We were obliged to work out of the bay & wth the utmost difficulty and danger got out ab' 3 o'clock p.m. The Charlotte was once in the most immense danger of being on the rocks & the Prince of Wales and the *Friendship* ... came foul of each other ... The *Friendship* carried away her jib boom. The Prince of Wales had her new main sail and her new main top mast stay sail rent in pieces. The Charlotte also came foul of the *Friendship* afterward and carried away some of the carv'd work from her stern, & it was with the greatest difficulty the *Lady Penryn* escaped the same fate.¹⁴⁵

140 In eastern Australia, La Niña events are associated with above average rainfall.

141 J. Gergis, D. Garden and C. Fenby, 'The Influence of Climate on the First European Settlement of Australia: A Comparison of Weather Journals, Documentary Data and Paleoclimate Records 1788–1793', p. 7.

142 King, *The Journal of Philip Gidley King*, p. 36.

143 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 32.

144 Clark, *Journal Kept on the Friendship during a Voyage to Botany Bay and Norfolk Island*, p. 1, Saturday, 26 January 1788.

145 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Parts 130–1.

Port Jackson

Approximately four hours later, about 7 pm, the fleet reached ‘the mouth of Port Jackson, & sail’d up it to’ Sydney Cove.¹⁴⁶ According to Smyth, the ‘water ... even to the very side of the shore is 5 & 6 fathoms, & exactly like a canal in a garden; you may wth ease fasten the ships to the trees instead of putting down the anchor’.¹⁴⁷ ‘In the evening all anchord safe in Sidney Cove.’¹⁴⁸ ‘For the first time ... ships bells rang through the summer night to mark the passing of time, and for the first time, the Eora people heard their tolling.’¹⁴⁹

George Worgan’s piano had been a part of ‘one of the major achievements of the Royal Navy’.¹⁵⁰ Captain David Collins wrote:

Thus, under the blessing of God, was happily completed, in eight months and one week, a voyage which, before it was undertaken, the mind hardly dared venture to contemplate, and on which it was impossible to reflect without some apprehension as to its termination. This fortunate completion of it, however, afforded even to ourselves as much a matter of surprise as of general satisfaction; for in the above space of time we had sailed five thousand and twenty-one leagues [24 000 kilometres]; had touched at the American and African Continents; and had at last rested within a few days sail of the antipodes of our native country, without meeting any accident on a fleet of eleven sail, nine of which were merchantmen that had never before sailed in that distant and imperfectly explored ocean.¹⁵¹

The Voyage of George Worgan’s Piano: Particulars

Portsmouth	13 May 1787	→	Tenerife	3 June 1787
Tenerife	10 June 1787	→	Rio de Janeiro	7 August 1787
Rio de Janeiro	5 September 1787	→	Cape Town	13 October 1787
Cape Town	13 November 1787	→	Botany Bay	19 January 1788
Botany Bay	26 January 1788	→	Sydney Cove	26 January 1788

It is reasonable to assume that at some stage during the days that followed the First Fleet’s arrival at Sydney Cove, George Worgan would have made a thorough inspection of his piano in order to ascertain if, or the extent to which, it had

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., Part 131.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., Part 132.

¹⁴⁸ Blackburn, D., ‘Letter to Richard Knight, 12 July 1788’, in *Discover Collections at Your State Library* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Discover Collections, 1788), p. 6.

¹⁴⁹ Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 16.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁵¹ Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 16–17. Groom takes the quotation from: Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales ...*, p. 1.

been damaged by the extremes of temperature, humidity and violent storms through which it had passed on its journey from England. Doubtless, he would also have done all that he could to ensure that the instrument remained safe from potential further damage in the unfamiliar environment of Sydney Cove.

Chapter 7

George Worgan's Piano Arrives at Sydney Cove

Eight months and one week after leaving England, having sailed 'over 24,000 kilometers of poorly charted, angry seas to lodge upon the fringe of an invisible, fantastic land',¹ the First Fleet anchored in Sydney Cove. George Worgan's superior, John White (the colony's chief medical officer), was so impressed by the refuge afforded by Sydney Harbour that he wrote: 'I believe [it] to be, without exception, the finest and most extensive harbour in the universe, and at the same time the most secure, being safe from all the winds that blow.'²

In a dispatch written to Lord Sydney on Thursday, 15 May 1788, Governor Phillip wrote that he 'had the satisfaction of finding the finest harbour in the world, in which a thousand sail of the line may ride in the most perfect security'.³ Fresh from the great harbour at Rio de Janeiro, Phillip had doubtless 'compared the two well in his own mind before pronouncing judgment so emphatically in favour of Port Jackson'.⁴

Almost immediately after the First Fleet's arrival at Sydney Cove at ca 7 pm⁵ on 26 January 1788, a 'number of the officers assembled on shore where, they displayed the British flag'⁶ on a newly erected flagstaff, perhaps made 'from a sappy pole of eucalyptus',⁷ 'and each officer with a heart, glowing with loyalty drank his majesty's health and success to the colony'.⁸ The summer sun would not yet have set as this joyous occasion took place.

The following day, Sunday, 27 January 1788, the male convicts set up some tents. 'From his vantage aboard the *Friendship*, Ralph Clark thought these looked "prety amongst the trees"'.⁹

1 Birmingham, *Leviathan*, p. 44.

2 Quoted in Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, pp. 23–4.

3 'Part II General History: The First Settlement—Governor Phillip to Lord Sydney', in G. H. Swinburne, *A Source Book of Australian History* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1919), A Project Gutenberg of Australia eBook, No. 00094.html.

4 '1.15 Phillip and Exploration', in G. B. Barton, *History of New South Wales from the Records. Volume 1: Governor Phillip 1783–1789* (Sydney: Charles Potter, 1889), A Project Gutenberg of Australia eBook, No. 1204171h.html.

5 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 131.

6 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 8.

7 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 111.

8 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 8.

9 Quoted in Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 25.

'A total of about 1500 people arrived with the First Fleet. Of this number, 1373 have been identified, including 732 convicts, 306 ships' crew, and 245 marines. There were 22 children of convicts, [and] 23 marines' children', ranging in age from Joseph Cox, who was old enough to become a drummer with the marines in June 1788, to eight children who were born on the voyage. There were also

31 wives of marines and 14 other officials and passengers ... There would have been a further hundred or more seamen on the transports, for whom no records have been found ...

Most were young; incomplete statistics suggest that at least two-thirds were aged 30 or younger.

Only the chaplain, the Reverend Richard Johnson [1753?–1827], and the 'other ranks' of the marines—the privates, corporals and sergeants—were allowed to bring their wives to the colony with them. Richard Howe [1726–99], First Lord of the Admiralty, said that permission was denied the officers because the extent of their duties would be 'as if they were at war'.¹⁰

The average death rate for a convict voyage across the Atlantic Ocean was 10 per cent.

The average over an extended period was about 14 per cent. Yet, during a much longer and more difficult voyage, the First Fleet death rate was about 2 per cent. It would have been impossible for Phillip and his officers to have achieved this success if the ships were as poorly equipped and provisioned as [some] ... historians have claimed.¹¹

Unloading stores and provisions took many weeks; initially some were 'put on the ground and covered until storehouses could be built'.¹² In this way, much of the food was 'lost to insects and parasites, many of which were completely new to the European settlers'.¹³ It took 11 days for all the convicts to be brought ashore, even though Phillip had been told

to disembark his human freight quickly so that three of the transports which were under charter ... could sail immediately to Canton to get cargoes of tea and other goods for shipment to the United Kingdom. This was an experiment ... to determine whether or not the sailing route to China via Botany Bay was practicable and economical.¹⁴

10 Egan, *Buried Alive*, pp. 20–1.

11 Frost, *The First Fleet*, p. 4.

12 Hill, *1788*, p. 156.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 156.

14 Swan, *To Botany Bay*, p. 159.

We know what food George Worgan ate in the first weeks following his arrival at Sydney Cove.

On landing, [Governor] Phillip ... implemented his plan to provide full rations from the two years of supplies the ships had brought. Convicts were to receive an equal share to men and officers—7 pounds of salt beef or four of pork, 3 pints of dried peas, 7 pounds of flour, 6 ounces of butter, half a pound of rice or, if it were not available, an extra pound of flour weekly.

... [S]ome officials disapproved of the democracy of rations.¹⁵

Worgan's journal entry for Tuesday, 5 February 1788 reveals that within 20 days of anchoring in Sydney Cove, 'all the tents of the battallion, the laboratory, and hospital, and several of the civil officers tents have been pitched,—likewise those for y^e men and women convicts, the Governors house [also a tent] got up, a spot of ground enclosed, and some culinary seeds put in'.¹⁶ This was a rough beginning for the colony,¹⁷ which at this stage of its development amounted to nothing more than an open 'penal camp inhabited by convicts and their gaolers'.¹⁸

It is not known exactly when Worgan's piano was taken off the *Sirius*. Given the circumstances, its removal is unlikely to have been placed high on the list of priorities.

Heavy February rains made the building of waterproof accommodation imperative. Worgan reports that '[o]n the first day of this month [February], we had a vast deal of heavy rain'.¹⁹

Governor Phillip—or his clerk, Henry Brewer (1739?–96)—wrote:

Only sixteen carpenters could be hired from all the ships; among the convicts no more than twelve were of this profession, and of them several were sick ... With every effort, it was found impossible to complete either the barracks for the men, or the huts for the officers, as soon as was desired. As late as the middle of May they were yet unfinished.²⁰

15 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 129.

16 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 34.

17 A watercolour drawing entitled *Sydney Cove, Port Jackson. 1788*, by William Bradley (1757?–1833), is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. ML Safe 1/14, opp. p. 84; Album ID: 823705; Digital order no. a3461012).

18 P. Bridges, *Foundations of Identity: Building Early Sydney 1788–1822* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1995), p. xi.

19 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 34.

20 A. Phillip, *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay*, Facsimile edn (Richmond, NSW: Hutchinson, 1982) [Originally published Piccadilly: John Stockdale, 1790], p. 185.

A map of 'Sydney Cove, Port Jackson' dated Saturday, 1 March 1788, surveyed by Captain John Hunter—the second captain of the *Sirius*, whose passion for the sea triumphed over 'competing passions for music, the classics, and the Church of Scotland'²¹—and drawn in the diary of William Bradley, first lieutenant on the *Sirius*, shows the ships of the First Fleet anchored in the cove.²² The *Sirius* is anchored at the entrance of Sydney Cove, on guard.

Jean-François de Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse

The unexpected appearance of two French frigates, the *Astrolabe* and the *Boussoule* ('compass'),²³ each named after a navigational aid, at Botany Bay on Thursday, 24 January 1788, under the command of Jean-François de Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse (1741–88),²⁴ would doubtless have seemed threatening. Captain Lieutenant Watkin Tench feared that the ships were 'Dutchmen sent to dispossess us'.²⁵ He describes his astonishment upon hearing of the sighting of the two vessels.

But judge of my surprise on hearing from a serjeant, who ran down almost breathless to the cabin where I was dressing, that a ship was seen off the harbour's mouth. At first I only laughed, but knowing the man who spoke to me to be of great veracity, and hearing him repeat his information, I flew upon deck, on which I had barely set my foot, when the cry of 'another sail' struck on my astonished ear. Confounded by a thousand ideas which arose in my mind in an instant, I sprang upon the barricado, and plainly descried two ships of considerable size, standing in for the mouth of the Bay. By this time the alarm had become general, and every one appeared lost in conjecture ... It was by Governor Phillip, that this mystery was at length unraveled, and the cause of the alarm pronounced to be two French ships, it was now recollected were on a voyage of discovery in the southern hemisphere ...

21 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 66.

22 The original watercolour, pen and ink map, entitled *Sydney Cove, Port Jackson. The Position of the Encampment & Buildings are as they Stood 1st March 1788. The Transports are Placed in the Cove as Moored on their Arrival*, by John Hunter (1737–1821), is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. ML Safe 1/14, opp. p. 84; Album ID: 823712; Digital order no. a138498). The map is reproduced in Bradley, *A Voyage to New South Wales*.

23 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 33.

24 An engraved portrait of Jean-François de Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse, by Edme Bovinet (1767–ca 1832) after Pierre Alexandre Tardieu (1756–1844), dated ca 1800, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. DL Pd 773; Digital order no. a928385).

25 Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*, p. 50. 'The Dutch, static and intent on consolidating their assets and influence [in the Far East] to the exclusion of all others, remained in continual friction with the British. But the latter, continually seeking new markets and sources of raw materials, were determined to expand into any region where trade was offering. This Gordian knot was cut finally by the British after the outbreak of the French Revolution and the subsequent occupation of the United Provinces [Holland] by the French in early 1795.' Swan, *To Botany Bay*, p. 167.

Had the sea breeze set in, the strange ships would have been at anchor in the Bay by eight o'clock in the morning ... On the following day [Friday, 25 January 1788] they re-appeared ... and a boat was sent to them, with a lieutenant of the navy in her, to offer assistance ... In the course of the day the officer returned, and brought intelligence that the ships were the *Boussole* and *Astrolabe*, sent out by order of the King of France, and under the command of Monsieur De Perrouse. The astonishment of the French at seeing us, had not equalled that we had experienced, for it appeared that [they had] learnt that our expedition was in contemplation.²⁶

Governor Phillip was aware that the situation called for discretion. Wisdom dictated courtesy. This was expressed as consideration, erring on the side of caution. George Worgan, in his journal entry of Saturday, 9 February 1788, reveals the degree of grace and courtesy extended by Governor Phillip to the French officers:

Cap^{tn} [Robert Sutton de] Clonard [1751–88] (the French Commodore's Captain) came around by water, in a boat from *Botany Bay*, to wait upon *Gov^r Phillip*. He brought with him, from the Commodore, some dispatches for Europe which the Governor, had politely made an offer to forward by the first of the transports that he should dispatch from this place for England.²⁷

Within this context, diplomacy was vital for both the British and the French.

For the French, a recent treaty with Britain granted immunity from military action for scientific expeditions. 'Sent out by King Louis XVI himself, La Pérouse's expedition was a South Seas voyage of discovery'²⁸—'for the benefit of world knowledge and French trade'²⁹—'no corner of the region was to go unexplored, no island uncharted'.³⁰

In a letter written by John Paul Jones (1747–92) to Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), dated Wednesday, 5 October 1785, we read that King Louis XVI planned La Pérouse's expedition 'and made out all the detail with his own hand before he spoke a word of it to any person. His majesty defrays the expence out of his private coffer and is his own minister in every thing that regards the ... operations of his plan.'³¹

26 Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*, pp. 49–51.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

28 D. Clode, *Voyages to the South Seas* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2008), p. 13.

29 T. Gott and K. Huguenaud, 'Introduction', in *Napoleon: Revolution to Empire* (Melbourne: Council of Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria, 2012), p. 1.

30 Clode, *Voyages to the South Seas*, p. 13.

31 J. P. Jones, 'Letter to Thomas Jefferson', 5 October 1785, in *Australia in the 18th Century* (Potts Point, NSW: Hordern House, 2011).

France was the customary enemy of England, and misunderstandings could easily arise. 'Anglo-French relations, as they concerned voyages of discovery, were complicated by the conflicting forces of imperial rivalry and scientific cooperation.'³² (King Louis XVI 'was a keen geographer, an avid reader of the accounts of Captain Cook's voyages and a determined rival of Britain's maritime supremacy'.)³³ Both Phillip and La Pérouse played a delicate political game. 'For all Phillip knew La Pérouse could have received instructions to make a French counter-claim to sovereignty over some part of the coast of New South Wales, New Holland or New Zealand.'³⁴

Phillip wanted ... to fool La Pérouse about the scale of the supplies the British in Sydney Cove possessed by offering him 'whatever he might have occasion for'.

La Pérouse playing the game Phillip had set up ... [said] exaggeratedly that he would be in France in fifteen months time and had three years stores aboard, and so would be happy to oblige ... Mr Phillip with anything *he* might want.³⁵

In fact, La Pérouse was not as innocent as he pretended. 'He had been instructed by the French government to call at Botany Bay and discover just what the English were up to. La Pérouse told Judge-Advocate Collins that he had expected to find a town with a flourishing market.'³⁶

The French Government was intrigued by the colony of convicts located on the rim of the Pacific, perceiving it to be a significant social experiment. In 1789, the French politician and sociologist Pierre-Édouard Lemontey (1762–1826) colourfully remarked:

Perhaps a strong and hard-working nation will emerge from a vile rabble of convicts, as in other times a swarm of ruffians founded the empire of the Caesars. Life everywhere is born of corruption. It is to fetid dung that we owe both the golden harvests and the dazzling wine.³⁷

Oddly, even though La Pérouse had been tasked with obtaining information about the new British colony, he never visited Port Jackson, even though he heard descriptions of it from Lieutenant Philip Gidley King, second lieutenant of the *Sirius*, and other English officers whom he met while at Botany Bay.³⁸

32 Starbuck, *Constructing the 'Perfect' Voyage*, p. 119.

33 E. Cross, 'Early French Explorers and Australia', in *Napoleon: Revolution to Empire* (Melbourne: Council of Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria, 2012), p. 39.

34 Swan, *To Botany Bay*, p. 164.

35 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 119.

36 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 118.

37 Quoted in M. Duffy, *Man of Honour: John Macarthur—Duellist, Rebel, Founding Father* (Sydney: Macmillan Australia, 2003), p. 217.

38 See 'Notes on 1.15 Phillip and Exploration', in Barton, *History of New South Wales from the Records*, fn. 3.

The peaceful outcome of La Pérouse's arrival at Botany Bay suggests that both Governor Phillip and La Pérouse possessed the diplomatic skills and restraint that were the unwritten requirements of positions of command.³⁹

Comments made by Lieutenant King and George Worgan reveal the nature of Franco–English relations at Botany Bay. On Saturday, 2 February 1788, King visited the French. On this occasion, he was 'received with the greatest politeness and attention by Monsieur de la perouse and his officers'.⁴⁰ Subsequently, King

yielded to the solicitations of y^e French Commodore & consented to dine with him & stay the remainder of the y^e day & return to Port Jackson next morning⁴¹ ... After dinner, I attended y^e Commodore & other officers onshore where I found him quite established, having thrown round his tents a stockade, guarded by two small guns.⁴²

According to La Pérouse, his stockade 'was necessary against the Indians of New Holland, who though very weak and few in number, like all savages are extremely mischievous ... for they even threw darts at us immediately after receiving our presents and our caresses'.⁴³

Seven days later, on Saturday, 9 February 1788, Worgan's journal entry reveals that the day before, a group of his colleagues had

set out for ... *Botany Bay*, by land, to pay a visit to the French officers, from whom, they met with a very polite and cordial reception ...

Our gentlemen met with a good deal of swampy, rocky ground in their journey and on the whole it was tedious, but the civilities and hearty, friendly treatment, which they received from the *French officers* very amply recompensed all their fatigues.⁴⁴

That La Pérouse had a keen 'scientific' eye for detail is revealed by Captain Lieutenant Watkin Tench. When describing the kangaroo, Tench reports:

This singular animal is already known in Europe by the drawing and description of Mr. Cook. To the drawing nothing can be objected but the position of the claws of the hinder leg, which are mixed together like those of a dog, whereas no such indistinctness is to be found in the animal I am describing. It was the Chevalier De Perrouse who pointed out this to me, while we were comparing a kangaroo with the plate,

39 See Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 40.

40 King, *The Journal of Philip Gidley King*, p. 37.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

43 Quoted in Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 104.

44 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 37.

which, as he justly observed, is correct enough to give the world in general a good idea of the animal, but not sufficiently accurate for the man of science.⁴⁵

Following the departure of the French on ca Monday, 10 March 1788, Captain David Collins commented on the relations that had been established with the French, and the level of respect that had developed for them:

We had, during their stay in this country, a very friendly and pleasant intercourse with their officers, among whom we observed men of abilities, whose observations, and exertions in the search after knowledge, will most amply illustrate the history of their voyage: and it reflected much credit on the minister when he arranged the plan of it, that people of the first talents for navigation, astronomy, natural history, and every other science that could render it conspicuously useful, should have been selected for the purpose.⁴⁶

Tench reinforces Collins' feelings for the visiting explorers: during the stay of the French at Botany Bay, 'the officers of the two nations had frequent opportunities of testifying their mutual regard by visits, and every interchange of friendship and esteem'.⁴⁷

Tench specifically singles out La Pérouse:

It was no less gratifying to an English ear, than honourable to Monsieur De Perrouse, to witness the feeling manner in which he always mentioned the name and talents of Captain Cook. That illustrious circumnavigator had, he said, left nothing to those who might follow in his track to describe, or fill up.⁴⁸

Increasing Disillusionment with Captain Cook

That Tench mentions La Pérouse's respect for Captain Cook testifies to a sense of the continuing influence of Cook that provided 'the frame of reference for the colonists' growing sense of self-definition'.⁴⁹ It was generally felt that Cook

45 Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*, pp. 125–6.

46 Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country*, Chapter II, para. 2.

47 Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*, p. 95.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

49 P. Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), p. 39.

was ‘a hero ... a practical visionary, resourceful and courageous, a man who restrained his hot temper, eschewed conjecture for accurate observation ... [and who] fused curiosity and moral certainty’.⁵⁰

Tench’s perceptions of Cook eventually hardened into disillusionment. In June 1788, six months after the arrival of the First Fleet, Tench writes: ‘Of the natural meadows which Mr. Cook mentions near Botany Bay, we can give no account; none such exist about Port Jackson.’⁵¹

In September 1789, following Tench’s participation in a surveying expedition from Sydney Cove to Botany Bay, he wrote:

Had not the nautical part of Mr Cook’s description ... been so accurately laid down, there would exist the utmost reason to believe, that those who described the contiguous country, had never seen it. On the sides of the harbour ... we did not find 200 acres [80 hectares] which could be cultivated.⁵²

By December 1790, Tench’s full-blown scepticism of Cook’s description of Botany Bay is revealed: ‘We had passed through the country which the discoverers of Botany Bay extol as “some of the finest meadows in the world”.’ Tench then appends a footnote:

The words which are quoted may be found in Mr Cook’s first voyage, and form part of his description of Botany Bay. It has often fallen to my lot to traverse these fabled plains; and many a bitter execration have I heard poured on those travellers, who could so faithlessly relate what they saw.⁵³

In 1773, three years after Cook’s voyage, John Hawkesworth (ca 1715–73) published his edition of Cook’s *Endeavour Journal*.⁵⁴ This ‘version of the voyage, hurried into print before the official account’,⁵⁵ paraphrased Cook’s remarks

50 Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, pp. 26–7.

51 Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*, p. 120.

52 W. Tench, ‘A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson’, in *1788: Comprising a Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay and a Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson*, edited and introduced by T. Flannery (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 1996), p. 113.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 176.

54 J. Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and Successively Performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Carteret, Captain Wallis, and Captain Cook, in the Dolphin, the Swallow, and the Endeavour: Drawn up from the Journals which were Kept by the Several Commanders, and from the Papers of Joseph Banks, Esq. By John Hawkesworth, LL.D. In Three Volumes. Illustrated with Cuts, and a Great Variety of Charts and Maps Relative to Countries Now First Discovered, or Hitherto but Imperfectly Known* (London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1773), Vols 2 and 3. Cook’s journal comprises a 753-page account of the voyage of the *Endeavour* between 1768 and 1771.

55 Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p. 9.

concerning Botany Bay's notorious meadows. Hawkesworth printed: 'We found also interspersed some of the finest meadows in the world: some places however were rocky, but these were comparatively few.'⁵⁶

In fact, Cook had written: 'I found in many places a deep black Soil which we thought was capable of producing any kind of grain, at present it produceth besides timber as fine meadow as ever was seen. However we found it not all like this, some places were very rocky but this I believe to be uncommon.'⁵⁷

The differences between these two descriptions suggest that 'Hawkesworth hoped to make the notes of an unlettered sailor fit entertainment for a cultivated public'.⁵⁸ Editorial 'sleight of hand [goes] ... a long way towards clearing Cook of the charge of wilful inaccuracy'.⁵⁹

Both Tench and La Pérouse took Cook's—that is, Hawkesworth's—words at face value. This is not surprising; both were 'Enlightenment empiricist[s] interested in objective data, not ... surmise'.⁶⁰ 'Those who had visited La Pérouse and his officers at Botany Bay were doubtless the last Europeans to see him and his men before they vanished, without a trace for forty years, in the South Pacific ocean.'⁶¹

The Frenchman's fate remained a mystery until 1828 when Chevalier Captain Peter Dillon (1788–1847) discovered that La Pérouse's expedition had been wrecked at Vanikoro in the Santa Cruz Islands.⁶² We do not know if La Pérouse departed Botany Bay with the knowledge that the British had brought a piano with them to the new colony.

Spanish Imperial Designs

On Wednesday, 13 March 1793, two Spanish ships, the *Descubierta* and the *Atrevida*, arrived in Sydney Cove in order to 'investigate the scope of Britain's imperial designs in the Pacific'.⁶³ The leader of the Spanish expedition, Alexandro Malaspina (1754–1810), subsequently advised his government that the new British port at Sydney Cove represented a threat to Spanish hopes in the region. His warnings

56 Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere*, Vol. 3, p. 97.

57 J. C. Beaglehole (ed.), *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery. Volume 1: The Voyage of the Endeavour, 1768–1771* (Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press, 1955), p. 309.

58 Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p. 41.

59 *Ibid.*

60 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

61 C. Dyer, *The French Explorers and Sydney 1788–1831* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2009), pp. 9–10.

62 See *ibid.*, p. 174, fn. 31.

63 D. Day, *Claiming a Continent: A New History of Australia* (Sydney: Harper Perennial, 2005), p. 37.

were not acted upon due to political rivalries in the Spanish court. As a result, the British enjoyed a breathing space of 14 years before the French challenge reappeared in the form of a scientific exploring expedition in two ships [*Le Géographe* and *Le Naturaliste*] under the command of Nicholas Baudin [1754–1803], sent by Napoleon to chart the coasts of New Holland so that they might know ‘the entire costline’ of what he called ‘the great south land’.⁶⁴

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the south-east region of Australia remained largely unknown to Europeans. Solving the mystery of this region was central to Nicolas Baudin’s mission. His exploration of Bass Strait and the charting by his cartographer, Louis de Freycinet [1779–1842], of the section of the south-eastern coastline encompassing Victoria, which he named *Terre Napoléon* (Napoleon Land), preceded that of the simultaneous British expedition led by Matthew Flinders [1774–1814].⁶⁵

That in March 1788 the *Sirius* lay anchored as a guard ship to the fledgling colony reflects a cautionary panic resulting not only from tensions that existed between England and France, but also from fear of a French assault (which had the potential to induce a convict uprising).

Was George Worgan’s piano still on board the *Sirius* as the ship lay at anchor silently watching over the colony? Worgan may have disembarked ashore. If so, it is reasonable to assume that his piano had also been offloaded. The *Sirius* would, however, have provided a relatively stable environment for the instrument (unlike the tents that had been erected at Sydney Cove). This fact may have convinced Worgan to leave his piano on board. Extant documentary evidence sheds no light on the matter.

Where was George Worgan’s Piano First Housed?

The Hunter/Bradley Map, 1 March 1788

Captain John Hunter’s⁶⁶ map of Saturday, 1 March 1788, drawn in the diary of Lieutenant William Bradley, shows the *Sirius* anchored on guard against the

64 Ibid., p. 37.

65 E. Cross, ‘Terre Napoléon [Napoleon Land]’, in *Napoleon: Revolution to Empire* (Melbourne: Council of Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria, 2012), p. 146.

66 Captain Hunter was Second Captain of the *Sirius* and, between Friday, 11 September 1795 and Sunday, 28 September 1800, the second Governor of New South Wales.

French at the entrance to Sydney Cove. The map also reveals that tents and shelters erected within the first five weeks of the colony's existence had been precisely laid out. Unfortunately, the 'tents were open to spiders and vermin'.⁶⁷ On Friday, 1 February 1788, First Lieutenant Ralph Clark recorded: 'in all the course of my life I never Slept worse ... than I did [last] night—what with the hard cold ground Spiders ants and every vermin that you can think of was crawling over me I was glad when the morning came.'⁶⁸

Hunter's map shows that the marines were located on the western side of the Tank Stream, 'facing east down the harbour [towards] ... any threats that might enter'.⁶⁹ The 'marine encampment' comprised tents (along with huts and stores) that were grouped around, or positioned in relationship to, a parade ground. '[T]he spot of ground that had been cleared for a parade', mentioned by George Worgan in his journal entry for Saturday, 9 February 1788,⁷⁰ was probably this very parade ground. The convicts' tents were located nearby.

David Blackburn (1753–95), Master of the First Fleet ship *Supply*, in a letter dated Saturday, 12 July 1788, written to his friend Richard Knight, states: 'on the 25th [January 1788] sailed with the Governor in the Supply for Port Jackson. & next day the whole fleet follow^d & in the evening all anchor^d safe in Sidney Cove. Time was then busily employ^d erecting the tents.'⁷¹ 'Officers lived in marquees, and the marines lived in tents.'⁷²

Governor Phillip, via his clerk Henry Brewer, tells us that one month after Hunter had drawn his map, huts replacing the officers' marquees (perhaps including a hut for Worgan) had still not been completed.⁷³ (Brewer had coarse, harsh features and a habit of muttering to himself;⁷⁴ he did, however, have an unswervingly honest and reliable character.⁷⁵ Brewer 'had been hand-picked by Phillip, with whom he had served on several ships previously'.)⁷⁶

67 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 27.

68 R. Clark, *Journal Kept on the Friendship during a Voyage to Botany Bay and Norfolk Island; And on the Gorgon Returning to England* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures Catalogue, 1788), Thumbnail p. 14, Frame 120 (28 January – 1 February 1788).

69 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 25.

70 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 34.

71 'David Blackburn (1753–1795)', in *Discover Collections at Your State Library* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Discover Collections, 2008).

72 Bridges, *Foundations of Identity*, p. 10.

73 Phillip, *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay*, p. 185.

74 See Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 48.

75 Henry Brewer's character is described by Edward Spain (1755–1833), a naval colleague of Brewer's. In his *Reminiscences, 1774–1802* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales; Call no. C266), Spain remarks 'if honesty merits heaven, Harry [Brewer] is there'. A. J. Gray, 'Brewer, Henry (1739–1796)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1966], Vol. 1.

76 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 11.

Governor Phillip in his temporary blue-panelled canvas house ('like some pre-industrial IKEA nightmare')⁷⁷ and at least five administrative officers (described on the map as being the 'Provost', 'Commissary', 'Judge', parson and the 'Surveyors') were located on the more sheltered eastern side of the Tank Stream.

Governor Phillip's 'first home was an elaborate tent. With a timber frame, it could support some of the "squares" of window glass imported for more substantial dwellings, but the tent leaked and let in the wind.'⁷⁸

Governor Phillip's tent had been 'provided by Messrs Smith of St George's Field',⁷⁹ and 'cost the Government £130 ... though flimsy, [the tent] served Phillip for many months as both office and residence'.⁸⁰

Nearby were stores, as well as a smaller number of convicts' tents than were on the western side of the Tank Stream.

The Hunter/Bradley map also shows a wharf. This was located directly below the Governor's house on the south-eastern side of the Tank Stream. This was 'almost certainly the first artificial ... structure placed in the harbour'.⁸¹ Writing to Lord Sydney (Thomas Townsend, First Viscount Sydney; 1733–1800) on Thursday, 15 May 1788, Governor Phillip, in his first dispatch sent from Sydney Cove, remarks that 'ships can anchor so close to the shore that at a very small expence quays may be constructed at which the largest vessels may unload'.⁸² If the scale and details of the Hunter/Bradley map are to be believed, the wharf may have been located where the depth of the water at the shoreline was only 1.2 metres, near the present-day corner of Loftus and Alfred streets.

Sadly for Worgan's piano, it appears that if the instrument was taken ashore sometime during the first months of the colony's life, it may still have been located in a tent by 'as late as the middle of May [1788]'.⁸³

The Hospital and the Barracks

In March 1788, two months after the arrival of the First Fleet, construction began on the hospital. The building was 26 metres by 7 metres, 'divided into a dispensary ... a ward for the troops, and another for the convicts. It was ...

77 Hunt, *Girt*, p. 111.

78 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 27.

79 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 111.

80 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 120.

81 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 26.

82 A. Britton (ed.), *Historical Records of New South Wales. Volume I, Part 2: Phillip. 1783–1792* (Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer, 1892), p. 122.

83 Phillip, *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay*, p. 185.

built of wood ... the roof ... covered ... with shingles.⁸⁴ Because nails were scarce, the shingles were fixed in place using 'wooden pegs cut by the convict women'.⁸⁵

As a surgeon, George Worgan may have been curious to learn of discoveries made in relation to any medicinal properties associated with plants growing at Sydney Cove.

A knowledge of herbal remedies and medicines was a requisite of eighteenth-century life, demonstrated as a part of normal activities, from the arrival of the First Fleet when 'every species of esculent plants [including] ... wild celery, spinach and parsley ... grew in abundance about the settlement' and were given to those who were sick. A herb called sweet tea 'was recommended by some of the medical gentlemen ... as a powerful tonic'.⁸⁶

Perhaps sweet tea, amongst other herbal infusions, was administered in the colony's newly built hospital building.

The barracks were begun

early in March; but much difficulty was found in providing proper materials, the timber being in general shakey and rotten. They were to consist of four buildings, each building to be sixty-seven feet [20 metres] by twenty-two [7 metres], and to contain one company. They were placed at a convenient distance asunder for the purpose of air and cleanliness, and with a space in the centre for a parade.⁸⁷

Structures such as the hospital and the barracks would have provided some protection against the elements for Worgan's piano, but there is no evidence to suggest that the piano was housed in either of these buildings.

Francis Fowkes' Drawing, 16 April 1788

Three months after the arrival of the First Fleet at Sydney Cove, a drawing was made of the settlement as it appeared on Wednesday, 16 April 1788. The drawing

returned to England ... in 1789. The creator of it remained unknown as the map only has the initials, 'F.F. delineavit' appearing in the lower left-hand corner. By a process of elimination, it was deduced that only one

84 Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country*, Chapter II, para. 2.

85 Bridges, *Foundations of Identity*, p. 11.

86 Barkley-Jack, *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed*, p. 413.

87 Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country*, Chapter II, para. 2.

person [who] travelled with the First Fleet had those initials: [the convict] Francis Fowkes ... The map was published in London in July 1789 by R. Cribb and sold for 1 shilling plain, or 2 shillings [hand] coloured ... it is not an accurate cartographical representation but it does provide much detail about the settlement just 3 months after arrival.⁸⁸

The drawing shows the approximate location of the marine officers' marquees. Although Worgan was not a marine officer, was his piano moved into one of the officers' marquees? The notion that a marquee may have been the piano's first destination ashore is consistent with a journal entry written six months after the First Fleet arrived at Sydney Cove, by John White, the chief surgeon of the First Fleet: 'We have been here nearly six months and four officers only as yet got huts: when the rest will be provided with them seems uncertain, but this I well know, that living in tents, as the rainy season has commenced, is truly uncomfortable.'⁸⁹ 'White remained [at] ... Sydney [Cove] until December 1794, when he returned to England. He was put on half-pay in 1820 and died in 1832, leaving a fortune which today would amount to about £100,000.'⁹⁰

Was Worgan one of the four officers to be provided with a hut to live in? It seems unlikely; higher-ranking officers would have had first preference, and Worgan was neither a high-ranking nor a marine officer. Worgan's military ranking (warrant officer) may not, however, have precluded his piano from being taken off the *Sirius* for subsequent placement in one of the four officers' huts. Perhaps one of the four officers generously allowed Worgan's piano to be placed in his hut. After all, it would have been commonly understood that the instrument, being unique in the colony and valuable in cultural and financial terms, needed to be housed protectively and responsibly.

The outline of each of the four officers' huts 'might have been drawn by a child; simple square buildings about nine feet by twelve with a central door', which may or may not have been lockable, 'on one side and a window each side of it'. The windows were covered with wooden lattice shutters. Posts, girders and rafters were made of sawn she-oak (*Casuarina fraseriana*). 'Cabbage-tree palms [*Livistona australis*] provided material that could be worked—the trunks were soft in texture, easy to fell and roughly consistent in size; unfortunately every cabbage-tree in the vicinity of the settlement had soon been cut down.'

88 'Francis Fowkes', in *Discover Collections at Your State Library* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Discover Collections, 2008).

89 Quoted in Egan, *Buried Alive*, p. 70. Egan takes the quotation from: J. White, *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1962).

90 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 278.

The cabbage-tree palm drop-log walling was plastered with mud on the outside of the hut. 'The first roof shingles were made of wood from the casuarinas, known popularly as 'Botany Bay wood'.'⁹¹

If the hut was thatched, the roof comprised 'grass, the reed-like stalks of the blackboy (*Xanthorrea*) and rushes from the low-tide flats around the harbour'.⁹² Inside the hut, there was a packed earth floor.

The Dawes/Medland/Hunter Map, July 1788

A map attributed to William Dawes (1762–1836), 'drawn with the help of ... Thomas Medland'⁹³ (1755–1822) and Captain John Hunter⁹⁴ in July 1788, reveals that a 'Small House building for the Governor' had been built to the east of his temporary tent accommodation. The location of other accommodation as shown in the Hunter/Bradley map of four months before—that is, Saturday, 1 March 1788—remains fundamentally unchanged. The map 'indicates that settlement was close and intensive, production and storage of food were taking place, defence and communal religious activity were important and disease was present in the colony ... nine acres [4 hectares] of corn [are] marked on the farmlands'.⁹⁵

Newton Fowell's Letter, 12 July 1788

The fragility of the housing built immediately following the arrival of the First Fleet at Sydney Cove is revealed in a letter dated Saturday, 12 July 1788, written to his father by midshipman Newton Fowell. Fowell writes:

[T]he convicts were constantly employed clearing ground, building store houses for the reception of provisions & which were built of by putting trees about 2 feet [60 centimetres] in the ground so as to touch each other & thatched over with rushes, there are likewise a number of hovels built of cabbage tree for some of the officers & the batallion, they are chiefly thatched with rushes but some are covered with wooden tiles the wood of which these tiles are made of splits something like the ash.⁹⁶

91 Ibid., p. 134.

92 Bridges, *Foundations of Identity*, p. 28.

93 Hoorn, *Australian Pastoral*, p. 16.

94 The map may have been based on the Hunter/Bradley map of March 1788, and is published in Phillip, *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay*.

95 Hoorn, *Australian Pastoral*, p. 17.

96 'Newton Fowell (1768–1790)', in *Discover Collections at Your State Library* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Discover Collections, 2008).

Reverend Johnson's Letter, 15 November 1788

The Reverend Richard Johnson⁹⁷ 'was appointed the first Church of England chaplain to the colony of New South Wales in 1787'.⁹⁸ Johnson 'was a humourless, dedicated evangelist [who] ... reconciled himself to a martyr's crown in a far-off land among moral degenerates'.⁹⁹ Accordingly, he 'put together a collection of theological munitions' in the form of 4200¹⁰⁰ 'religious pamphlets, books and Bibles to help straighten the twisted souls of the convicts, most of whom couldn't read'.¹⁰¹ There was ample supply of

1. *Exhortations to Chastity*, by Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (Tertullian) (100 copies)¹⁰²
2. *An Exercise against Lying*¹⁰³
3. Stephen White's *A Dissuasive from Stealing*¹⁰⁴
4. John Kettlewell's *Offices for the Penitent*¹⁰⁵
5. Edward Synge's *Religion Made Easy*¹⁰⁶
6. Josiah Woodward's *A Dissuasive from Profane Swearing and Cursing Offered to Such Unhappy Persons as are Guilty of those Horrid Sins, and are Not Past Counsel* (50 copies)¹⁰⁷
7. bibles (100 copies)¹⁰⁸
8. New Testaments (400 copies)¹⁰⁹
9. books of psalms (500 copies)¹¹⁰

97 An engraved portrait of the Reverend Richard Johnson by Garnet Terry (fl. 1770s–1790s), dated 1787, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. P1/854; Digital order no. a1528135).

98 'Reverend Richard Johnson (1753–1827)', in *Discover Collections at Your State Library* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Discover Collections, 2008).

99 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 67.

100 G. Mackaness, *Some Letters of Rev. Richard Johnson, B. A. First Chaplain of New South Wales* (Sydney: D. S. Ford, 1954).

101 Hill, 1788, caption for image 'Reverend Richard Johnson, painted and engraved by G. Terry', between pp. 200 and 201.

102 See B. Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals: The Turbulent Times of Samuel Marsden* (Melbourne: Lansdowne Press, 1972), p. 30.

103 *An Exercise against Lying: For the Use of the Charity Schools* (London: Joseph Downing, 1715).

104 See Steele and Richards, *Bound for Botany Bay*, p. 5.

105 J. Kettlewell, *A Companion for the Penitent: And for Persons Troubled in Mind. Consisting an Office for the Penitent, to Carry on their Reconciliation with God. And a Tryal or Judgment of the Soul, for Discovering the Safety of their Spiritual Estate. And an Office for Persons Troubled in Mind, to Settle them in Peace and Comfort* (London: Benjamin Bragg, 1700).

106 See Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals*, p. 30.

107 J. Woodward, *A Kind Caution to Profane Swearers* (London: John Rivington, 1770).

108 See Steele and Richards, *Bound for Botany Bay*, p. 4.

109 See *ibid.*, p. 4.

110 See Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals*, p. 30.

10. prayer books (100 copies)¹¹¹

11. catechism books (200 copies).¹¹²

Johnson's optimism was further reflected by his inclusion of 12 copies of Bishop Thomas Wilson's *An Essay Towards an Instruction for the Indians*.¹¹³ All in all, this was 'sufficient to allow each of the ... convicts embarked to borrow six at a time'.¹¹⁴

Needless to say, the Reverend Johnson's attempts to reform the convicts were not particularly successful. 'Male convicts were known to use Bibles and prayer books to make playing cards; women convicts turned tracts into hair curlers.'¹¹⁵ First Lieutenant Ralph Clark, writing in his journal on Tuesday, 1 May 1792, recounted:

[T]wo sharks were caught the morning—in the belly of one of them was found a prayer book quite fresh not a leaf of it defaced on one of the leaves was wrote Frances Carthy cast for death in the year 1786 and reprevaed the same day at four oclock in the afternoon.¹¹⁶

(At his trial held in Bodmin, Cornwall, on 14 August 1786, Francis Carty was found guilty of assault and highway robbery, and sentenced to death. The death sentence was commuted to transportation to Botany Bay for seven years. Carty sailed with the First Fleet on the *Scarborough*.¹¹⁷ It is likely that it was Carty who tossed his prayer book into the sea.) Ironically, the

1780s saw the most extraordinary spiritual rebirth in Britain since the 17th century; a great flowering of dissenting faiths and Churches in which the Bible was read ... as a proclamation of the doctrine of common humanity, and the gospel of compassion for the poor and downtrodden.¹¹⁸

In a letter dated Saturday, 15 November 1788, written to his friend Henry Fricker, Reverend Johnson reveals that 10 months after the arrival of the First

111 See Steele and Richards, *Bound for Botany Bay*, pp. 4–5.

112 See Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals*, p. 30.

113 T. Wilson, *The Knowledge and Practice of Christianity Made Easy to the Meanest Capacities: Or, an Essay Towards an Instruction for the Indians* (London: B. Dod, 1759). Reverend Johnson used the thirteenth edition (London, 1781). See Egan, *Buried Alive*, p. 94. See also Steele and Richards, *Bound for Botany Bay*, p. 5.

114 Mackaness, *Some Letters of Rev. Richard Johnson*.

115 Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, p. 48.

116 'May 1792 May Tuesday 1', in P. G. Fidlon and R. J. Ryan (eds), *The Journal and Letters of Lt. Ralph Clark 1787–1792* (Sydney: Australian Documents Library in Association with The Library of Australian History, 1981).

117 See *First Fleet Convicts Register—Convict Profile: Francis Carty* (Wollongong, NSW: Centre for Educational Development and Interactive Resources, University of Wollongong, n.d.).

118 S. Schama, *A History of Britain: The Fate of Empire 1776–2000* (London: BBC, 2002), p. 40.

Fleet at Sydney Cove, the physical quality of his housing left a lot to be desired (the Reverend Johnson's letters 'are full of ... frustrations at the primitive state of things').¹¹⁹ Reverend Johnson writes that with

much labour & no small cost we have got our little cabbage tree cottage—no small curiosity it is, i assure you, & c[oul]d it be placed on bonfire corner but one day, I dare say it w[oul]d have as many spectators & admirers as ever had Lunardy's balloon. Am happy, however, that it in some measure answers our purpose, though now and then in excessive rains, we are all in a swim within doors.¹²⁰

When compared with a tent, Reverend Johnson's cottage represented a more comfortable and secure type of accommodation. Even so, it is reasonable to assume that if Worgan was presented with the opportunity to place his piano in the Reverend Johnson's cottage, or into a cottage that was similar, he may not have been keen to place the instrument into such an environmentally harsh context.

George Worgan's Piano Remains on the *Sirius*

Following his arrival with the First Fleet, Worgan may have kept his piano on board the *Sirius* for as long as he could, in order to ensure that it was housed in a secure and relatively environmentally stable location.

John Curry maintains that 'at Sydney Cove Worgan lived principally on the ship'.¹²¹ Worgan may sometimes have slept on board the *Sirius*. There was a precedent for this: after his arrival at Sydney Cove with the First Fleet, First Lieutenant William Bradley 'lived in the *Sirius* and appears to have taken little part in the social life of the new colony'.¹²² A watercolour¹²³ drawn by Bradley, dated 1788, shows the colony's sparse, rudimentary housing (Bradley used the image to illustrate his journal). Given the basic conditions depicted by Bradley, it is reasonable to hypothesise that Worgan may have kept his piano on board the *Sirius*, where he may have slept—after all, Worgan was a member of the

119 S. Fitzgerald, *Sydney: A Story of a City* (Sydney: City of Sydney, 1999), p. 20.

120 'Reverend Richard Johnson (1753–1827)', in *Discover Collections at Your State Library*.

121 J. Currie (ed.), 'A First Fleet Surgeon at Sydney Cove—Extracts from George Worgan Letters and Diary', in *Doryanthes—The Journal of History and Heritage for Southern Sydney: A Periodic Southern Sydney Journal of Art, Heritage and Natural History* (Engadine, NSW: Dharawal Publishers, 2009), Vol. 2, No. 4 (November), p. 24.

122 J. D. Hine, 'Bradley, William (1757?–1833)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [first published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1966], Vol. 1.

123 Watercolouring was relatively new—far cheaper than oil paint, watercolour paint was easily portable and dried faster. A boxed set of watercolour cakes was, however, not cheap, selling for 2–3 guineas. See Menezes and Bandeira, *O Rio De Janeiro na Rota dos Mares do Sul*, p. 221, fn. 2. See also Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 7, fn. 11.

ship's company, rather than of the settlement. No documentary source, however, indicates that surgeon Worgan led a reclusive life, or that he lived, or as a general rule slept, on board the *Sirius*. Furthermore, there is no documentary evidence supporting the notions that Worgan's piano was either immediately taken off the *Sirius* or remained on board.

George Worgan's Piano is Taken Ashore

The contextual uniqueness of Worgan's piano, as well as its social, cultural and monetary value, would have required that moving the instrument from the *Sirius* to the shore be undertaken with the utmost care. There may have been some awkward effort, if not only because of the instrument's fragility, but also because of its weight (which was not all that excessive) and its slightly lopsided centre of gravity. Rudimentary wharf facilities would also not have helped. In order to make its journey ashore, Worgan's piano may have been moved in a shallow-draft rowing boat or a flat-bottomed barge.

Following his arrival at Sydney Cove with the First Fleet on Saturday, 26 January 1788, Worgan had two choices in relation to the timing of taking his piano ashore. First, the instrument could have been taken off the *Sirius* at any time during the approximately eight months following the arrival of the First Fleet at Sydney Cove, and before the ship's departure on 2 October 1788 'for the Cape of Good Hope, with directions to purchase provisions there'.¹²⁴

Second, Worgan's piano may have been removed from the *Sirius* after its return from the Cape of Good Hope on Saturday, 9 May 1789 (assuming that the instrument made the journey with Worgan).

The *Sirius* Circumnavigates the World

Unlikely as it is, Worgan's piano may have remained on board the *Sirius* during its epic global circumnavigation via the Cape of Good Hope and back (Thursday, 2 October 1788 to Saturday, 9 May 1789). If the piano was on the ship during this journey, it may also have been left on board during the 10 months that followed the return of the vessel to Sydney Cove from Cape Town—that is, before the *Sirius* departed on Saturday, 6 March 1790 for Norfolk Island, where the ship was wrecked 13 days later. This, however, is an unlikely scenario.

In his journal, *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*, Captain John Hunter reveals that prior to the *Sirius*'s departure from Sydney Cove for the Cape of Good Hope,

124 Tench, 'A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson', p. 92.

Governor Phillip signified ... that it was his intention ... that [the *Sirius*] ... might be made as light as possible [and] ... he desired I would land eight or ten of her guns and carriages, with any other articles which I judged the ship could spare, for the time she might be absent, and which might answer the purpose of lightening the ship and the making of room. In consequence of this order ... various ... articles ... were put on shore at Sydney-cove.¹²⁵

Was Worgan's piano one of the 'articles' that was removed from the *Sirius* prior to the vessel's departure for the Cape of Good Hope because Captain Hunter had 'judged' that 'the ship could spare' it?

We know that Worgan was on the *Sirius* when the ship made its eastward journey via Cape Horn to the Cape of Good Hope. This is because Captain Hunter writes:

[I]n the morning of the 2d of January [1789] ... at 10 o'clock ... we anchored in Table Bay [Cape Town] ... Immediately after our arrival, I directed that sick-quarters should be provided for the sick, which was done; and the invalids, to the number of forty, were landed under the care of Mr. Worgan, the surgeon of the ship.¹²⁶

The large number of 'invalids' cared for by George Worgan had been incapacitated by scurvy. 'The ship's company was afflicted with scurvy so badly that at one stage there were only thirteen sailors available to man the watch.'¹²⁷ Because Captain Hunter had 'made the controversial decision to take the eastern, rather than the western route to Cape Town, across the southern Pacific and Atlantic oceans [the *Sirius* arrived] ... in Cape Town in a record time of 91 days'.¹²⁸ Hunter may have taken the eastern route in order to take advantage of the Roaring Forties, which blow consistently from the west; although he travelled further, the wind was behind him all the way. 'Sailing east, the *Sirius* had gained a day. The correction was made when the ship crossed the Greenwich meridian in the mid-Atlantic; quite by coincidence this was on the 25 December, and the ship's company were permitted to celebrate Christmas twice.'¹²⁹

After spending 51 days at Table Bay, on 20 February, the *Sirius* departed from Cape Town for Sydney Cove, 'after having taken on board twelve months provisions for the ship's company; and, in addition, about six months flour for the whole settlement'.¹³⁰

125 Hunter, *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*, Chapter IV, 'A Voyage to Cape of Good Hope September 1788 to January 1789'.

126 Ibid., Chapter V, 'A Voyage to Cape of Good Hope and Voyage to Port Jackson January 1789 to May 1789'.

127 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 212.

128 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, pp. 25–6.

129 Ibid., p. 26.

130 Hunter, *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*, Chapter V, 'A Voyage to Cape of Good Hope and Voyage to Port Jackson January 1789 to May 1789'.

One can imagine the emotions of [the ship's officers and crew] ... as they sailed from Cape Town and turned towards the east. There was no question, of course, where their duty lay—the settlement at Sydney Cove desperately needed the supplies they were carrying—but it must have been tempting to think that by turning in the other direction they could have been back to the comforts of England within a couple of months.¹³¹

The *Sirius* was loaded with 'various stores for the colony, and many private articles for the different officers, &c. &c. in short, the ship's hold, between decks, every officer's apartment, and all the store-rooms were completely filled'.¹³²

We do not know if Worgan's 'apartment' contained his piano along with the 'many private articles' that had been procured at Cape Town. Regardless of whether or not Worgan's piano was stored in his cabin, according to Captain Hunter, Worgan's apartment would have been 'completely filled'.

On the evening of 9 May 1789, the *Sirius* 'entered between the heads of the harbour, and worked up to Sydney Cove, where [it] ... anchored before dark, after an absence of 219 days'.¹³³ Having sailed in the belt of westerly winds known as the Roaring Forties, the *Sirius* 'had fairly gone round the world',¹³⁴ 'thus pioneering the route'.¹³⁵

During its epic voyage, the *Sirius* endured a particularly violent storm off the South Cape of Van Diemen's Land. As a consequence, when the ship arrived at Sydney Cove, it was in a damaged state:

She was missing the upper sections of her masts (the fore-topgallant masts), had split the upper parts of her stem [stern?] and lost the figurehead of the Duke of Berwick ...¹³⁶

Despite the supplies *Sirius* had brought back from South Africa, by November 1789 the ration had to be reduced by two-thirds again. Amongst other factors, the store-house supplies had proved to be very appetizing to rats and to native marsupials—bush rats, potoroos, bilbies and possums. Nonetheless, said Collins, 'The governor, whose humanity was at all times conspicuous, directed that no alteration should be made in the ration to be issued to the women.'¹³⁷

131 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 27.

132 Hunter, *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*, Chapter V, 'A Voyage to Cape of Good Hope and Voyage to Port Jackson January 1789 to May 1789'.

133 Ibid.

134 Ibid.

135 Thompson, 'Statement of Significance'.

136 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 215.

137 Ibid., p. 237.

The Wedgwood Medallion

The optimism that must have flowered in the colony immediately following the arrival of the *Sirius* on Saturday, 9 May 1789 was matched, at virtually the same time, in England.

On [Sunday] 16 November 1788 in Sydney Cove, Governor Arthur Phillip sent Sir Joseph Banks¹³⁸ a box containing red ochre, and also white clay 'with wch the natives mark themselves, it is found in great plenty, a few feet below the surface ... the people use it to cover their houses.' A second box was described as containing sand 'found in sinking a well' which Phillip thought 'has black lead in it.'¹³⁹

Banks, in turn, immediately sent the clay to 'Josiah Wedgwood to be tested for its suitability for making pottery, which Wedgwood reported was excellent'.¹⁴⁰ (Had Banks been informed at the time that Worgan had taken a square piano to Sydney Cove, he would most probably have been disinterested; Sir Joseph did not have 'the slightest taste for music'.)¹⁴¹

In 1789 Josiah Wedgwood issued a medallion (Plate 64) made from the marl collected by Arthur Phillip. 'Modelled by William Hackwood (fl. 1780–d. 1836) after a design by Henry Webber (1754–1826)',¹⁴² the medallion was entitled 'Hope encouraging Art and Labour, under the influence of Peace, to pursue the employments necessary to give security and happiness to an infant settlement'.

138 Sir Joseph Banks lived in a house in Soho (or Kings) Square, one block away from the house in which Johann Christian Bach lived until his death in 1782. A portrait of Sir Joseph Banks by Benjamin West (1738–1820), dated 1773, can be seen at *PD Art. Wikimedia Commons. Web Gallery of Art*.

139 'General Note', in *Manuscripts, Oral History & Pictures* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales. The source of Governor Phillip's remarks is the State Library of New South Wales, Sir Joseph Banks Electronic Archive, Series 37.08.

140 'Wedgwood Medallion Made from Dark Grey Clay from Sydney Cove, 1789', in *Search Our Collections* (Canberra: National Museum Australia, n.d.).

141 'Memoir of Johann Peter Salomon', in *The Harmonicon*, 11 vols (London: Samuel Leigh, 1830), Vol. 8, p. 47. Quoted in I. Woodfield, *Salomon and the Burneys: Private Patronage and a Public Career* (Aldershot, UK: The Royal Musical Association, 2003), p. 51.

142 'General Note', State Library of New South Wales.



Plate 64 Josiah Wedgwood (1730–95): medallion made from clay collected at Sydney Cove (1789); 6.7 centimetres maximum diameter.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney. Call no. P*68; Album ID 825693; Digital order no. a128978.

The bas-relief image on the obverse side of the medallion is allegorical. The female figure on the left, dressed in Grecian-style robes, represents Hope; she stands beside an anchor, the symbol of hope. Hope is addressing Peace, Art and Labour—all of whom are in classical dress. A basket of fruit, a symbol of plenty, pours forth its bounty at the feet of a female figure, Peace, who holds an olive branch, the symbol of peace. Next to Peace, Art is represented by a female figure holding an artist's palette; last, standing beside Art, the only male figure on the medallion represents Labour—he wears a loincloth, and supports a sledgehammer on his right shoulder. On the left-hand side, behind Hope, a ship under sail can be seen, whilst on the right-hand side, behind Labour, the land bristles with (church?) towers, and buildings rise.

The word 'Etruria' in raised (sprigged) text, along with the date of manufacture (1789), sits beneath the image. 'Etruria' refers to the name of Wedgwood's Staffordshire factory, opened in 1769 (Wedgwood's stately home was called 'Etruria Hall').

On the reverse side of the medallion, the following words are impressed:

Made By
 Josiah Wedgwood
 Of Clay
 From
 Sydney Cove

An unknown number of medallions were sent to Phillip at Sydney Cove. On Monday, 26 July 1790, Phillip wrote to Joseph Banks: 'Wedgwood has showed the world that our [New South] Welch clay is capable of receiving an elegant commission, & i return thanks for the ... medallions.'¹⁴³

The medallions were produced in three distinct colours—pale cream, brown and black—depending on which clay was used. It is not known how many medallions were produced, but the number is likely to be small.¹⁴⁴

The Wedgwood medallion became the inspiration for the First Great Seal of New South Wales, which was approved by King George III on Wednesday, 4 August 1790.

George Worgan Puts His Piano on Land

Worgan's piano was taken off the *Sirius* between the arrival of the First Fleet at Sydney Cove on Saturday, 26 January 1788 and the departure of the *Sirius* for Norfolk Island on Saturday, 6 March 1790.

A very long letter written by Elizabeth Macarthur to her friend Bridget Kingdon in London, dated Monday, 7 March 1791, enables us to deduce that George Worgan's piano (and George Worgan) did not depart with the *Sirius* for Norfolk Island on 6 March 1790; Worgan 'remained at Port Jackson assisting Dr. White at the hospital'.¹⁴⁵ Elizabeth writes: 'I shall now introduce another acquaintance, Mr Worgan to you, a gentleman I have not hitherto named. He was surgeon to the *Sirius*, and happened to be left at this place [that is, Sydney] when that ship met with her fate at Norfolk.'¹⁴⁶ The writing of letters was considered to be both

143 'Letter from Governor Phillip to Joseph Banks, 26 July 1790', in *Sir Joseph Banks Electronic Archive* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, 1790), Series 37.12.

144 'General Note', State Library of New South Wales.

145 Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 393.

146 E. Macarthur, 'Letter to Bridget Kingdon', in *Macarthur Papers 10* (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, 7 March 1791), A2906, Mfm CY940. Quoted in Egan, *Buried Alive*, p. 229. See

part of 'women's work' and an artform that reflected 'gentility'. Letter writing 'was part of the literary inheritance of middle- and upper-class women', letters often being written 'to be read aloud and to be passed around among relatives and friends'.¹⁴⁷ Writers 'knew how their letters could be "staged" to provide ... home entertainment and they shaped their words accordingly'.¹⁴⁸ As there is no mention in any contemporaneous source that Worgan's piano was saved from the shipwreck of the *Sirius*, it is reasonable to assume that by Saturday, 6 March 1790, Worgan's square piano had been taken off the *Sirius*.

Watkin Tench provides evidence that Worgan was not on board the *Sirius* when it made its journey to Norfolk Island.¹⁴⁹ The *Sirius* foundered at Norfolk Island on Friday, 19 March 1790. The officers and crew of the *Sirius*—having been stranded on Norfolk Island for 11 months—departed from the island for Sydney Cove, on board the *Supply*, on Monday, 7 February 1791. They arrived at Sydney Cove on Sunday, 27 February 1791. Tench reports that in August 1790—five months after the *Sirius* had been wrecked, and six months before the officers and crew of the *Sirius* returned to Sydney Cove—

in company with Mr Dawes and Mr Worgan, late surgeon of the *Sirius*, I undertook an expedition to the southward and westward of Rose Hill [Parramatta]¹⁵⁰ ... Except the discovery of a river (which is unquestionably the Nepean near its source) to which we gave the name of the Worgan, in honour of one of our party, nothing very interesting was remarked.¹⁵¹

Worgan therefore cannot have left Port Jackson for Norfolk Island on what was to be the final journey of the *Sirius*.

Cobley¹⁵² and Edwards¹⁵³ assert that Worgan left Port Jackson on the *Sirius*, and subsequently 'spent a year on Norfolk Island after she was wrecked there'.¹⁵⁴ There is no evidence to support either Cobley's or Edwards' claims—claims that contradict the obvious implications of Tench's report.

Whatever the exact date Worgan's piano was moved from the *Sirius* to the shore, no direct evidence has been found to show where the piano was housed

also E. Macarthur, *The Journal and Letters of Elizabeth Macarthur, 1789–1798*, introduced and transcribed by J. N. Hughes (Glebe, NSW: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 1984).

147 Clarke, 'Life Lines'.

148 Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. xxvii.

149 See W. Tench, *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, in New South Wales, Including an Accurate Description of the Colony; Of the Natives; And of its Natural Productions* (London: G. Nicol & J. Sewell, 1793), Chapter 7.

150 Tench, 'A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson', p. 203.

151 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

152 Cobley, 'Worgan, George Bouchier (1757–1838)', p. 623.

153 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 4.

154 Cobley, 'Worgan, George Bouchier (1757–1838)'.

immediately after its removal from the ship. The instrument most probably began its life in Australia in a tent, in conditions that were both confronting and crude.

With the passing of time, Worgan's piano may have been located in his residence. It is not known exactly where Worgan resided. He may have lived with the other surgeons at the hospital,¹⁵⁵ or he may have lived at the barracks.

Was George Worgan's Piano Placed in Governor Phillip's House?

Because of its value, perhaps Worgan's piano found its way into Governor Phillip's home. The foundation stone for Governor Phillip's house—a small cottage on the east side of the cove¹⁵⁶—was laid on Thursday, 15 May 1788. ('The Lieutenant-Governor, Major Robert Ross, had begun his stone-built cottage a month before.')¹⁵⁷

The King's Birthday Celebrations, 4 June 1789

On Thursday, 4 June 1789—the anniversary of his majesty's birthday¹⁵⁸—not only did Governor Phillip receive a large cabbage (weighing 12 kilograms) that had been grown at the newly established vegetable gardens at Rose Hill (soon renamed with its Aboriginal name of Parramatta),¹⁵⁹ but he also 'received the compliments due to the day in his new house, of which he had lately taken possession as the government-house of the colony, where his excellency afterwards entertained the officers at dinner'.¹⁶⁰

Robert Jordan provides compelling evidence to support his hypothesis that not all the officers in or near Sydney on 4 June 1789 dined that evening with

155 A possibility identified by the eminent Australian historian Joy Hughes during a conversation held with the author on Friday, 6 March 2009.

156 'Arthur Phillip to Lord Sydney. Despatch No. 4, Wednesday 9 July 1788', in *Historical Records of Australia* (Canberra: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1914–25), Series 1, Vol. 1 (1788–96), p. 47. Quoted in J. Broadbent, *The Australian Colonial House: Architecture and Society in New South Wales 1788–1842* (Sydney: Hordern House in association with the Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales and supported by the Friends of the Historic Houses Trust, 1997), p. 1.

157 Broadbent, *The Australian Colonial House*, p. 1.

158 Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country*, Chapter VII, para. 21.

159 See H. Proudfoot, 'Phillip: Discovery and Cultivation of the Government Domain', in *Old Government House: The Building and its Landscape* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1971), p. 11.

160 Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country*, Chapter II, para. 2, and Chapter VII, para. 21.

Governor Phillip to celebrate the King's birthday (the 12-kilogram cabbage would doubtless have featured at the dinner). Jordan suggests that Governor Phillip entertained '45 or so' dinner guests.¹⁶¹

Government House 'was only one room deep with back skillings'—that is, slight additions to the outside of the cottage.¹⁶²

There were 'six main rooms—two front rooms downstairs, two skilling rooms and two rooms upstairs—plus the upper and lower halls, the stairhall and, possibly, subsidiary rooms in the upper part of the skilling.'¹⁶³

'The front rooms were approximately 20 by 16.5 feet [6 metres by 5 metres], the hall approximately 9 feet [3 metres] wide. The ceiling height on the ground floor was 9 feet, the height to the top of the double-hung sash windows was 7 feet [2 metres].'¹⁶⁴

There would have been more than enough room to install Worgan's square piano in one of the downstairs front rooms of Governor Phillip's new home.

The King's birthday of 4 June 1789 was celebrated with volleys from the marines, and 21-gun salutes from the ships in the harbour.¹⁶⁵ Captain David Collins, the colony's Deputy Judge Advocate and Secretary to the Governor,¹⁶⁶ tells us that the King's birthday 'was observed with every distinction in our power; for the first time, the ordnance belonging to the colony were discharged; the detachment of marines fired three volleys, which were followed by twenty-one guns from each of the ships of war in the cove'.¹⁶⁷

'David Collins was a tall, broad-shouldered man with fair, curly hair.¹⁶⁸ He was described as "remarkably handsome and his manners extremely prepossessing" with a "most cheerful disposition".'¹⁶⁹ Collins' account of the first eight years of the colony is arguably the most comprehensive of the several accounts of life at Sydney Cove that were published towards the end of the eighteenth century.

161 Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840*, pp. 281–2.

162 Broadbent, *The Australian Colonial House*, p. 4.

163 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

164 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

165 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 168.

166 Collins formed a close bond with Governor Phillip. This is reflected in his statement concerning the Governor, 'with whom I have now lived so long, that I am blended in every concern of his'. 'Collins, David (1756–1810)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1966], Vol. 1.

167 Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country*, Chapter VII, para. 21.

168 An engraved portrait of Captain David Collins by Antoine Cardon (1722–1813), dated 1804, is housed at the National Library of Australia, Canberra (Pictures Collection, nla.pic-an9483647).

169 Egan, *Buried Alive*, p. 88.

Collins' duties ensured that he had 'a close relationship with Governor Phillip and his role of keeping official records and drafting dispatches made him very well informed to document the state of the colony'.¹⁷⁰

George Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer*

Collins continues by revealing that during the evening of the King's birthday, 'some of the convicts were permitted to perform Farquhar's comedy of the Recruiting Officer, in a hut fitted up for the occasion. They professed no higher aim than "humbly to excite a smile," and their efforts to please were not unattended with applause.'¹⁷¹

On Thursday, 4 June 1789, after Governor Phillip had 'entertained the officers at dinner'¹⁷² as part of the King's birthday celebrations, not all of his dinner guests—following their culinary adventure with the 12-kilogram cabbage—would have attended the ensuing performance of *The Recruiting Officer*.

Hypothetically, over forty of the sixty audience-members could have been drawn from the ruling elite. Although the actual number may have been below that, there still remain those immediate adjuncts of the ruling order, the storekeepers and superintendents, the marine sergeants (some of whom had brought their wives to the colony) and their naval equivalents, such as the bosuns and master-gunners. Tench's reference to an audience of 'various descriptions' suggests some common folk were present; but the few places would not have gone far among the theatre-loving sailors and soldiers. There may well have been no convicts whatsoever in the audience, only convicts performing for the delectation of their betters.¹⁷³

This production of *The Recruiting Officer*, a play written in 1706 by the Irish dramatist George Farquhar (1677–1707), was the first play to be seen in New South Wales. Sadly, we know virtually nothing about the production or who was involved in it.¹⁷⁴

Though *The Recruiting Officer* was sufficiently popular to justify its selection on that ground alone, it was also a play that had a special

170 S. Hunt, 'First Impressions', in S. Hunt and G. Davison, *Sydney Views 1788–1888 from the Beat Knoblauch Collection* (Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 2007), p. 30.

171 Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country*, Chapter VII, para. 21.

172 Ibid., Chapter II, para. 2, and Chapter VII, para. 21.

173 Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840*, p. 31.

174 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 168.

appeal to the military. Its choice may have been a calculated attempt to flatter those who were expected to dominate not only the audience but also the lives of the players.¹⁷⁵

Within the context of late eighteenth-century political correctness, however, it is astonishing that both Governor Phillip and the NSW Corps allowed the convict actors to present *The Recruiting Officer*. The play ridicules the officer class: Captain Brazen, the principal comic figure in the play, is not only a loud-mouthed fop but also an idiot.

In 1797, several English newspapers reported that John Gay's (1685–1732) *The Beggar's Opera* had been performed in Sydney:¹⁷⁶ 'It is said that the *Citizens of Botany Bay*, begin to *turn their hands* towards theatrical amusements. *The Beggar's Opera*, we hear, is the favourite Play.'¹⁷⁷ It seems unlikely that *The Beggar's Opera* would have been performed at the colony, 'since it was widely seen in Britain as politically subversive and a dangerous celebration of the life of crime'.¹⁷⁸ (Besides, there may not have been available an instrumental ensemble large enough to provide the prescribed accompaniment for the singers.) *The Beggar's Opera*

worked on the principle that if you can destroy the ... respect paid to rank and station, those distinctions ... may be speedily swept away. On 13 May 1805 the *Morning Chronicle* reported a disturbance during a production of the work at Drury Lane, where Gay's version of 'Greensleeves' (Air 67) 'produced a torrent of applause of an extraordinary kind' and was encored three times:

Since laws were made for ev'ry degree,
To curb vice in others, as well as me,
I wonder we ha'nt better company,
Upon Tyburn Tree!
But gold from law can take out the sting;
And if rich men like us were to swing,
'Twou'd thin the land, such numbers to string
Upon Tyburn Tree!¹⁷⁹

It is unlikely the ruling authorities at Sydney Cove would have welcomed such sentiments being espoused on the convict stage.

175 Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840*, pp. 31–2.

176 *Oracle*, 14 July 1797; *Morning Chronicle*, 18 July 1797; *True Briton*, 20 July 1797; *Star*, 27 July 1797; *Crafts*, 26 August 1797.

177 Quoted in Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840*, p. 108.

178 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

179 *Ibid.*, p. 307, fn. 58.

It is not known who brought a copy of *The Recruiting Officer* to Sydney Cove. It is possible that marine officer First Lieutenant Ralph Clark may have possessed a copy of the play. Clark, 'a rather prim [and] neurotic officer had volunteered' for service in Botany Bay 'in the hope of promotion'.¹⁸⁰ We know that during his journey on board the *Friendship*—one of the transports for female prisoners—First Lieutenant Clark spent time reading. 'He enjoyed ... stories in copies of [the] ... women's magazine [*Lady*]. He ... also possessed a copy of *Lady Jane Grey*', a play by Nicholas Rowe (1674–1718), 'first produced in 1715'.¹⁸¹

In his journal, Clark informs us that on Saturday, 8 December 1787, he 'read the remainder of *Lady Jane Gray*—could not help shedding tears for so good a young lady to come with her fond husband to so untimely an end as she did'.¹⁸²

Watkin Tench provides a much more elaborate account than Collins of the production of the first play to be performed in the colony.

Tench recounts:

The anniversary of His Majesty's birthday was celebrated, as heretofore, at the government house, with loyal festivity. In the evening, the play of *The Recruiting Officer* was performed by a party of convicts, and honoured by the presence of His Excellency and the officers of the garrison. That every opportunity of escape from the dreariness and dejection of our situation should be eagerly embraced will not be wondered at. The exhilarating effect of a splendid theatre is well known; and I am not ashamed to confess that the proper distribution of three or four yards of stained paper, and a dozen farthing candles stuck around the mud walls of a convict hut, failed not to diffuse general complacency on the countenances of sixty persons of various descriptions who were assembled to applaud the representation. Some of the actors acquitted themselves with great spirit and received the praises of the audience. A prologue and an epilogue, written by one of the performers, were also spoken on the occasion; which, although not worth inserting here, contained some tolerable allusions to the situation of the parties, and the novelty of a stage representation in New South Wales.¹⁸³

180 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 58.

181 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 168.

182 R. Clark, *Journal Kept on the Friendship during a Voyage to Botany Bay and Norfolk Island; And on the Gorgon Returning to England* (Sydney: Manuscripts, Oral History & Pictures, State Library of New South Wales, 1787), Item a262103, Vol. 1 (9 March 1787 – 31 December 1787), 7–9 December 1787.

183 W. Tench, 'Transactions of the Colony until the Close of the Year 1789', in *1788: Comprising a Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay and a Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson*, edited and introduced by T. Flannery (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 1996), p. 109.

The prologue and epilogue of which Tench speaks have not survived. By referring to 'the novelty of a stage representation in New South Wales', Tench implies that he was well aware of the cultural significance for the colony of the production of *The Recruiting Officer*.

Incidental Music for *The Recruiting Officer*

The addition of a prologue and epilogue to the *The Recruiting Officer* produced the structure of entertainment typically found in many English theatres of the time. 'The usual preliminaries would have comprised an extended musical introduction from a small instrumental ensemble, followed by an actor advancing in front of the curtain to deliver a prologue.'¹⁸⁴

If there was 'an extended musical introduction', this may have involved the use of George Worgan's piano. It seems unlikely, however, that Tench would have failed to mention the presence of the piano had it been part of the event in any way (not to mention the presence of its player, George Worgan).

The prologue would almost certainly have been written locally for the occasion. It was commonplace in England for companies touring the provincial towns, as part of the process of ingratiating, to offer such pieces, normally replete with local references. Similarly, special events, such as the opening of a new theatre, were accorded the same treatment.¹⁸⁵

Typically for late eighteenth-century English theatre, the conclusion of the prologue led immediately into the main play, which was usually taken from the standard repertoire. The main play was commonly followed by an epilogue, a farce or a pantomime, a dance and/or a song, an elaborate scenic spectacle or a combination of all these afterpieces (depending on the resources available at the theatre).¹⁸⁶

In 1792—three years after the performance at Sydney Cove of *The Recruiting Officer* on 4 June 1789—the text of Farquhar's play was printed in London.¹⁸⁷ According to this printed text, singing is called for at several stages in the play.

At the start of Act 2, Scene 3:

184 See Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840*, p. 38.

185 *Ibid.*, pp. 38–9.

186 See G. Russell, *The Playbill and its People: Australia's Earliest Printed Document* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2011), p. 14.

187 G. Farquhar, 'The Recruiting Officer, a Comedy, by George Farquhar Esq. Adapted for Theatrical Representation as Performed at the Theatres-Royal, Drury-Lane and Covent-Garden. Regulated from the Prompt Books, by Permission of the Managers', in *Bell's British Theatre Consisting of the Most Esteemed English Plays* (London: John Bell, 1792), Vol. 13.

KITE sings.

*Our 'prentice Tom may now refuse
To wipe his scoundrel master's shous,
For now he's free to sing and play
Over the hills and far away. Over, &c.*

[The Mob sing the chorus.]

*We shall lead more happy lives
By getting rid of brats and wives
That scold and brawl both night and day,
Over the hills and far away. Over, &c.¹⁸⁸*

A little later in the same scene:

Enter PLUME singing.

*Over the hills and over the main,
To Flanders, Portugal, or Spain;
The king commands and we'll obey,
Over the hills and far away.¹⁸⁹*

Near the end of Act 2:

*Plume. Very well. Courage, my lads Now
we'll*

[Sings.] *Over the hills, and far away.
Courage, boys, it is one to ten
But we return all gentlemen;
While conq'ring colours we display,
Over the hills, and far away.¹⁹⁰*

Towards the end of Act 3, Scene 1:

Enter PLUME, singing.

*Plume. But it is not so
With those that go
Thro' frost and snow
Most apropos
My maid with the milking-pail. [Takes hold of Rose.]¹⁹¹*

188 Ibid., p. 38.

189 Ibid., p. 40.

190 Ibid., p. 45.

191 Ibid., p. 57.

Apart from singing, the sound of a drum is also required in the play towards the beginning of Act 1. The 1792 printed text shows:

All Mob. Huzza!
Kite. Beat drum.

[Exeunt shouting, drum beating a Grenadier's march.]¹⁹²

When describing the performance at Sydney Cove of *The Recruiting Officer*, both Collins and Tench make no observations in relation either to singing or to the use of musical instruments in the play. If any instruments were used at all, their presence may simply have been taken for granted. Traditionally, the English regarded music and spectacle—scenery, costumes and spoken dialogue—as being of equal importance. As the seventeenth-century playwright Peter Motteux (1663–1718) states: 'English gentlemen, when their ear is satisfy'd, are desirous to have their mind pleas'd, and musick and dancing industriously intermix'd with comedy or tragedy.'¹⁹³ There is no evidence that this attitude changed markedly between the seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries.

In late eighteenth-century London's playhouses (as in opera houses), musical instruments were not always placed in front of the stage but could be located outside the stage picture. The location of musical instruments was a flexible affair, and was often determined by the needs of the play; accordingly, music could be heard coming from 'heav'n' (above the proscenium), from 'hell' (beneath the stage) or was made visibly (or invisibly) behind, in front of or beside the action.

The fact that neither Collins nor Tench mentions singing or the use of musical instruments in the production of *The Recruiting Officer* may be because the presence of these elements was not regarded as being anything special or particularly out of the ordinary. Certainly, it would have been an easy matter to procure at least a drummer (as is required in the 1792 printed text) from the regimental band ('three marine fife-and-drummers landed with the ... *Sirius* in 1788').¹⁹⁴

If singing took place within the context of the production of *The Recruiting Officer*, it is possible that a fife—or fifes, if not too loud combined—from the regimental band(s) may have (visibly or invisibly) doubled or improvised basic counterpoint against the vocal melodic line.

192 Ibid., p. 13.

193 Quoted in M. Greenhalgh, Liner Notes for *Henry Purcell: King Arthur or the British Worthy* (Harmonia Mundi France, 1979), vinyl disc, HM 252/53, p. 3.

194 Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 67, fn. 39.

Although there is no evidence to reinforce the notion, there remains the remote possibility that George Worgan's piano 'was carefully carried down to the hut where the performance took place in order to add its voice to those of the actors'.¹⁹⁵

How large was this hut? Based on the commonly assumed ratio of 0.23 square metres per person, an audience of 'sixty persons of various descriptions who were assembled to applaud the representation'¹⁹⁶ of *The Recruiting Officer* results in a total area of 23.23 square metres. Such a floor area

seems large for a small convict hut, and there is only one early reference that could point to the existence of something larger. In April 1788 'a range of huts' for women prisoners was begun west of the stream. These sound more like barracks than individual dwellings, but no dimensions are given. However, by November 1790 Parramatta boasted 32 convict barracks, apparently built as part of the expansion of the town in that year and housing 10 to 14 men each. These were 'of 24 feet by 12 [7.3 metres by 3.6 metres] each, on a ground floor only, built of wattles plaistered with clay, and thatched'. They were distinguished from the 'small huts' where convict families of good character were permitted to reside and were divided into two rooms. In April 1792 the work in progress included 'building brick huts at Sydney for convicts, consisting of two apartments, each hut being twenty-six feet [7.9 metres] in front, and fourteen feet [4.2 metres] in width, and intended to contain ten people'. Despite the paucity of the records the probability is that Sydney had been building cabbage-palm or wattle-and-daub convict barracks from April 1788, using the model then taken up by Parramatta ... These ... structures ... could have had a floor space of 288–364 square feet [27–34 square metres], sufficient (if unencumbered) to accommodate the production.¹⁹⁷

If Worgan's piano was used in the performance of *The Recruiting Officer*, George Worgan would have been the one to have played it. Had this been the case, such a novel occurrence would probably not have gone undocumented. Watkin Tench only recalls that 'the play of *The Recruiting Officer* was performed by a party of convicts'.¹⁹⁸ There is no mention of surgeon Worgan playing his piano. Given the lack of evidence concerning all things musical in relation to the performance of *The Recruiting Officer*, one can only speculate that Worgan played his piano as part of the performance.

195 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 168.

196 Tench, 'Transactions of the Colony until the Close of the Year 1789', p. 109.

197 Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840*, p. 280.

198 Tench, 'Transactions of the Colony until the Close of the Year 1789', p. 109.

Australia's earliest existing printed document is a playbill advertising an evening's entertainment to be given '[a]t the Theatre, Sydney, On Saturday, July 30, 1796'.¹⁹⁹ The playbill 'was printed by the Government Printer, convict George Hughes, using a small wooden screw press brought to Port Jackson by Captain Arthur Phillip'.²⁰⁰ The evening's program comprised '*Jane Shore* (1714), a play by English dramatist Nicholas Rowe ... recounting the tragedy of the fictionalized mistress of King Edward IV ... *The Wapping Landlady*, a comic dance ... depicting a rotund, capering barmaid and a pair of sailors ... [and] *The Miraculous Cure*, a farce written by Brownlow Forde in 1771'.²⁰¹

The 'comic dance'—most probably of a slapstick and ribald nature—was performed by George Hughes, the government printer, and convict Richard Evans; both of these gentlemen took on the roles of sailors. The painter W. Fowkes took on the role of the plump 'Wapping Landlady', Mother Doublechalk.²⁰²

It is highly unlikely that the 'comic dance' would have been presented without accompanying music. It also seems unlikely that the same instruments that accompanied the dance would not also have been used within the context of the play and the farce that were part of the program.

That music is not specifically mentioned on Australia's earliest playbill does not mean that musical instruments were not heard during the performance—after all, the use of musical instruments in a play was not regarded as being odd; no mention would need to have been made on the playbill of their use. A precedent may already have been set: it is possible that a similar situation had been contrived within the context of the performance given seven years before on 4 June 1789, of *The Recruiting Officer*.

If Worgan's piano was used during the performance of *The Recruiting Officer*, and if, as Parker suggests, the instrument was 'carefully carried down to the hut where the performance took place',²⁰³ from where was the piano carried? Governor Phillip's house? Tench recalls only that 'the play of *The Recruiting Officer* was performed by a party of convicts'.²⁰⁴ He does not mention that Worgan's piano was used within the context of the performance, nor does he shed any light on the instrument's whereabouts.

On 4 June 1788, was Worgan's piano housed in Government House? Given the uniqueness of Worgan's piano in the colony, one would expect that at least

199 J. Gall, 'Australia's Earliest Existing Printed Document', in J. Gall, *Library of Dreams: Treasures from the National Library of Australia* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2011), p. 41.

200 Ibid., p. 40.

201 Ibid., p. 40.

202 See Russell, *The Playbill and its People*, p. 16.

203 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 168.

204 Tench, 'Transactions of the Colony until the Close of the Year 1789', p. 109.

one comment would have been made in relation to the instrument's presence in Government House. Contemporaneous documents remain silent on the matter, suggesting that it is unlikely that Worgan's piano was ever placed in Government House, and that it was not used to enrich any of the celebrations held on 4 June 1788.

A theatre—possibly located somewhere on the way to Parramatta—existed in Sydney in 1794. On Saturday, 16 January 1796, a playhouse with a capacity of between 180 and 200 people²⁰⁵ was opened with a program comprising Edward Moore's (1712–57) tragedy *The Revenge* and Thomas Vaughan's (fl. 1772–1820) *The Hotel*.²⁰⁶

The construction of the playhouse in Sydney coincided with a boom in theatre-building throughout the British Isles and the British Empire, following the relaxation of regulations relating to theatre in the late 1780s ... Theatres sprang up in garrison towns and ports across the British Empire, including Sydney, to entertain Britain's soldiers and sailors. More than ever before, in the 1790s play-going was the dominant pastime for Britons across the globe and the theatre was the leading cultural industry.²⁰⁷

It is clear that 'despite cultural isolation and an uncertain future, the Australian stage was laying its foundations with resourceful optimism and a vibrant repertoire'.²⁰⁸

The Effect of the Weather on George Worgan's Square Piano: Weather at Sydney Cove

The extremes of temperature and rapid changes in humidity that attended the First Fleet during its journey from England to Sydney Cove may well have caused significant damage to Worgan's piano (cracks in the soundboard and bridge of the 1780/86? Beck square piano bear witness to the effect of such climatic extremes).²⁰⁹ Following the piano's arrival at Sydney Cove, the vagaries of the weather were equally as menacing.

205 See Russell, *The Playbill and its People*, p. 5.

206 Ibid., p. 2. See also D. Collins and P. G. King, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Volume 1. With Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country. To which are Added, Some Particulars of New Zealand; Compiled, by Permission, from the Mss. of Lieutenant-Governor King* (London: T. Cadell, jr & W. Davies, 1798), Project Gutenberg eBook, No. 12565, Chapter XXX, January, para. 7.

207 Russell, *The Playbill and its People*, p. 5.

208 Gall, 'Australia's Earliest Existing Printed Document', p. 40.

209 See 'Soundboard: Condition and Bridge—Condition', in Appendix A, Volume 2 of this publication.

The weather within which Worgan's piano found itself at Sydney Cove is described in detail by a rich body of accounts dating from between 1788 and 1793. These accounts are contained in the journals of government officials, as well as diaries, and include observations made by Lieutenant William Bradley,²¹⁰ Captain David Collins,²¹¹ Lieutenant William Dawes,²¹² Second Captain John Hunter,²¹³ Governor Arthur Phillip,²¹⁴ Captain Lieutenant Watkin Tench²¹⁵ and Surgeon George Worgan.²¹⁶ William Bradley's 'daily noon temperature measurements (F°)²¹⁷ were taken on board the *Sirius*, as it lay at anchor in Botany Bay (between 20–26 January 1788) and then in Port Jackson (Sydney Cove) (between 27 January to 13 September 1788)'.²¹⁸ The Board of Longitude supplied the thermometer to Arthur Phillip. 'Captain Phillip gave a receipt ... [for the thermometer], promising to return [it] ... to the Board (the dangers of the sea & other unavoidable accident excepted) at his return.'²¹⁹ The thermometer was located in the great cabin, where the timekeeper 'for keeping the longitude'²²⁰ was also kept. Bradley reports that William Dawes was 'always to be present at the winding' of the timekeeper, 'at noon'.²²¹ The reason for this is twofold. First, 'as is well known ... clocks ... were crucial to accurate navigation ... Secondly, [the timekeeper] had been made in response to the British state's demand for accurate and robust instruments, and it was the duty of the state's servants (Admiralty naval officers ...) to use them, test them, and protect them'.²²²

A precedent had recently been set concerning the level of care that was considered appropriate for the security and protection of a shipboard timekeeper.

210 Bradley, *A Voyage to New South Wales*, pp. 378–94.

211 Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales: From its First Settlement in January 1788 to August 1801*.

212 R. J. McAfee, 'Dawes' Meteorological Journal', in *Bureau of Meteorology Historical Note No. 2* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1981).

213 Hunter, *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*.

214 Phillip, *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay*.

215 W. Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years: Being a Reprint of a Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay and a Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson ... with an Introduction and Annotations by L. F. Fitzhardinge* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson in Association with the Royal Australian Historical Society, 1961).

216 G. B. Worgan, 'Letter and Journal, June 1788' (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, 1788), C830, FM4/67; Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*; G. B. Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon* (Sydney: The William Dixon Foundation, 1978), A Project Gutenberg of Australia eBook, No. 0400181.txt, Wednesday, 4 June 1788.

217 Degrees Fahrenheit are converted into degrees Celsius using the following equation: temperature F° – 32, divided by 1.8. See J. Gergis, D. J. Karoly and R. J. Allan, 'A Climate Reconstruction of Sydney Cove, New South Wales, Using Weather Journal and Documentary Data, 1788–1791', in *Australian Meteorology and Oceanographic Journal* (Melbourne: Australian Bureau of Meteorology, 2009), Vol. 58 (June), pp. 83–98 at p. 84.

218 Gergis et al., 'The Influence of Climate on the First European Settlement of Australia', p. 5.

219 W. Bradley, *A Voyage to New South Wales, December 1786 – May 1792* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales: Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures Catalogue, 1786–92), Frame 3, December 1786.

220 *Ibid.*, Frame 11, April–May 1787.

221 *Ibid.*

222 R. Sorrenson, 'The State's Demand for Accurate Astronomical and Navigational Instruments in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in A. Bermingham and J. Brewer (eds), *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (Oxon, UK: Routledge, 1997), p. 263.

In 1772—the year that Western Australia was ‘claimed for France and [King] Louis XV by the intrepid seafarer’ Louis François Marie Aleno de Saint Aloüarn (1738–72)²²³—the Admiralty ordered Captain Cook to ensure that, within the context of his second voyage to the Pacific, the timekeeper should have three locks. The key for the first lock was to be ‘kept by the commander ... the [second] by the 1st lieutenant [and] ... the third by one of the [astronomers]’.²²⁴

Thus, as in the launch of a nuclear missile, no single person was entrusted with the use of ... [the timekeeper]; when [the machine] ... was to be wound and its dial to be read, all three men had to gather around the box that contained the watch, unlock its three separate locks, check each other’s readings of the time that the watch displayed, and make sure that the watch was wound correctly.²²⁵

At Sydney Cove, Dawes’ weather records comprise

up to six daily observations of temperature, barometric pressure, winds and weather remarks ... from [Sunday, 14] September 1788 until [Tuesday, 6] December 1791 ... a weather journal with comparable detail for this period anywhere in the world is a rare find. For the Indo-Australian region, Dawes’s weather journal is only matched by the English East India Company observations made in Madras (Chennai) ... from 1796 onwards.²²⁶

Dawes’ measurements were taken at his observatory, which was ‘located at the western side of Sydney Cove, approximately where the southeastern pylon of Sydney Harbour Bridge stands today’.²²⁷ The location ‘became Point Maskelyne in honour of the astronomer royal. Ultimately it would bear the name of the young Lieutenant who worked there’: Dawes Point.²²⁸ This is ‘only 500 meters from the modern day Observatory Hill weather station’. Dawes’ observatory was made of wood and canvas, and ‘comprised several well ventilated rooms’, with a conical canvas, revolving roof (containing a canvas shutter for Dawes’ telescope) over an octagonal quadrant room.²²⁹ Such ‘a tent-observatory was a common portable building for eighteenth century scientific travellers’.²³⁰

223 Gott and Huguenaud, ‘Introduction’, p. 1.

224 J. C. Beaglehole (ed.), *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery. Volume 2: The Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure, 1772–1775* (Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press, 1961), p. 723.

225 Sorrenson, ‘The State’s Demand for Accurate Astronomical and Navigational Instruments in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, p. 263.

226 Gergis et al., ‘The Influence of Climate on the First European Settlement of Australia’, pp. 3, 5.

227 Gergis et al., ‘A Climate Reconstruction of Sydney Cove’, p. 85.

228 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 23.

229 Gergis et al., ‘A Climate Reconstruction of Sydney Cove’, p. 84.

230 J. Kerr, ‘The Architecture of Scientific Sydney’, in *Sydney Architecture: The Observatory* (1985).

An adjacent wooden building served both as accommodation for Dawes 'when he stayed there overnight to make evening observations'²³¹ and as a storeroom for instruments. 'It also had a shutter in the roof.'²³²

None of the observatory's rooms had a fireplace, nor were they airtight or exposed to direct sunlight. Dawes' barometer was probably 'located inside with a thermometer attached, as was standard practice at the time'.²³³

Lieutenant Dawes was an amateur astronomer.

He had been recommended for inclusion [in the First Fleet] ... by the Astronomer Royal, Dr Nevill Maskelyne. He took with him a number of instruments provided by the Board of Longitude, and was particularly entrusted with instructions to observe a comet which was expected to appear during the voyage [to Botany Bay]. He ... was intelligent and widely popular.²³⁴

'Dawes spent his time in his lonely little ... [observatory,] where he ... constantly peered through his telescope for a comet that never appeared.'²³⁵ Crucially, Dawes would have not only checked the chronometer, but also 'established the local time so critical for navigational calculations. The new settlement was, thereby, drawn "into the world" of European sailing routes.'²³⁶ Dawes had already performed this task whilst the *Sirius* lay anchored in Rio de Janeiro Harbour. He calculated the local time by

reading the sun and by fixing the exact time of an eclipse of Jupiter's third moon and comparing it with the astronomical tables which gave Greenwich time for such eclipses. By this means, Dawes found that there had been only an insignificant loss of clock time since leaving Portsmouth.²³⁷

'Long afterwards, Dawes received £100 from the Board [of Longitude] "as an allowance for my observations made in New South Wales".'²³⁸

The climate measurements made by Lieutenants Bradley and Dawes are the earliest weather records kept in the colony.²³⁹ Comparison between Bradley's

231 Ibid.

232 Ibid.

233 Gergis et al., 'A Climate Reconstruction of Sydney Cove', p. 85.

234 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 69.

235 S. de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore: Australia's Brave Pioneers* (Brisbane: Pirog Press, 2009), p. 61.

236 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 26.

237 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 74.

238 W. Dawes, 'Receipt Dated 8 March 1800', in *Records of the Royal Greenwich Observatory*, Series 14, Vol. 14, fo. 204 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library). Quoted in Frost, *The First Fleet*, p. 112.

239 See Gergis et al., 'The Influence of Climate on the First European Settlement of Australia', pp. 3, 5.

and Dawes' observations reveals an average difference of 2.1°C.²⁴⁰ The lower temperatures recorded by Bradley (on the *Sirius*) during the short period of overlap with Dawes' observations (14–30 September 1788) are due to the 'influence of water on daytime temperatures recorded offshore'.²⁴¹

Unlike twenty-first-century meteorological instruments, late eighteenth-century thermometers did not have Stevenson screens. Stevenson screens 'shield meteorological [devices] ... from the influences of direct heat radiation and provide ... ventilation, moderating the registration of extremes'.²⁴² The absence of Stevenson screens on the meteorological instruments used by Bradley and Dawes resulted in data that are 'useful for examining relative (rather than absolute) climate variations experienced during the [colony's] first years'.²⁴³

Cool and wet conditions predominated from January 1788 to winter 1790, and hot and dry weather, a drought, was more prevalent from about the middle of 1790. In all likelihood, this was a reflection of the [El Niño Southern Oscillation] ... cycle at that time, initially a La Niña [above-average rainfall] and then the onset of a strong El Niño [drought].²⁴⁴

1788

Four days after arriving at Sydney Cove, on Wednesday, 30 January, Smyth remarked that 'the heat during the whole night was almost intollerable'.²⁴⁵

The next day, Thursday, 31 January 1788, First Lieutenant Ralph Clark noted 'what a terrible night it was last of thunder lighting and rain was obliged to get out of my tent with nothing on but my shirt to slacking the tent poles ... remarkably hott'.²⁴⁶

Six days later, on Wednesday, 6 February, Smyth described a storm that was so extreme that Arthur Phillip and David Collins also mentioned it in their records: 'one hour after their landing & before they h^d adjust their tents in order for sleeping in them, there came on the most violent storm of lighteng thunder & rain I ever saw: the lighteng was incessant during the whole of the night, & I never heard it rain faster.'²⁴⁷

240 For further discussion, see Gergis et al., 'A Climate Reconstruction of Sydney Cove', pp. 83–98.

241 Gergis et al., 'The Influence of Climate on the First European Settlement of Australia', p. 5.

242 Ibid., p. 5.

243 Ibid., p. 6.

244 Ibid., p. 20.

245 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 136.

246 Clark, *Journal Kept on the Friendship during a Voyage to Botany Bay and Norfolk Island*, Thumbnail p. 14, Frame 120 (28 January – 1 February 1788).

247 Smyth, 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth', Part 140.

Captain David Collins, in February 1788, wrote: 'The weather during the latter end of January and the month of February was very cold, with rain, at times very heavy, and attended with much thunder and lightning.'²⁴⁸

In his journal (written during the six-month period from Sunday, 20 January to Friday, 11 July 1788), George Worgan describes a wide range of rapid temperature and humidity fluctuations.

Worgan observes:

It was January that we arrived here which in this part of the globe is midsummer, the weather has been, for the greatest part of the time, serene, moderate & pleasant, & warm tho' at times the vicissitudes from serenity to squalls of wind, rain, accompanied with terrible thunder & lightning are sudden, and violent and from a dry sultry heat, to a chilly dampness (occasioned by heavy night dews) considerable. The thermometer on shore in the shade has been up to 85 & 90 [29 and 32°C] at noon and by sunset has fallen to 50 or 60 [10 or 15°C], the fall of 25 or 30 degrees is common.²⁴⁹

On the other hand, Captain Lieutenant Watkin Tench felt (initially at least) that the climate was

very desirable to live in. In summer the heats are usually moderated by the sea breeze, which sets in early; and in winter the degree of cold is so slight as to occasion no inconvenience; once or twice we have had hoar frosts and hail, but no appearance of snow. The thermometer has never risen beyond 84 [29°C], nor fallen lower than 35 [2°C], in general it stood in the beginning of February at between 78 and 74 [25 and 23°C] at noon ... On the whole, (thunder storms in the hot months excepted) I know not any climate equal to this I write in. Ere we had been a fortnight on shore we experienced some storms of thunder accompanied with rain, than which nothing can be conceived more violent and tremendous, and their repetition for several days ... led us to draw presages of an unpleasant nature. Happily, however, for many months we have escaped any similar visitations.²⁵⁰

Tench's 'thermometer, whence [his] ... observations were constantly made, was hung in the open air, in a southern aspect, never reached by the rays of the sun, at a distance of several feet above the ground'.²⁵¹

248 Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country*, Chapter 1, February, para. 33.

249 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 22.

250 Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*, pp. 130–1.

251 Tench, 'A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson', p. 234.

Nor was the cold and particularly blustery winter of 1788 any less uncomfortable. Sometimes the temperature fell to 10°C at noon.²⁵² ‘August [1788] started with rain-storms so severe that all work had to stop for some days. The brick-kiln fell in under the torrent and a large number of bricks was destroyed.’²⁵³ In a letter to the Undersecretary of State in the Home Office, Sir Evan Nepean (1752–1822), Governor Phillip remarked that ‘this country requires warm clothing in the winter; the rains are frequent and the nights very cold’.²⁵⁴

At the very beginning of October 1788, William Bradley described weather that can only have been detrimental to the fabric and stability of Worgan’s piano: ‘We found very great & sudden changes in the degree of heat a shift of wind would rise or lower the thermometer 14°[f] in less than 10 minutes on board the Sirius & on shore considerably more.’²⁵⁵

Watkin Tench commented that: ‘In the close of the year 1788 ... the thermometer has been known to stand at 50° [10°C] a little before sunrise, and between one and two o’clock in the afternoon at above 100° [37.7°C].’²⁵⁶

1789

Following this summer, the winter of 1789 evidenced extraordinary cold. William Dawes’ measurements reveal that, on Friday, 12 June, the temperature fell to –13.9°C. (‘The lowest official June temperature recorded at Sydney’s Observatory Hill since 1876 is 9.7°F [–12.38°C], on June 13, 1899.’)²⁵⁷

1790

‘By September 1790, the settlers were fast realising just how unpredictable Australia’s weather could be.’²⁵⁸ ‘Drought-affected gardens yielded little ... and the haul from the Harbour did not offset the hunger. “Fish is by no means plenty”, wrote a miserable Captain William Hill in July 1790 ... “should one be offer’d for sale, ’tis by far too dear for an officers pocket.”’²⁵⁹ (The fish in the

252 See Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 155.

253 *Ibid.*, p. 155.

254 *Historical Records of Australia*, Series 1, Vol. 1 (1788–96), p. 69. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 155.

255 Bradley, *A Voyage to New South Wales*, Frame 145, October 1788.

256 Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*, p. 130.

257 Gergis et al., ‘The Influence of Climate on the First European Settlement of Australia’, p. 10. Australia’s ‘lowest temperature of –22.2°C was recorded twice at Charlottes [sic] Pass, New South Wales, on 14 July 1945 and 22 August 1947.’ ‘Weather & Climate’, in *Book of Australian Facts* (Sydney: Reader’s Digest Australia, 1992), p. 235.

258 Gergis et al., ‘A Climate Reconstruction of Sydney Cove’, p. 94.

259 W. Hill, ‘Letter to Jonathan Watham Esqr. of Bond Court, Walbrook, London. Dated “Sydney Cove, Port Jackson, 26 July 1790”’ (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales), MLMSS 6821; Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 53.

harbour had been disappearing since April 1788;²⁶⁰ this may have been due to the extreme El Niño Southern Oscillation event, which replaces 'cold water with nutrient-poor warm currents'.²⁶¹

Summer 1790–91

Even though, in 1788, Tench initially thought the climate to be 'very desirable',²⁶² during the summer of 1790, in December, the temperature soared to 40°C.²⁶³ On Monday, 27 December 1790, Tench described the wind as feeling 'like the blast of a heated oven',²⁶⁴ and the heat as 'intolerable'.²⁶⁵

The extremes of temperature and humidity within which George Worgan's piano sat during the summer of 1790–91 are described by Elizabeth Macarthur, in a letter written to her friend Bridget Kingdon dated Monday, 7 March 1791. Elizabeth reveals that the environment surrounding Worgan's piano was (to say the least) extreme:

The intense heat of the weather ... has not permitted me to walk much during the summer. The months of December, and January, have been hotter than I can describe, indeed insufferably so. The thermometer rising from an 100 to 112 degrees [38–44°C] is I believe 30 degrees above the hottest day known in England. The general heat is to be borne, but when we are oppress'd by the hot winds we have no other resource but to shut up ourselves in our houses and to endeavor to the utmost of our power to exclude every breath of air. This wind blows from the north, and comes as if from an heated oven. Those winds are generally succeeded by a thunder storm, so severe and awful, that it is impossible for one who has not been a witness to such a violent concussion of the elements to form any notion of it ... it is so different from the thunder we have in England ... a thunder storm has always the effect to bring heavy rain, which cools the air very considerably.²⁶⁶

The heatwave summer of 1791 was even hotter. On Thursday, 10 February and Friday, 11 February 1791, David Collins observed that 'the thermometer stood in the shade at 105° [40.6°C]'.²⁶⁷

260 Sydney Harbour 'still has one of the largest and most diverse range of fish in the world'. Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 3.

261 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

262 Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*, p. 130.

263 See Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 77.

264 Tench, 'A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson', p. 232.

265 *Ibid.*, p. 234.

266 Macarthur, 'Letter to Bridget Kingdon', 7 March 1791. Quoted in Macarthur, *The Journal and Letters of Elizabeth Macarthur*. Also quoted in Cobley, *Sydney Cove 1791–1792*, p. 23.

267 Gergis et al., 'The Influence of Climate on the First European Settlement of Australia', p. 15.

Two months later, in his journal entry for April 1791, Watkin Tench lamented: 'I scarcely pass a week in summer without seeing [the thermometer] ... rise to 100° [37.8°C]; sometimes to 105° [40.6°C]; nay, beyond even that burning altitude.'²⁶⁸

Tench observed that the weather 'is changeable beyond any other I ever heard of ... clouds, storms and sunshine pass in rapid succession ... torrents of water sometimes fall ... I have often seen large hailstones fall ... Frequent strong breezes from the westward purge the air'.²⁶⁹ These conditions were all potentially disastrous for Worgan's piano.

1791

In 1791, the thatched wattle-and-daub huts making up the majority of dwellings in the colony would have been very cold during the winter months. We know that Worgan's piano was housed in one of these huts, in a dwelling occupied by John Macarthur (1767–1834) and his wife, Elizabeth.²⁷⁰ Because a fire in the colony's blacksmith's shop had resulted in the loss of many irreplaceable tools, a law was subsequently passed that made it illegal to have a chimney in any house that had a thatched roof.²⁷¹ The Macarthurs' thatched wattle-and-daub hut would therefore have had no fireplace for heating during winter.

During the winter of 1791, on Tuesday, 19 July, Captain Lieutenant Watkin Tench wrote:

[A]t a quarter before four in the morning [the thermometer] ... was at 26° [-3°C]; at a quarter before six, at 24° [-4°C]; at a quarter before seven, at 23° [-5°C]; at seven o'clock, 22.7° [-5.17°C]; at sunrise, 23° [-5°C] ... Nothing but demonstration could have convinced me, that so severe a degree of cold ever existed in this low latitude. Drops of water on a tin pot, not altogether out of the influence of the fire, were frozen into solid ice, in less than twelve minutes.²⁷²

Only 11 weeks earlier, Worgan's piano had been subjected to temperatures of 40.6°C.²⁷³ The sheer extent of temperature fluctuation cannot have been favourable for Worgan's fragile, atmospherically sensitive and vulnerable piano.

268 Tench, 'A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson', p. 183.

269 Ibid., p. 235.

270 See 'Initial Accommodation' and 'The Macarthur's New Thatched Wattle-and-Daub Hut', in Chapter 10, this volume.

271 See Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 155.

272 Tench, 'A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson', p. 202.

273 See *ibid.*, p. 183.

1792

A year later, on Wednesday, 30 May 1792, Deputy Judge Advocate Richard Atkins (1745–1820) wrote: 'Fine frosty weather and cold.'²⁷⁴ A few days later, on Sunday, 3 June, Atkins described conditions as: 'Fine, with a hard frost at night.'²⁷⁵

Seven months had passed when, during the summer of 1792, Atkins wrote, on Wednesday, 5 December:

A burning westerly wind, obliged to keep the windows shut, unless we have rain soon the late crops of Indian corn will be totally burnt up. 10 o'clock a heavy gale of wind from the w.ward and as hot as the mouth of an oven. At 12 o'clock the ther[mometer]: in the shade 94° [34.4°C] and in the air 114° [45.6°C]. It begins to thunder.—Light showers.²⁷⁶

The Drought Breaks

From August 1794, the drought began to break. By January 1795, heavy rains began to soak the floodplains of the Hawkesbury River. By this stage, 'more than 8,500 hectares of land around Sydney Cove had been appropriated by the colonists'.²⁷⁷

David Collins observed:

In consequence of the heavy rains, the river at the Hawkesbury rose many feet higher than it had been known to rise in other rains ... At Parramatta the damage was extensive; the bridge over the creek, which had been very well constructed, was entirely swept away; and the boats with their moorings carried down the river. At Sydney some chimneys in the new barracks fell in.²⁷⁸

John Macarthur, writing to Captain John Piper (1773–1851) at Norfolk Island, described the havoc caused by the ensuing floods:

A tremendous flood has swept away and spoilt almost all the wheat at the Hawkesbury and the crop of Indian corn at that settlement is entirely destroyed. Pigs innumerable have been drowned. In short, it is

274 Quoted in Cobley, *Sydney Cove 1791–1792*, p. 264.

275 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 268.

276 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 348.

277 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 13.

278 Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country*, Chapter 2, para. 8.

a calamity that threatens the very existence of the colony and let what will be done to alleviate the general distress many unhappy families must be ruined.²⁷⁹

‘The first major drought experienced by ... European settlers had finally come to an end.’²⁸⁰ Food remained a major problem for the colony ‘until after the breaking of ... the drought ... when farming began to prosper’.²⁸¹

1796

The logbooks of the ships at Sydney Cove provide a reasonably clear picture of the summer weather for mid-January 1796. On Tuesday, 12 January, there was

a violent storm with thunder and lightning. By the sixteenth the clouds were building up again and over the next few days the lightning returned, then squalls, developing into another violent storm. It was classic semi-cyclonic Sydney January, with the rain or threat of rain keeping down the temperatures a little, but ... causing the most appalling humidity.²⁸²

From the first days of the colony, the weather was ‘changeable beyond any other I ever heard of’.²⁸³ There can be little doubt that the climatic extremes to which Worgan’s piano was subjected during its first few years at Sydney Cove would have resulted in significant and potentially damaging levels of stress being imposed upon the instrument (especially upon the soundboard). At the very least, extreme changes in humidity levels and temperature would have resulted in some degradation of the instrument’s cloth and leather components.

Protective Measures for Pianos

In 1810, Captain Thomas Williamson recognised that the soundboards of pianos located in India—where an environment similar to that found at Sydney Cove may be encountered—were particularly vulnerable to extremes of temperature and humidity. As a protective measure, Williamson suggested vigilance and the use of heavy blankets:

279 Quoted in Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals*, pp. 88–9.

280 Gergis et al., ‘The Influence of Climate on the First European Settlement of Australia’, p. 18.

281 Dunn and McCreddie, ‘Australia’s First Fleet—1788’.

282 Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840*, p. 38. Jordan’s sources are the London Public Records Office, Admiralty and Secretariat: Captains’ Logs 51/1169, 4023; 52/3352, 3468. See Jordan, p. 301, fn. 35.

283 Tench, ‘A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson’, p. 235.

[M]uch may certainly be done ... by clamping the case with metal, both within and without; but ... this has little connection with the ... sounding-board; which cannot be much strengthened without considerably deteriorating the tone, and causing a piano to be ... condemned, for want of that richness which cannot be given to one whose vibrations are obstructed. The only chance is, to keep a piano well covered with blankets during the heats, as also in very damp weather, and to un-cloathe it gradually, when about to be opened for performance. By such precautions, the instrument may remain tolerably in tune, and not sustain much injury from the variations of seasons; after two or three years, the danger may be less; but it will be prudent never to relax in point of prevention, lest the instrument should suddenly fail.²⁸⁴

Sometimes, the insulating effect of heavy blankets was augmented by the type of covering advertised for sale in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* on Tuesday, 2 April 1839, as 'rich Oil Cloth Covering for Piano Fortes'.²⁸⁵

Oilcloth was often made from cotton duck, linen or cotton canvas that had been impregnated with linseed oil. 'The canvas could be coated in oils, waxes, clays, or other materials to make it waterproof, and then used to wrap valuable materials for sea journeys or to make weather resistant outerwear.'²⁸⁶ It was sometimes dyed, painted or printed in a limited range of colours prior to the oil treatment, but was principally 'designed for function, rather than beauty'.²⁸⁷

Purpose-made oilcloth coverings for pianos acted as an impervious barrier to fluctuations in humidity, and made up the outermost layer of temperature-insulating blankets.

Captain Williamson also recommend that structural alterations be made to any pianos that were bound for extreme climates:

I have ... found that the instruments made for exportation could never be depended upon, unless clamped at every joint with plates of brass, and secured, in the more delicate parts, by means of battens well screwed and cemented to the sound board. Experience has satisfied me,

284 Williamson, *East India Vade-Mecum*, Vol. 2, p. 212.

285 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 2 April 1839, Vol. 37, p. 3.

286 S. E. Smith and B. Harris (eds), 'What is an Oilcloth?', in *wiseGEEK: Clear Answers for Common Questions* (Sparks, Nev.: Conjecture Corporation, 2010). See also A. J. Amistaadt, 'Making Oil Cloth', in *eHow* (2010).

287 Smith and Harris, 'What is an Oilcloth?'. See also Amistaadt, 'Making Oil Cloth'.

that the pianos most appropriate for hot climates are made by Clementi, Kirckman, and Tomkinson,²⁸⁸ at their respective manufactories in London.²⁸⁹

For some years, Clementi added metal-strengthened corners to instruments that were destined for Russia; this provided protection against the potentially destructive expansion and contraction resulting from the overheating commonly encountered in Russian salons. The only extant Clementi ‘Russian model’ grand piano is currently part of the keyboard instrument collection owned by Mr Ralph Schureck, Berowra Heights, Sydney; the piano was made in ca 1806–10, and was taken out of Russia just prior to the Napoleonic invasion of 1812.²⁹⁰ During the mid twentieth century, the only other extant Clementi ‘Russian model’ grand piano was the instrument that had belonged to the composer Mikhail Glinka (1804–57); Glinka’s Clementi piano was destroyed by the SS, for no reason other than spite, during World War II.²⁹¹

In the 1830s, perhaps with extreme climates and certainly sound in mind, Ignaz Pleyel made square pianos whose soundboards comprised three very thin crossed layers (rather than a single layer), the top layer being of mahogany.²⁹²

The first mention in Sydney of a piano specifically made for extreme climates is found in an advertisement printed in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* dated Saturday, 14 December 1816:

To be sold by auction by Mr. Bevan, at the Residence of the late judge advocate, on Thursday the 19th of December, at eleven precisely, the very valuable household furniture ... Also, a very superior toned fashionable piano forte, made by Broadwood, particularly suited for a hot climate.²⁹³

The next mention occurs 22 years later, in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Saturday, 26 May 1838: ‘A handsome Spanish mahogany round cornered ornamented square pianoforte, with grand piano touch, adapted to any extreme climate by late improvements and metallic plates.’²⁹⁴

288 This surname is an error (sometimes observed in the literature), and should be ‘Tomkison’. Thomas Tomkison (fl. 1798–1851) was an important London piano maker, who built more than 9000 pianos. See Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, Vol. 2, p. 378.

289 Williamson, *East India Vade-Mecum*, Vol. 1, p. 47.

290 See ‘Grand Piano by Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, Serial Number 526)’, in Appendix J, Volume 2 of this publication

291 This information is derived from a conversation held between the author and Ralph Schureck.

292 I am indebted to Gavin Gostelow for this information. Gostelow’s relatively small but significant keyboard instrument collection is housed at his home in Canberra.

293 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 14 December 1816, Vol. 14, p. 2.

294 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 26 May 1838, Vol. 36, p. 4.

There is no evidence that George Worgan had any radical structural modifications incorporated into his piano to protect it from climatic extremes prior to his departure with the First Fleet.²⁹⁵ Perhaps he selected the instrument from already completed stock at Frederick Beck's workshop. And yet, the uniqueness of the campaign-furniture-inspired hinged cabriole legs of Worgan's piano allow for the supposition that he requested the legs to be included prior to his taking delivery of the instrument. We may never know why Worgan did not at the same time commission additional structural elements to be incorporated into his piano in order to protect it from damage resulting from climactic extremes. Perhaps his reticence was based on financial considerations.

Worgan cannot have known about the atmospheric conditions at Sydney Cove. He would, however, have been aware of the sudden changeability of weather at sea, and would have heard about the extremes of temperature and humidity in India (which had been adversely influencing the structural integrity and sound of harpsichords there for more than 50 years). In London, not only would there have been talk concerning the 'impregnable monopoly'²⁹⁶ on trade enjoyed by the prominent and influential East India Company ('also known as John Company'),²⁹⁷ but also tales of life in India would have been recounted by those who had spent time there.

The return home was an integral part of the Anglo-Indian experience. Most employees of the [East India] Company went out with the intention of making sufficient money to live in comfort after their return to England. It was by no means unusual ... to make a second trip to India to replace a lost fortune. Few ... thought the possibility of remaining in India an option worthy of consideration.²⁹⁸

By the 1780s,

the Calcutta piano trade was founded on well-established lines of supply. London piano makers would sell, sometimes at a discount for bulk purchases, to officers of East India Company ships ... who had

295 Protective structural elements evolved during the nineteenth century. Worgan's piano was a typical late eighteenth-century instrument, and therefore did not incorporate structural modifications designed to protect it from climatic extremes. In late 2014, an extremely rare example of a 'tropicalized' eighteenth century square piano by Longman & Broderip, serial number 435, was sold in England. 'There is no veneer nor inlay used on this piano—nothing decoratively extraneous that could cause problems in a hostile climate. There are a number of strategically placed bolts/fixings, reinforcing the piano's construction'. Email from Ian Pleeth to the author, 24 July 2014. 'This piano was used by the BBC in its ... period production "Captain Collins"; the story of the First Fleet and the transportation of the first convicts to Australia in 1788'. 'Square Piano by Longman & Broderip Serial Number 435', in *Antique Keyboard Instruments* (n.d.).

296 M. Steven, 'Eastern Trade', in J. Broadbent, S. Rickard and M. Steven (eds), *India, China, Australia: Trade and Society 1788–1850* (Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 2003), p. 42.

297 L. Adkins, *Empires of the Plain: Henry Rawlinson and the Lost Languages of Babylon* (London: Harper Collins, 2003), p. 8.

298 Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*, p. 9.

purchased an ‘investment’ in a Company voyage. Each officer had an allowance of space on his ship, and his ‘investment’ would be stored during the voyage ... Upon arrival in Calcutta ... officers would notify by post those for whom they had specific commissions, and then an extraordinary scramble would take place, as they sought to off-load their investments ... For artifacts such as pianos and harpsichords, a quick sale was absolutely essential, because of the speed with which [owing to climactic extremes] the product could become unsaleable.²⁹⁹

In 1810, Captain Thomas Williamson observes that the climate in India ‘is unfavourable to instruments of every kind, especially to pianos, and offers a most formi-dable bar to the indulgence of a musical ear’.³⁰⁰

At the time Worgan purchased his piano, all London piano makers (and doubtless Worgan himself) would have been aware of the climactic extremes found both at sea and in India. ‘Everyone knew what a few years in India could do to the tone of instruments.’³⁰¹ Based on this knowledge, Worgan may have privately entertained concerns that the as-yet-unknown weather at Botany Bay would prove to be hazardous, if not disastrous, for his new piano.

The crudely repaired cracks in and downwards movement of the soundboard of Worgan’s 1780/86? Beck square piano, as well as the crack in the curve of the bridge, testify to the deleterious effects of the weather on the instrument.³⁰² It is not known if these cracks appeared during the voyage from England to Sydney Cove, during the first few years of the instrument’s life in the colony or at a later date.

299 Ibid., pp. 19–20.

300 Williamson, *East India Vade-Mecum*, Vol. 1, p. 211.

301 Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*, p. 25.

302 See ‘Soundboard: Condition’ and ‘Bridge: Condition’ in Appendix A, Volume 2 of this publication.

Chapter 8

Some of the Music Heard during the Fledgling Colony's First Two Years

Despite the fact that characteristically rapid changes in temperature and humidity levels at Sydney Cove may have played havoc with the wooden components of any musical instruments that had travelled with the First Fleet, the colony, from its inception, had music.

The Official Reading of Governor Phillip's Commission, 7 February 1788

As early as Thursday, 7 February 1788—13 days after the fleet's arrival at Sydney Cove—there was music at the official reading of Governor Phillip's commission. On that occasion, fifes and drums were probably used (three marine fife and drummers had travelled on board the *Sirius*)¹ when 'all the officers of guard took post in the marine battalion, which was drawn up, and marched off the parade with music playing, and colours flying, to an adjoining ground, which had been cleared for the occasion'.² It is not known specifically what tune was piped as the marine battalion was marched off the parade ground.

In his journal, George Worgan describes the music that was heard within the context of the ceremony: 'The battalion fired 3 volleys of small-arms, the band playing the first part of God Save the King, between each volley.'³

Exactly what Worgan means by the term 'band' is unclear. In England, military regiments were commonly associated with particular kinds of musical activity. A typical British regiment comprised

eight infantry companies and a company of grenadiers. Each company was allowed two drummers who beat calls, kept cadence during marches, and signaled formations and commands via drumbeat patterns during battles ... In addition to its drummers, the grenadier company had two fifers, usually boys, who played popular airs over the drummers' cadence during marches. These juvenile fifers had no role in battle.

1 See Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 67, fn. 39.

2 Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*, p. 65.

3 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon*, 'Sat 9th' (February 1788).

Officially, no other regimental music was authorized; however, most regiments also had bands of wind instruments, privately paid for ... by regimental officers. Such bands usually contained two oboes, two bassoons, two clarinets, and two horns.⁴

The French Revolution boosted the position of the wind band, now employed for public singing and other republican entertainment. Napoleon later drew upon the excellent French wind players in his military bands and directed the creation of new cavalry bands which relied mostly on brass instruments. English, Austrian and German bands were influenced profoundly by the French musicians who, like them, often played in the front lines to inspire the soldiers to fight.⁵

In England, military tradition dictated that each regiment had its own fifes and drums (within the British military musical context, fifes and drums were ubiquitous; daily, regimental drums 'beat the reveille at 6.00am and tapto at 8.00 or 9.00pm').⁶ For their troubles, drummers were paid an additional three-quarters of a penny per day.⁷

The First Fleet travelled with four Royal Marine regiments; three of these regiments had nicknames: 'The Jollies', 'Boot Necks' and 'Blue Bottles'.⁸ If military norms had been upheld, these regiments would have had 18 drummers and two fifers each—which means that when simultaneously on parade, the four regiments may have been inspired by the extraordinary sound created by 72 drummers and eight fifers. There is no evidence supporting the existence either of such numbers or of such sonic opulence in relation to the 'band' at Sydney Cove. It is known, however, that three marine fife and drummers travelled to Sydney Cove on board the *Sirius*.⁹

At the official reading of Governor Phillip's commission on 7 February 1788, and as the 'band' played the first part of 'God Save the King' between each of the three volleys of small arms,¹⁰ the (eight?) fifes of the regimental band(s) were used for the interspersions of 'God Save the King'.

4 J. Ogasapian, *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era: American History through Music* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2004), pp. 135–6.

5 Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, p. 144.

6 Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840*, p. 35.

7 See J. Pope, 'Making Sense of the Militia's Movements', in *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 141 (September) (Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society, 2011), p. 16.

8 See B. Chapman and M. Chapman, '1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th Marines: 1788 till 1791', in *Australia's Redcoat Settlers* (2010).

9 See Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 67, fn. 39.

10 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon*, 'Sat 9th' (February 1788).

This context would not have been the first within which European musical sounds had been released into the Antipodean environment. In 1773, Captain Cook 'set out to impress natives onshore at Dusky Sound [New Zealand] by asking "the bagpipes and fife to be played and the drum to be beat"'.¹¹

This flatulently rattling flourish does not represent the only connection between music and Captain Cook. James Burney (1750–1821), the musicologist and eldest son of the music historian Charles Burney, 'sailed on Cook's second and third naval voyages, learning Polynesian and recording Polynesian music in his journal to help solve the problem [of] whether harmony and counterpoint was understood in the South Seas'.¹² Prior to the commencement of Cook's 1772–74 journey around the world, Cook visited Charles Burney at his home at Queen's Square, Bloomsbury. Burney made a note of the visit:

I had the honour of receiving the illustrious Captain Cooke to dine with me in Queens-Square, previously to his second voyage round the world.

Observing upon a table Bougainville's *Voyage Autour du Monde*, he turned it over, and made some curious remarks on the illiberal conduct of that circumnavigator towards himself, when they met and crossed each other; which made me desirous to know, in examining the chart of M. de Bougainville, the several tracks of the two navigators; and exactly when they had crossed or approached each other.

Captain Cooke instantly took out a pencil from his pocket-book, and said he would trace the route, which he did in so clear and scientific a manner, that I would not take fifty pounds for the book. The pencil marks having been fixed by skim milk, will always be visible.¹³

It is not known if music was made as a part of this convivial gathering. We do know, however, that 16 years later, during the very earliest days of the colony at Sydney Cove, military music filled the air.

'The Rogue's March', 9 February 1788

Two days after the ceremonial reading of Governor Phillip's commission, fifes and drums would have been used as accompaniment to the punishment and public disgrace of a serviceman and his accomplices. In fact, apart from 'God Save the King',

11 Macgibbon, *Piano in the Parlour*, p. 9. Macgibbon takes the quotation from: Beaglehole, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery*, Vol. 2.

12 Black, *Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 228.

13 Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, Vol. 2, Appendix 1, p. 1048.

the earliest piece of music known by name to have been performed in Australia is *The Rogue's March*, played by a marine fifer and drummer 'at the drumming out' on Saturday, 9 February 1788 of a sailor, carpenter and a cabinboy belonging to the *Prince of Wales*, 'who had been caught in the female convicts' tents'.¹⁴

In a rough colony devoid of any entertainment whatsoever, 'fornication was one of the few joys more or less readily available'.¹⁵ The violating sailor, carpenter and cabinboy 'were drummed through the camp with their hands tied behind them, the boy dressed in petticoats'.¹⁶

'The Rogue's March', a lively melody in 6/8 meter (Plate 65), was traditionally played to accompany the ritual dishonouring of military or civil offenders. Throughout the ritual, the march would be played by the largest number of fifers and drummers that could be assembled. The offender, with his hands bound behind him and wearing his coat inside-out as a mark of shame, would be stripped of rank, insignia and buttons, and marched to the entrance of the encampment. The final disgrace would come in the form of a farewell kick in the behind from the youngest drummer.

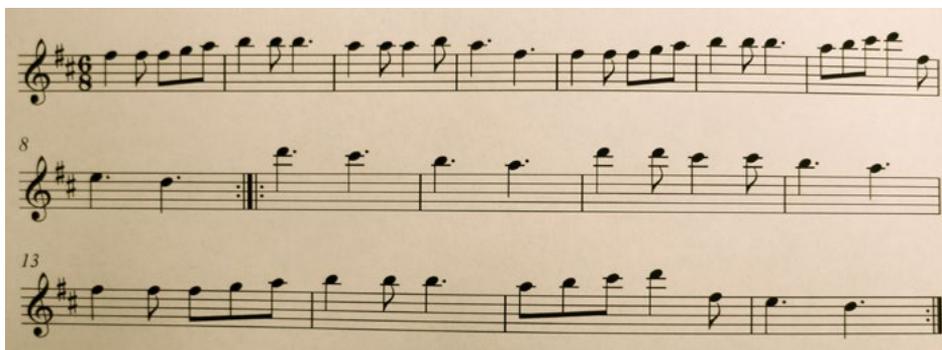


Plate 65 'The Rogue's March.' P. McCarthy, 'The Drumming Out Air (Rogues March)', in *The Yorkshire Corps of Drums & Guild of Army Drummers* (2006, updated 3 July 2011).

Source: Transcribed by the author.

14 Rogers, 'Australia's First Piano, Clavierübung'.

15 Cumes, *Their Chastity Was Not Too Rigid*, p. 30.

16 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 130.

The King's Birthday Celebration, 4 June 1788

Four months after the musical drumming out of the hapless sailor, carpenter and cabinboy, Governor Phillip hosted a king's birthday celebration dinner at Government House, on Wednesday, 4 June 1788. George Worgan mentions that there was background music at this function. Governor Phillip

had previously given a general invitation to the officers to dine with him; and about 2 o'clock we sat down to a very good entertainment ... In the course of the afternoon the Governor had occasion to step into an adjacent room, when; it was intimated by some one to pay him a flattering compliment, and every gentleman standing up & filling his glass, we all with one voice gave, as the toast, the Governor and the settlement, we then gave three huzza's, as we had done indeed after every loyal toast, the band playing the whole time.¹⁷

That Worgan was included in Governor Phillip's invitation to 'the officers to dine with him' has implications for Worgan's seemingly unusual status in the colony. Normally, Worgan, as a warrant officer, would not have been classified as an officer, and would therefore have been ineligible to attend the Governor's dinner. It appears that uncommon attitudes existed in New South Wales.¹⁸

In order to celebrate the King's birthday, the convention of the day dictated

that in the afternoon, and stretching into the evening, members of the ruling elite gathered, by invitation, at Government House for a formal dinner, with toasts and music. In 1788, and apparently until the numbers became too great, the invitation extended 'to all the officers not on duty, both of the garrison and His Majesty's ships'.¹⁹

Repertoire Played at Social Functions

We do not know specifically what repertoire was played during such social occasions. Perhaps the music comprised strathspeys, cotillions (the forerunner of the quadrille), country dances, minuets, 'sentimentally homesick airs and martial songs of a conventionally patriotic kind'.²⁰ It is unlikely that a waltz would have been played as part of the King's birthday celebration dinner hosted

17 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon*, 'Wed. 4th' (June 1788).

18 I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*.

19 Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840*, p. 29. Quoting W. Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years: Being a Reprint of a Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay and a Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, with an introduction by L. F. Fitzhardinge* (Sydney: Library of Australian History, 1979), p. 60.

20 Covell, *Australia's Music*. Quoted in Rogers, 'Australia's First Piano, Clavierübung'.

by Governor Phillip on 4 June 1788. Seven years later, in England, the waltz (considered indecent) and its effect received a mention in *The Times* of Sunday, 25 January 1795: 'The balls at Southampton are exceedingly lively, and well-attended. The young ladies are particularly favourable to a German dance, called the *Volse*: for squeezing, hugging, &c., it is excellent in its kind, and more than one lady has actually fainted in the middle of it.'²¹ In London, attitudes to the waltz were not as liberal as those in Southampton: 'the waltz was not accepted in London until 1812 because it was regarded as indelicate.'²² On 4 June 1788, at Sydney Cove, any waltz heard as part of the background music provided for the King's birthday celebration dinner may well have offended the sensibilities of those present.

The Quadrille in Sydney

Quadrilles—'a dance for four couples in square formation that allowed for many [intricate] variations'²³—were not heard, danced or seen in Sydney (or in Europe) until the early nineteenth century.

Sydney enjoyed the onset of the new vogue of the quadrille almost in tandem with London, where the dance had been introduced to Almack's famous dance club²⁴ around 1815,²⁵ by the leader of the orchestra James Paine ... both Almack's and the quadrille were still being mentioned as bywords of fashion over a decade later.²⁶

The *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Saturday, 28 October 1820 contains the first mention in the Sydney press of a quadrille:

French language and dancing.—M. Girard, of Paris, presenting compliments to the families of Sydney, most respectfully informs them that he gives instruction in his native language, and also in quadrilles,

21 *The Times*, 19 February 1796. Quoted in J. Ashton, *Old Times: A Picture of Social Life at the End of the Eighteenth Century Collected, and Illustrated from the Satirical and Other Sketches of the Day* (New York: Scribner & Welford, 1885), p. 321.

22 V. Murray, *An Elegant Madness: High Society in Regency England* (London: Penguin Books, 1998), Photo insert 21, between pp. 158 and 159. In 1812, the waltz 'was danced by Wellington and his officers on the eve of Waterloo and reached Sydney in the same year'. Cumes, *Their Chastity Was Not Too Rigid*, p. 65.

23 C. Reed, 'Dancing School: Minuet in Progress and an Aide-Mémoire on Quadrilles', in *Harvard Magazine: Commencement 2012* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Magazine, 2012).

24 Murray (*An Elegant Madness*, p. 48) describes Almack's as 'The Seventh Heaven of the Fashionable World'.

25 The quadrille 'was introduced in France around 1760, and later in England around 1808 by a woman known as Miss Berry. It was introduced to the Duke of Devonshire and made fashionable in 1813.' 'Quadrille', in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (n.d.).

26 Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, pp. 72–3.

waltzes, &c. all kind of elegant dances, at Mr. Nott's Academy, 44, Castlereagh-street; and those families, who desire it, may be waited on at their own houses.²⁷

Three years later, the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Thursday, 4 September 1823 reported that quadrilles had been danced within the context of a grand social occasion:

On Thursday last, the 26th Ultimo, a splendid ball was given by William Cox, Esq. of Clarendon, near Windsor, which was attended by a large party of ladies and gentlemen from Sydney, and other parts of the country. The town of Windsor exhibited the day previous, and on the day the ball was given, a most pleasing sight of carriages, of all descriptions, passing through it.—The ball-room was tastefully fitted up; the newest quadrilles danced, and country dances gone through, with an unusual degree of spirit and liveliness, occasioned by the excellent music provided.²⁸

The next year, on Thursday, 1 July 1824, the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* published an account of a sumptuous ball hosted by the physician, banker and landowner Sir John Jamison (1776–1844). At this gathering, quadrilles were danced with enthusiasm:

The ball and supper, given by Sir John Jamison on the evening of Thursday last, was of the most fascinating and splendid description. The ball-room was fancifully fitted up for the occasion. The company flocked in from 8 to 9: the carriages were rolling rapidly down our streets between those hours. Captain Piper, with his usual zeal in these cases, had his own band in attendance upon the noble host. Dancing, consisting of country dances, quadrilles, and Spanish waltzes, presently commenced, and was maintained with the utmost animation till midnight, when the guests were ushered in to the supper-room, which was entitled to the palm for superior taste in the disposition of the various arrangements that were most happily executed. All the rare and choice delicacies that Australia possesses, whether natural or imported, decorated the festive board, which groaned beneath the weight of excessive luxuriance: upwards of 170 sat down to supper.²⁹

27 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 28 October 1820, Vol. 21 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 2.

28 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 4 September 1823, Vol. 18 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 3.

29 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 1 July 1824, Vol. 22 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 2.

'M. Girard, of Paris' continued to instruct those fashionable members of Sydney society who desired to master the technical intricacies associated with dancing the quadrille (the difficulty of the dance's steps ensured that 'there was a long preparatory training with great lots of temper, and loss of fiddle-strings on the part of the teacher').³⁰ On Thursday, 28 April 1825, 'Monsieur Girard' advertised in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*:

French language and dancing. Quadrilles, country dances, waltzes, &c. taught at No. 4, Macquarie-Street.

Monsieur Girard, in presenting his sincere Thanks to the Public for the very liberal encouragement which he has uniformly experienced, begs to suggest the advantage which ladies and gentlemen would derive, by being furnished, a few days previous to any ball, with select quadrilles, &c. in exercising which mistakes would be effectually prevented. As M. G. has a thorough knowledge of the manner in which French and English balls are conducted, he respectfully offers his services for this purpose, and will undertake to conduct them in the finest style.

N. B.—As many ladies and gentlemen, who are somewhat advanced in life, may have, from a variety of reasons, neglected to acquire a proper knowledge of dancing, M. G. would undertake to teach such, in three months, so that they might appear in a ball-room with perfect grace.³¹

In the same newspaper (and on the same page), an advertisement appears in which the first quadrilles composed for Australia are mentioned:

Mr. Reichenberg [b. 1789], Music Master of the 40th Regiment, respectfully inform[s] the ladies and gentlemen of the colony, that he has composed a first set of quadrilles for Australia, with proper figures adapted to it, for the pianoforte, flute, or violin; also, for a full band. The same may be had in manuscript, from Mr. Reichenberg, at the Military Barracks; or at Mr. Campbell's, No. 93, George-street, by giving one day's notice.—Price 6s.³²

The 'one day's notice' mentioned towards the end of the advertisement allowed for copying from the original.

Girard's strength of purpose catalysed a pronounced change in Sydney's cultural life. By the late 1820s, the quadrille had become a popular ballroom dance. Newspaper reports reveal the dance's journey towards popularity. On

30 *The Empire*, 24 October 1863, No. 3754 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 3.

31 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 28 April 1825, Vol. 23 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 1.

32 *Ibid.* Robert Campbell was Sydney's first dedicated music retailer.

Wednesday, 1 March 1826, the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* was able to report: ‘Yesterday evening His Excellency and Mrs. Darling³³ gave a splendid ball and supper to a large party of civil and military officers, and other gentlemen, and their ladies. The music consisted principally of French quadrilles, which were tastefully executed by the Pandean Band.’³⁴

Approximately two months later, on Wednesday, 26 April 1826, Governor Darling and his wife hosted a ball at Government House in celebration of the King’s birthday. The ball ‘commenced with quadrilles [which] ... were the favourites of the ladies, and the Band of the 3d (Bufs) exquisitely performed them. The ladies skipt “on the light fantastic toe” with all imaginable grace and spirit. It was supposed that 200 individuals occupied the saloon at one time.’³⁵

By 1829, nine years after Girard brought the quadrille to Sydney, the dance had become an accepted part of Sydney society’s balletic activities. For example, *The Sydney Monitor* of Saturday, 25 April 1829 describes a ball held in celebration of the King’s birthday: ‘*Jockey and Racing Club Ball*.—Sixty or seventy ladies, and ... the same number of gentlemen, all testified their love for sociabilit[y] by assembling at the Royal Hotel, George-street, to dance quadrilles, and enjoy the pleasures of conversation.’³⁶

Who was the extraordinary Girard, the man who appears to have introduced the quadrille to Sydney society?

Mr Girard

‘Mr Girard, of Paris’,³⁷ was the French-born convict ‘Francis Girard, *alias* de Lisle’³⁸ (1793–1859), who, eight months before he first advertised his services as a quadrille instructor,³⁹ had received a sentence of transportation for seven years⁴⁰ ‘for stealing two gold watches from a London jeweller’.⁴¹ Girard arrived

33 That is, Governor Sir Ralph Darling (1772–1858) and his wife, Eliza.

34 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 1 March 1826, Vol. 23 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 2.

35 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 29 April 1826, Vol. 24 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 2.

36 *The Sydney Monitor*, 25 April 1829, Vol. 4 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 8.

37 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 4 September 1823, p. 3.

38 See the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 21 April 1825, Vol. 23 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 1.

39 See *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 28 October 1820, p. 2.

40 See S. Brown, ‘Agamemnon 1820: Convicts on the Transport Ship Agamemnon—1820’, in *Convict Stockade: A Wiki Site for Australian Convict Researchers* (2008).

41 S. Nicholas and P. R. Shergold, ‘Non-British Convicts’, in J. Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 25.

in Sydney on Friday, 22 September 1820, on the transport ship *Agamemnon*.⁴² Four and a half years later, on Wednesday, 20 April 1825, Girard was granted a conditional pardon.⁴³

The influence of Girard's French cultural roots looms large within the context of his life in Sydney. Shortly after his conditional pardon, Girard brought his endeavours as a dancing teacher to a close, and became a baker. He is mentioned in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Thursday, 10 November 1825, as having appeared in court for selling underweight bread: 'F Girard, baker, in Hunter-street, who had exposed for sale certain loaves, deficient in weight in the aggregate 14 ounces and a half, was fined in the mitigated penalty of two shillings and sixpence per ounce, amounting to £1 2s. 6d.'⁴⁴

Despite this embarrassing lapse in integrity, Girard eventually gained not only the contract 'to supply all the military and convict establishments in Sydney with bread',⁴⁵ but also 'contracts to supply [bread for] the troops and convicts at Parramatta and Liverpool'.⁴⁶ Girard's bread-baking inclination proved to be so lucrative that he 'erected a windmill on Woolloomooloo Hill (later Kings Cross) for the milling of grain'.⁴⁷

In September 1826, Girard opened 'a coffee-room, *à la Francaise*'.⁴⁸ On Wednesday, 13 September 1826, the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* reports:

We are glad to see that Mr. Girard, whose enterprising character is pretty generally known amongst us, is to open a coffee-room, in the French style, for the reception of the Sydney beaux and belles, where will be had not only coffee at any hour of the day, but comfits, jellies, sweet wines, and fruits in their seasons. There is little doubt but Mr. Girard will experience every encouragement, as something of the kind which he is about to undertake, is really wanted in our Australian capital.⁴⁹

Apart from coffee, Girard also offered 'hot French rolls'⁵⁰ for the delectation of his customers.

42 See Brown, 'Agamemnon 1820'; 'Convict Ships—A', in *Free Settler or Felon?* (n.d.).

43 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 21 April 1825, p. 1.

44 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 10 November 1825, Vol. 23 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 4.

45 Nicholas and Shergold, 'Non-British Convicts', p. 25.

46 H. Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance: François Girard, Dancing Master, Convict', in *The History of Music and Dance in Australia 1788–1840* (2013).

47 *Ibid.*

48 Nicholas and Shergold, 'Non-British Convicts', p. 25.

49 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 13 September 1826, Vol. 24 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 3.

50 Nicholas and Shergold, 'Non-British Convicts', p. 25.

Two years later, the 1828 census records Girard as being ‘the proprietor of the Sydney Hotel,⁵¹ specialising in superior French wines’.⁵² That there was a demand for ‘superior French wines’ indicates that Sydney had become a place where a certain degree of epicurean sophistication could be found. On Saturday, 3 March 1827, Christiana Brooks (née Passmore), writing from her home at ‘Denham Court, a property near Liverpool’,⁵³ described Sydney: ‘This place which 10 or 12 years ago was a quiet country looking, thoroughly English looking town, is now a crowded bustling business like city—the shops are well supplied generally speaking.’⁵⁴

By 1837, Girard ‘was plying the North Coast of New South Wales with his three ships; the primary trade being the cutting, transporting, and milling of cedar’.⁵⁵ Subsequently, Girard was

influential in opening up the Clarence River to settlers. After 1844 he became a pastoralist specialising in sheep and bought the Branga Park Station near Walcha. The willow trees planted by Girard along the banks of the Cobrabald River, flowing through Branga Park, are said to have come from seedlings imported from St Helena, where Napoleon died in exile.⁵⁶

It appears that the man who introduced the quadrille to Sydney’s social elite was a man of many talents; he was not only a convict, but also a French-language teacher, dancing master, baker, coffee-shop owner, publican, wine connoisseur, shipping entrepreneur and pastoralist. Girard also ‘influenced the naming of Napoleon Street, Darling Harbour’.⁵⁷

At the King’s birthday celebration dinner held at Government House on Wednesday, 4 June 1788, the quadrille, however, had not yet become a part of social gatherings.

51 A hand-coloured lithograph entitled *The View from the Sydney Hotel*, by Augustus Earle (1793–1838), dated about 1825, is housed at the National Library of Australia, Canberra (Pictures Collection, nla.pic-an6065557). As the only professional artist in Sydney, Earle was the first ‘to clearly portray chained prisoners working in the open air supervised by armed guards’. In this, ‘he was an exception, as others strove to present an Arcadian view of Australia’. Menezes and Bandeira, *O Rio De Janeiro na Rota dos Mares do Sul*, p. 220.

52 Nicholas and Shergold, ‘Non-British Convicts’, p. 25.

53 Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. 81.

54 C. Brooks, *Christiana Brooks Diary* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1825–29), MS 1559. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 90.

55 Clarke, ‘Australian Colonial Dance: François Girard’.

56 M. Garland, J. Ramsland and F. Pammer, *The Swiss Swagman. Theodore Müller’s Nineteen Years in Australia* (Melbourne: Brolga Publishing, 2007). Quoted in *ibid.*

57 ‘Archives in Brief 105—French Migration and Settlement in NSW: French Convicts’, in *New South Wales Government State Records* (n.d.). See ‘Napoleon St.’, in Sydney Morning Herald, *Map of Sydney* (Melbourne: Gordon & Gotch, 1880). See also ‘Napoleon St.’ in ‘Sydney, NSW’, in *WhereIS* (n.d.).

'National' Airs

The selection of repertoire usually heard as background music—that is, music that was not intended to accompany dancing—would have been influenced by the fashion for 'national airs', specifically Scottish and Welsh airs. A distinctly English national musical style had been recognisable since the early eighteenth century. The famous German composer Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767), for example, in his libretto for his lost cantata 'Wie? Ruhet ihr, versteckte Saiten? [How? Rests Her Hidden Strings?]',⁵⁸ described the nature of several contemporaneous national musical styles:

The flattery of Italy's pieces,
The unrestrained liveliness
That flows from French songs;
Britain's leaping, obliging nature.⁵⁹

The 'leaping' nature of British music arises from idiosyncratic melodic contour, and is an integral aspect of much of Britain's folk music (this is especially so for Scottish folk music). Telemann's reference to the 'obliging nature' of British music may refer to the following commonly encountered British musical characteristics:

1. dance-like regular phrasing without sequential extension
2. an endearing tunefulness achieved through the use of simple and affecting melody.⁶⁰

'Of the folk-songs heard in London the most popular seem to have been sentimental Scots strophic ballads of disappointed or lost love.'⁶¹ Already in 1755, the Geneva-born French enamellist Jean André Rouquet (1701–58), in his *L'état des Arts, en Angleterre* (*The State of the Arts in England*), had observed:

Les Anglois aiment préféablement les compositions tendres, pathétiques ou languissantes; ils aiment moins celles qui sont plus legeres, & qui expriment plus de gaieté.

[The English generally prefer compositions which are tender, pathetic and languid; they are not nearly so fond of those that are lighter, and more expressive of gaiety.]⁶²

58 (TVWV 20:13)

59 Quoted in S. Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre, and Meaning in Telemann's Instrumental Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 4.

60 See McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, pp. 133, 136–7.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

62 J. A. Rouquet, *L'état des Arts, en Angleterre* (Paris: Jombert, 1755), pp. 173–4.

Typically, Scottish ‘airs’ revealed

1. drone basses
2. the idiosyncratic ‘Scotch snap’⁶³
3. ‘distinctive modal twists’⁶⁴
4. fermatas⁶⁵ on climactic notes.

Throughout the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, Scottish and Welsh airs remained popular in England. Such airs were also popular with the colonists in Sydney. That Scottish airs remained popular in Sydney is suggested by the fact that in 1821, the Sydney auctioneers ‘McQueen and Atkinson offered Captain Simon Fraser’s [1773–1852] collection of [232] *Airs and Melodies Peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland, and the Isles*, recently published [in 1816] in Edinburgh. The same work was also on sale at the *Hobart Town Gazette* office.’⁶⁶ ‘Hobart ... was often at the forefront of colonial culture from the 1820s’;⁶⁷ ‘a balanced colonial microcosm of late Georgian British culture supported sophisticated architecture, furniture makers, silversmiths, frame makers, saddle makers ... portrait painters’⁶⁸ and a surprising number of musicians. This was ‘largely due to the fact that until the settling of the Swan River colony [Western Australia] in 1829, all merchant ships from Asia and Europe came to Sydney via Hobart first’.⁶⁹

Sometimes a flute was used to accompany the singing of national airs. For example, in

63 A two-note rhythmic figure in which the first note is of a shorter value than the second. The first note is dynamically emphasised. For example, within the context of a crotchet (quarter note) rhythmic value, the Scotch snap comprises a semiquaver (a sixteenth note) followed by a dotted quaver (a dotted eighth note). The semiquaver (sixteenth note) is dynamically emphasised. A well-known song whose melodic line includes many Scotch snaps is ‘Comin’ through the Rye’.

64 McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, p. 134. In Scottish ‘airs’, the inclusion of intervals derived from modes (a ‘mode’ is particular type of scale) produces a characteristically exotic and emotive ‘flavour’. As typical examples, four well-known songs with modal melodic lines are: ‘Are You Going to Scarborough Fair?’, ‘Black is the Colour of My True Love’s Hair’, ‘Whay, Hay, and Up She Rises’ and ‘When Johnny Comes Marching Home’. See ‘Mode’, in Appendix Q, Volume 2 of this publication.

65 The notational symbol representing a fermata—commonly called a ‘pause sign’—comprises a dot with an arch-like semicircle around it. The fermata symbol is usually placed above (rather than below) a note, a chord, a rest or a bar line. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the performative meaning of a fermata was determined by its musical context. Within the context of the performance of Scottish airs, a fermata indicates that an elongation of the rhythmic value of a note should occur; the extent of elongation is left to the performer’s discretion.

66 E. Webby, ‘Pipes and Odes: Literature and Music’, in J. Broadbent and J. Hughes (eds), *The Age of Macquarie* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press in association with Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 1992), p. 100.

67 T. Bonyhady, ‘Introduction’, in *National Treasures from Australia’s Great Libraries* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2005), p. 1.

68 J. Jones, *Robert Dowling: Tasmanian Son of Empire* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2010), p. 15.

69 J. Hawkins, ‘Transported to the Colonies: A Look at High Society in Van Diemen’s Land through the Decorative Arts’, in *World of Antiques & Art* (Sydney: André Jaku, 2012), No. 82 (February–August), p. 69.

the last years of the eighteenth century the wife of an officer at Parramatta wrote of dining at the home of Sir John Jamison, near Nepean ... After dinner the guests sat in the garden of the house and listened to 'sweet airs sung by a young lady to the accompaniment of a pipe'.⁷⁰

More commonly, however, pianos or harps were used to accompany the voice or other instruments in Scottish and Welsh airs—airs such as the evergreen and trendy 'Bonnie Wee Thing, 'I Hae Laid a Herring in Salt' and 'Fy Gar Rub Her o'er with Straw'. 'Who can now guess the appeal of ... "The Tight Little Fellow that wears the Blue Jacket" or the wisely anonymous glee "Palala, sum, nootka gunza"[?] ... "Dear Boy Throw that Icicle Down" must surely have moved the coolest listener.'⁷¹

The popularity of Scottish and Welsh airs is probably bound up with social identity. For late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century bourgeois listeners, the performance of a national air helped to create 'a temporary, socially distinct alternative self', the effectiveness of whose identity depended 'on its clear distance from the "real" self, the security of which [was] ... reinforced by contrast with the briefly imagined one', which was suggested by a music whose roots lay in folk culture. A national air could reassure bourgeois listeners 'of what they were *not*'.⁷²

On the other hand, a national air may have helped to create both nostalgia and a yearning sense of Britain, the nurturing mother country whose rich variety of music traditions included Scottish and Welsh airs.

Between 1788 and the end of the 1790s, in Sydney—and within the context of any given social occasion—the performance of Scottish and Welsh airs may have been interspersed with arrangements of works by popular composers such as the violinist Pietro Castrucci (1679–1752), Gluck, Händel, Haydn, Schobert and Vanhal.

In London, between 1695 and the 1770s, 'a number of collections of band music, consisting of popular marches and airs, were published ... with titles like *XXIV Favourite Marches in Five Parts, as They are Perform'd by His Majesty's Foot and Horse Guards* (London, 1770)'.⁷³ Perhaps, at Governor Phillip's King's birthday celebration dinner held on 4 June 1788, the band played selections from such a collection.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the boundaries between "'classical" and vernacular musics were less strictly policed than later in the [nineteenth] century ... a good deal of what might now be claimed as

70 McKinlay, *Sweet & Simple Pleasures*, p. 6.

71 Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, pp. 229–31.

72 'The Dilemma of the Popular: The Volk, the Composer, and the Culture of Art Music', in Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, p. 83.

73 Ogasapian, *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era*, p. 137.

“popular” music (dance and band tunes, national, sentimental, and patriotic and national songs)⁷⁴ was subsumed under the category of ‘music’, and comprised the broad range of repertoire that was available for use within the contexts of formal and informal social situations. Although late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century colonists in Sydney Cove did not have easy access to the musical developments that were taking place in Vienna through the work of composers such as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven and Franz Schubert (1797–1828), they did not exist in a musical–cultural wilderness.⁷⁵ The colonists had, instead, access to contemporaneous English music culture, which comprised the rich trove of music composed and/or heard in London. No-one, on hearing this distinctive music, can fail to notice its

accessibility ... its sociability of tone ... [and its] amiability ... Our still largely Romantic sense of the role and function of music has tended to make the ... amiable and social suspect in their own right, unless they are ‘deepened’ in some demonstrable way. We readily assume that profundity is to be equated with the overtly serious in tone or the melancholy; it is harder for us to accept that what may be modest or inviting or sociable is just as valid a tone of artistic voice as that which presents itself more earnestly.⁷⁶

It is a curious quirk of the psychology of our fallen nature that when we hear [a musical] ... work [that] enshrines that fallen nature, we feel better ...

The major philosophical systems since the French Revolution have been tragic systems. They have metaphorized the theological premises of the fall of man ... To philosophize after Rousseau and Kant, to find a normative, conceptual phrasing for the psychic, social, and historical condition of man, is to think ‘tragically.’⁷⁷

74 Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 12.

75 For example, the colonial press took an interest in Beethoven: on Thursday, 9 June 1825, the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* (Vol. 23, Trove, National Library of Australia, p. 4) published a biography of Beethoven; on Thursday, 29 March 1827, the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* (Vol. 25, Trove, National Library of Australia, ‘British Extracts’, p. 3) published information concerning a Berlin performance of one of Beethoven’s late string quartets. Since the notice states ‘[t]his sublime piece is dedicated to Prince Galitzen’, the unidentified quartet is either Beethoven’s Opus 127 in E-flat major, Opus 130 in B-flat major or Opus 132 in A minor. On Friday, 19 October 1827, the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* (Vol. 25, Trove, National Library of Australia, ‘Beethoven’, p. 3) published news concerning Beethoven’s final illness. And on Saturday, 11 August 1827, *The Hobart Town Gazette* (Vol. 12, Trove, National Library of Australia, p. 4) announced Beethoven’s death.

76 W. D. Sutcliffe, ‘Preface’, in W. D. Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. xi.

77 W. J. Allanbrook, ‘Mozart’s Tunes and the Comedy of Closure’, in J. M. Morris (ed.), *On Mozart* (New York: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press and Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 171.

Late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century contexts within which music was heard (including the theatre and concert venues) were places of 'pleasure and display, devoted to social interaction and public self-representation. Most audiences ... were doubtless inattentive at times, by modern concert standards; the music's functions comprised not only stylistic innovation and expressive depth but also, precisely, entertainment.'⁷⁸

A Dinner Party, 1 January 1789

Governor Phillip appears to have arranged for music to be played during the infrequent occasions when he dined with his officers at luncheon or dinner. Watkin Tench informs us that during a dinner party given by Governor Phillip on New Year's Day 1789, 'a band of music played in an adjoining apartment and, after the cloth was removed, one of the company sang in a very soft and superior style'.⁷⁹ (The table would have been laid with two tablecloths, one of which was removed before the dessert.) On this occasion, the removal of 'the cloth' may have signalled that the singing could commence. It is tempting to assume that the band accompanied the singer, but in the absence of documentary evidence, this is not certain.

Although Phillip was 'not extraordinarily interested'⁸⁰ in music, his straightforward generosity in providing background music for the delight of his dinner companions is very much in keeping with both his personality and his status.

The Portuguese Viceroy in Rio de Janeiro, Marquis de Lavradio ... gives one of the most extended discourses on [Phillip's] ... character that we have ... 'he is an officer of education and principle, he gives way to reason, and does not, before doing so, fall into those exaggerated and unbearable excesses of temper which the majority of his fellow countrymen do ... [he is] an officer of great truth and very brave; and is no flatterer, saying what he thinks, but without temper or want of respect.'⁸¹

In his retirement,

Phillip, it appears, enjoyed wine and carriages—as a connoisseur of the former and devotee of the latter ... he laid down some 30 dozen 'singularly choice' Madeira, sherry and port which were 'fifteen to thirty five years in bottle'. And he acquired a particularly smart and colourful carriage for getting around town.

78 Webster, 'Haydn's Symphonies between *Sturm und Drang* and "Classical style"', p. 227.

79 Tench, 'Transactions of the Colony until the Close of the Year 1789', p. 98.

80 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 224.

81 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 43.

Like most Georgian gentlemen, Phillip possessed fine china, crystal and glassware and a 'large and valuable quantity of silver'.⁸² He also had an extensive collection of books.⁸³

The Kinds of Music Predominantly Played at Social Occasions in the Colony

The kinds of music played in the colony were similar to those played in other transplanted British colonies around the world. In Sydney, as in New York, for example:

[T]he local musical tastes ran chiefly to the traditional and popular musics inherited from the former mother country: English, Irish, and Scottish ballads, glees, folk tunes, show tunes, sentimental tunes, comic tunes, dance tunes, marching tunes, and whatever other kinds of tunes constituted the current crop of vernacular music.⁸⁴

The 'Subscribers' Ball', 20 October 1810

Descriptions specifying the repertoire played at social functions held during the first decades of colonial life in Sydney are rare. One of the few accounts is found in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Saturday, 20 October 1810, where a description is given of a 'Subscribers' Ball' held in celebration of Sydney's 'first liberal amusement'—that is, in celebration of Sydney's first race meeting: 'the full band of the 73^d played off "God save the King" in exquisite style, and between the country dances filled the room with other melodious and appropriate airs.'⁸⁵

'The 73rd Regiment served in New South Wales from 1810 to 1814 under Lieutenant-Colonel Maurice O'Connell, Lieutenant-Governor of the colony.' The 73rd replaced the mutinous NSW Corps. 'O'Connell's wife, Mary Putland, was the widowed daughter of the deposed Governor William Bligh.'⁸⁶

82 G. Mackaness, *Admiral Arthur Phillip: Founder of New South Wales, 1738–1814* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1937), p. 458.

83 Pembroke, *Arthur Phillip*, pp. 258–9.

84 V. B. Lawrence, *Strong on Music: Resonances 1836–1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. xxviii.

85 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 20 October 1810, Vol. 8 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 2.

86 S. Rickard, 'Lifelines from Calcutta', in J. Broadbent, S. Rickard and M. Steven (eds), *India, China, Australia: Trade and Society 1788–1850* (Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 2003), p. 90.

The Ball Held at 'Bellmont'

Another account specifying the repertoire played at a social function was published on Friday, 5 April 1822 in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. It comprises a description of a ball given in 'Bellmont' for

a large party of ladies and gentlemen; the Windsor band attended; and the dance was led off to the tune of '*Rivers, I am beyond your reach*.' On Wednesday following, William Cox, Esq.,⁸⁷ of Clarendon [near Windsor], invited a large party of his friends to celebrate the christening of his son, and closed the evening with a lively dance, to the tune of '*The Golden Fleece*,' or '*The Merino Breed is pure*.' On the Friday following ... [at] Clifton Cottage, the residence of Captain Brabyn ... in the evening a sprightly dance commenced, led off by Miss Brabyn, to the tune of '*Speed the Plough*,' which was played by the Windsor band with animated glee.⁸⁸

'The Band'

During the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, regimental musicians in 'the band' would most likely have developed their instrumental skills through the experience of their daily work. For members of the military, there was no systematic musical training available until 'the foundation of Kneller Hall, a school for military musicians',⁸⁹ in 1857.

In 1794, typically for a military musician, Edward Frost, for example,

joined a recruiting party as a fifer 'having previously learnt to play a few tunes.' He then also learned the clarinet, and after four years was selected for a regimental band.⁹⁰

He now began to feel the effects of harmony (not having heard a military band before) and directly set about composing marches and other military pieces, in which he succeeded tolerably well as to the melodies, but the arrangements in parts were certainly curious: for, having heard musicians talk of *discords* without explaining their relations to harmony, he imagined that no two intervals, disagreeing in themselves, could be tolerated together; his chief care, therefore, was to avoid all discords, consequently his productions were monotonous enough.

87 An undated watercolour portrait of William Cox by an unknown artist, on ivory, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. MIN 382; Album ID: 823396; Digital order no. a1087003).

88 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 5 April 1822, Vol. 20 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 3.

89 Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850*, p. 73.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

He found that, to be able to arrange music effectively for a band, it required a knowledge of the various instruments to be introduced, and this he was not able to obtain till he was appointed master, which situation he enjoyed about twelve years; when, by experience, he found that even the worst performer in a band may be set off to the best advantage.⁹¹

In Sydney during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, regimental bands 'provided music for official functions and private celebrations among the members of the garrison, and occasionally they also played in the streets on warm summer evenings'.⁹² 'Band members also provided music for church services and were the colony's first music teachers.'⁹³ The *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Saturday, 22 May 1819 announced:

The death of Serjeant Harry Parsons who arrived here in the marines a mere youth thirty years ago, took place three weeks since at Sydney. He ... was Master of the Band; and remained in each succeeding regiment on account of his very great utility to the colony as Instructor of Sacred Music to the little female orphans, and their constant leader at divine worship.⁹⁴

Fifteen months earlier, on Tuesday, 17 February 1818, Robert McIntosh, a member of the regimental band,

advertised that he gave music lessons at his house in York Street. He charged 2s 6d for piano lessons and 2s for lessons on the violin, clarinet, hautboy and other wind instruments. He was also able to tune instruments and could supply music for balls and private entertainments 'at a short notice and with a moderate rate of charge'.⁹⁵

It is not known if the regimental band that played background music at Government House on New Year's Day 1789 was under the directorship of a band 'master' who was skilled in musical arrangement and/or composition. If so, it is possible that the works heard at Government House during social occasions were written in more than one part, especially if the band was an ensemble of wind instruments deserving of the title '*harmonie*'. Traditionally,

91 J. S. Sainsbury, *Dictionary of Musicians, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time: Comprising the Most Important Biographical Contents of the Works of Gerber, Choron, and Fayolle, Count Orloff, Dr. Burney, Sir John Hawkins, &c. &c. Together with Upwards of a Hundred Original Memoirs of the Most Eminent Living Musicians; And a Summary of the History of Music* (London: Sainsbury & Co., 1825), Vol. 1, p. 258. Quoted in Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850*, p. 73.

92 McKinlay, *Sweet & Simple Pleasures*, p. 14.

93 Webby, 'Pipes and Odes', p. 100.

94 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 22 May 1819, Vol. 17 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 3.

95 Webby, 'Pipes and Odes', p. 100. See also P. Richardson, 'Military Music in the Colony of New South Wales, 1788–1850', *MusicoLOGY*, No. 1 (1964), pp. 5–9.

a *harmonie* comprised two oboes, two horns, two clarinets and two bassoons. 'A typical core instrumentation for British military bands at the time was pairs of oboes, horns, clarinets, and bassoons, with flute, trumpet, and serpent.'⁹⁶

There is no evidence that any member of the band that played background music at Government House had studied with an experienced musician. If the band comprised only fifes and drums, it is probable that the musical textures and harmony heard within the context of background music at Government House were rudimentary, perhaps comprising (when deemed appropriate) thirds or sixths running parallel with the melodic line. If, however, the band comprised several different wind instruments, the musical textures and harmony may have been more sophisticated and aesthetically pleasing (especially for the connoisseur). A sense of orchestrational opulence would have been guaranteed if there were also violins (often, the musicians in military bands were 'capable of playing several instruments, both wind and string').⁹⁷

Lieutenant-Governor Erskine's Concert, September 1818

In early September 1818,

a concert was given by His Honor Lieutenant Governor [James] Erskine to a numerous party of ladies and gentlemen, which was succeeded by a splendid ball. His Excellency the Governor, and Mrs. Macquarie, participated in the elegancies of the festival, as did likewise all the principal officers, ladies, and gentlemen in Sydney and its vicinities; the company being in number 80 persons ... The full Band of the 48th attended upon the amusements of the evening; and several singers, who were introduced in masquerade, added not a little to its harmonies.⁹⁸

'As with Erskine's concert, so with most of the private balls and dinners given during the Macquarie period. Music was supplied by the bands of whichever regiment was currently garrisoning in Sydney.'⁹⁹ The specific repertoire performed at Erskine's concert is not known.

96 Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 81.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

98 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 12 September 1818, Vol. 16 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 3.

99 Webby, 'Pipes and Odes', p. 99.

The Queen's Birthday Ball, 23 January 1819

The *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Saturday, 23 January 1819 contains a description of the music making associated with a ball hosted by Governor Lachlan Macquarie (1762–1824),¹⁰⁰ the colony's first non-naval governor, at Government House¹⁰¹ in celebration of 'the birth of our revered and gracious Queen'.¹⁰² At Governor Macquarie's ball, violins were used in conjunction with wind instruments. We read that, following supper, 'about 170 ladies and gentlemen'¹⁰³ were

[r]e-summoned to the sprightly dance by the novel and attractive sound of the Pandean pipes, whose shrill tones were mellowed by the softer cadences of flutes, claronets, and violins; the company returned to the ballroom, where the dancing continued with uncommon vivacity and spirit until four o'clock in the morning, when the party retired highly gratified with the superior and truly fascinating amusements of the evening.¹⁰⁴

Typically, the music would have been played by the regimental band.

This account contains clues related to the 'presence' of the background music within the context of the occasion's overall soundscape. Pandean pipes are mentioned as being used to martial the revellers (after supper) back to the ballroom for dancing. Presumably, Pandean pipes were also used within the context of the ensuing dance music.

The Pandean pipe is a wind instrument comprising usually five or more parallel pipes bound together. Each pipe is stopped at one end and produces a note that sounds one octave lower than that produced by an open pipe of the same length. The sound is produced by blowing across the open end of each pipe.

The sound of Pandean pipes is not as piercing as that of the wind instrument most commonly used in regimental bands, the fife. This may explain the use of Pandean pipes indoors—even though the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Saturday, 23 January 1819 describes their sound as being 'shrill'.

Unfortunately, the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* does not tell us how many Pandean pipes were played; several sets of Pandean pipes

100 An undated oil-on-canvas portrait of Lachlan Macquarie by an unknown artist is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. ML 37; Digital order no. a128471).

101 A watercolour drawing depicting Government House, Sydney, by Joseph Lycett (1774? – ca 1828), dated 1819, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. 1/Pub/Gov H/5; Digital order no. a928164).

102 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 23 January 1819, Vol. 17 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 2.

103 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

104 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

sounding simultaneously may indeed have produced a shrill sound. Nor does the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* tell us what the pitch range of the Pandean pipes was; if the range was especially high, it is possible that one instrument alone may have sounded shrill (not to mention the combined effect of several instruments sounding simultaneously).

What the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser's* account of Governor Macquarie's ball strongly suggests is that the Pandean pipes could be heard over the sound that would have been generated by 'about 170 ladies and gentlemen'¹⁰⁵ conversing and dancing.

Flutes, clarinets and violins complete the sonic picture. We do not know how many of each was played. We are told that the intense effect of the 'shrill' sound of the Pandean pipes was mollified by these other instruments. This may be because

1. the Pandean pipe player(s) adjusted their dynamics in order to blend with the ensemble
2. the dynamic contrast between the 'shrill tones' of the Pandean pipes and the sounds made by other instruments in the ensemble was particularly evident to those present.

The description published in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* leads one to assume that the Pandean pipes did not play all the time.

'The Band' at St Mary's Cathedral in 1825

In about 1870, the builder, undertaker and amateur historian Columbus Fitzpatrick (1810–78) described the instruments making up the ensemble that accompanied the choir at St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, in 1825.¹⁰⁶ His description not only links the ensemble with regimental bands, but also reveals that regimental bands included a wide variety of instruments.

In 1825 there were a great number of soldiers in this country and as it happened, the Bandmaster (Mr. [Thomas] Cavanagh [also Kavannagh, Kavannah, Kavenagh; ca 1800–?]) of the 3rd Buffs [that is, the 3rd—East Kent—Regiment] was a Catholic, as also the Bandmaster (Mr. [Joseph] Richenberg [Reichenberg; ca 1789/92–1851]) of the 40th Regiment, an Italian and a great musician. Both regiments were stationed in Sydney at

105 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 23 January 1819, p. 2.

106 C. Fitzpatrick, *Reminiscences of Catholicism in the Early Days of the Colony: To the Editor of the Argus*, in C. J. Duffy (ed.), *Catholic Religious and Social Life in the Macquarie Era: As Portrayed in the Letters of Columbus Fitzpatrick* (Sydney: Catholic Press Newspaper Company, 1966), pp. 17–19. And P. O'Farrell, *Documents in Australian Catholic History: 1788–1883* (Sydney: G. Chapman, 1969), pp. 32–3.

the time,¹⁰⁷ and as Mr. Richenberg was only a hired bandmaster to the 40th Regiment he used to devote all his leisure hours to the instruction and formation of a real good choir, and I can say with truth that his exertions were crowned with success, for he had taught us to sing with his bandsmen, and it was a common thing to have five or six clarinets, two bassoons, a serpent, two French horns, two flutes, a violoncello, and first and tenor violin, and any amount of well-trained singers, all bursting forth in perfect harmony the beautiful music of our Church.¹⁰⁸

The ensemble at St Mary's Cathedral in 1825 provides an indication of the instrumentation that was traditionally available within the context of regimental bands. It is possible that a similar instrumentation (or something approaching it) had been available, via the regimental bands, from the very earliest days of the colony.

'The halls of poetic justice have many doors';¹⁰⁹ that the ensemble at St Mary's Cathedral in 1825 was so extraordinarily fine symbolises the entrance into the colony of virtue rewarded: 'two Catholic priests ... who [voluntarily] sought permission [from Lord Sydney]¹¹⁰ to accompany the convicts of the First Fleet [at their own expense]¹¹¹ to attend to the religious needs of the members of their own faith were not ... successful. Their application was rejected; or rather, Government entirely ignored it'¹¹²—and this despite the claims of Father Thomas Walsh (one of the priests) that at least 300 convicts were Roman Catholic.¹¹³

Laws originating in the Reformation and

directed against Catholicism, although no longer rigorously enforced, still existed in Britain. To have allowed Catholic priests into New South Wales would have aroused considerable opposition. Moreover, there was the fear that priests might become the rallying point for the Irish convicts who had every reason to resent the existence of British rule in Ireland.¹¹⁴

Ironically, the British Government's refusal to cater for the spiritual needs of the First Fleet's Catholic convicts was rewarded 38 years later with a flowering of musical and liturgical richness at Sydney's St Mary's Cathedral.

107 The 40th Regiment was never stationed in Sydney. In 1825, a detachment from the 3rd Regiment was stationed in Sydney: 'The 3rd (East Kent) Regiment served from 1821 to 1828 in separate detachments in Sydney and districts, Bathurst and in Van Diemen's Land. The regiment was reunited in Calcutta.' Rickard, 'Lifelines from Calcutta', p. 90.

108 Quoted in Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 417, Appendix 1.

109 'Poetic Justice', in *Angelfire* (n.d.).

110 See Mackaness, *Some Letters of Rev. Richard Johnson*.

111 See *ibid.*

112 Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals*, p. 30.

113 See Swan, *To Botany Bay*, pp. 149–50.

114 B. H. Fletcher, 'Religion and Education', in J. Broadbent and J. Hughes (eds), *The Age of Macquarie* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press in association with Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 1992), p. 77.

Chapter 9

Women and the Piano

At Sydney Cove, music constituted an indispensable part of the fledgling colony's creative activity; English cultural values had been transplanted onto antipodean soil, and music was an intrinsic part of these values.

In late eighteenth-century England, music was commonly linked with women. A woman who skillfully made music demonstrated that she had enjoyed favourable economic circumstances, as well as the leisure time within which to practice her art.¹ Three years after Worgan's piano arrived at Sydney Cove with the First Fleet, the instrument came into the possession of Elizabeth Macarthur—one of the colony's most socially distinguished women. Within a decade of acquiring Worgan's piano, Elizabeth had both money and time enough to practice and develop her pianistic skills.

That the next chapter in the life of Worgan's piano includes the intelligent, well-educated Elizabeth Macarthur is not as peculiar as it may at first seem. During the late eighteenth century, the rapidly developing piano was immutably linked not only with women, but also with notions of good taste. Good taste was regarded as a consequence of the 'cultivation of the intellectual and aesthetic faculties'.² Finely honed taste helped to

defend aesthetic discernment from the swamping of luxury ... any good student could learn it, but only years of practice and cultivation could ensure a proper level of judiciousness. The mastery of taste depended on a proper education, good company, leisure, travel and wealth ...

The rise of the language of taste was especially significant for female assertiveness ... a reputation for taste, sometimes tinged with enlightenment, and shared with a husband or a coterie, was much more flattering to the cosmopolitan pretensions of ladies than old-fashioned huswifery. After all, it was far more exciting to design the curtains than to make and clean them.³

1 See Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 53.

2 T. Lovell, 'Subjective Powers? Consumption, the Reading Public, and Domestic Woman in Early Eighteenth-Century England', in A. Bermingham and J. Brewer (eds), *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (Oxon, UK: Routledge, 1997), p. 23.

3 Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp. 144, 165.

Women with conspicuous good taste usually had myriad talents to exhibit, not the least of which was playing the piano. For example, in the eighth chapter of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, Charles Bingley describes the skills a woman must possess if she is to be regarded as 'accomplished':

A woman must have a thorough knowledge of music, singing, drawing, dancing, and the modern languages, to deserve the word; and besides all this, she must possess a certain something in her air and manner of walking, the tone of her voice, her address and expressions, or the word will be but half deserved.⁴

One could reasonably say that being able to play the piano was a skill that occupied pride of place in Bingley's list of female accomplishments.

A woman could obtain a 'thorough knowledge of music' within the context of learning to play the piano. Furthermore, it was common practice for a young lady to accompany herself at the keyboard as she tastefully sang.

The central premise of ... social behaviour [exemplifying good taste] was that the body was an instrument of pleasure. Interaction was conceived as a process of seduction—not necessarily a pursuit of overt sexual expression, but rather an exchange in which individuals sought to engage and delight each other with an artfully conducted repertoire of pleasing poses, gestures, expressions, and conversation. The goal was to ... gratify the aesthetic and social sensibilities of others, while at the same time demonstrating reciprocal pleasure in response to similar efforts on their part ... It meant pleasing others, and being pleased by them, without seeming to be pleased with oneself. Moreover, this cycle of mutual pleasing was to be conducted in a way that seemed utterly natural, as if agreeable [actions] ... were innate rather than learned ... The best way to suggest ... social privilege was to seduce, and be seduced, with an acute self-awareness masquerading as selfless ease.⁵

No wonder young women spent so many hours attempting to perfect their pianistic skills. The piano was an active protagonist 'in an elaborate game of cultivated sociability. The instrument facilitated a process of alluring self-presentation and elegant communication that was central to the formation of' a socially acceptable identity.⁶

That a lady's ability to play a keyboard instrument rendered her marriageable is revealed in an advertisement published in *The Times* of Thursday, 7 February 1793:

4 J. Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (Camberwell, UK: Penguin Books, 2008), p. 43.

5 Koda and Bolton, *Dangerous Liaisons*, p. 17.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

A card

Addressed to those among the female sex, whose desires are neither romantic nor extravagant, who stand in need and wish for such an opportunity as is now offered.

A single gentleman who is blest with an independence, adequate to every real comfort in life, and having none to provide for, prefers permanent friendship and protection to a lady possessing the following requisites: age not exceeding 35, person well shaped, teeth sound and regular, good voice, a stranger to the hackneyed tricks of the town: good temper, constancy, a social disposition, engaging manners, a turn to economy, and a knowledge by experience of domestic concerns, a taste for simplicity and elegance in dress, spruce in her person, and attentive to neatness in others; free from incumbrance, affectation and unpleasant habits: a pleasing countenance, if the face should neither be beautiful nor pretty—musical talents, vocal and instrumental—and she who may be the greatest proficient on the pianoforte or harpsichord ... if in other respects equal, will claim the preference.⁷

Playing the piano was not only a private, individual activity. It was also easily integrated into family and community life. Not only was the piano able to cross the boundaries that existed between amateur and professional, but it also functioned ‘as a medium through which social spheres that stood in opposition to each other could nonetheless nourish each other’.⁸ Significantly, for example, the piano was able to transcend

boundaries of gender: although it was thought of primarily as a woman’s instrument from the point of view of amateur music-making, its primary professional exponents were men. Women made up a good proportion of the piano-related market, be it for instruments or music. By the end of the eighteenth century many women were competent keyboard players, so much so that an anonymous writer in ... *European Magazine* wrote that ‘what were once called difficulties ... are now subdued at every boarding-school by young ladies hardly in their teens’⁹ ... Conduct books of the time describe pianistic ability as being a desirable feminine accomplishment, but music as a profession for men was not to be encouraged, as it was to yield prosperity ‘in proportion to the difficulties to be surmounted’^{10, 11}

7 *The Times*, 7 February 1793. Quoted in Ashton, *Old Times*, pp. 301–2.

8 Parakilas, ‘Introduction’, p. 4.

9 *The European Magazine, and London Review: Containing the Literature, History, Politics, Arts, Manners & Amusements of the Age*, Vol. 30 (July–December) (London: J. Sewell, 1796), p. 272.

10 *The Gentleman’s Magazine: And Historical Chronicle. For the Year 1816*, Vol. 76 (London: John Nichols & Son), p. 60.

11 de Val, ‘The Ascent of Parnassus’, pp. 51–2.

Many late eighteenth-century keyboard works composed for the Continental and English markets manifested 'difficulties' that were 'subdued at every boarding-school by young ladies hardly in their teens'.¹² In 1796 Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld (1750–1821), speaking of Vienna and Prague, observed that 'today's composers mostly go in for obstacles and demand from students a power that is often difficult for the master'.¹³

Late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Viennese music publishers' catalogues reveal that English keyboard music was available in Vienna, suggesting that the virtuosic works of Clementi, John Baptist Cramer (1771–1858) and Dussek had become fashionable. On Saturday, 2 February 1805, the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* [*Newspaper for the Elegant World*] described the state of affairs: 'The easier keyboard music of Pleyel, Wanhall, [and] Kozeluch is entirely out of style. Compositions of Clementi, Cramer, Beethoven and Dussek have taken its place.'¹⁴

In Vienna, Clementi's music was printed and distributed by three local music publishing houses:

1. Artaria
 - a) in 1782, the sonatas Opus 7
 - b) in 1783, the sonatas Opus 9
 - c) up to 1799, 32 different works.
2. Torricella
 - a) in 1783, the sonatas Opus 10.
3. Mollo
 - a) in 1802, the sonatas Opus 40
 - b) in 1804, the sonatas Opus 41.

In total, seven editions of Cramer's music were distributed during the 1790s by Artaria, Traeg and Torricella. Inexplicably (when compared with Clementi and Cramer), Dussek's music is under-represented in Vienna before 1800.

The 'difficulties ... subdued at every boarding-school' on the Continent 'by young ladies hardly in their teens'¹⁵ were also an integral part of musical life in late eighteenth-century London. The rise of the virtuoso woman pianist in England was a cultural phenomenon to be reckoned with.

¹² *The European Magazine, and London Review*, p. 272. Quoted in *ibid.*

¹³ J. F. von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* [*Yearbook of Music from Vienna and Prague*], facsimile edn (Munich: Emil Katzbichler, 1976) [Originally published Vienna: Im von Schönfeldischen Verlag, 1796], pp. 21–2.

¹⁴ Quoted in M. S. Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1989), p. 9.

¹⁵ *The European Magazine, and London Review*, p. 272. Quoted in de Val, 'The Ascent of Parnassus', pp. 51–2.

In late eighteenth-century London, most women who owned a piano referred to themselves as ‘polite’ or ‘genteel’—as distinct from women in the aristocracy. Such women usually had ‘moderate social eminence ... combined with an emphasis on outward behaviour’.¹⁶ Sometimes, the financial position of these women changed significantly.

The daughters of wealthy merchants frequently portrayed in conduct books, who might experience some financial volatility, were often explicitly enjoined to learn music only as a supplementary accomplishment, after acquiring useful needlework skills. This specious designation of music as a ‘supplementary’ activity for women of unstable fortune, though often taken at face value by cultural critics, is frequently belied or undercut by the same texts that so designate it.¹⁷

In 1722, the English dancing master John Essex, in *The Young Ladies Conduct: Or, Rules for Education, under Several Heads*, remarked that music ‘is certainly a very great accomplishment to the ladies; it refines the taste, polishes the mind; and is an entertainment, without other views, that preserves them from the rust of idleness, that most pernicious enemy to virtue’.¹⁸

In 1753, Jacques du Boscq (d. 1660) states that music dismissed ‘troublesome and irregular thoughts’: ‘there is no one so void of common sense but must own, that without some of these choice qualifications’—that is, music, history and philosophy—‘tho’ women may be of an excellent disposition, yet they often find it embarrass’d with troublesome and irregular thoughts’.¹⁹ Du Boscq also suggests that music

banishes sloth while it disciplines the body in the perceptible habits of a polite appearance. According to most late eighteenth-century conduct books, music is not a labor, but a pleasurable activity which quantifies the precise degree to which labor is absent in the lives of its practitioners, since those women with greater leisure are in greater need of moral discipline. The display of a genteel woman’s musical training might therefore be considered equally appropriate to public and private occasions, since it enacts an audible and visual confirmation of the stability of class hierarchies—an important aspect of social harmony.²⁰

16 Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter*, pp. 13–14.

17 Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, pp. 51–2.

18 Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct*. Quoted in Koda and Bolton, *Dangerous Liaisons*, p. 45.

19 J. du Boscq, *The Accomplish’d Woman. Written in French by M. Du Boscq, a Franciscan, Councillor and Preacher in Ordinary to the King in the Year MDCXXX. Translated by a Gentleman of Cambridge*, 2 vols. (London: J. Watts & B. Dod, 1753), p. 118.

20 Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 52.

The importance of women in the acceptance and use of the piano can hardly be exaggerated.

Keyboard instruments had been their special province in the home since Elizabethan times ... and in the [late eighteenth] ... century many a famous composer relied for the greater part of his income on teaching the piano to young ladies. This association ... made it easier for female pianists ... to [perform within the context of] the professional world than for women who played [non-keyboard] ... instruments.

... The intensity of feeling which some women, in particular, invested in their piano playing is brought out in many [contemporaneous] novels and poems.²¹

Learning the Piano

For aristocratic and wealthy women, there were (typically) four distinct phases in relation to learning the piano.

1) Private Lessons Given at Home throughout Childhood

A governess would initially give lessons (a governess took on the responsibility for educating a family's children in order that the mother might have more time at her disposal, as befitted a genteel lady).²² When the young student had mastered the rudiments of piano playing, a professional musician 'of quality' was employed to visit the student's home to give lessons. 'In London, extended visits by musicians are a clear sign of a good personal relationship' with the employing family, 'while deep in the country, an overnight stay by the music teacher was often a necessity'.²³ 'The success of a teacher was, in part, defined by the number of aristocratic pupils that they instructed.'²⁴ For some musicians, providing private piano lessons to students from aristocratic and wealthy families

was a successful means for accumulating wealth. When he returned to London in 1784 after a long piano performance tour on the continent, Muzio Clementi took up teaching and claimed to have given lessons 16

21 Temperley, 'Foreword', p. xvii.

22 See I. Dömötör, *Gentlewomen in the Bush: A Historical Interpretation of British Women's Personal Narratives in Nineteenth-Century Rural Australia*, PhD dissertation (Monash University, Melbourne, 2004), p. 99.

23 Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*, p. 223.

24 Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850*, p. 45.

hours per day. By the turn of the century, he had amassed a fortune of some £15,000—capital to finance his entry into music publishing and later piano manufacturing, which increased his wealth even more.²⁵

By 1790, in London, a select group of musicians was regarded as being the finest and most socially acceptable piano teachers. Clementi was amongst them. His status is confirmed, for example, by the Reverend Dr John Trustler (1735–1820). In his *The London Adviser and Guide ...*, Trustler recommends the following:

A list of ladies' teachers, the most capital in London.

Dr. Arnold, (Singing and Piano-forte), No. 480, Strand.

... M. Mazzanti, (Italian Singing and Piano-forte) Adam-street, Portman-square.

Mr. Storace, (Singing and Piano-forte) No. 23, How-land-street.

Mr. Clementi, (Piano-forte).

Mr. Corre, (Singing and Piano-forte) Dean-street, Soho.

Mr. Hook, (Piano-forte) Charlotte-street, Bedford-sq.

Miss Legoux, (Piano-forte) No. 52, Poland-street.²⁶

Clementi was so famous that Trustler did not need to include the maestro's address.

Within the domestic context of the piano lesson given by a visiting professional musician, the governess would act as chaperon. During the periods between each lesson, the governess was responsible for supervising the student's practise.

In a letter dated September 1803, Miss Margaret Fowke (1758–1836) of the Anglo-Indian Fowke family, writing to her brother Francis (1755–1819),²⁷ lists what were commonly understood as being the rudiments of piano playing: 'the fingering (or rather thumbing) of all the keys major and minor, the manner of fingering broken chords and other common passages; to know by heart the flats and sharps belonging to each key major and minor, and some little ... general

25 Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes*, p. 64.

26 J. Trustler, *The London Adviser and Guide: Containing Every Instruction and Information Useful and Necessary to Persons Living in London and Coming to Reside There; In Order to Enable them to Enjoy Security and Tranquility, and Conduct their Domestic Affairs with Prudence and Economy. Together with an Abstract of all Those Laws which Regard their Protection against the Frauds, Impositions, Insults and Accidents to which they are There Liable ... Useful also to Foreigners. Note, this Work Treats Fully of Every Thing on the Above Subjects that Can be Thought of*, 2nd edn (London: Literary-Press, 1790), p. 210.

27 In India, Francis Fowke amassed a 'fabulous' fortune 'through private trading in opium and diamonds'. See M. J. Franklin, *Claiming Kin in Calcutta: Jones Discovers the Indo-European Family of Languages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 33.

... idea of the principles of modulation.²⁸ In other words, Margaret Fowke, a very fine pianist, regarded the knowledge and application of fingering within the following contexts as the essential and foundational elements of piano playing: 1) scalar passagework; 2) broken chords; and 3) arpeggios—as well as an understanding of key signatures and basic harmony.

In a letter dated September 1783, Margaret Fowke writing to her father, Joseph (1716–1800),²⁹ reveals just how boring the supervision of piano practise must often have been for a governess. Writing of her guardian, Mrs Kitchen, Margaret states: 'She has often watched over my practice for half an hour ... and seemed to have found a reward for this tedious employment when I rattled off my piece with some ease.'³⁰

On Monday, 21 May 1804, Margaret Fowke wrote to her daughter Elizabeth (1793–?), giving specific instructions concerning how she was to practise:

Be very attentive to your music. Practise constantly, and never *play the whole piece*, till you have attacked the difficult passages. Be equally attentive to your *very short* lessons [that is, pieces], which surely should be performed with the greatest precision and alacrity, by a girl in her 11th year.³¹

In 1799, the educator, writer, moralist, ardent evangelist and social reformer Hannah More describes the following practice regimen:

Suppose your pupil to begin at six years of age, and to continue at the average of four hours a-day *only*, Sunday excepted, and thirteen days allowed for travelling annually, till she is eighteen, the state stands thus: 300 days multiplied by four, the number of hours amount to 1200; that number multiplied by twelve, which is the number of years, amounts to 14,400 hours!³²

Hannah More goes so far as to state that the quantified hours of practice, as 'a *general* calculation ... will perhaps be found to be far from exaggerated'.³³

28 British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, Ormathwaite MS D546/27.

29 Joseph Fowke was 'a middle-ranking official in the service of the East India Company, [and] was distantly connected to the Clive family'. Woodfield, *The Calcutta Piano Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century*, p. 8, fn. 15.

30 British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, Fowke MS E4, 462.

31 Quoted in Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*, p. 226.

32 H. More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education. With a View of the Principles and Conduct Prevalent among Women of Rank and Fortune*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: T. Cadell, jr, & W. Davies, 1799), Vol. 1, p. 81, fn.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 80, fn.

(The pith of More's story lies in the fact that the 'pupil' who devoted 14 400 hours to slaving over scales and arpeggios at the piano eventually married a man who disliked music.)³⁴

In her *Practical Education*, the novelist Maria Edgeworth,

in an imagined conversation ... addresses herself to a fashionable lady:

'Would not you, as a good mother, consent to have your daughter turned into an automaton for eight hours in every day for fifteen years, for the promise of hearing her, at the end of that time, pronounced the first private performer at the most fashionable and the most crowded concert in London?'

'I would give anything to have my daughter play better than anyone in England. What a distinction! She might get into the first circles in London! She would want neither beauty nor fortune to recommend her! She would be a match for any man who had a taste for music.'³⁵

Evidence suggests that a minimum of 10 000 hours of practice is required to achieve a level of mastery associated with being a 'world-class' professional pianist.³⁶

The evidence ... in favor of the view that practice makes perfect ... comes from research on how much training the experts or high achievement people actually do ... experts in music require lengthy periods of instruction and practice in order to acquire the skills necessary to truly excel. In several studies, the very best conservatory students were found to have practiced the most, sometimes twice as much as those who weren't judged as good.³⁷

It was simply expected that young ladies would spend hours practising the piano. In Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, for example, Lady Catherine, speaking to Mr Darcy of his sister Georgiana, remarks that 'she cannot expect to excel, if she does not practice a great deal'.³⁸

A letter written in April 1786 by the 15-year-old Maria Josepha Holroyd (1771–1863) to 'Serena' reveals, representatively, the prominence of music in the daily life of many female students of keyboard instruments:

34 See Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 281.

35 M. Edgeworth, *Practical Education*; By Maria Edgeworth, Author of *Letters for Literary Ladies*, and the *Parent's Assistant*; And by Richard Lovell Edgeworth, F.R.S. and M.R.I.A. (London: J. Johnson, 1798), Vol. 3, Ch. 20. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 281.

36 See D. J. Levitin, *This is Your Brain on Music: Understanding a Human Obsession* (London: Atlantic Books, 2008), Ch. 7.

37 *Ibid.*, Ch. 7, p. 196.

38 Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, p. 194.

I get up at 8, I walk from 9 to 10; we then breakfast; about 11, I play on the harpsichord or I draw. 1, I translate, and 2, walk out again, 3, I generally read, and 4, we go to dine, after dinner we play at backgammon; we drink tea at 7, and I work or play on the piano till 10, when we have our little bit of supper and, 11, we go to bed.³⁹

This amounts to four or five hours a day spent in front of a keyboard instrument; practising was a way of life.

Maria Holroyd mentions that her daily practice involved both a harpsichord and a piano. During the late eighteenth century, for families who owned both types of instrument, the role of the harpsichord was probably purely that of a practice instrument. Having possibly been part of the family's furniture for some years, the harpsichord may have been relegated to an upstairs room, the more modern and fashionable piano taking pride of place in the drawing room downstairs.

Even though 'the benefits of repetition and practice to the inculcation of principles of order, virtue, religion, and self-discipline, were widely lauded, the degree of accomplishment and rational engagement with the elements of music ... was not as uniformly defined'.⁴⁰ As might be expected, standards of performance ranged from the virtuosic to the incompetent.

For example, during a voyage to India in 1764, Robert Clive, First Baron Clive (1725–74), was forced to endure the daily practice regime of a talentless (and yet fearfully determined) female would-be harpsichord player, who incessantly practised 'two hum drum tunes for four hours every day without the least variation or improvement'.⁴¹ It appears that if this aspiring 'musician' had hoped to develop a level of accomplishment at the harpsichord that might render her marriageable, her unmarried status was destined (it would seem) to remain unaltered; Clive described her as 'a woman of a most diabolical disposition; ignorant, ill tempered, and selfish to the highest degree [who] seem'd possess'd of every disagreeable quality which ever belong'd to the female sex without being mistress of one virtue (chastity excepted) to throw into the opposite scale'.⁴²

Unfortunately, not all young women were well taught. The anonymous writer of *Euterpe; Or, Remarks on the Use and Abuse of Music, as a Part of Modern Education* despairingly laments:

39 J. H. Adeane (ed.), *The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd. Recorded in Letters of a Hundred Years Ago: From 1776 to 1796*, 2nd edn (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897), p. 14.

40 Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 55.

41 Quoted in Woodfield, *The Calcutta Piano Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century*, pp. 5–6.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 5. Woodfield sources the quotations from: British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, Clive MSS, G37, Box 15/1. See *ibid.*, p. 6, fn. 10.

[T]he younger part of the female sex, who discover the least propensity for music, or shew any marks of having a good ear, should certainly learn music ... to amuse their *own family* ... to relieve the anxieties and cares of life, to inspire cheerfulness, and elevate the mind to a sense and love of *order*,—virtue,—and religion ... But, alas! how far these ends are answered by the *modern mode* of learning *modern music*, let those declare who have *seen* and *heard*.⁴³

In 1791, the musician, songwriter, actor, dramatist and novelist Charles Dibdin

relates with horror how ‘The regular progression of rules ... are totally neglected, and Miss, the very first day, sits down to play abstruse passages out of Haydn and Pleyel ... Passages, and not music then, are what young ladies are now taught.’⁴⁴ Later he refers to ‘a lady of fashion’ who ‘in short ... could play arpegeos and consecutive octaves, with the right hand by wholesale, but not one single favourite air;—she could not even count the time of it’.⁴⁵

The organist and composer Richard John Samuel Stevens remembered that, in 1793, he attended a domestic concert at the concert room of ‘Mr. Blencowe ... an intolerable miser, tho’ a well-educated man; and of considerable landed property’.⁴⁶ The standard of playing at ‘this most eccentric meeting’⁴⁷ subdued the impenitent visitor,⁴⁸ and left much to be desired:

[A] short fat girl, mounted the music stool, to entertain us with a harpsichord lesson; and Mr. Peter Denys ... was to accompany her on the violin ... I believe that this lesson lasted nearly twenty minutes. Little Fatty could not play in time; her face, naked elbows and neck, were soon as red as a boiled lobster: while Denys (who is an admirable performer on the violin) was *pale* with vexation and disgust ... and the young lady, whose legs were so very short ... was obliged to put them upon the stand of the harpsichord to rest them during her performance.⁴⁹

‘Little Fatty’s’ musical inadequacies may well have been the result of deficient teaching (combined also, it appears, with a lack of talent).

43 Quoted in Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 55.

44 C. Dibdin, *A Letter on Musical Education* (London, 1775), p. 83. Quoted in Salwey, ‘Women Pianists in Late Eighteenth-Century London’, p. 279.

45 Dibdin, *A Letter on Musical Education*, p. 18. Quoted in Salwey, ‘Women Pianists in Late Eighteenth-Century London’, p. 279.

46 Argent, *Recollections of R. J. S. Stevens*, p. 92.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

48 A. Bierce, *The Devil’s Dictionary* (London: Arthur F. Bird, 1906). Quoted in D. W. Barber (ed.), *Better than it Sounds* (Toronto: Sound And Vision, 1998), p. 59.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

The vacuity of 'Little Fatty's' flawed music making was more commonly encountered within performative contexts than many would have wished. One critic, for example, contemptuously writes:

Only the very fewest have even the slightest idea that true musical cultivation contributes essentially to the ennoblement of the inward being and is capable of drawing the spirit cleansingly out of everything common; most drag the queen, born to rule and govern on one of the most splendid thrones in the realm of the spiritual, down with their unconsecrated hands into the filth of their own sinful lives, and force her, stripped of her heavenly beauty and made up like a common strumpet, to dance around them and so draw the eyes of the curious rabble upon them.⁵⁰

2) Intermittent Periods of Intensive Application

The second phase, for a woman, of learning the piano comprised intermittent periods of intensive application designed to develop the proficiency necessary both for social acceptance and (eventually) for the rituals associated with courtship. (This phase of study was sometimes undertaken away from home.)

One of the problems associated with bringing a male piano teacher into the home at this stage was that it introduced potential sexual dangers. Male piano teachers were secretly feared, being 'unofficially' regarded as not quite gentlemen; the education that they offered 'frequently extended beyond the musical to the sensual'.⁵¹

This fear extended to musicians in general. In 1762, the composer and music critic John Potter (fl. 1754–1804), who composed songs for the Vauxhall pleasure gardens,⁵² commented on the prevalent contempt for musicians: 'The elegant art of music, when consider'd as an occupation, is by some thought to have little dignity.'⁵³ Potter gives reasons for the prevailing attitude:

50 J. C. H. 'Einige Worte über die musikalische Bildung jetziger Zeit [Some Words about the Musical Education of the Present Time]', in *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* [*General Music Journal*], Vol. 21, No. 34 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1819), p. 569. Quoted in and translated by D. Gramit in 'Performing Musical Culture', in Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, p. 150.

51 Ibid.

52 See 'Vauxhall Gardens', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster*, Map Reference 52.

53 J. Potter, *Observations on the Present State of Music and Musicians. With General Rules for Studying Music, in a New, Easy, and Familiar Manner; In Order to Promote the Further Cultivation and Improvement of this Difficult Science. The Whole Illustrated with Many Useful and Entertaining Remarks, Intended for the Service of its Practitioners in General. With the Characters of Some of the Most Eminent Masters of Music. To which is Added, a Scheme for Erecting and Supporting a Musical Academy in this Kingdom* (London: C. Henderson, 1762), p. 61.

The contempt thrown on music, arises from two objections: The one, representing it as not being in general so profitable and reputable as many other professions, as having for its object nothing better than pleasure and entertainment. The other, that it not only requires a particular genius to excel in it, but also a great deal of time to make any progress, and by this means hinders and disqualifies a person for anything else.⁵⁴

Disdain for those musicians whose love of music outweighed financial concerns was the reason for the low social status of musicians. In 1791, Gebhardt Friedrich August Wendeborn (1742–1811), a German Lutheran clergyman living in London, observed the general feeling:

No wonder ... if the greatest part of the English, whose *summum bonum* is money, are tasteless in the arts, and treat them with neglect, or even look upon them with a kind of disdain; no wonder if a tradesman or merchant, favoured by liberty, regards the accumulation of money above all, and considers a man of talents and learning, or an artist endowed with excellent genius, as beings far below him.⁵⁵

The English phobia concerning music as a male professional domain continued well into the twentieth century. For example, Wilfrid Blunt, senior drawing master at Eton College, in his autobiography, *Slow on the Feather*, conveys his surprise that at Eton during the 1930s and 1940s (and despite an ethos at Eton that was biased against the arts) painting was regarded as being less dangerous than music:

I find it strange that, in general, music seems to be more suspect than the visual arts; for at least there are no nudes in the symphonies of Beethoven. An old Etonian, unknown to me personally and well before my time, wrote to me ... 'In one of my reports, m'tutor wrote—"All his many shortcomings must, I suppose, be attributed to his musical temperament"' ; and Lord Harewood, who when at Eton helped me with my gramophone concerts at the Drawing Schools, likes to quote the remark made by his uncle (the Duke of Windsor): 'It's very odd about George and music. You know, his parents were quite normal.'⁵⁶

54 Ibid., pp. 65–6.

55 'On the State of Arts in England', in G. F. A. Wendeborn, *A View of England Towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century*. By Fred. Aug. Wendeborn, LL.D. Translated from the Original German, by the Author Himself. In Two Volumes (Dublin: P. Wogan, P. Byrne, J. Moore, J. Jones, A. Grueber, W. Jones, R. White & J. Rice, 1791), Vol. 2, pp. 133–4.

56 W. Blunt, *Slow on the Feather* (Salisbury, UK: Michael Russell Publishing, 1986), p. 129. Quoted in Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 80, fn. 6.

A familiar theme presented in eighteenth-century libertine literature is that the piano lesson provided a context for sexual transgression. In Choderlos de Laclos' (1741–1803) *Les Liaisons dangereuses*, for example, the music lesson provides the callow Chevalier Danceny with an opportunity to seduce the innocent, weak-willed, convent-educated 'rosebud' Cécile Volanges.⁵⁷ In 1754, a satirical article in the *Connoisseur*

announced the invention of a 'female thermometer' for measuring 'the exact temperature of a lady's passions.' The device, created by a Mr. Ayscough of Ludgate Hill, consisted of a glass tube filled with a mixture of distilled extracts of lady's love, maidenhair, and 'wax of virgin-bees.' It could supposedly detect the full range of feminine response, from 'inviolable modesty' to 'abandoned impudence,' and was remarkably accurate, claimed the author, when used at the theatre and the opera.⁵⁸

That 'Mr Ayscough' conceived such a device reveals the pervasiveness of concerns about the dangers of private music lessons—dangers 'against which the only defense was parental vigilance'.⁵⁹

The actions of some piano teachers did not help to alter the general perception that not only music teachers, but also all musicians had little social value, suspect morality and not much respectability. As much visual art from the period reveals, behaviour by piano teachers that exceeds the bounds of propriety seems to be typical. Many piano teachers married one of their piano students—Muzio Clementi, Jan Ladislav Dussek,⁶⁰ Nicolas-Joseph Hüllmandel, Daniel Steibelt (1765–1823) and Johann Schroeter being a few of the more famous.

English professional musicians were much more likely to marry wealthy or titled persons than to be descended from them. Documentation reveals that in no recorded instance was marriage the only source of upward social mobility for professional musicians. From 1750 to 1850, all the musicians who married aristocrats had achieved substantial financial and professional success prior to their marriages.

Aristocrats do not seem to have formed such alliances with poor or even moderately successful musicians. Such marriages almost always entailed the discontinuation of professional musical employment.⁶¹

57 See Koda and Bolton, *Dangerous Liaisons*, p. 45.

58 Isacoff, *A Natural History of the Piano*, p. 53.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

60 Dussek was extremely handsome. He 'was known as 'le beau Dussek' [the beautiful Dussek], and ... introduced the fashion of pianists playing sideways to the audience because he wished his listeners to enjoy the beauty of his profile'. Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, pp. 74–5.

61 Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850*, p. 28.

The case of Johann Schroeter's marriage to his English piano student Rebecca Scott (1751–1826) provides a colourful and representative example. Schroeter came to London from Germany, first appearing in concert in London in 1773. Charles Burney remarked that 'Schroeter may be said to have been the first who brought into England the true art of playing [the pianoforte]'.⁶² Another observer described Schroeter's playing as follows: 'His touch was extremely light and graceful so that, just to watch him play, became a pleasure in itself ... His presentation of adagio movements was unparalleled except perhaps by Abel on the gamba.'⁶³

Schroeter eloped with Rebecca Scott, the daughter of a rich merchant. Rebecca was a typical, wealthy, 'middle-class' woman; she was rich, pampered and an heiress to a fortune. Understandably, her family was devastated when she eloped with her piano teacher.

The family tried to stop the wedding, Rebecca's mother and brother taking her to court in order to ensure that she would never receive her huge dowry.

After the wedding, Schroeter surrendered all rights to his wife's property in exchange for a yearly allowance of £500. This was done on condition that Schroeter cease his career as a public piano virtuoso, thereby saving the family from the ignominy of having a professional musician as one of its members.

Eventually, Schroeter was appointed as the 'Master of the Queen's Musick'. This meant that subsequently Rebecca achieved a level of respectability that her stuffy family was forced to acknowledge.

To be fair, some male piano teachers were not the only ones who attempted to lead their female students astray. On occasion, the tables were turned. For example, Joseph Haydn told his biographer, Georg August Griesinger (1769–1845), that:

[W]hen he was sitting once at the [harpsichord] ... and the beautiful Countess Morzin was bending over him to see the notes, her neckerchief came undone [an unlikely accident]. 'It was the first time I had [seen] such a sight; it embarrassed me, my playing faltered, my fingers stopped on the keys. "What is it, Haydn, what are you doing?" cried the Countess. Full of respect, I answered, "But, your grace, who would not [lose his composure in such a situation]?"'⁶⁴

62 Quoted in Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 124.

63 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 124. Cole takes the quotation from: K. Wolff, 'Johann Samuel Schroeter', in *Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 44 (1958), p. 341.

64 V. Gotwals (trans.), *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits. A Translation with Introduction and Notes by Vernon Gotwals of the Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn by G. A. Griesinger and the Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn by A. C. Dies* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 15. Griesinger's *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* was originally published in Leipzig, by Breitkopf & Härtel, in 1810.

Despite the potentially lubricious perils of private piano lessons, 'all authorities agreed that musical training for young women was indispensable'.⁶⁵ If, as part of the second phase of learning the piano, a young woman undertook intensive study away from home, this may have taken place in Europe, where there were many renowned teachers. The *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*⁶⁶ reported that the cost of musical tuition was much lower on the Continent than in England.⁶⁷

The 'opinion every where prevalent in England, [is] that it is essential to [pianists] ... to visit foreign countries, receive foreign instruction, and earn a character in foreign lands, and in Italy especially, before their countrymen can be expected to see and appretiate and applaud their merit'.⁶⁸

During the late eighteenth century, however, very few women musicians studied abroad. European study had the disadvantage of providing a context within which it was impossible to establish contacts within professional circles in London. Such contacts were essential for women musicians, for whom performance 'opportunities were scarce if they wanted to avoid the [potential] social stigma of the stage'.⁶⁹

3) Being Perceived as an 'Accomplished' Player

The third phase, for a woman, in relation to learning the piano was, at the time of marriage, enjoying the social value and status of being perceived as an 'accomplished' or 'finished' player. 'The piano and the pianist became the focal points in the drawing-room: not to own a piano became socially remiss and not to be able to perform upon one, for a young girl, a mark of lack of breeding'.⁷⁰

4) A Protracted Decline

The fourth phase, for a woman, in relation to learning the piano involved a protracted decline, after marriage, resulting from a focus on maternal duties.

The fourfold pattern of rise and decline, 'peaking' during young adulthood, was created by the knowledge that marriage prospects may be hampered by any lack of pianistic accomplishment. That learning to play the piano was motivated by marriageability, rather than by purely musical aspirations, must often have

65 Isacoff, *A Natural History of the Piano*, p. 53.

66 *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (London: Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 1818–28).

67 'Foreign Institutions and English Judgement', in *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, Vol. 32 (London: Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 1826), p. 413.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 406.

69 McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, p. 185.

70 Hyde, *New-Found Voices*, p. 31.

been a source of frustration to sensitive piano teachers. For example, in 1829, Thomas Danvers Worgan, the eldest of the two sons of Dr John Worgan and his second wife, Eleanor, wrote:

If those who turn their eyes towards the profession are unable to discover the intellectual dignity of the art in its teachers, the reason of this is on the surface. Music languishes and degenerates under the misgovernment of unintellectual fashion. The exclusive demand for practical tuition is imperious and irresistible. Musical education is wholly effeminate, and the teacher of music sinks into the manufacture of female ornament.⁷¹

In 1798, in their tract on progressive methodologies of education, *Practical Education*, Maria and Richard Lovell Edgeworth make it quite clear that the ongoing development of pianistic skills immediately ceases after marriage:

Out of the prodigious number of young women who learn music ... how many are there, who ... after they have the choice of their own amusements, continue ... for the pure pleasure of the occupation? As soon as a young lady is married, does she not frequently discover, that 'she really has not *leisure* to cultivate talents which take up so much time.' Does she not complain of the labour of practising four or five hours a day to keep up her musical character? What motive has she for perseverance; she has, perhaps, already tired of playing to all her acquaintance. She may really take pleasure in hearing good music; but her own performance will not then please her ear so much as that of many others. She will prefer the more indolent pleasure of hearing the best music that can be heard for money at public concerts. She will then of course leave off playing, but continue very fond of music. How often is the labour of years thus lost for ever!⁷²

That musical pursuits ceased after marriage in favour of domestic responsibilities is also revealed, for example, by Eleanor Parke Custis Lewis (1779–1852), the adopted daughter of George Washington. As a child during the 1790s, Eleanor spent many hours each day practising the harpsichord. Approximately two decades later, in a letter dated Friday, 14 July 1817, written to her childhood friend Elizabeth Bordley Gibson (1777–1863), Eleanor expressed her hope that the soon-to-be-married Elizabeth would 'not give up music & painting, for pickling, preserving, & puddings although I have done so in great measure'.⁷³

71 Worgan, *The Musical Reformer*, p. 37.

72 Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, Vol. 2, pp. 523–4.

73 Letter from Eleanor Parke Custis Lewis to Elizabeth Bordley Gibson, 14 July 1817. Quoted in P. Brady (ed.), *George Washington's Beautiful Nelly: The Letters of Eleanor Parke Custis Lewis to Elizabeth Bordley Gibson, 1794–1851* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), p. 82.

There can be no doubt that in a less restrictive society, many women, after marriage, may 'have continued to play to considerable acclaim for many years'.⁷⁴ There does not appear to have been any distain directed towards young ladies who became keyboard virtuosi. The context within which they performed, however, was a crucial factor in society's acceptance of such virtuosi.

Performances Given by Women Virtuosi

Salwey asserts that public recitals given outside the home by married women virtuosi were both *déclassé* and morally suspect, as were the women who gave them. Salwey states that any married woman

who became an accomplished performer signalled a variety of changes in her relationship to her husband and her place in society. She became *visually* prominent, especially if she performed outside the drawing room, particularly if she gave a public recital, thus upstaging her husband and, implicitly, suggesting to her husband's friends that she was out of control, leading a life of her own not defined by domestic regulations and responsibilities. A well-bred woman who took music so seriously constituted a threat to social boundaries.⁷⁵

The concept of virtuoso women pianists being restricted to performing within a domestic context has been for a time an accepted truism of eighteenth-century cultural studies.⁷⁶

Ritchie, however, presents a contrary view:

A public performance by a woman [either unmarried or married] was not considered to be a ... sign of depravity. Indeed, public performances [given] ... by women for civic occasions or charitable institutions could signal compliance with established social and gender ideals and generate social approval for the women engaged in these activities ...

In fact, a wide range of music composed and performed by women in the eighteenth century enjoyed cultural prominence, as expressed in the production, publication, and performance of music and lyrics written by women, and in writing about women's engagement in music. Women's

74 Salwey, 'Women Pianists in Late Eighteenth-Century London', p. 290.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 275.

76 For an exposé of the 'separate spheres' concept in recent literary scholarship, see C. N. Davidson and J. Hatcher (eds), *No More Separate Spheres! A Next Wave American Studies Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 'Introduction', pp. 7–25.

participation in music was not confined to the domestic sphere, but stretched from the stage to the drawing room in a flexible continuum of various performance spaces and repertoire.⁷⁷

This performative continuum comprised contexts such as

casual family gatherings; impromptu parties amongst friends, visitors, and neighbours; musical societies' meetings; concerts ['held in private residences, in the company of men and women, and in the company of varying musical skill']⁷⁸ featuring a combination of amateur and professional musicians ['the scale of such ... concerts, which one might imagine to include a select handful of the *ton*, was often quite grand'];⁷⁹ so-called private concerts featuring professional musicians and tickets; music festivals or other occasional performances (such as St. Cecelia's Day celebrations); subscription-only concerts in public venues; ticketed performances in ecclesiastical, recreational, and theatrical spaces; regular religious services; and, finally, the circulation and/or publication of musical compositions, often printed with references to their original performance occasion, for further performance in any of these situations. Study of these performance occasions shows that [contexts within which women made] ... music reached far beyond domestic music-making.⁸⁰

Mary Morrow presents six categories related to domestic musical life in eighteenth-century Vienna.⁸¹ Morrow's categories may also be applied to eighteenth-century English domestic contexts within which women made music. Morrow's categories are

1. spontaneous social music
2. the more formalised after-dinner entertainment
3. special parties and celebrations including performances of music
4. participatory chamber music
5. gala occasions with elaborate productions
6. musical salons, or regular formal concerts.⁸²

77 Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, pp. 19–20.

78 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

79 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

81 Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna*.

82 See Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*, p. 102, fn. 73.

Surprisingly, very little is known about the way in which casual concerts in the home were run, either socially or musically, 'yet these were the occasions upon which aspiring young [women] musicians ... routinely presented their efforts for appraisal'.⁸³

'The ability to accompany was an important skill for women keyboard players, but their highest goal remained that of appearing as soloist in the fashionable chamber repertoire of accompanied sonatas and concertos.'⁸⁴

Within the context of the accompanied sonata, women usually led the ensemble (commonly a duo or piano trio) by playing the keyboard part; men played the accompaniment ('whilst this suggests a late-18th century equivalent of ... "100 Things to Do with a Useless Man"',⁸⁵ the context would never have been perceived as such). Domestic music making—'a little dance music after dinner', an accompanied sonata 'or a song or two in the family circle—was considered unexceptional and many wealthy tradespeople'⁸⁶ bought pianos and looked for tuition.

Statistics concerning women making music in public during the second half of the eighteenth century reveal an unexpected prominence. Of the '622 advertised performances on the piano and harpsichord in London between 1750 and 1800, 210 were by women'⁸⁷ (some of these women were married, others not). This represents more than one-third of the total public performances,⁸⁸ and suggests that many English female keyboard instrument players 'could hold their own with their native male counterparts'.⁸⁹ (That so many women pianists were involved in public performance not only counters commonly held notions of societal restriction and repression, but also contradicts some contemporary 'feminists' manipulation [via] ... political correctness to mould culture [and history] to their likeness'.)⁹⁰

'During the 1780s, and indeed through to the end of the [eighteenth] century, women pianists played an increasingly significant public role on London's concert platforms.'⁹¹ For example, Elizabeth Weichsel (1765?–1818), Maria F. Parke (b. 1772 or 1773), Jane Mary Guest (1762–1814?), Maria Hester Park

83 Ibid., p. 102.

84 Ibid., p. 93.

85 W. D. Sutcliffe, 'The Haydn Piano Trio: Textual Facts and Textural Principles', in W. D. Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 248.

86 Southey et al., *The Ingenious Mr Avison*, p. 119.

87 Salwey, 'Women Pianists in Late Eighteenth-Century London', p. 274, fn. 4.

88 See *ibid.*, p. 274, fn. 4.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 273.

90 A. Shanahan, 'Full-Face Burka Lifts the Veil on Western Feminists' Insecurities', *The Weekend Australian*, 26–27 June 2010, 'Inquirer', p. 8. 'Those are nearer to reality who can deal with it light-heartedly, because they know it to be inexhaustible'—Golo Mann (1909–94). Quoted in James, *Cultural Amnesia*, p. xiii. Beware the mirthless cretins of political correctness.

91 Salwey, 'Women Pianists in Late Eighteenth-Century London', p. 282.

(née Reynolds; 1760–1813) and Cecilia Maria Barthélemon (1767–1859) were familiar to the concert-going public, and enjoyed considerable popularity and acclaim.⁹² The admiration and approval of the public attest to the fact that these women were true virtuosi; after all, the public concert ‘was essentially a re-creation of domestic upper-class music making on a larger scale, and that change in scale could easily expose inadequacies of performance that might be overlooked in a salon’.⁹³

An example of a woman virtuoso pianist who consistently performed in public is

Jane Mary Guest (ca 1765 – after 1814), daughter of a Bath tailor and a student of Johann Christian Bach. Guest was evidently able to present herself as a young lady of quality, for in 1780 Fanny Burney was invited to hear her play at her own house in Bath: she went on to achieve a more than satisfactory career in London as a solo pianist and teacher of royalty.⁹⁴

No female pianist who performed in public, however, comes close to achieving the prominence of Elizabeth Weichsel, whose 18 appearances account for more than half of the public piano performances during 1777–78. For the entire second half of the eighteenth century, this number of performances is matched only by Jan Ladislav Dussek.⁹⁵

Women pianists were rarely outshone by their male counterparts, and when this did occur it can be largely explained by the exclusive use of one of the leading foreign male pianists for a particular concert series. If the leading members of the London Pianoforte School⁹⁶ [that is, Clementi, Dussek, Cramer and Field] are excluded one finds that women pianists are as prominent as the English male pianists.⁹⁷

During the 1790s, more than one-quarter of the pianists who appeared in public were female, and the technically and conceptually difficult works of Dussek and Cramer featured prominently amongst the repertoire they performed.⁹⁸

92 See *ibid.*, p. 282.

93 ‘The Threat from Within: The Virtuoso’, in Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, p. 149.

94 McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, p. 185.

95 See *ibid.*, p. 286.

96 Nicholas Temperley (‘General Introduction’) informs us that the so-called “London Pianoforte School” consists of 49 composers whose combined careers span almost a century (from 1766 to 1860). Five pianists stand out as being the most important composers of the London Pianoforte School. These are: i) Muzio Clementi; ii) Johann Ladislav Dussek; iii) Johann Christian Bach; iv) Johann Baptist Cramer; and v) John Field. It’s ironic that none of these pianist-composers actually came from London (or, for that matter, from England). Perhaps the only two things that link these five pianists together as a “School” are: i) they all had strong and lasting associations with London; and ii) they all composed piano music for the London market some time during the first hundred years of the piano’s popularity in London.’

97 Salwey, ‘Women Pianists in Late Eighteenth-Century London’, p. 289.

98 See *ibid.*, p. 286.

One of the first English women pianists of the nineteenth century to make a reputation for herself was Catherine Bisset (1795–1864), who made her London debut in 1811, and subsequently played in Paris. More outstanding, however, was Lucy Andrews (1797–1878) who made her debut with the Philharmonic Orchestra in the same year as [Felix] Mendelssohn [1809–47] made his debut in London [1829], playing the Hummel Concerto in B minor. It was she who introduced Beethoven's *Emperor* concerto to England.⁹⁹

Musical performance contexts gave women virtuoso pianists 'a strong, clear voice in' London's music culture.¹⁰⁰

Daily, both in England and on the Continent, many women spent hours honing their musical skills to extraordinary levels of technical and interpretative ability. In her autobiography, the Viennese novelist Caroline Pichler (1769–1843) states as much: 'so many women ... occupy themselves ... auspiciously in musical performance at the keyboard, at other instruments, or in song.'¹⁰¹

In some ways, the restrictions placed upon women in relation to the contexts within which they might perform seem to be inconsistent, given the 'whole ceremonial atmosphere of a classicist civilisation which valued the theatre as a secular ritual'.¹⁰²

In as much as late eighteenth-century [musical] theatre concerned itself with the doings of gentlefolk and the nobility, a sophisticated mastery of it could be read as a sign of social superiority in a spectator, or ... in a performer. Sensitivity to genteel behaviour and its codes, to the nuances of a [musical work] ... and to the distinctions of ... genre were among the abilities that were required.¹⁰³

In late eighteenth-century England, there was a close relationship between 'high social status, "civility", and education on the one hand' and concert-going and music making on the other. '[S]tatistics and economic evidence ... point in this direction, notably in the case of London.'¹⁰⁴ The participation of women virtuoso pianists in English cultural life—within both domestic and public contexts—in

99 Hyde, *New-Found Voices*, p. 33.

100 E. Kuykendall, 'The Peter's Pianoforte. A Rare John Broadwood & Son 6-Octave Piano Brought to Life', in *Tudor Place Times*, Spring (Washington, DC: Tudor Place Foundation, 2012), p. 6.

101 C. Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben [Memoirs of My Life]*, 2 vols, edited by Emil Karl Blümml (Munich: Müller, 1914 [1844]), Vol. 1, pp. 295–6. Quoted in I. Godt, *Marianna Martines: A Woman Composer in the Vienna of Mozart and Haydn*, edited by John A. Rice (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2010), p. 3.

102 R. Strohm (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2001), 'Introduction', p. xvii.

103 Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840*, p. 90.

104 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

some cases acted as a stimulant for the development of piano design, and at times gave rise to experimental musical composition. As one would expect, the unique personality and abilities of each individual performer either reinforced traditions of instrument design, piano technique, composition and performance context or acted as a catalyst for departures from the norm.

In nearly every music treatise published in England during the second half of the eighteenth century,

social and musical harmony were, if not equated, then strongly related to one another ... Women's participation in this discourse of how one might achieve social harmony using musical means produced a range of responses, from works consonant with societal ideals of charitable, natural, and national order, to downright dissonance with such ideals.¹⁰⁵

The situation for women virtuoso pianists on the Continent was similar to that found in England. Women virtuoso pianists were an integral part of society's cultural fabric. Both in England and abroad, however, women composers were regarded with negativism. Society's attitude towards women composers is representatively revealed by an announcement published in Carl Friedrich Cramer's *Magazin der Musik* (1786); the composer Corona Schröter (1751–1802) writes:

I have had to overcome much hesitation before I seriously made the decision to publish a collection of short poems that I have provided with melodies. A certain feeling towards propriety and morality is stamped upon our sex, which does not allow us to appear alone in public, and without an escort: Thus, how can I otherwise present this, my musical work to the public, than with timidity? For the complimentary opinions and the encouragement of a few persons ... can easily be biased out of pity. The work of any lady, moreover, will indeed arouse similar pity to some extent in the eyes of other experts.¹⁰⁶

Women virtuoso pianists in England, when weighed against women composers, fared comparatively well. This was a result of the fact that in the minds of many, the piano, piano repertoire and piano performance were incontrovertibly linked with women and notions of good taste.

105 Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 3.

106 M. J. Citron, 'Corona Schröter: Singer, Composer, Actress', in *Music and Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), Vol. 61, No. 1 (January), p. 21. Quoted in C. Neuls-Bates (ed.), 'Corona Schröter and Julie Candeille: Two Composers Speak Out', in *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), p. 87.

Chapter 10

George Worgan and the Macarthurs

Every Australian child is taught that the Macarthurs created the Australian sheep industry—an industry that became the backbone of the new colony’s—and eventually, for a while at least, the nation’s—wealth. It is not commonly taught, however, that the Macarthurs were closely connected with George Worgan and the First Fleet piano.

Following Worgan’s arrival at Sydney Cove, his piano probably stayed with him (wherever his accommodation was) until about January 1791, at which time he placed the instrument into the care of Elizabeth Macarthur.

Elizabeth Macarthur

Elizabeth Macarthur was born Elizabeth Veale in the town of Bridgerule in Devon, England, on Thursday, 14 August 1766. Her father, Richard Veale, was ‘a yeoman farmer who owned *Lodgeworthy*, a mixed-farm of some 94 acres in Bridgerule near Kilkhampton’.¹ After the death of her father, and her mother’s remarriage, Elizabeth went to live with her maternal grandfather,² John Hatherley, when she was six years old. ‘Soon afterwards she was taken into the home of the Reverend John Kingdon’, the vicar of Bridgerule, a master of arts and fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, where, as a ‘charity child’, ‘she had a simple, quiet, moral upbringing in the household of a minor country parson’.³

Within this context she was educated along with the Reverend Kingdon’s daughter Bridget. Bridget Kingdon, ‘who had brothers but no sister close to her in age’,⁴ ‘became a lifelong friend and correspondent’.⁵

Taking a poor relation or a ‘charity child’ into one’s home, to act as unpaid companion to an ailing wife or daughter, was a relatively common practice in Georgian England ...

1 R. C. R. Geraghty, *A Change in Circumstance: Individual Responses to Colonial Life*, PhD dissertation (The University of Sydney, 2006), p. 16.

2 Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. 20.

3 ‘Elizabeth Farm: John and Elizabeth Macarthur’, in *Historic Houses Trust: Discover Elizabeth Farm* (n.d.).

4 H. King, *Elizabeth Macarthur and Her World* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1980), p. 4.

5 N. Kennedy, ‘Elizabeth Macarthur (1766–1850): The First Educated Lady to Set Foot in Australia’, in *Brand Lady.com: Empowering Women the World Over* (5 March 2009).

Elizabeth was luckier than most charity children, because the Reverend John Kingdon treated her as though she was his own daughter ... In return for being a companion to Bridget, young Elizabeth received an excellent education at a time when most 'genteel' girls were only taught reading, writing, sewing and needlework, plus a smattering of French and arithmetic.

Elizabeth Veale was taught Latin and Greek, studied ancient and modern history, geography, natural history and elementary French.⁶

John Macarthur

When John Macarthur first met Elizabeth, he was a young 'ensign from a disbanded Corps of Foot',⁷ on half-pay.

As one of fourteen children of a Plymouth mercer and draper he had few prospects, no fortune, and only his own sense of superiority to support him while endeavouring, in the five years after the American War of Independence, to obtain another military post.

Spending the years between the ages of sixteen and twenty one in seclusion in rural Devon, he probably felt cheated of the opportunities which may have presented themselves to him had the American war continued.⁸

According to his fourth son, James (1798–1867), during the five years when John Macarthur was on half-pay, 'he spent his days riding and hunting, studying history and contemplating a legal career'. It seems that during this time 'he acquired his knowledge of farming'.⁹

John earned extra money by tutoring at Kilkhampton Grammar School, 13 kilometres from Bridgerule, in Cornwall; that he possessed the necessary knowledge was the outcome of the education he had received at a private school.¹⁰ As a tutor at Kilkhampton Grammar School, John Macarthur became friends with the Reverend John Kingdon's son Thomas. It is probable that through this

6 de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, pp. 50–1.

7 Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta*, p. 5.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

9 J. N. Hughes, *The Macarthurs: A Brief Family History* (Glebe, NSW: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 1984), p. 2.

10 See Geraghty, *A Change in Circumstance*, p. 40.

contact he met Elizabeth, who was a pupil at the grammar school.¹¹ ‘Elizabeth ... lost her virginity to the young officer who was awaiting a transfer to Gibraltar. We do not know Elizabeth’s reactions when she found herself pregnant.’¹²

Until 1753, a promise to marry was traditionally regarded as being as binding as a marriage, and on the strength of it, a couple could be compelled to have the promise sanctified by a minister of religion.¹³ The town of Bridgerule was isolated and provincial; changes in the law in 1753 regarding marriage may not have had much impact on traditional understandings and practices. If John and Elizabeth had promised marriage to one another, they would probably have regarded themselves as being married months before their actual marriage ceremony took place. That Elizabeth became pregnant prior to the marriage ceremony was probably not scandalous in Bridgerule. ‘Many marriages started out with the bride well advanced in pregnancy and with as good a chance of a reasonably happy union as any couple can hope for nowadays—probably better.’¹⁴

There is no doubt that Elizabeth loved John ‘very deeply, as the whole of the rest of her life was to testify’¹⁵ (Elizabeth was to enjoy 46 years of marriage, even though she ‘was pitied for her husband’s inappropriate behaviour within the colony [at Sydney Cove], from the time of their arrival’).¹⁶

John Macarthur’s widowed father would not have been impressed by the fact that his penniless son wanted to marry a girl who lacked a dowry ...

Elizabeth’s mother was far from enthusiastic about her daughter’s marriage to ... [a] junior officer with big pretensions and a low income ... Elizabeth later admitted that her mother had claimed that, ‘Mr Macarthur is too haughty and arrogant’ ...

Although Elizabeth’s situation looked difficult, the Reverend Kingdon clearly approved of their relationship as, a few months before the Macarthurs’ wedding, he asked John and Elizabeth to act as godparents to his baby daughter ...

11 de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, p. 52.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

13 See W. Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 16th edn, 4 vols (London: A. Strahan, 1825), Vol. 1, p. 438.

14 T. Adams, ‘The Ongoing Joys of Family Research: Hangings, Divorce, Lunacy and Death by London Bus’, in *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 141 (September) (Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society, 2011), p. 11.

15 King, *Elizabeth Macarthur and Her World*, p. 8.

16 Geraghty, *A Change in Circumstance*, p. 29. See D. Walsh, *The Admiral’s Wife* (Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1967), pp. 130–2.

On [Monday] 6 October 1788 [five months after the First Fleet departed for Botany Bay] ... Elizabeth Veale and John Macarthur ... were married at the Anglican church at Bridgerule by Reverend John Kingdon.¹⁷

A few months before their marriage, John Macarthur 'secured ... full pay ... by joining the 68th Regiment, stationed in Gibraltar, still an ensign at twenty one as he had been at fifteen'.¹⁸

Macarthur did not join his regiment in Gibraltar, but—determined to enhance his rank and prospects—in June 1789 'transferred as a lieutenant' to the 102nd Regiment, the newly created NSW Corps, 'then being enlisted for duty at Botany Bay',¹⁹ on an annual salary of £79.²⁰

Joseph Holt, the Irish political convict, was probably not far wide of the truth when he wrote, from personal knowledge of early New South Wales, that soldiers from the military prison known as the Savoy, and other characters no less unsavoury, 'who have been considered as disgraceful to every other regiment in His Majesty's Service', were thought suitable persons for this corps.²¹

The NSW Corps was established to replace Governor Phillip's marines at Port Jackson, and 'there was no dearth of young men anxious to join a regiment in which, if there were no prospects of military action, there seemed to be excellent opportunities for promotion and aggrandizement'.²²

The Macarthurs Sail to Sydney Cove with the Second Fleet

On Sunday, 17 January 1790, John Macarthur, his wife, Elizabeth, their first son, Edward (1789–1872; who, having been born on Wednesday 18 March 1789 at Bath,²³ was eight months old at the time), and a servant girl left England for Sydney Cove on board the *Neptune* with the notorious Second Fleet. The Macarthurs' son Edward 'is believed to be the only person who sailed in the Second Fleet of whom we have a photograph. He was probably also the last survivor of the voyage.'²⁴

17 de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, pp. 54–5.

18 Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta*, p. 8.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

20 See Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 26.

21 Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals*, p. 42.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

23 Hughes, *The Macarthurs*, p. 4.

24 'Second Fleet (Australia)', in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (n.d.).

It was a miserable time for the Macarthurs who were bundled into quarters on the lower deck that had been divided into two parts. One side for Macarthurs and the other crammed with women convicts. It was an extremely disagreeable situation, not only because of the stink and bad language of the convict women, but a narrow passageway was the only way to reach the open deck above.

The Captain of the ship in a fit of malice after an argument with John Macarthur turned this passageway into a sick bay so it was necessary then for the family to step over the filth and vomit of dying convicts in order to reach the fresh air. Elizabeth refused to leave her cabin and after many days confined therein John demanded that his family be transferred to another of the ships in the fleet while they were becalmed in the doldrums. On the 19th February 1790 they were shifted over to the *Scarborough* and although they could not stand upright in the small cabin they had been allotted, at least they could enjoy fresh air on deck.

As the voyage was nearing its end Elizabeth gave birth to a daughter. Unfortunately the baby only lived for about an hour and was buried at sea.²⁵

Overwhelmed by her context, Elizabeth 'had no reserves of sympathy left for the starving, vermin-infested, brutally treated convicts'.²⁶ The Macarthurs arrived at Sydney Cove on Monday, 28 June 1790. John Macarthur was 22 years old.

What Did John and Elizabeth Macarthur Look Like?

Two Authenticated Portraits

Two authenticated portraits of John and Elizabeth Macarthur exist (Plates 66 and 67).²⁷ The portrait of John Macarthur is a copy (dating from about the 1850s) of an authenticated miniature held in a private collection.

25 Kennedy, 'Elizabeth Macarthur'. Of the Macarthurs' 'nine children, seven survived infancy and only two ever had children of their own ... [The Macarthur] family would never be gathered together at one time. [The Macarthurs' eldest son,] Edward left the colony at the age of eight, returning to NSW only for two brief visits during his parents' lifetime, while Macarthur's second son John, who departed the colony at the age of seven, in 1801, was never again seen by his mother.' Geraghty, *A Change in Circumstance*, p. 36.

26 Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. 21.

27 These are housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, as part of the Dixson Collection.



Plate 66 Unknown artist: *John Macarthur* (n.d., ca 1850s). Authenticated portrait. Oil on canvas; 125 x 100 centimetres.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.



Plate 67 Unknown artist: *Elizabeth Macarthur* (n.d., ca 1850s). Authenticated portrait. Oil on canvas; 90 x 70.5 centimetres.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.



Plate 68 Unknown artist: *John Macarthur (?)* (n.d.). Unauthenticated portrait.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Reproduced by permission of Stewart Symonds. Photo by the author.



Plate 69 Unknown artist: *Elizabeth Macarthur* (?) (n.d.). Unauthenticated portrait.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Reproduced by permission of Stewart Symonds. Photo by the author.

The portrait of Elizabeth Macarthur shows her to have been a woman of striking beauty and refined taste in both dress and deportment.²⁸ That Elizabeth should be portrayed thus is (in large part) due to the fact that social positioning was associated with

the self-presentation of the individual. Self-presentation was a matter of manners, deportment, dress and general care of the person, as well as the style of speech, the use or absence of a dialect, the degree and type of education and the display of it. Finally, it was a matter of the degree of social ease in culturally-defining situations.²⁹

Two Unauthenticated Portraits

There is contention in relation to the identity of the personages represented in two contemporaneous portraits (Plates 68 and 69).³⁰ The owner of the portraits believes them to be representations of John and Elizabeth Macarthur. The two portraits appear to have been painted by the same (unknown) artist, possibly at the same time (such pairs of portraits were commonly painted either to commemorate or in association with a significant event). Perhaps these two paintings were completed prior to John Macarthur's departure on 29 March 1809 for England on board the *Admiral Gambier*.

Comparison between the authenticated and unauthenticated sets of portraits reveals striking similarities in

1. the nose
2. the shape and colour of the eyes
3. the shape of the mouth.

Certain similarities between the authenticated and unauthenticated sets of portraits are particularly obvious"

1. In relation to John Macarthur, the
 - a) hairline
 - b) keen, penetrating eyes
 - c) pugnacious mouth

28 See J. Conway, 'Macarthur, Elizabeth (1766–1850)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1967], Vol. 2.

29 Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840*, p. 90.

30 These portraits are owned by Stewart Symonds, Ermington, Sydney, NSW.

- d) firm, squared jaw
 - e) prominent ear lobes.
2. In relation to Elizabeth Macarthur, the
- a) high forehead
 - b) height of the eyebrows
 - c) corners of the mouth
 - d) prominent chin
 - e) long neck
 - f) slope of the shoulders.

Both sets of portraits speak of vigour, wealth and self-confidence.

Some experts in Australian art history have not accepted the unauthenticated portraits as being representations of John and Elizabeth Macarthur, denouncing the works as unimportant—a state of affairs analogous with that revealed in the documentary film *Who the #\$\$% is Jackson Pollock?*.³¹

The Macarthurs at Sydney Cove

Upon disembarkation at Sydney Cove, Elizabeth Macarthur thought the colony to be ‘completely wretched’.³²

The filthy ships in the Cove, the rude lines of sodden barracks, the ... tents that held the sick sagging in the downpour along the waterfront; the night fires in the region of the Rocks, a sink of evil already and more like a gypsy encampment than part of a town ... the stumps and fallen trees, and the boggy tracks wending their way around rock and precipice; the oozy Tank Stream spreading itself over the sand by the head of the Cove.³³

31 Moses, H. (dir.), *Who the #\$\$% is Jackson Pollock?*, [Film], Produced by D. Hewitt, S. Hewitt and M. Lynne, Starring T. Horton (Distributed by Warner Bros, 2006). ‘After semi-truck driver Teri Horton bought a large splatter painting for her friend for \$5, she was forced to sell it in her own garage sale when her friend said she had no place for it. Eventually someone commented on the painting stating it might be an original Jackson Pollock ... [The] documentary follows Teri, her son, and a forensics specialist as they attempt to prove to the world, or more specifically the art community, her painting is a true Jackson Pollock.’ ‘Synopsis of the Movie’.

32 Birmingham, *Leviathan*, p. 164.

33 Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 164–5.

Elizabeth Macarthur was 'the second woman of her [social] class to go to ... [Sydney Cove]. The first was probably the ["somewhat tart-tongued"]³⁴ wife of the Reverend Richard Johnson, although almost nothing is known of her.'³⁵ (The Reverend Johnson's wife 'bore him a daughter whom he called by an Aboriginal name, Milbah, born in 1790, and a son, born in 1792'.)³⁶

Initial Accommodation

If Elizabeth Macarthur had anticipated comfortable accommodation when she disembarked, her hopes would soon have been dashed upon the rocks of disappointment. Sometime 'after disembarking'—that is, after Monday, 28 June 1790—the Macarthurs were given a hut vacated by an officer who was being transferred to Norfolk Island'.³⁷ 'The hut was on the west side of the Tank Stream, with the parade ground and the settlement's storehouses between them and the convicts.'³⁸ De Vries locates the Macarthurs' hut 'along George Street (then known as Spring Row)'.³⁹

Instead of glass, the windows of the hut would have had a lattice of twigs. The outline of the hut 'might have been drawn by a child; [a] simple square [building] ... about nine feet by twelve [2.7 metres by 3.6 metres] with a central door on one side and a window each side of it'.⁴⁰ A letter written by a distressed female convict describes the type of hut as 'the most miserable huts you can possibly conceive of ... Windows they have none ... so that lattices of twigs are made by our people to supply their places'.⁴¹ (Convict women were not all illiterate; 'over a quarter of the women who arrived on the First Fleet and who married within the next two years were able to write their names in the marriage register'.)⁴² Sanitation was of the most primitive kind.

During this time, Elizabeth Macarthur writes that there was 'no female friend to unbend my mind to, nor a single woman with whom I could converse with any satisfaction to myself'.⁴³ On the nights when John Macarthur 'was duty

34 Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals*, p. 30.

35 Duffy, *Man of Honour*, pp. 25–6.

36 K. J. Cable, 'Johnson, Richard (1753?–1827)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1967], Vol. 2.

37 Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 61.

38 *Ibid.*, pp. 61–2.

39 de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, pp. 61–2.

40 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 134.

41 'Letter Written by a Convict Woman, 14 November 1788', in F. M. Bladen (ed.), *Historical Records of New South Wales* (Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer, 1893), Vol. 2, p. 747.

42 B. Penglase, '1788: That Illiterate 'freight of misery'?', in *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 75, Part 2 (October 1989). Quoted in Clarke, 'Life Lines'.

43 Quoted in de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, p. 62. Also quoted in King, *Elizabeth Macarthur and Her World*, p. 17.

officer, he had to stay in the Military Barracks and Elizabeth was left alone in her shack',⁴⁴ keeping company with the ever-present spiders, ants and insects. Sydney Cove was no place for a nervous lady. In a letter to her mother dated Friday, 18 November 1791, 'Elizabeth remarks that during this period she keenly felt "the want of female society"'.⁴⁵ Gentlewomen did not look to female servants for company. Servants were not considered proper companions. Even in the isolation of colonial life, gentlewomen distanced themselves from the servant class; gentlewomen 'could not regard domestic servants as their equals and their notions of gentility held strongly over their longing for female company'.⁴⁶

Elizabeth Macarthur Seeks Company

'As the only officers' wife in the colony',⁴⁷ Elizabeth sought the company 'of the marines officers, presumably the better behaved'.⁴⁸

The officers were a mixed lot, varying from the suave, polished ... [Captain] John Piper to the blustering Anthony Fenn Kemp [1773–1868], said to have been a pawnbroker, and who was 'qualified for any huxtering or dealing.' Many joined [the NSW Corps] with the deliberate intention of making what money they could out of their overseas service.⁴⁹

We know that the officers were generally friendly and polite.⁵⁰ From within this group of officers, Elizabeth formed close friendships with 'the perceptive author Captain Lieutenant Watkin Tench', whom she visited almost every day, 'and the amateur astronomer and anthropologist Lieutenant William Dawes'.⁵¹

William Dawes was a man of many talents. A patron of Dawes described some of his abilities: 'He understands the Spanish and Portuguese languages, as also French and Italian; he has studied botany some considerable time together, with mineralogy; he is a tolerable good astronomer and draws very well.'⁵² In 1792, William Dawes

went to Sierra Leone ... as advisor to the Governor, and he ... took over that post later the same year. In 1793 ... he became mathematics master

44 de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, p. 60.

45 E. Macarthur, 'Letter to Her Mother, 18 November 1791', in *Macarthur Papers 12* (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales). Quoted in Egan, *Buried Alive*, p. 266.

46 Dömötör, *Gentlewomen in the Bush*, p. 104.

47 Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 62.

48 Ibid.

49 Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals*, p. 42.

50 See M. A. Parker, *A Voyage Round the World in the Gorgon Man of War, Captain John Parker, Performed and Written by His Widow; For the Advantage of a Numerous Family* (London: John Nichols, 1795), p. 92.

51 Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 63.

52 See Frost, *The First Fleet*, p. 62.

at Christ's Hospital and helped to train missionaries for the Church Missionary Society. In 1813 he went to Antigua as a correspondent of the Church Missionary Society, established schools for the children of slaves and travelled to Dominica and St Vincent. He died in Antigua in 1836.⁵³

Dawes may well have been impressed by Elizabeth Macarthur's intelligence, curiosity and the fact that she was a well-educated woman. Not only did he show 'her stars and constellations unknown in the northern hemisphere',⁵⁴ but he also taught the curious Elizabeth 'about botany and exotic flora and fauna'.⁵⁵

Elizabeth was hungry for knowledge. She wrote to her friend Bridget Kingdon: 'I have arrived so far as to be able to class and order all common plants. I have found great pleasure in my study; every walk furnished me with subjects to put in practice that theory I had before gained by reading.'⁵⁶ Dawes may have 'told the young wide-eyed Mrs Macarthur about the unusual [antipodean] cycle of the seasons [and of] ... kangaroos,⁵⁷ koalas and platypuses'.⁵⁸

Elizabeth's socially isolated context and her desire for stimulating company were probably the catalysts that resulted in her first meeting with surgeon George Worgan and his piano. It is not known when Elizabeth became aware that Worgan had brought his piano with him to Sydney Cove; perhaps it was during her first conversation with him (Worgan may even have been introduced to Elizabeth specifically as the owner of the colony's only piano). In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century social world, 'introductions between strangers tend[ed] to be formal, predictable affairs'. The parties greeted and acknowledged one another 'according to accepted rules. In this nicely regulated verbal world every antecedent phrase [had its] ... consequent'.⁵⁹ 'Choices about one's friends [and] ... patterns of speech and gesture ... were ... fraught with significance ... women's friendships and appearances in public were believed to reveal insights into their moral character.'⁶⁰ Depending on the nature of George Worgan's initial discourse with Elizabeth Macarthur (as well as the context within which the conversation took place), the introduction of the subject of his piano may even have represented a violation of social decorum. Perhaps the subject of Worgan's piano was not raised until a subsequent meeting, at which time the two new friends sought to become better acquainted with one another.

53 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 275.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

56 Quoted in King, *Elizabeth Macarthur and Her World*, p. 17.

57 'Captain John Shea [d. 1789] seems to have been the first man to shoot [a kangaroo] ... and bring it to the camp.' *Ibid.*, p. 133.

58 de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, p. 62.

59 R. K. Wallace, *Emily Bronte and Beethoven: Romantic Equilibrium in Fiction and Music* (Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press, 1986), p. 25.

60 Tague, *Women of Quality*, p. 175.

The Macarthurs' New Thatched Wattle-and-Daub Hut

In January 1791, six months after their arrival at Sydney Cove, the Macarthurs moved from their initial rudimentary accommodation into a new, slightly larger house: a thatched wattle-and-daub hut.⁶¹ In a letter written by Elizabeth to Bridget Kingdon in London, dated Monday, 7 March 1791, Elizabeth Macarthur described the event: 'in January we were remov'd into a more convenient House.'⁶²

The Macarthurs' new hut probably had a relatively light timber frame comprising 'saplings covered with a woven mesh of twigs or lathes split from the acacia tree', combined with mud 'and walls plastered with clay'—which was plentiful about 2 kilometres south of Sydney Cove⁶³—'to keep out the wind and rain'. This method of building was 'common in England at least from Saxon times'.⁶⁴ 'In a cove to the east, which ... the colonists would [come to] know ... as Rushcutters Bay, there were rushes that could be cut and thatched.'⁶⁵ The hut's thatched roof was most likely made of 'cabbage-tree fronds or rushes or bark plastered over with clay'.⁶⁶ Any pretensions to architectural distinction at Sydney Cove were severely limited by a lack both of resources and of skills.⁶⁷ 'Thatched roofs ... were neither durable nor weatherproof and they frequently caught fire in dry summer weather or from ill-built chimneys so that the building of chimneys in thatched huts was finally forbidden.'⁶⁸

It is not known exactly where the Macarthurs' new hut was situated, nor is it known how close it was to the hut they had vacated. Their new thatched wattle-and-daub hut may have been located up the hill to the west of the fledgling colony's parade ground. The parade ground was positioned at what is now the corner of Bridge and George streets.⁶⁹

During the first half of the 1790s,

it appears that building activity at Sydney was concentrated on the erection of the military barracks and the houses of the principal officers

61 See Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 77.

62 J. N. Hughes (ed.), *The Journal and Letters of Elizabeth Macarthur 1789–1798* (Glebe, NSW: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 1984), p. 24.

63 See Bridges, *Foundations of Identity*, p. 28.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

65 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 27.

66 Keneally, *Australians*, p. 83.

67 See Bridges, *Foundations of Identity*, p. 68.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

69 Information derived from a conversation held on Thursday, 11 February 2010 between the author and Gary Crockett, Curator, Hyde Park Barracks Museum, Queens Square, Macquarie Street, Sydney.

[George Worgan was not one of these] and superintendents. An observer in the mid-1790s, Daniel Paine [b. 1770], the colony's boatbuilder, wrote about the appearance of the settlement at that time: 'The houses and public buildings are generally without much attention to order or regularity; the Governor's house is of stone, and situated on a rising ground on the left-hand side of the Cove, and has a pretty appearance'. He mentions the hospital, a temporary prefabricated wooden structure, the brick house for the Principal Surgeon, and 'the stores three in number' situated at the upper part of the Cove, two of which he considered rather inconveniently placed, being too distant from the wharf. The house of the military commandant, the Lieutenant-Governor, was 'pleasantly situated, and sufficient space is left before the parade'.⁷⁰ 'The Barracks', he wrote, 'are the most regular buildings and situated on rising ground at the back of the Cove they are built of brick'. The church was merely a 'low thatched barn'. Though the houses of the principal military officers and convict superintendents were built of brick, they were confined to a single storey. 'Other houses in general', he observed, 'are built of posts stuck in the ground at convenient distances to support wattles and plastered both inside & out.'⁷¹

Thus it appears that the bricks being made were used mainly in the official buildings, and that emancipists, free settlers, ex-marines and convicts alike had to make do with lath and plaster walls, thatched or shingled roofs, and any other material they could find or scrounge.⁷²

On Saturday, 13 December 1794, a report written by an anonymous soldier says that the town at Sydney Cove included '700 good comfortable huts', besides 'numerous brick buildings, the property of the Government'.⁷³ 'While 700 looks like hyperbole (as does "good comfortable")', this statement suggests a conspicuously large number of households (narrowly defined), in which convicts and others lived in relatively independent fashion, sheltered by timber, mud and thatch.⁷⁴

Perhaps the Macarthurs' new thatched wattle-and-daub hut 'plastered both inside & out',⁷⁵ into which they moved in January 1791, was one of these dwellings.

70 R. J. B. Knight and A. Frost (eds), *The Journal of Daniel Paine 1794–1797* (Sydney: Library of Australian History in association with the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, 1983), pp. 33–4.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

72 H. Proudfoot, 'Fixing the Settlement Upon a Savage Shore: Planning and Building', in G. Aplin (ed.), *A Difficult Infant: Sydney before Macquarie* (Kensington, NSW: UNSW Press), pp. 62–3. Paine was mistaken when he said Government House was built of stone: the walls were of brick. *Ibid.*, p. 70, fn. 37.

73 Cited in A. Atkinson, 'Taking Possession: Sydney's First Householders', in G. Aplin (ed.), *A Difficult Infant: Sydney before Macquarie* (Kensington, NSW: UNSW Press, 1988), p. 78. Atkinson's quotation is taken from 'A Soldier's Letter', in *Historical Records of New South Wales. Volume 2: Grose and Paterson, 1793–1795* (Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer, 1794), p. 816.

74 Atkinson, 'Taking Possession', p. 78.

75 Knight and Frost, *The Journal of Daniel Paine 1794–1797*, p. 34.

George Worgan's Piano in the Macarthurs' New Home

George Worgan had his piano moved into the Macarthurs' new thatched wattle-and-daub hut. It is possible that the Macarthurs' new accommodation presented a physical environment that was kinder to the piano than that within which, to that point, Worgan had been forced by circumstance to place it. The officers' dwellings were rudimentary, rough timber buildings, constructed in such a way that they could be improved at a later date. On Sunday, 28 September 1788, Governor Phillip wrote: 'The ... officer's houses ... are buildings that will stand for some years, as they will hereafter be walled up with brick or stone, if limestone can be found in the country, or if sent out as ballast in the transports.'⁷⁶ (Then again, the Macarthurs' new abode may have been similar to the officers' houses.)

Perhaps Worgan's close friendship with Elizabeth Macarthur (and/or his innate kindness) resulted in his placing his piano in the Macarthurs' hut. Apart from the musical joys that the instrument would have catalysed, the presence of a piano in the Macarthurs' house would—as a symbol of gentility, and as the colony's only piano—have lent Elizabeth and John considerable social prestige.

Worgan was 34 years old, unmarried and, within the seven months that followed the Macarthurs' arrival at Sydney Cove, had formed a close friendship with Elizabeth Macarthur.

The navy offered medical officers few opportunities to find a wife while they were on active service afloat. Although they would have occasionally enjoyed the pleasure of mixed company when invited to balls and dinners in the ports where they briefly docked, theirs was much more a man's world than the army. By the time they [retired] ... many must have become confirmed bachelors, who were happy to return home and set themselves up as local celebrities, who had sailed the seas.⁷⁷

There is no evidence to suggest that Worgan's friendship with Elizabeth Macarthur in any way exceeded the bounds of propriety. In fact, in a

small colonial society which delighted in petty gossip ... [Elizabeth Macarthur] was not touched by any. Scarcely another woman in the colonial world escaped criticism for some breach of taste in dress, manners or propriety. Impossible though it may seem ... [Elizabeth] does not appear to have been mentioned by contemporaries except in praise.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Britton, *Historical Records of New South Wales*, p. 189.

⁷⁷ Brockliss et al., *Nelson's Surgeon*, pp. 31–2.

⁷⁸ Conway, 'Macarthur, Elizabeth (1766–1850)'.

How incongruous and yet pleasing Worgan's piano must have looked in the Macarthurs' new home, 'sitting probably on a beaten earth floor—maybe on a rug of some kind'.⁷⁹ 'The standard carpeting for the period was loose (rather than fitted) and invariably described as "Turkey" rugs.'⁸⁰

Luxury, hand-knotted carpets were imported into London from the Middle and Far East and were fairly readily available from the early eighteenth century. Carpets woven on a loom with a looped pile, rather than individual knots, were made in England from the mid-eighteenth century. They were cheaper than hand-knotted carpets and woven in strips, which could be sewn together to fit rooms of any size.⁸¹

If there was any rug at all in the Macarthurs' new hut, it is probable (given their modest financial situation) that it was of the cheaper kind.

When Did George Worgan Place His Piano into the Macarthurs' Thatched Wattle-and-Daub Hut?

It is not known exactly when Worgan's piano was placed into the Macarthurs' thatched wattle-and-daub hut; however, a letter written by Elizabeth to her friend Bridget Kingdon in London, dated Monday, 7 March 1791,⁸² enables us to posit a time frame within which Worgan's piano may have come into Elizabeth's care. Elizabeth writes:

Still, I wanted something to fill up a certain vacancy in my time, which could neither be done by writing, reading, or conversation ... I shall now tell you of another resource I had to fill up some of my vacant hours. Our new house is ornamented with a pianoforte of Mr. Worgan's.⁸³

In the same letter, Elizabeth recounted to Kingdon: 'in January we were remov'd into a more convenient house.'⁸⁴It is reasonable to conclude therefore that Worgan's piano was moved into the Macarthurs' new hut between January 1791 and 7 March 1791.

79 Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 77.

80 Riding, *Mid-Georgian Britain 1740–69*, p. 28.

81 The quotation comprises an excerpt from an exhibition label in the Geffrye Museum, London.

82 Macarthur, 'Letter to Bridget Kingdon', 7 March 1791.

83 F. M. Bladen (ed.), *Historical Records of New South Wales. Volume II: Grose and Paterson 1793–1795* (Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer, 1893), pp. 498–9.

84 Hughes, *The Journal and Letters of Elizabeth Macarthur 1789–1798*, p. 24.

Elizabeth's Piano Lessons

Elizabeth's letter to Bridget Kingdon was one of many she wrote to her childhood friend. In her letter to Bridget dated Monday, 7 March 1791, Elizabeth writes, concerning Worgan's square piano: Worgan 'kindly means to leave it with me, and now under his direction I have begun a new study, but I fear that without my master I shall not make any great proficiency'.⁸⁵

Elizabeth's statement 'I have begun a new study' is perplexing. Either: 1) Elizabeth was resuming piano lessons, having not had any for a time; or, more probably, 2) under Worgan's tutelage, she was beginning piano lessons for the first time in her life.

Given that playing the piano was regarded as a necessary 'polite accomplishment'⁸⁶ for young women (ensuring that, amongst other things, they would be rendered more eligible for marriage), that Elizabeth Macarthur could not play the piano seems unusual for the time. It is possible that the financial situation of the Reverend John Kingdon (in whose home Elizabeth was raised) did not allow for the purchase or hire of a piano, or for the payment of a piano teacher. The Reverend Kingdon's income came from clerical 'livings',⁸⁷ and would therefore have been limited.

We do not know how many piano lessons George Worgan gave Elizabeth Macarthur, nor do we know if he charged Elizabeth for the privilege. In England, piano lessons were usually expensive. In 1791, for example, Joseph Haydn, whilst in London, was astonished to realise that he could charge a guinea (£1 1s—that is, 21 English shillings) per hour for piano lessons.⁸⁸ Haydn said, '*Da machte ich große Augen*' (a colloquial translation would be, 'My eyes popped out of my head').⁸⁹ In Haydn's Vienna, 'the standard fee appears to have been one florin [2 English shillings], or one-tenth what Haydn charged in London. From his more affluent Viennese students, on the other hand, Mozart obtained one-half gold ducat per hour, or about [£1 5s—that is, 25 English shillings].'⁹⁰ In 1791, a guinea (£1 1s) was 'more than a week's earnings for an English building craftsman'.⁹¹

85 Quoted in Egan, *Buried Alive*, p. 229.

86 See Collins, *A Voyage to New South Wales with Governor Phillip 1787–1788*, p. 44.

87 See J. Austen, *Jane Austen: The Complete Novels with More than Two Hundred Full Colour Illustrations by Hugh Thomson* (London: CRW Publishing, 2009), 'Biographical Note', p. 7.

88 See Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes*, p. 64.

89 H. C. R. Landon and D. W. Jones, *Haydn: His Life and Music* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988), p. 232. See also Gotwals, *Haydn*, p. 35.

90 Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes*, p. 64. 'In a provincial capital like the Salzburg of Mozart's day, an annual income of five hundred' florins—that is, £50 or 1000 English shillings—'could provide a small family with a decent life; in Vienna such a yearly sum could sustain only one person in comfort.' R. W. Gutman, *Mozart: A Cultural Biography* (London: Pimlico, 2001), p. xvi.

91 Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes*, p. 64.

In London, a run-of-the-mill teacher would not have charged as much as the internationally famous Haydn. Nevertheless, in England, piano lessons were never cheap, and some piano teachers (regardless of their status) earned sufficient income to live well. Muzio Clementi, following his return to London in 1784 after a concert tour on the Continent, taught for 16 hours a day. This gruelling regimen enabled him to amass 'a fortune of ... £15,000'.⁹²

For the time, Clementi's earnings are miraculous; in both London and Vienna, teaching the piano was normally 'limited to the winter season and was a highly undependable source of income'.⁹³ Clementi did, however, charge more than Mozart for lessons.⁹⁴ On the Continent, keyboard instrument teachers were sometimes 'so poorly paid, that they were often forced to earn extra income by selling lottery tickets or painting portraits'.⁹⁵ The Italian composer and keyboard instrument teacher Giuseppe Sarti (1729–1802), 'whose music Mozart quoted admiringly in his opera *Don Giovanni*, traveled to Russia at the request of Empress Catherine II and was rewarded with his own village in the Ukraine. But that was unusual.'⁹⁶

Haydn's surprise at the amount of money that could be earned as a piano teacher in England's capital city is indicative of the feelings of many Continental virtuosi who found London to be a veritable goldmine of financial opportunity. In 1791—the same year in which Worgan's piano was placed in the Macarthurs' thatched wattle-and-daub hut—Gebhardt Friedrich August Wendeborn wrote: 'Many foreign singers, fiddlers, and dancers, are extravagantly paid: and, if they are the least frugal, they are enabled to retire to their own country, where they may live in affluence, enriched by English money.'⁹⁷

Perhaps, with Latin and Greek on the educational curriculum, the Reverend Kingdon decided that there was not enough time (or need) to provide an education in music for his daughters, Bridget and Elizabeth. Eighteenth-century conduct books commonly portray the 'genteel' daughters of wealthy merchants (whose financial situation was unstable) as being encouraged 'to learn music only as a supplementary accomplishment, after acquiring useful needlework skills'.⁹⁸ It appears that the Reverend Kingdon—who was not a wealthy merchant, and whose financial situation was fragile—regarded Latin and Greek as more desirable skills for his daughters to learn than either music or needlework.

92 Ibid., p. 64.

93 W. J. Baumol and H. Baumol, 'On the Economics of Musical Composition in Mozart's Vienna', in J. M. Morris (ed.), *On Mozart* (New York: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press and Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 95.

94 See *ibid.*, p. 95.

95 Isacoff, *A Natural History of the Piano*, p. 67.

96 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

97 Wendeborn, *A View of England Towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 2, p. 237.

98 Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 51.

George Worgan Gives His Piano to Elizabeth Macarthur

The date of Elizabeth Macarthur's written remark that Worgan 'kindly means to leave it [the piano] with me'⁹⁹ (7 March 1791) and the date of Worgan's departure from Sydney Cove for Plymouth aboard the Dutch ship *Waaksamheyd* ('*Wakefulness*') (Wednesday, 27 April 1791) suggest that Worgan informed Elizabeth of his intention to give his piano to her as a gift at least seven weeks prior to his embarking upon his return journey to England.

'Anthropologists have long recognized the role of gift-giving in cultures to create ties of reciprocal obligations',¹⁰⁰ and yet no evidence suggests that Worgan had any ulterior motives for leaving his elegant and valuable instrument with Elizabeth Macarthur. During the late eighteenth century, networks of gift exchange commonly existed amongst aristocratic women.

[E]xchanges of gifts often functioned as an informal system of credit, by which purchases could be made on behalf of one individual in the knowledge that eventually the roles of giver and recipient would be reversed.¹⁰¹

Gifts exchanged between women of 'quality' often comprised

small items, often decorative or combining decorative with more utilitarian functions'. Such gifts 'were thus outside the category of large, dynastic purchases with which men were most involved'. Gifts sometimes 'included small furnishings such as mirrors, small tables or screens, and books.'¹⁰²

That George Worgan not only gave his piano away, but also gave the instrument to a woman who was not a member of his family and with whom he had no romantic attachment 'complicates any attempt to distinguish between [late eighteenth-century] ... personal or emotional meanings of consumer goods and their significance as indicators of status or fashion'.¹⁰³

Perhaps for Worgan the piano had been too much of a nuisance on the trip from Portsmouth to Sydney Cove, and he did not want to be encumbered with the responsibility of caring for the instrument during his homeward voyage.

99 Quoted in Egan, *Buried Alive*, p. 229.

100 Tague, *Women of Quality*, p. 136.

101 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

102 *Ibid.*, pp. 136–7.

103 *Ibid.*, p. 139.

Perhaps the journey had proved to be too harmful a context for the maintenance of the instrument's physical integrity; maybe some damage to the fabric of the instrument had occurred during the journey, and Worgan was not keen to risk further damage being done.

Perhaps the soundboard of the instrument had already split because of temperature and humidity extremes, and Worgan felt that the instrument had been damaged to such an extent that not only was it beyond repair, but also it was not worth taking back to England. (Several cracks in the soundboard and bridge of Worgan's 1780/86? Beck square piano have been crudely repaired.¹⁰⁴ Because of climatic extremes both at sea and at Sydney Cove, it is possible that these cracks had appeared prior to 7 March 1791—that is, prior to the date of Elizabeth's letter in which she remarks that Worgan 'kindly means to leave it with me'.)¹⁰⁵

Perhaps there was no room for the instrument on board the tightly packed *Waaksamheid*¹⁰⁶ (the ship was 'totally destitute of every accommodation and every good quality which could promise to render so long a voyage either comfortable or expeditious').¹⁰⁷

Perhaps altruistically, Worgan felt that the future cultural development of the new colony would be aided by the presence of his piano. The successful establishment of British cultural ideals in New South Wales was considered of utmost importance in the minds of the educated early arrivals.¹⁰⁸

Worgan's decision to give his piano to Elizabeth Macarthur may also have arisen from his character as an officer—albeit a warrant officer. 'The basic requirement was that an officer had to be a gentleman ... Gentlemen might not be of high birth, they might lack land, they might even be without money, but they needed some education, courage, generosity, unselfishness and, most importantly, a high sense of honour.'¹⁰⁹

Perhaps it was Worgan's 'generosity, unselfishness and ... high sense of honour'¹¹⁰ that precluded him from selling (rather than giving) his piano to Elizabeth Macarthur. He may also have thought twice about selling the instrument to Elizabeth because of the influence of the context within which he found himself:

Botany Bay was designed as a self-sufficient economy in which money would not be required. Convicts would labour to feed and clothe their

104 See 'Soundboard: Condition' and 'Bridge: Condition', in Appendix A, Volume 2 of this publication.

105 Quoted in Egan, *Buried Alive*, p. 229.

106 See Currey, 'A First Fleet Surgeon at Sydney Cove', p. 26.

107 Tench, 'A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson', pp. 179–80.

108 Geraghty, *A Change in Circumstance*, p. 21.

109 G. Parsons, 'The Commercialism of Honour: Early Australian Capitalism 1788–1809', in G. Aplin (ed.), *A Difficult Infant: Sydney before Macquarie* (Kensington NSW: UNSW Press, 1988), p. 104.

110 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

gaolers and themselves, they would then be emancipated and would move on to small grants of land where they would be able to survive with minimal government assistance. New South Wales was provided with no treasury, a surprising fact at a time and in a country where ‘money beareth all the stroke’.¹¹¹

Perhaps Worgan did not regard his piano as representing a particularly expensive outlay, and so did not consider it necessary to recover his expenditure by selling the instrument to Elizabeth Macarthur.

Perhaps Worgan, as a music educator, was loath to take his piano from a student who had, within a short period, exhibited both aptitude and rapid development.

Perhaps Worgan suspected that by 1791 his piano may have become somewhat old-fashioned, and was embarrassed to take the instrument back to London (even though he had had no opportunity since leaving England to have seen a more ‘modern’ instrument with which to compare his own). Regardless, had the instrument returned to London with Worgan, it would doubtless have generated much interest because of its association with the antipodean colony.

One wonders how often George Worgan played his piano for the Macarthurs’ delight as it sat in their thatched wattle-and-daub hut. He may have visited the Macarthurs specifically to keep the instrument in tune (but not played it for them once the tuning had been accomplished). He may also have tuned the piano just prior to his playing it. He may also have tuned the instrument just prior to giving Elizabeth Macarthur a piano lesson.

‘God Save the King’ and ‘Foot’s Minuet’

If we assume that Elizabeth began piano lessons for the first time in her life once she had moved into her new hut in January 1791, her letter to Bridget Kingdon dated Monday, 7 March 1791, attests to a remarkable pianistic progress.

Elizabeth states: ‘I am told however I have done wonders in being able to play off “God Save the King” and “Foot’s Minuet”, besides that of reading the notes with great facility.’¹¹²

From a purely educational perspective, it seems odd that Worgan selected ‘God Save the King’ as part of the repertoire that he used to teach Elizabeth. Amongst the better contemporaneous teaching works available in London at the time were the two volumes of *A Set of Progressive Lessons* (1780–85) by Samuel Arnold, and the

111 Ibid., p. 102. Parsons takes the quotation from: E. P. Thompson, ‘Eighteenth Century English Society: Class Struggle without Class’, in *Social History*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (May) (London: Taylor & Francis, 1978).

112 Quoted in Egan, *Buried Alive*, p. 229.

first part of James Hook's (1746–1827) *Guida di musica* (ca 1785), containing 'twenty-four progressive lessons'.¹¹³ 'God Save the King' has no unique or special pedagogical qualities that make it particularly relevant to the development of piano technique. Perhaps it was the melodic simplicity of the anthem that caused Worgan to select it as a teaching piece. Writing to George Saville Carey, Marquis of Halifax (1743–1807), on Saturday, 13 June 1795, Dr W. Harrington of Bath (d. 1757), Somerset, voiced his enthusiasm for the lack of complexity in 'God Save the King':

[N]o laureat or composer has furnished the world with any production more complimentary or more popular: which must ever be the consequence of concise elegance and natural simplicity, both of which are too much neglected and despised in the present fantastic, unaffecting compositions, more adapted to the swift hand than the feeling heart. But I am broaching old heresy, and may be brought to the stake: *so piano, piano*, for the executioners of music are powerful and many.¹¹⁴

As both Australia's first piano teacher and Elizabeth Macarthur's good friend, Worgan may have used 'God Save the King' from a desire to reinforce a shared cultural tradition. Perhaps the song reminded them both of the 'global power of a puissant England'¹¹⁵—an England that Worgan and Elizabeth would have unhesitatingly regarded as being morally and culturally superior to all others, the 'divinely ordained inheritor of the imperial and civilizational traditions of ... Europe'.¹¹⁶ After all, Worgan had 'judged [the] indigenous people [of Sydney Cove] as being largely un-musical because of their lack of sustained interest in European music'.¹¹⁷

The drum was beat before them, which terrified them exceedingly, they liked the fife, which pleased them for 2 or 3 minutes. Indeed music of any kind does not attract their attention, long together, they will sometimes jump to it, and make a grunting noise by way of keeping time to the tune.¹¹⁸

As the British Empire expanded across the globe,

a peculiar illogicality seized the British: we rule more of the world than any other nation, therefore we must be superior to any other nation. In

113 See J. Harley, *British Harpsichord Music. Volume 2: History* (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1994), p. 142.

114 Quoted in R. Clark, *An Account of the National Anthem Entitled God Save the King! With Authorities Taken from Sion College Library, the Ancient Records of the Merchant Tailors' Company, the Old Cheque-Book of His Majesty's Chapel, &c. &c. &c. Selected, Edited, and Arranged by Richard Clark, Gentleman of His Majesty's Chapels Royal, Deputy Vicar Choral of St. Paul's Cathedral, and of Westminster Abbey, and Secretary to the Glee Club* (London: W. Wright, 1822), p. 11.

115 S. Kaul, *Poems of Nation, Anthems of Empire: English Verse in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 2000), pp. 1–2.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

117 Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 63.

118 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 19.

fact, of course, it was technological advance and entrepreneurial flair which gave birth to the empire. But a belief in some moral preeminence offered reassurance to the anxious imperialist.¹¹⁹

Britain's military and commercial successes, and the expansion of its territorial power, produced a triumphalist mentality, and 'God Save the King' was immutably linked with patriotism and triumphalism. A mere five months after Elizabeth Macarthur had penned her letter to Bridget Kingdon on Monday, 7 March 1791, a 'pantomimical interlude' was presented at the new Street Theatre in Birmingham, on Monday, 22 August 1791. As a forerunner to the cinema newsreel genre, this entertainment was advertised as a

pantomime exhibition called Botany Bay; or, A Trip to Port Jackson, with entire new scenery, painted for the occasion ... in which will be introduced a picturesque view of the coast of New South Wales ... arrival of the Grand Fleet, landing, reception, and employment of the convicts. To conclude with the ceremony of planting the British flag, on taking possession of a new discovered island, with a dance by the convicts, and the grand chorus of 'God Save the King'.¹²⁰

Furthermore, the notion of England's triumphant supremacy extended into matters spiritual, for there was a 'tradition prevalent in eighteenth-century English sermons and theological writings that equated England with [the new] Israel'.¹²¹ 'As for the opiate of global mastery, nineteenth- and ... twentieth-century Britain would remain hopelessly hooked',¹²² Britain was 'gluttonous of universal dominion'.¹²³ The splendid magnitude of England's history, with its 'immense Valhalla of kings and heroes ... its Elizabethan and Victorian ages, its thousands of incidents which come up in the mind, simple as icons and yet miraculous [suggested] that what [Britain had] ... been, it [could] ... be again ... and forever'.¹²⁴

How apt it was that stirring renditions of the English national anthem should be heard in Birmingham during the period when a more gentle (but no less heartfelt) version for piano was played within the context of a newly established English colony on the far side of the world. At Sydney Cove, "'God Save the King" celebrated security in a very insecure situation, imperial values in a fledgling colony',¹²⁵ and

119 Paxman, *Empire*, pp. 9–10.

120 See Black, *Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 231.

121 Pelkey, 'Music, Memory, and the People in Selected British Periodicals of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', p. 69.

122 S. Schama, *A History of Britain: The British Wars 1603–1776* (London: BBC, 2001), p. 524.

123 West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 747.

124 *Ibid.*, p. 56.

125 See Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*, p. 139.

the intransigent majesty of empire. George Worgan's pedagogical efforts, and his use of 'God Save the King' within an educational context, reflect the sentiments expressed by the late eighteenth-century Irish poet Anna Maria Edwards:

By flattery's art, most sovereigns are ruled;
By patriot's art, the people are cajoled.
Strip ancient heroes of their art, and you,
Will strip them of their fame and laurels too.
Since thus it sways us, let us use our art
'To mend the morals, and improve the heart;'
We too may use it in our country's cause;
To make her prosper, well deserves applause:
Nature has done her part, let art appear,
And you may raise a new Arcadia here.¹²⁶

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, 'Foot's (Foote's) Minuet'¹²⁷ was often used within the context of instrumental tuition. The work was commonly associated with beginners and/or with players of limited technical skill. For example, Francis Venables Vernon, in his *Voyages and Travels of a Sea Officer*,¹²⁸ makes the following observation:

[The] region directly below the after part of the lower gun deck, is inhabited by the midshipmen and surgeons mates, who, in general, form as motley a crew, as maybe supposed to arise from difference of countries, differences of age and descent, and difference of education. Their several cabins are in the centre, amidships; and separated from each other by partitions of canvas or hammocks, thereby facilitating the communication of discordant notes, arising from the disputes that frequently happen. Or if the region is musically inclined, to the melodious tones of beginners (for they seldom attain Handel's perfection) attempting on a flute, fife, or violin, the tunes of Nancy Dawson or Foot's minuet.¹²⁹

The Gentleman's Magazine attests to the early nineteenth-century popularity of 'Foot's Minuet'. A letter written to the magazine dated Sunday, 23 October 1808, contains the following complaint:

Much as I am a lover of musick, still i think every kind relating to the church ought, if not sacred, at least to be conducted with some propriety.

126 A. M. Edwards, 'Prologue', in *The Enchantress* (Dublin: Capel 1783), vi–vii, II, pp. 25–34. Quoted in Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 171.

127 'Foot's Minuet' may have been named after the playwright and actor Samuel Foote (1720–77).

128 F. V. Vernon, *Voyages and Travels of a Sea Officer* (Dublin: Wm M'Kenzie, 1792), p. 7.

129 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

It is very singular that the *chimes in many country churches* play what is called ‘Foot’s Minuet’ ... to hear church chimes play a *dance*, fit only for the amusement of children, is truly ridiculous.¹³⁰

‘Foot’s Minuet’ (Plate 70) appears in many eighteenth and early nineteenth-century instrument tutorials and music compilations¹³¹ (occasionally with subtle ornamental alterations to the melodic line).



Plate 70 ‘Foot’s Minuet’.

Source: Transposed by the author from P. J. Perry, *Bass Recorder Solos No. 7: Traditional Melodies of the British Isles, with Variations* (n.d.), p. 5.

Because of the preponderance of smaller note values in ‘Foot’s Minuet’ (crotchets/quarter notes and quavers/eighth notes, rather than minims/half notes and crotchets), the tempo of the work is moderate, moving in three beats per bar (rather than in one pulse per bar).

An outstanding example of the moderate minuet occurs in the finale of the first act of Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*, for which there exists a metronomization of ... [crotchet/quarter note] = 96 suggested by Wenzel Tomášek [1774–1850]. He ‘remembered’ the tempo from hearing many performances by the musicians of the Prague Opera, who were trained by Mozart himself.¹³²

That George Worgan selected a moderate-tempo minuet for Elizabeth Macarthur to learn makes pedagogical sense; within a performative context, the work would not have overly taxed her emerging reading skills or technique.

The historian of music education Martina Schneider observes that during the late eighteenth century, most music composed for the use of children ‘had

130 S. Urban, *The Gentleman’s Magazine: And Historical Chronicle. For the Year 1809* (London: John Nichols & Son, 1809), Vol. 79, Part 1, p. 40.

131 For a list of selected eighteenth and early nineteenth-century music publications within which ‘Foot’s Minuet’ may be found, see Appendix G, Volume 2 of this publication.

132 Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music*, p. 338.

genre titles such as sonatina and minuet, and served pedagogical purposes'.¹³³ That Worgan gave Macarthur a minuet commonly associated with instrumental pedagogy—that is, 'Foot's Minuet'—suggests that she began her lessons with no prior piano-playing skills.

Perhaps the rudiments of piano playing and musicianship, as described by Margaret Fowke in 1803,¹³⁴ did not immediately become a part of Elizabeth's technical skills: Elizabeth makes no mention of being able, for example, to finger scalic passagework, broken chords or arpeggios, nor does she indicate that she has any understanding of basic harmony. Perhaps she learned 'God Save the King' and 'Foot's Minuet' through imitation (her familiarity with 'God Save the King' and/or perhaps an innately 'good ear' may have functioned as aids to learning).

That she could read 'the notes with great facility' does not necessarily mean that she could play accurately in response to a spontaneous reading of either a single or a multi-voiced score. Perhaps she is referring only to her ability—in the absence of a performative context—to identify note names accurately. Elizabeth Macarthur may also sometimes have played the piano by ear. Some pianists never 'learned to read notes very successfully, despite years of lessons, just as some [students] never got very adept at reading in French or spelling in English'.¹³⁵

Unfortunately, the scores that Elizabeth Macarthur used are lost, so we will never know what technical and intellectual demands were made upon her by the particular settings of 'God Save the King' and 'Foot's Minuet' that she learned. Perhaps the versions she used comprised only a single-note melodic line, with no supporting accompaniment or harmonic texture. (As an educated woman, Elizabeth would have been aware of the rhythmic, dynamic and phrasing characteristics of a minuet, and this knowledge would have assisted her in learning the melodic line of 'Foot's Minuet'.) Or perhaps she was a precocious student, and played settings of 'God Save the King' and 'Foot's Minuet' in two or more parts. The scores Elizabeth used would have been either published printed versions or handwritten copies.

Plate 71 shows the kind of four-part harmonisation of 'God Save the King' that a competent late eighteenth-century English amateur pianist may have been expected to play. This arrangement was made by the English composer of church music and organist Jonathan Battishill. Battishill was renowned both for his performances of Händel's keyboard works and for his extempore playing. He had an exceptional memory, which was revealed in a concert where he

133 M. Schneider, *Studien zu den Klavierschulen im deutschsprachigen Raum von 1885 bis 1900* [Studies on the Piano Schools in German-Speaking Countries from 1885 to 1900], Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Vienna, 1980), p. 52.

134 See Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*, p. 222.

135 J. Parakilas, 'Austen and the Domestic Life of the Piano', in J. Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene, 2001), p. 77.

played and sang, from memory, several airs from Samuel Arnold's oratorio 'The Prodigal Son', having not heard the work for 20 years.¹³⁶ It is unlikely that, in 1791, Elizabeth Macarthur would have been able to surmount the technical challenges posed by this setting.



Plate 71 'God Save the King. Harmonized by Jonth Battishill Org^t of S^t Pauls.' Battishill may have composed this setting during the 1780s.

Source: R. Clark, *An Account of the National Anthem Entitled God Save the King! With Authorities Taken from Sion College Library, the Ancient Records of the Merchant Tailors' Company, the Old Cheque-Book of His Majesty's Chapel, &c. &c. &c. Selected, Edited, and Arranged by Richard Clark, Gentleman of His Majesty's Chapels Royal, Deputy Vicar Choral of St. Paul's Cathedral, and of Westminster Abbey, and Secretary to the Glee Club* (London: W. Wright, 1822), between pp. 30 and 31. Geoffrey Lancaster Collection, Perth.

¹³⁶ See P. W. Jones, 'Battishill, Jonathan', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 2, p. 293.

Perhaps George Worgan arranged 'God Save the King' and 'Foot's Minuet' himself, in order to cater to Elizabeth's specific educational needs (if so, Elizabeth's music scores would have been written by hand). With the musical training that George's father had undoubtedly provided for him, his familiarity with, and the commonly encountered harmonic simplicity of, 'God Save the King' and 'Foot's Minuet' would have made the task of pedagogically oriented arrangement relatively easy.

Elizabeth Macarthur, the Piano Student

Elizabeth's rapid progress suggests that she had an innate musical intelligence or that George Worgan was a skilled teacher—or both. Elizabeth's smug remarks concerning the rapid development of her musical abilities are predicated on 'I am told'.¹³⁷ Exactly who, or how many people, made encouraging remarks to Elizabeth in relation to her burgeoning musical skills is unclear. It is reasonable to assume that the prime flatterer may have been George Worgan. Certainly, in the early days of the settlement, 'the practice of any musical talent, however limited, must have been appreciated'.¹³⁸

Even if Elizabeth Macarthur's playing was at best deficient, Worgan—as a polite, kindly and amiable man—would doubtless have sought to affirm his student; faced with what may have been Elizabeth's lack of musicality (we will never know), his remark could have been ironic. The humane and intrepid Worgan did, after all, have 'a sharp eye and a sense of humour'.¹³⁹

It is not known exactly when Worgan began to teach Elizabeth the piano. She may even have begun piano lessons quite soon after her first meeting with him, close to her arrival at Sydney Cove on Monday, 28 June 1790.

If Worgan began teaching Elizabeth shortly after they first met, she would have needed access to his piano not only for lessons, but also for practice. At this time, presumably, Worgan's piano was located at his residence.

The pressure of social norms would have made it unlikely that Elizabeth visited Worgan's residence alone for piano lessons and practice. Such a context would have encouraged scandal-mongering and gossip. No documentary evidence suggests that Elizabeth was in any way associated with socially questionable behaviour.

If Elizabeth's piano lessons began just after her first meeting with Worgan, and his piano was located at his residence, exactly how Elizabeth managed to practise

137 Quoted in Egan, *Buried Alive*, p. 229.

138 Cumes, *Their Chastity Was Not Too Rigid*, p. 26.

139 Egan, *Buried Alive*, p. xiv.

when Worgan was present without offending social sensibilities remains a mystery. (She may have waited until Worgan was absent from his home, keeping the constant company of her servant.)

If, on the other hand, Elizabeth's piano tuition began after Worgan had moved his piano into her hut—that is, between January 1791 ('in January we were remov'd into a more convenient House')¹⁴⁰ and Monday, 7 March 1791 (the date of Elizabeth's letter to Bridget Kingdon in which she mentions that Worgan's piano is situated in her home)—it would have been much easier for her to live out society's behavioural expectations without the threat of scandal. Worgan may have moved his piano into Elizabeth's home in order to create a context within which she might practise whenever she wished.

Regardless of when and where Elizabeth learnt and practised the piano, she reveals herself to be a tenacious student. Having the time to develop as a pianist through ardent, self-disciplined application suggests that Elizabeth 'was an example of the gradually improving social life of Sydney—a lady who had no occupation other than being a lady'.¹⁴¹

Elizabeth Macarthur, the Socialite

Elizabeth's social activities included luncheons at Government House. This is implied by the comments of Mary Ann Parker, the wife of John Parker, the captain of the *Gorgon*, which dropped anchor at Sydney Cove on Wednesday, 21 September 1791. Mary recalls:

When we went on shore we were all admiration at the natural beauties ... Our amusements here, although neither numerous nor expensive, were to me perfectly novel and agreeable: the fatherly attention of the good Governor upon all occasions with the friendly politeness of the officers rendered our *séjour* perfectly happy and comfortable ... Our parties generally consisted of ... the ladies who reside at the colony ... the Governor's House ... is a small convenient building placed upon a gentle ascent and surrounded by ... a couple of acres of garden ground.¹⁴²

As one of the 'ladies who reside at the colony', Elizabeth Macarthur would have socialised with Governor Phillip at Government House. Her 'good looks and ladylike manners helped make her popular'.¹⁴³

140 Macarthur, 'Letter to Bridget Kingdon', 7 March 1791. Quoted in Hughes, *The Journal and Letters of Elizabeth Macarthur 1789–1798*, p. 24.

141 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 225.

142 Parker, *A Voyage Round the World in the Gorgon Man of War*, p. 92.

143 de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, p. 62. An undated watercolour portrait reputedly of Elizabeth Macarthur by an unknown artist, on ivory, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. DL Pa 8; Digital order no. a2357001).

Upon those occasions when the established etiquette rendered it necessary that [Governor Phillip] ... should invite the officers of the colony and their wives to dine with him at Government House, he usually informed his guests that they must bring their own bread as he had none to spare. It is told how he jokingly wrote upon the invitations to Captain and Mrs. Macarthur, 'There will always be a roll for Mrs. Macarthur.'¹⁴⁴

It appears that Elizabeth Macarthur was 'so popular with Governor Phillip she was the only guest who did not have to bring her own bread, despite the fear of a famine'.¹⁴⁵ In fact, Governor Phillip took such an interest in Elizabeth's wellbeing that, from early 1791, he daily sent her fruit 'of some little thing or other'.¹⁴⁶

Rose Hill

In June 1791—five months after the Macarthurs had moved into their thatched wattle-and-daub hut—John Macarthur, accompanied by Elizabeth, was posted to Rose Hill, 24 kilometres west of Sydney. 'Rose Hill ... was rapidly displacing Sydney as the real centre of the colony.'¹⁴⁷ 'Governor Phillip claimed that he would have chosen the site for his infant colony if he had known about it earlier, preferring it to Sydney Cove.'¹⁴⁸ In 1791, two-thirds of the colony's population was living at Rose Hill.¹⁴⁹ Governor

Phillip established [the] ... settlement at Rose Hill in November 1788. Nearby, he laid out the township [eventually known as] ... Parramatta around a main street, 205 feet [62.5 metres] wide and a mile [1.6 kilometres] long, 'commencing near the landing place, and running in a direction west, to the foot of the rising ground named Rose Hill, where a house was built for the governor'.¹⁵⁰

144 Lee, *The Coming of the British to Australia 1788–1829*.

145 de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, p. 62.

146 See King, *Elizabeth Macarthur and Her World*, p. 18.

147 J. M. Freeland, 'Elizabeth Farm', in *Historic Homesteads* (Canberra: Australian Council of National Trusts—Heritage Reprints, 1976), p. 1.

148 'Historic Sites', in *Book of Australian Facts* (Sydney: Reader's Digest Australia, 1992), p. 292.

149 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 34.

150 B. Fletcher, 'Sydney: A Southern Emporium', in P. Statham (ed.), *The Origins of Australia's Capital Cities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 55.

On Thursday, 2 June 1791,¹⁵¹ Captain Lieutenant Watkin Tench observed that the name ‘Rose Hill’ had been ‘changed, by order of the Governor, to that of Parra-mât-ta, the native name of it’.¹⁵² This was a ‘reference to the Indigenous word for the eels that thrived in the shallow estuary’¹⁵³ at the head of the harbour. In 1790—the year before John Macarthur was posted to Parramatta—a second residence in the colony for the governor was built there.¹⁵⁴

Being on a river, Parramatta was easily accessible via a half-day boat journey from Sydney Cove. It is not known if Worgan’s piano remained in the Macarthurs’ wattle-and-daub hut at Sydney Cove or if Elizabeth took the instrument to Rose Hill.

There can be little doubt that Elizabeth Macarthur would have missed George Worgan. By the time the Macarthurs had departed from Sydney for Rose Hill, Worgan was already three months into his 13-month return voyage to England aboard the hired Dutch vessel *Waaksamheyd*. In a letter written to Bridget Kingdon in London, dated Monday, 7 March 1791—that is, about seven weeks before Worgan’s departure—Elizabeth wrote: ‘I assure you in losing him, a very considerable branch of our society will be lopp’d off.’¹⁵⁵

Who Tuned George Worgan’s Piano for Elizabeth Macarthur?

It is not known who tuned Worgan’s piano once it came into Elizabeth Macarthur’s possession. During the late eighteenth century, ‘most young women ... were unable or unwilling to acquire this skill’.¹⁵⁶ Tuning Worgan’s piano would have been necessary on a regular basis because of the instabilities of the climate.

Did George Worgan leave a pitchpipe along with the instrument, having given Elizabeth instructions on how to tune? Or did Worgan use the context of piano lessons to teach Elizabeth how to tune? In his *East India Vade-Mecum*, Captain Thomas Williamson informs us that learning to tune a piano ‘may be effected in the course of a month, or six weeks’.¹⁵⁷ If Elizabeth began taking piano lessons either soon after she first met George Worgan or between January 1791

151 According to Cobley, *Sydney Cove 1791–1792*, p. 78. Tench’s entry reads only ‘June 1791’. See Tench, ‘A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson’, p. 203.

152 Tench, ‘A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson’, p. 203.

153 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 34.

154 A watercolour drawing entitled *View of Governor’s House, Rosehill*, by an unknown artist, dated ca 1798, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. DG SSV1B/3; Digital order no. a928407).

155 Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Vol. 2, p. 498.

156 Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*, p. 79.

157 *Ibid.*, p. 78.

('in January we were remov'd into a more convenient house')¹⁵⁸ and the date of Elizabeth's letter to Bridget Kingdon in which she states 'our new house is ornamented with a pianoforte of Mr. Worgan's'¹⁵⁹ (7 March 1791), she would have had more than Williamson's requisite 'month' or 'six weeks' to learn how to tune prior to Worgan's departure from Sydney Cove on Wednesday, 27 April 1791.

About 1784, Margaret Fowke, writing in Calcutta to 'Mrs Kitchen', describes a situation that may well have been experienced by Elizabeth Macarthur: 'the fear of being entirely without the use of my [piano] ... induced me to attempt to learn the unpleasing but useful task of tuning it. I have made, by taking short and frequent lessons, a good progress.'¹⁶⁰ In relation to tuning, Worgan's piano, 'an icon of imperial identity ... [can] be seen as representing the colonial endeavour itself, problematic, but worth the effort'.¹⁶¹

Was there a convict who possessed the skills necessary to tune Elizabeth Macarthur's piano? 'The anonymous individual placed on government rations in 1800 to maintain musical instruments was probably there to service the military, but in his spare time could have worked for the general public'—including Elizabeth Macarthur.¹⁶²

Perhaps one of the regimental band musicians tuned Elizabeth's piano; in the absence of a piano tuner, this would not have been unusual. During the early 1850s in Wellington, New Zealand, for example, Charlotte Godley (1821–1907), wife of John Robert Godley (1814–61), the founder of Canterbury, took delivery of a piano. Writing to her mother, Charlotte recounts: 'allured from my writing by the delights of music, as my pianoforte arrived, and though out of tune, I could not resist playing one thing after another all night. The band sergeant, however, can tune pretty well, and Mr Buckley has undertaken to send him to us.'¹⁶³

Another example of regimental band musicians being engaged to tune pianos is provided by Anne Maria Bourke (1806–84), the daughter of newly appointed NSW Governor Sir Richard Bourke (1777–1855).¹⁶⁴ In a diary entry dated

158 Macarthur, 'Letter to Bridget Kingdon', 7 March 1791. Quoted in Hughes, *The Journal and Letters of Elizabeth Macarthur 1789–1798*, p. 24.

159 Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Vol. 2, pp. 498–9.

160 Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*, p. 79.

161 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

162 Quoted in R. Jordan, 'Music and Civil Society in New South Wales, 1788–1809', in *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 98, No. 2 (December 2012), p. 198. Jordan sources his information from *Historical Records of Australia*, Series 1, Vol. 2, p. 617.

163 Quoted in Macgibbon, *Piano in the Parlour*, p. 14. Macgibbon takes the quotation from: C. Godley, *Letters from Early New Zealand, 1850–1853*, edited by J. R. Godley (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1951).

164 Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. 74.

Thursday, 8 December 1831,¹⁶⁵ Anne writes: ‘My piano forte is very well thank you, the master of the 17th Band is now tuning it.’¹⁶⁶ It could be construed that Anne is referring to part of an ongoing tuning regime.

Given that Elizabeth Macarthur had access to regimental resources similar to those available to Charlotte Godley and Anne Bourke, it is reasonable to assume that a regimental band musician may either on occasion or recurrently have tuned Worgan’s piano.

Nineteen years passed between Worgan’s departure for England (on Wednesday, 27 April 1791) and Elizabeth’s acquisition of a ‘new’ piano (on Thursday, 4 January 1810) at Thomas Laycock’s estate auction. During these years, one presumes that Elizabeth had Worgan’s piano tuned, if not on a regular basis, at least intermittently. Alternatively, Elizabeth may have allowed the instrument to sit untuned. It appears that, even several decades later, it was not unusual to encounter an untuned piano. For example, in 1845—that is, 54 years after Worgan gave his piano to Elizabeth Macarthur, and four years after her death—the grazier John Everett wrote: ‘on each side of us, and far beyond us, petticoats are to be found, and pianos ... considerably out of tune.’¹⁶⁷

Professional Piano Tuners in Sydney

During the eighteenth century, owners of keyboard instruments were commonly expected to tune their own instruments (or to have someone on their premises who could tune for them). During the early nineteenth century, professional piano tuners began to pay house calls. What lies behind the establishment of this specialist profession? Apart from the piano’s popularity, a great part of the answer to this question lies

with the [piano’s] development ... As the tension of the strings increased, as the fundamentals of the [sound] ... grew louder in relation to the upper harmonics, and as tuning pins [wrest-pins] became trickier to fix in place, it became harder both to hear whether strings were in tune and to achieve a result that would hold.¹⁶⁸

The first piano-tuning advertisement published in a Sydney newspaper appears in 1818—that is, 27 years after Worgan gave his piano to Elizabeth Macarthur—in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Saturday, 31 January:

165 A. Thomson, *Journal of a Voyage to Australia* (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, August–December 1831), Doc. 2801. ‘The diary is in the form of a diary/letter written to her youngest sister [Frances], addressed as ‘dearest Fanny’.’ Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. 75. On 18 September 1833, Anne married the public servant and parliamentarian Sir Edward Deas Thomson (1800–79).

166 Quoted in Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. 75.

167 Quoted in Crisp, ‘The Piano in Australia’, p. 28. Crisp takes the quotation from: Pownall, *Australian Pioneer Women*, p. 162.

168 J. Parakilas, ‘The Piano Tuner’, in J. Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene, 2001), p. 157.

Robert McIntosh, who taught music at his house in York Street,¹⁶⁹ announced that instruments including the pianoforte, would be 'tuned and put in order when they require it'.¹⁷⁰

Almost six years later—that is, 32 years after Worgan gave his piano to Elizabeth Macarthur—the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Thursday, 23 October 1823 published an advertisement for 'Mr. John Scarr, lately arrived in the colony ... [on the] brig Francis'.¹⁷¹ Scarr declared that 'from professional skill and experience, J. S. will undertake to tune piano-fortes, on moderate terms ... Address 89, Pitt-street'.¹⁷²

The next piano-tuning advertisement published in the Sydney press appears a year later, in 1824, in *The Australian* of Thursday, 28 October: Robert Campbell, at '93 George-Street',¹⁷³ announced his recent arrival from London, and his intention to open a 'spacious warehouse, on Monday the 1st of November, with the most extensive and elegant assortment of musical instruments and printed music ever imported into this colony'.¹⁷⁴

By way of conclusion, Campbell states: 'N.B. Piano fortes tuned'.¹⁷⁵

Robert Campbell's 'spacious warehouse' was Australia's first music shop.

A portrait of the merchant, pastoralist and politician Robert Campbell (1796–1846), painted in 1834 by Charles Rodius (1802–60), depicts him seated near what may be either an upright grand piano or a cabinet piano (Rodius' artwork is not precise enough to allow for a definite identification of instrument type). It must have been relatively easy for Campbell, as a wealthy businessman, to acquire such an expensive and uncommon instrument.¹⁷⁶

The advantage that ... motivated [the design of the upright grand piano] ... was that the vertical disposition of the soundboard gave a much better sound projection [than the horizontal grand piano]—in short ... [the instrument] was bolder and perceptibly louder ...

When you sat down to play[,] the instrument ... towered above you [2.1 metres was the norm] ... Importantly, in the whole construction [of upright grand and cabinet pianos,] there was no gap or opening needed

169 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 31 January 1818, Vol. 16 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 2.

170 *Ibid.*

171 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 23 October 1823, Vol. 21 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 5.

172 *Ibid.*

173 *The Australian*, 28 October 1824, No. 3 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 1.

174 *Ibid.*

175 *Ibid.*

176 Upright grand pianos were approximately 10 per cent more expensive than the best horizontal grand pianos.

for the hammers to reach the strings (as in grand or square pianos) ... [Upright grand and cabinet pianos were] therefore potentially much stronger [structurally] than any previous style of piano.¹⁷⁷

As a result, the tuning stability was greatly improved; as early as 1811, William 'Southwell's patent ... states that his' upright cabinet piano was 'constructed so as to prevent its being so frequently out of tune as pianofortes now generally are'.¹⁷⁸

In the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Thursday, 17 March 1825, James Pearson, 'teacher of the piano forte, and professor of thorough bass',¹⁷⁹ lists his piano-tuning charges as:

1. 10s for a square piano
2. 12s 6d for a cabinet piano (a form of upright piano)
3. 15s for a grand piano.¹⁸⁰

The fact that the first advertisement for piano tuning published in a Sydney newspaper occurs 27 years after George Worgan gave his piano to Elizabeth Macarthur does not necessarily indicate that there was no-one in the colony during this period capable of tuning Elizabeth's instrument. What does become clear from Sydney's early nineteenth-century newspaper advertisements, however, is that during the 1820s and 1830s there were enough pianos in the colony to provide commercial work for professional piano tuners.

177 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, pp. 96–7.

178 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 271. Patent No. 3419, registered Tuesday, 26 March 1811.

179 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 17 March 1825, Vol. 23 (Trove, National Library of Australia), p. 1.

180 See *ibid.*

Chapter 11

Why Did George Worgan Return to England?

Despite having formed a deep friendship with Elizabeth Macarthur, and having become a well-regarded member of colonial society, George Worgan decided to return to England after staying three years (a normal tour of duty) at Sydney Cove. He departed on Wednesday, 27 April 1791. What prompted his decision to leave? Could it have been a response to the death of his father, who died on Friday, 20 August 1790?

If a letter informing George of his father's death had been sent to Sydney Cove immediately following Dr John Worgan's demise, it may have taken approximately five to eight months to find its way into George's hands; it could have arrived at Sydney Cove any time between January and April 1791. During the 1790s,

the cost of postage was determined by the distance and the letter size and was often paid by the *recipient*; with letters of more than one sheet being charged twice the rate, it is no wonder that for many [in the colony] ... the cost of getting extensive news from home was exorbitant.¹

No ships arrived at Sydney Cove between January and April 1791. When George Worgan departed from Sydney Cove on 27 April 1791, he cannot have known that his father had died, so the death of his father was not a catalyst for his leaving the colony.

Perhaps George had tired of the desperate conditions being experienced by the colony or of the climatic extremes, both of which had been unrelenting aspects of his antipodean tour of duty. His feelings may have been similar to those of First Lieutenant Ralph Clark, who, on Sunday, 10 February 1788, after only 15 days at Sydney Cove, wrote: 'I could not stay longer than the three years for the world.'² Clark's statement strongly suggests that—as with George Worgan—returning to England had always been his intention. Most of the official members of the First Fleet viewed the expedition to Botany Bay as a short-term assignment, in many cases driven by the necessity of finding employment after

1 Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. xxix.

2 Clark, *Journal Kept on the Friendship during a Voyage to Botany Bay and Norfolk Island*, Thumbnail p. 14, Frame 123 (10–12 February 1788).

the American War of Independence.³ The surrender of Lord Charles Cornwallis (1738–1805) to the American forces on Wednesday, 17 October 1781 ‘marked the virtual end of the war in America’.⁴

Nine years after Worgan departed Sydney Cove, he was ‘adjudged unfit for active service’.⁵ Perhaps his return to England was a response to the reasons for this evaluation beginning to exert their influence upon him. Perhaps he was homesick. Or perhaps there was simply no incentive to stay. Unlike the marines, George Worgan, as a member of the *Sirius*'s company, was not offered the opportunity to stay.⁶

In other British colonies, grants of land had been provided to officers who wished to remain and settle. No arrangements of this type had been made in New South Wales, perhaps because it was assumed that officers would see their service there simply as a term to be served and would not want to settle in a convict colony so far from England.⁷

These all may have been the realities that influenced George Worgan's decision to leave for England. At the most mundane level, he may have had little choice in the matter, being sent back to England with ‘the officers and ship's company of the *Sirius* ... for the *pro forma* court-martial [of the captain] which always followed the loss of a British naval vessel’⁸—in this instance, Captain Hunter, for the loss of the *Sirius* at Norfolk Island 13 months earlier.

George Worgan's Return Journey to England

Worgan's journey back to Portsmouth would have been an intensely uncomfortable one. Prior to the ship's departure, Captain Lieutenant Watkin Tench observed that the *Waaksamheyd* was ‘totally destitute of every accommodation and every good quality which could promise to render so long a voyage either comfortable or expeditious’.⁹ Considerable time had elapsed within which Tench could have formed his opinion; the *Waaksamheyd* had been anchored at Sydney Cove for more than three months, having arrived from Batavia (Jakarta) in December 1790.

3 I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*.

4 Swan, *To Botany Bay*, p. 77.

5 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon* by George B. Worgan, p. xi.

6 I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*.

7 Egan, *Buried Alive*, p. 45.

8 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 336.

9 Tench, ‘A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson’, pp. 179–80.

Upon her departure on Wednesday, 27 April 1791, the *Waaksamheyd* was given an official send-off. Governor Phillip and ‘the marine officers were rowed alongside her as far as the Heads, and as she left Port Jackson she saluted the colony with nine guns’.¹⁰ That Governor Phillip was personally involved in the send-off is not surprising; he held Captain Hunter and the officers of the *Sirius*—all of whom were returning to England on the *Waaksamheyd*—in high regard. The manuscript of his journal was also on board.¹¹

John Easty, a marine from the First Fleet ship *Scarborough*, movingly recorded the departure in his journal:

On Sunday the 27 att day light she waid anchor and ran down the harbour she was again cheard by the marines which was returnd by the ships company and thar was two partys of men separated which had spent 4 years together in the greatest love and frindship as ever men did in such a distant part of the globe ... Both by officeers and men she was than accompanied down the harbour by the Governer and all the marine officers which when thay parted she saluted them with 9 guns which was the last honour as could be confirrd on them and on Munday att 6 in the morning she went to sea and may god send them a good voige.¹²

Commonly, the voyage of the *Waaksamheyd* is regarded as a mere footnote to the epic story of the First Fleet; in navigational terms, however, it represented a significant achievement.¹³

The Eastern Pacific was at that time largely unknown to the British. To the published charts of the area that contained large and ominous empty spaces, Captain Hunter added relevant information from the accounts of earlier voyages by Captains [Philip] Carteret and [Louis Antoine de] Bougainville, and more recent journeys by Lieutenants [John] Shortland (1788) and [Henry Lidgbird] Ball (1790). Using his knowledge of the prevailing winds and his assessment of the limitations of the *Waaksamheyd*, Hunter chose an unconventional route that would pass north of New Guinea, descending ... through the northern parts of what is now the Indonesian archipelago [to Batavia].¹⁴

George Worgan’s travelling companions were the crew of the *Sirius*, which had been wrecked on a reef about 750 metres from the shore of Sydney Bay, Norfolk Island, on Friday, 19 March 1790. The *Waaksamheyd* ‘wove a delicate path in

10 Parker, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 221.

11 See Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 54.

12 Easty, *Pt Jn° Easty*, Thumbnail p. 14, Item 126 (a1145126).

13 See Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 39.

14 *Biography of George Raper 1769–1796* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, n.d.).

clear warm seas among richly vegetated islands and coral reefs'. Between New Britain—the largest island in the Bismarck Archipelago of Papua New Guinea—and New Ireland—another large island in the archipelago—in May 1791, the officers and crew watched in awe as they sailed past an active volcano, probably Tavurvur [near Rabaul], which was hurling columns of black smoke high into the air'.¹⁵

Perhaps the most curious sighting of all occurred as the *Waaksamheyd* neared Java on [Saturday] 24 September 1791. The weather changed suddenly. From over the land, dark clouds streamed towards the *Waaksamheyd* on a rising wind; whirlpools formed around the ship. The whirlpools turned to mast-high waterspouts, which flitted across the ocean with foaming skirts. The ship fired two shots at the closest waterspouts—to no effect—and the storm passed over without damage ...

The *Waaksamheyd* arrived in Batavia (Jakarta) on [Tuesday] 27 September 1791 and spent nearly a month there, and at the nearby island of Onrust, taking on supplies.¹⁶

Twenty-two ... sailors had fever when they left Batavia, and three would die by Cape Town.¹⁷

On Tuesday, 22 November 1791,

the *Waaksamheyd* reached Cape Town. She had been delayed just outside Cape Town by several days of high winds, and had had to sacrifice most of her anchors in desperate manoeuvres to avoid being driven onto the reef near Robbin's (now Robben) Island. Because of her lack of anchors she sailed into Cape Town flying the distress signal and was met with an overwhelming response. Three ships of the Royal Navy—the *Providence*, *Assistant* and *Pitt*—sent all their boats, bearing anchors and cables, and boats also arrived from British and American whaling ships in the harbour.¹⁸

The Colony's First Pipe Organ

Four months before George Worgan's arrival at Cape Town on his return journey to England, an event of musical significance for the colony at Sydney Cove had transpired at the Cape of Good Hope. In 1790, Lieutenant Philip Gidley King had left Norfolk Island for England on the instructions of Governor

15 Ibid.

16 Groom, *First Fleet Artist*, p. 42.

17 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 340.

18 *Biography of George Raper 1769–1796*.

Phillip. King carried ‘dispatches from Phillip advising the British government of the desperate conditions of starvation, sickness, and lack of supplies being experienced in the colony’.¹⁹

King returned to Sydney Cove from England in 1791 on board the HMS *Gorgon*. Whilst at Cape Town, he acquired a pipe organ. King wrote from Cape Town, in a letter to James Sykes, his agent in London:

Cape July 29th 1791

Dear Sir,

I should be much obliged to you to send to the Cape of Good Hope a new chamber organ, with two barrells,²⁰ by the first conveyance & ship it on-board any ship that is certain of touching at this port, & pay the freight of it, as it is a return for one I have got, from the person to whom it is addressed, as underneath

I am

Yours

Sincerely

P. G. King

direct it for Mr Peter De Wit at the Cape of Good Hope & be so good as to write him a line at the time—²¹

It is not known exactly what King’s ‘Chamber Organ, with Two Barrells’ was.

[W]as it actually a finger and barrel organ as he implies, or did he use the term ‘chamber’ to describe a barrel organ of the size and appearance of a chamber organ? King does not mention if the replacement barrells were to be pinned for secular or sacred tunes; this distinction would have been of less importance if the instrument were primarily a finger organ with barrel attachment.²²

19 G. D. Rushworth, *Historic Organs of New South Wales: The Instruments, their Makers and Players, 1791–1940* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1988), p. 17.

20 A barrel organ sounds ‘by means of a rotating barrel or cylinder, powered manually or by clockwork. The notes of the music are represented usually by pins or staples fixed in the barrel. These operate the [playing] mechanism by means of levers when the barrel rotates.’ Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 200.

21 Quoted in Rushworth, *Historic Organs of New South Wales*, p. 18.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

During the late eighteenth century, barrel organs 'were known as singing or playing organs, sometimes as clock organs ... They were used in country churches without an organist where they did not have to compete with a large choir'.²³

The *Gorgon*, along with its precious musical cargo, arrived at Sydney Cove on Wednesday, 21 September 1791. King probably took the organ to the settlement at Norfolk Island.

On Sundays at 11am, King conducted a religious service in his own house, at which those attending were directed to be 'clean, orderly, and behave devoutly'. The organ would undoubtedly have been useful for these occasions during the five years that he and his wife remained on Norfolk Island.²⁴

Perhaps George Worgan, on board the *Waaksamheyd* at Cape Town during his return voyage to England, heard that Lieutenant King had departed the cape only about four months earlier with the colony's first chamber organ. If so, this knowledge may have brought his piano to mind. He may even have had second thoughts in relation to having left the instrument at Sydney Cove with Elizabeth Macarthur; Worgan may have quietly, privately grieved over the absence of his piano.

George Worgan in England

After an uneventful five-month passage from Cape Town through the Atlantic, the *Waaksamheyd* arrived on a cold winter's day at Portsmouth on Sunday, 22 April 1792: 'In April that year, the snow reached Portsmouth.'²⁵ 'The ship's company was not permitted to step ashore [for 12 days] until the court-martial of the *Sirius*'s crew (for the loss of the *Sirius*) was completed.'²⁶ Lieutenant William Bradley reports:

Friday. 27th [April 1792]. A Court Martial was held on board of [the] ... Brunswick to try Cap^t Hunter, the officers & crew of the *Sirius* for the loss of the ... [*Sirius*]; when it appear'd that every thing was done, that could be done; to save the ship; Cap^t Hunter, the officers & crew were honorably acquitted & removed from the *Waakzaamheydt* to the Admiral's ship, where they were paid off the 4th. May 1792.²⁷

23 Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 101.

24 Rushworth, *Historic Organs of New South Wales*, p. 18.

25 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 340.

26 *Biography of George Raper 1769–1796*.

27 Bradley, *A Voyage to New South Wales*, Frame 302 (April–May 1792).

On Wednesday, 4 July 1792, an article in the periodical *The Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer* reported the events:

A court martial assembled on board his Majesty's ship Brunswick, in Portsmouth Harbour on the 27th April proceeded to enquire into the cause and circumstance of the loss of his majesty ship Sirius, and to try captain Hunter, her commander, her officers, and company, for their conduct on that occasion; and, having heard the evidence, and completed the enquiry, the court is of the opinion that the loss of the Sirius was not, in any respect owing to mismanagement, or a want of proper attention to her safety; but that captain Hunter, her officers, and company, did every thing possible to be done for the preservation of his majesty's ship Sirius, and for the good of his majesty's service; and the said captain Hunter the other officers, and company of the said ship are therefore honourably acquitted.²⁸

Having been discharged on Friday, 4 May 1792 from any duties associated with the colony at Sydney Cove, Worgan continued on as a member of the navy's medical profession. The employment context for some naval surgeons did not necessarily involve shipboard life.

The most prestigious posts for naval surgeons were not at sea, but in naval hospitals, such as Haslar, near Portsmouth. Here they received more generous payment than their seagoing colleagues with, of course, fewer natural hazards to contend with and free board provided. It was not simply a bed of roses, however. Hospitals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, naval ones included, were notoriously filthy and uncaring institutions, often staffed by ill-trained, callous and frequently drunken nurses.²⁹

When the Haslar naval hospital was completed in 1761, it was the largest hospital and largest brick building in England.

George Worgan is Embroiled

In 1793, Worgan joined the hospital ship *Le Caton* (originally of 64 guns, built in 1782)³⁰ at Plymouth. Within this context of employment, he became involved in corrupt practices associated with victualling. We learn this from a

28 'Short Chronicle of Events May 23 1792', in *The Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer* [Edinburgh], Vol. 9 (4 July 1792), p. vi.

29 Brooke and Brandon, *Bound for Botany Bay*, p. 195.

30 See 'A Complete Alphabetical List of the Royal Navy of Great Britain, 1791', in Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. xciv.

naval inquiry whose origins can be traced to a letter dated Sunday, 1 May 1796, written to the Board of Sick and Wounded Seamen by a fictitious 'T. Martyn'.³¹ Martyn writes:

Not only fresh meat, but those necessaries allowed purposely for the recovery of the sick, are daily purloined, to the detriment of the service, regardless to the sufferings of those who are pining under maladies which require those aids for their recovery ... in a department where the exercise of humanity is particularly required ... [the officers involved are] not only reprehensible, but highly criminal. The Surgeon and Lieutenant of the *Caton* are unworthy of their stations.³²

Both the surgeon of *Le Caton*, Thomas Mein (1750–1815),³³ and the purser, Samuel Keast, stood accused by Martyn's letter. Subsequently, Keast was asked 'to lay before' the Board 'any well-authenticated facts that came to his knowledge'.³⁴ Keast completely ignored the Board's request.

On Saturday, 3 February 1798, the pretended Martyn, two years after writing his first letter, wrote again to the Board of Sick and Wounded Seamen, probably as a result of the fact that *Le Caton* had been 'placed on harbour service'—that is, converted from a moored hospital ship into a moored prison ship—possibly in late January or early February 1798.³⁵

Gentlemen ... you have recommended Mein, late Surgeon to the *Caton* Hospital Ship, to the Admiralty, for the first vacancy as surgeon to a ship of the line ... Those peculations, openly and daily practiced on board the *Caton* to a system of theft, fully justified an enquiry, and your first application was to [Samuel] Keist, the Purser, over whose head ... Surgeon [Mein] held the rod, and he was deterred from a declaration of the truth; he was privy to the depredations, but dared not discover them; however, to the benefit of the service, the floating hospital was discontinued, but instead of ... [a] fine, or other public stigma imposed on the culprits, favour (to which meritorious acts only should lead) is bestowed on them, although the service has suffered much by their controul and perversion of those comforts allowed to the sick, and the consequent loss of lives by the deprivation, at which humanity

31 Martyn was probably Thomas Dawkins, an assistant to Samuel Keast, the purser of *Le Caton*.

32 'No. 23. Letter to the Sick and Wounded Board; Signed 'T. Martyn'', in Pole, *The Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry*, p. 625.

33 In 1795, Mein was appointed inspector of hospital ships. See M. E. Fowler, 'Mein, Susan (Sibbald)', in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* (Toronto: University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000).

34 'Commissioners of Naval Enquiry. *Le Caton* Hospital Ship', in Pole, *The Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry*, p. 557.

35 'French Ship *Caton* (1779): Career (UK)', in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (n.d.).

shudders. Under malady and disease, hundreds have languished for the want of a small portion of those wines and other necessaries proper to their respective complaints.³⁶

Again, Purser Keast disregarded requests from the Board to provide information.

On Saturday, 21 May 1803, Thomas Dawkins,³⁷ a retired navy Purser Third Rate, who not only had known ‘Mr. Samuel Keast ... intimately for forty years’,³⁸ but also had been Keast’s assistant on *Le Caton*,³⁹ wrote to John Jervis (1735–1823), First Earl of St Vincent, the First Lord of the Admiralty: Purser Keast had been contracted by the Board of Sick and Wounded Seamen ‘for victualling ... the sick; [however,] a very *extravagant* [officers’] *table was established* on board, the *expence* of which ... was to be [met using] ... profits [from] ... the contract’.⁴⁰

Purser Keast was ‘much alarmed’⁴¹ that his profits were being diminished by the purchase of the comestibles associated with the maintenance of an ‘extravagant officers’ table’. George Bouchier Worgan made the following proposal to Keast: that Keast’s ‘[s]ituation ... might be made not only comfortable but profitable’ if Keast would relinquish the victualling contract to him. In return, Worgan promised to pay Keast ‘[o]ne hundred guineas per annum, to be paid quarterly’.⁴²

Keast accepted Worgan’s proposal, the agreement being formalised, by indenture, on Saturday, 1 March 1794.

Worgan was to receive the profits of the victualling contract. Worgan then invited Thomas Mein, the surgeon of the ship, to become a partner in his enterprise. Mein agreed, ‘and what profit came to [Worgan, Mein] ... had the half of’.⁴³

According to the victualling contract, the amount of money provided by the Board for the purchase of victuals was calculated using the formula:

One shilling per man [that is, per patient] per day ... in May 1795, the Board increased the [amount] ... to one shilling and four pence, and on the 25th October 1797, it was fixed at one shilling and three pence, at which rate it continued till the termination of the contract in January 1798 ...

36 ‘No. 24. Letter to the Sick and Wounded Board; Signed ‘T. Martyn’, in Pole, *The Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry*, pp. 625–6.

37 Dawkins may have been the fictitious ‘T. Martyn’ who had written letters to the Board of Sick and Wounded Seamen complaining about corrupt victualling practices on board *Le Caton*.

38 ‘No. 25. The Examination of Mr. Thomas Dawkins, of Modbury; Taken Upon Oath, at Plymouth Yard, 28th October 1803’, in Pole, *The Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry*, p. 626.

39 See *ibid.*, p. 627.

40 ‘Commissioners of Naval Enquiry. *Le Caton Hospital Ship*’, in Pole, *The Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry*, p. 557.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 557.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 557.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 630.

The profits ... amounting to upwards of sixty-two pounds per cent. exceeded all reasonable bounds ... [The funds] granted by the ... Board in May 1795 ... [were] not justified ... [as] it appears that the cost to [Worgan] ... did not amount to more than nine pence a man a day, and in the year 1794 to seven pence farthing only.

... [A] table was kept on board for the officers, furnished with wine and other articles ... paid for out of the profits of the [victualling] contract.

... [I]t appears ... that ... provisions and Madeira wine were obtained by [Keast] ... for his private use ... and charged [against monies] ... supplied for the use of the sick ...

As it was the especial province of the Surgeon [Mein] and the Surgeon's Mate [Worgan] to guard against the misconduct of the contractor [Keast], and to take care that the patients should enjoy every advantage that medical skill and nourishment could afford ... their conduct in abandoning this serious and important trust, and placing themselves in a situation where their interest was in constant conflict with their duty, appears in the highest degree censurable.

The inticement of self-interest thus created ... held out an inducement to ... Surgeon [Mein] to retain patients longer on board the hospital ship than might be necessary for the cure of their diseases.⁴⁴

At the naval inquiry, held in October–November 1803, George Worgan stated that he had served on board *Le Caton* at Plymouth 'from 1793 ... till some little time before she was converted into a prison ship'.⁴⁵ The inquiry referred to Worgan variously as 'Surgeon's First Mate' of *Le Caton*,⁴⁶ 'Surgeon's Mate'⁴⁷ and 'Surgeon'.⁴⁸

On Friday, 28 October 1803, the testimony of Thomas Dawkins implicated Worgan. Dawkins was asked: 'Have you understood that the provisions paid for in the bills of the butcher and other tradesman, were entirely used for the sustenance of the sick, or was the expence of the table kept for the officers included in such bills?' Dawkins replied: 'I believe, part of the meat supplied was appropriated to the use of the officers table.'⁴⁹ The officers' mess comprised the purser (Keast), the surgeon (Mein), Worgan and 'sometimes two or three other assistants'.⁵⁰

44 Ibid., pp. 558–60.

45 Ibid., p. 630.

46 Pole, *The Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry*, pp. 557, 627.

47 Ibid., pp. 558, 560, 626, 630.

48 Ibid., p. 630.

49 Ibid., p. 627.

50 Ibid., p. 630.

On Tuesday, 8 November 1803, 11 days after Dawkins had given his testimony, the navy began its '[e]xamination of Mr. George Bouchier Worgan, Surgeon in His Majesty's Navy, and late Surgeon's Mate of His Majesty's Hospital Ship *Le Caton*; taken upon oath'.⁵¹ Worgan was asked:

Do you know whether it was suggested to the late Mr. Samuel Keast, Purser of [*Le Caton*] ... that he was to keep a table for the officers out of the profits of the contract which he had for victualling the sick that might be sent on board her?⁵²

Worgan replied: 'I never heard any such thing suggested to him.'⁵³

It soon became clear, however, that Worgan was knowingly complicit in Keast's racket. The commissioners of the inquiry asked Worgan: 'Did Mr. S. Keast ... pay all the bills for the supply of the sick of that ship?' Worgan answered:

He did the chief part, but some trifling articles were paid for by me; but having reason to believe that Mr. Keast made out fictitious bills, i called upon some of the tradesmen, who said that Mr. Keast had ordered white biscuit and meal to his own house, which were charged for the use of the sick, and detracted from my profits. I have likewise found Madeira wine charged in the bills, which was not had for the use of the sick or mess [the officers' mess].⁵⁴

The inquiry continued: 'Why did you permit this practice?'

Worgan: Mr. Keast used often to say, that if I would not allow it, he would give up his ship to deprive me of the contract.

Commissioners: Do you know if it was a general practice for the contractors for victualling the sick on board hospital ships to find a table for the officers?

Worgan: I do not know that it was a general practice, but it was done by Mr. James, the Purser and contractor on board the *Tiger Hospital Ship*, in the American War, of which ship I was Surgeon's Mate [between 1775 and 1780].⁵⁵

It appears that both George Worgan and surgeon Mein were aware that the luxury of Keast's table—and doubtless also that of the mess—was sustained by monies that had been allocated for provisioning the sick. If observations conveyed in

51 *Ibid.*, p. 630.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 630.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 630.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 630.

55 *Ibid.*, pp. 630–1.

the letters of the fictitious 'T. Martyn'—that is, Thomas Dawkins—are accurate, Worgan and Mein's 'turning a blind eye' came at a terrible human cost, resulting not only in the 'loss of lives by ... deprivation', but also in 'malady and disease', through which 'hundreds ... languished'.⁵⁶

Worgan's remark that he had experienced a similar context in relation to the mess maintained 'on board the Tiger Hospital Ship'⁵⁷ 'by Mr. James, the Purser and contractor'⁵⁸ suggests that his seemingly opportunistic and compassionless behaviour was not altogether unique in the Royal Navy. It appears that (at least whilst serving on *Le Caton*) Worgan was more concerned about profits than meeting the needs of patients who had been placed under his care. This, at the very least, reveals that he was a man of his time and context—an excuse that in no way justifies his actions.

For a time, Worgan's partner in the victualling enterprise, Mein, lived with his family at Fowey,⁵⁹ in Cornwall.⁶⁰ Even though Worgan 'had corresponded regularly' with Mein,⁶¹ he 'seems to have had no other apparent connection with Cornwall'.⁶² Following Worgan's arrival in England in April 1792, he probably spent some of his time in Liskeard, Cornwall, for, only a year after his return from Sydney Cove, Worgan married Mary Lawry (1764–1846)⁶³ of Liskeard at St Martin's Church, Liskeard, on Thursday, 23 May 1793.⁶⁴

Worgan's period of service on board *Le Caton* commenced in the same year that he was married. A desire to provide for his wife may explain why, only about eight months after his marriage, Worgan entered into the victualling agreement with Keast (on Saturday, 8 February 1794). It may also explain why Worgan continued to knowingly take advantage of the navy⁶⁵ until the victualling contract was terminated in January 1798. Sadly, for much of the period of his service on *Le Caton*, Worgan appears to have put profit before ethics.

56 Ibid., pp. 625, 626.

57 Ibid., p. 631.

58 Ibid., p. 631.

59 Fowey (pronounced 'Foy') is a small town and cargo port on the west bank of the mouth of the River Fowey, on the south coast of Cornwall (England's most coastal county), between Looe and Mevagissey. In Worgan's day, Fowey was a trading and naval town.

60 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 4.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 See 'George Worgan Marries', below.

64 'Marriage Certificate of George Bouchier Worgan and Mary Lawry', Record #604016, *Cornwall Online Parish Clerks Database*.

65 'Commissioners of Naval Enquiry. Le Caton Hospital Ship', in Pole, *The Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry*, pp. 558–60.

There can be little doubt that Worgan would have been aware of the instabilities that made the 1790s a decade of tension for Britain. Not only was ‘the war against Revolutionary France going badly’, but there was also ‘disaffection in Ireland and an upsurge of radicalism in England’.⁶⁶ Characteristically, however, English optimism did not die. For example, on Monday, 26 November 1798, *The Times* published the following announcement:

The French Government has ordered 16 sail of the line, 18 frigates, and 12 ships of war of a smaller size to be built. Good news this for Old England! It saves us the trouble and expense of building them ourselves, as they are sure to find their way into our ports.⁶⁷

In England, during 1795–96, food (especially wheat) was scarce. *The Times* of Thursday, 23 July 1795 published the following set of rules that it suggested, if followed, would point

The way to peace and plenty.

Rules for the rich.

1. Abolish gravy soups, and second courses.
2. Buy no starch when wheat is dear.
3. Destroy all useless dogs.
4. Give no dog, or other animal, the *smallest bit* of bread or meat.
5. Save all your skim-milk carefully, and give it all to the poor, or sell it at a cheap rate.
6. Make broth, rice pudding, &c., for the poor, and teach them to make such things.
7. Go to church yourselves, and take care your servants go constantly.
8. Look into the management of your own families, and visit your poor neighbours.
9. Prefer those poor who keep steadily to their work, and go constantly to church, and give nothing to those who are idle, and riotous, or keep useless dogs.
10. Buy no weighing meat, or gravy beef: if the rich would buy only the prime pieces, the poor could get the others cheap.

66 J. Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 164.

67 *The Times*, 26 November 1798. Quoted in Ashton, *Old Times*, pp. 91–2.

Rules for the poor.

1. Keep steadily to your work, and never change masters, if you can help it.
2. Go to no gin-shop, or alehouse: but lay out all your earnings in food, and cloaths, for yourself, and your family: and try to lay up a little for rent, and rainy days.
3. Avoid bad company.
4. Keep no dogs: for they rob your children, and your neighbours.
5. Go constantly to church, and carry your wives, and children, with you, and God will bless you.
6. Be civil to your superiors, and they will be kind to you.
7. Learn to make broth, milk pottage, rice-pudding, &c. One pound of meat, in broth, will go further than two pounds boiled, or roasted.
8. Be quiet, and contented, and never steal, or swear, or you will never thrive.⁶⁸

Regardless of the conditions that may have beset George Worgan following his return to England in 1792, during the late 1790s, Worgan 'was adjudged unfit for active service and retired' on half-pay (a navy pension) 'to Cornwall where he took up two farms near Liskeard'.⁶⁹ As a result, 'one self was shunted off into the wings while a ... second self, still blinking in the bright light, came out of hiding to take its first awkward steps around the stage'. As time and fate would show, the second self 'was still very unsure of its lines'.⁷⁰

George Worgan, the Farmer

In 1798, the *Land Tax Register*⁷¹ reveals that George Worgan was the leaseholder of two farms:

1. one at Bray,⁷² approximately 5 kilometres south-east of the hamlet of Bodmin, Cornwall, and approximately 13 kilometres north-west of the town of Liskeard

68 *The Times*, 23 July 1795. Quoted in Ashton, *Old Times*, pp. 144–5.

69 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. xi.

70 R. Dessaix, *Arabesques: A Tale of Double Lives* (Sydney: Pan Macmillan Australia, 2010), p. 33.

71 *Land Tax Register 1798*, Inv. no. AD 103/228 (Truro: Cornwall Record Office).

72 R. Menneer, 'George Worgan', in *Post-Mediaeval Hedges in Cornwall (1580–1840)* (Cornish Hedges Library, 2007), p. 12. See also J. Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity* (London and Liskeard: William & Frederick G. Cash & J. Philip, 1856), p. 526, in *Cornwall Online Parish Clerks: Suggested Reading*.

2. one at Hendra,⁷³ in the parish of Morval, approximately 10 kilometres south-west of Bodmin, and approximately 25 kilometres south-west of the town of Liskeard.

In England, many ship's surgeons retired to the countryside. This was made possible by a decision of the House of Lords in 1704 as a result of which anyone licensed by the Society of Apothecaries could prescribe for a patient as well as dispense medicine. Many naval surgeons, upon their retirement from service, obtained an apothecary's license in order to set up their own general practice.⁷⁴

'Unlike physicians, surgeons were permitted to be licensed as both surgeon and apothecary.'⁷⁵ There is no record of Worgan having applied for an apothecary's licence. Rather than taking up the dual role of surgeon and apothecary in his retirement, he took up farming instead. In fact, there is no evidence that Worgan ever again worked as a surgeon, even though 'the Royal Cornwall Infirmary was erected in 1799 when it offered 52 beds' in Truro,⁷⁶ approximately 40 kilometres from Liskeard.

In late 1804, six years after Worgan leased his two farms at Bray and Hendra, he took up the lease of yet another farm, at Glynn, in the parish of Cardinham. Glynn is approximately 5 kilometres south-east of Bodmin, and approximately 14 kilometres west of Liskeard. The farm was owned by Edmund John Glynn (1764–1840).

Worgan's three leased farms were not only situated apart from one another, but also each farm was located some distance from the nearest population centre.

1. From Bodmin

- Bray: approximately 5 kilometres south-east
- Hendra: approximately 10 kilometres south-west
- Glynn: approximately 5 kilometres south-east.

2. From Liskeard

- Bray: approximately 13 kilometres north-west
- Hendra: approximately 25 kilometres south-west
- Glynn: approximately 14 kilometres west.

73 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 4.

74 I. Bruijn, *Ship's Surgeons of the Dutch East India Company: Commerce and the Progress of Medicine in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2009), p. 205.

75 'Student Paper on 19th-Century Medicine'. See Sanborn, 'Doctors and Medical Care in the Regency Era'.

76 S. Pocock, 'History Abounds in Society's New Home: Archives and Research to Follow Long Line of Doctors', in *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 142 (December) (Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society, 2011), p. 28.

What was the reason George Bouchier took up the lease of the farm at Glynn? Was it sheer optimism? Or did he need to convince himself that his ethics were intact, having—late in the year before he leased the farm at Glynn—been reminded of his shortcomings by the naval inquiry investigating his involvement with corruption and profiteering on *Le Caton*? We may never know what toll (if any) the naval inquiry took on Worgan's psychological and emotional wellbeing.

In 1806, two years after moving his family to the farm at Glynn, Worgan, unable to make the farm profitable, broke the lease, owing two years' rent, amounting to a not inconsiderable £360.⁷⁷ Worgan and his family vacated the farm at Glynn. In order to pay a portion of what he owed, Worgan left 'stock that included 250 sheep, two pairs of working oxen, ten horses and "several of Mr Worgan's implements, entirely of new construction and superior to any yet made"'.⁷⁸ In a letter to Arthur Young, the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture, Worgan explained how the compassionate Edmund Glynn 'liberally gave us our own furniture'.⁷⁹ Worgan 'had in fact gone bankrupt',⁸⁰ and was forced to 'quit' his farms 'with considerable loss'.⁸¹

Liskeard

Liskeard nestles on rocky hills above the deep Looe River Valley, 23 kilometres west of the Tamar River and 362 kilometres from London. It is surrounded by countryside of gently rolling emerald-green hills, steeple-peeping horizons and hillside fields separated by snaking hedgerows (Plate 72).

77 I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*.

78 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 5.

79 British Library, Add MSS 35129. I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information.

80 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 5.

81 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity*, p. 526.



Plate 72 Liskeard: View of the town centre from the top of the tower of the Church of St Martin.

Source: Photo by the author.

In 1801, Liskeard was a town of 1860 people.⁸² By 1811, the population had increased to 1975. In 1821, the decennial census reveals that the population had yet again increased, to 2423.⁸³ By 1830, the population had risen to 3519.⁸⁴ During the 1840s, there was no large increase in Liskeard's population, due to a 'tide of emigration'⁸⁵ to Australia.

That George Worgan decided to farm near Liskeard is not surprising. In 1799 the *Universal British Directory* described Liskeard as being 'one of the largest and best-built towns in Cornwall, with the greatest market'. Liskeard was representative of a 'later 18th century expansion [which] was a feature of most market towns in Britain'.⁸⁶

82 Data acquired from an exhibition label in the Liskeard Museum, Forester's Hall, Pike Street, Liskeard, on Wednesday, 13 April 2011.

83 See J. Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, revised and edited by William Paynter (Marazion and Penzance: Wordens of Cornwall Limited, 1967), p. 76.

84 J. Pigot, 'Liskeard, Cornwall', in *Pigot & Co.'s National Commercial Directory* (London: J. Pigot & Co., 1830), p. 149.

85 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, pp. 76–7.

86 Quoted in B. Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century* (Redruth, Cornwall: Bernard Deacon, 1989), p. 2. In his footnote 2, Deacon identifies the source of the quotation as: P. Barfoot and J. Wilkes, *Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce, and Manufacture, Comprehending Lists of the Inhabitants of*

Liskeard was the main market town for eastern Cornwall. In Liskeard, market day was every Saturday, and there were 'six fairs held annually, viz. February 18th, March 25th, Holy Thursday, August 15th, October 2nd, and December 9th'.⁸⁷

During the last decade of George Worgan's life, Liskeard was prosperous enough to boast

- eight attorneys
- two auctioneers
- six bakers
- two banks
- five blacksmiths
- one bookseller/printer
- eight shoemakers
- two plumbers
- seven builders/stonemasons
- three butchers
- three china/glass dealers
- seven clergymen
- two confectioners
- five curriers/leather sellers
- four druggists
- three gardeners
- 15 grocers
- seven hat makers
- four inns
- three ironmongers
- eight joiners/carpenters
- six linen/woollen drapers
- two brewers
- four milliners/dressmakers
- two millwrights
- four painters/glazers

London, Westminster, and Borough of Southwark; And of all the Cities, Towns, and Principal Villages, in England and Wales; With the Mails, and Other Coaches, Stage-Wagons, Hoys, Packets, and Trading Vessels ... Together with an Historical Detail of the Antiquities, Curiosities, Trade, Polity, and Manufactures of Each City, Town, and Village. The Whole Comprising a Fund of Useful and Important Information, Equally Interesting to the Nobleman, the Gentleman, and Man of Business (London: Champanye & Whitrow, 1799), p. 743.

⁸⁷ Pigot, 'Liskeard, Cornwall', p. 149.

- three heel makers
- two rope makers
- two saddlers
- nine shopkeepers
- six surgeons
- three surveyors.⁸⁸

[U]ntil the end of the 1830s Liskeard had enjoyed a period of measured steady growth gradually evolving into a settlement with a clearly defined central core and an increasing number of services and public buildings. There were a growing number of professional people living in the town, specifically lawyers and bankers who managed the affairs of the newly prosperous farmers.⁸⁹

Agriculture has always been the mainstay of Cornwall's economy. Worgan would have relied on his own energy, the labour of his own family and, at certain times, hired labour to run his two small-acreage farms. During the times of year when hired labour was needed, 'Liskeard would have presented a strange pedestrianised and reversed "rush hour"'. Unlike now, when people travel into [Liskeard] ... for work, the pattern in [Worgan's day] ... was the opposite, with a lot of people walking out of the town to their place of work in the countryside.⁹⁰

We know that Worgan grew Swedish turnips on his farms. Worgan states:

[F]requently the fly destroys the plants, even in highly manured seed-beds. This was precisely my own case, and with a view of remedying the evil, I spread, though late in June, a quantity of straw ... all over the bed, and burnt it thereon; as soon ... as it was a little cooled, I sowed and raked in the seed; the plants came up strong and quickly, and such was the growth of them, that by the end of July they were fit to be transplanted, and I secured a very tolerable crop.⁹¹

He grew potatoes as well:

I have raised many varieties from seed, some of which I continued to plant for several years, but after a fair trial have reduced my sorts to three. The *golden dun*, *London kidney*, or *coppernote* ... is on the whole

88 Ibid., pp. 149–50.

89 B. Gillard, *Cornwall and Scilly Urban Survey: Liskeard—Historic Characterisation for Regeneration HES Report Number 2005R049* (Truro: Historic Environment Service, Cornwall County Council, 2005), p. 21.

90 Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 39.

91 'Crops Commonly Cultivated, Swedish Turnip', in G. B. Worgan, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall Drawn Up and Published by Order of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement* (London: B. McMillan, 1811), Internet Archive, Chapter 7, Section 4.

more esteemed for the table than any other ... *Farmer's delight* ... they are not a bad potatoe for the table ... and ... *Apple potatoes* [which] have the advantage ... of goodness for the table.⁹²

Worgan also raised cattle, and fattened 'several hogs every year'. He boasted: 'At the market, my pork has been often admired for its quality; and for bacon, hams, cheeks, &c. &c, it has answered fully as well as the best ... pork.'⁹³

There may have been a garden located adjacent to Worgan's house. Worgan states: 'the gardens annexed to the residences of gentlemen, are specimens of taste and embellishment, and supply almost every kind of delicious fruit.'⁹⁴

In Liskeard George Worgan was known as 'Dally' Worgan.⁹⁵ The cries of seagulls,⁹⁶ as they wheeled and spiralled over the town market, would often have greeted Worgan's ears as he walked the steep, narrow unpaved streets of the closely packed town centre.⁹⁷

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Liskeard, to the modern eye, 'would have looked a shambles—heaps of animal and human waste [these dung heaps were known as "pounds"], open cess pits, no piped water supply, pigsties and slaughterhouses right in the middle of the town ... essentially the same as [it] ... had been in medieval times'.⁹⁸ Like so many of his contemporaries, Worgan would have taken a complacent view of these conditions, regarding them as normal. In 1800, 'the first granite curb-stones in the town were laid ... and [some] ... footways were ... paved with large pebbles'.⁹⁹

'Liskeard was certainly no worse than any other Cornish town and considerably better off, at least in terms of water supply, than some.'¹⁰⁰

According to a writer in 1824, Liskeard's chief spring, commonly known as the 'Pipe Well' because of the four pipes through which the water flows, 'was said to have lucky effects in matrimonial connexions, produced by drinking the water and standing on a certain stone in the well'.¹⁰¹

92 'Crops Commonly Cultivated, Potatoes', in *ibid.*

93 *Ibid.*

94 'Gardens and Orchards', Chapter 9, Section 1, 'Gardens', in *ibid.*

95 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. xii.

96 This soundscape is still a prominent feature of the town.

97 A drawing of Liskeard by Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827), dated early 1800s, is housed at the Liskeard Museum. It is feasible to conclude that this drawing depicts a view of the road on Tavern Hill (this road is now Pike Street) in the centre of town. At the lower right-hand corner of the image, an army officer and drummer can be seen seeking recruits in order to swell the ranks of the British forces fighting in the Napoleonic wars.

98 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 13.

99 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 146.

100 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 14.

101 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 142.

The Liskeard court roll of Friday, 20 October 1820 shows why the streets of the town were polluted with human waste (it seems that the force of law did not successfully act as a deterrent): Richard Austin, a watch and clockmaker,¹⁰² ‘and other inhabitants presented for a nuisance—throwing filth outside [the] house at the head of Tavern Hill’.¹⁰³ Seven months later, on 1 May 1821, the hapless Austin was again presented to the Liskeard court to answer ‘for keeping the clock too backwards’.¹⁰⁴

At the Inn

Whilst in town, Worgan (although not always being able to trust the town clock’s accuracy) may have spent time at the Old King’s Arms, at the top of Tavern Hill.¹⁰⁵ He may even have had to negotiate the ‘filth outside [the] house at the head of Tavern Hill’¹⁰⁶ deposited there with civic pride by ‘Richard Austin and other inhabitants’.¹⁰⁷ The inn had been there since 1731, and ‘included a shop, workshop, stable and garden’.¹⁰⁸

Worgan may also have spent time at The Bell, in Church Street. It is likely that during the leisure hours spent at these inns, Worgan watched Liskeard’s most popular entertainments: badger-baiting (until about 1800, when badgers became scarce), cockfighting, kayle (skittle) alleys and organised wrestling matches. (With badger-baiting, ‘it was the custom to drive a large nail through the tail of the badger, in order to hold him more firmly with a rope. When bitten and worried almost to death by great dogs, the unfortunate animal was supplied with water, and reserved till the next evening.’)¹⁰⁹

In 1762, the English diarist and author James Boswell (1740–95) wrote:

The enemies of the people of England who would have them considered in the worst light represent them as ... cruel. In this view I resolved today to be a true-born Old Englishman ... I went at five o’clock to the Royal Cockpit in St James’s Park and saw cock-fighting for about five hours to fulfil the charge of cruelty.¹¹⁰

102 See J. Pigot, *Pigot & Co.’s National Commercial Directory* (London: J. Pigot & Co., 1830), p. 18.

103 ‘Extracts from Liskeard Borough Court Rolls’, Liskeard Museum (n.d.).

104 Ibid.

105 A drawing entitled *The Old King’s Arms, at the Top of Tavern Hill*, by an unknown artist, dated 1833, is housed at the Liskeard Museum.

106 ‘Extracts from Liskeard Borough Court Rolls’.

107 Ibid.

108 *The Old King’s Arms at the Top of Tavern Hill (Behind Red Cart)*, Now the Museum Anonymous Watercolour 1833, caption for image on display at the Liskeard Museum (viewed 13 April 2011).

109 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 139.

110 Quoted in Riding, *Mid-Georgian Britain 1740–69*, p. 59.

Speaking of the English in 1770, the German writer Eobald Toze (1715–89) observed that a 'kind of savageness frequently prevails in their manners, manifesting itself in the bloody fights and diversions usual among them'.¹¹¹

Even though an impressive alliance of English 'evangelicals, magistrates, police [and] ... employers ... ranged against'¹¹² such leisure activities, a

mixed alliance [arose] in defence of the rights of the poor to enjoy themselves as they would ... Its finest spokesman ... was William Windham [1750–1810], Secretary for War 1794–1801. 'The common people', he said, 'may ask with justice, why abolish bull-baiting, and protect hunting and shooting? What appearance must we make, if we, who have every source of amusement open to us, and yet follow these cruel sports, become rigid censors of the sports of the poor, and abolish them on account of their cruelty, when they are not more cruel than our own?'¹¹³

In 1809, the *Edinburgh Review* published an article that was directed against the Society for the Suppression of Vice:

A man of ten thousand a year may worry a fox as much as he pleases,—may encourage the breed of a mischievous animal on purpose to worry it; and a poor labourer is carried before a magistrate for paying sixpence to see an exhibition of courage between a dog and a bear! Any cruelty may be practised to gorge the stomachs of the rich,—none to enliven the holidays of the poor.¹¹⁴

In Liskeard—as throughout England—badger-baiting, cockfighting and wrestling matches were usually connected with gambling, and publicans played the key role in organising them. Such leisure-time entertainments were 'practiced at the inns and public houses, most of the principal persons of the town and neighbourhood giving it the sanction of their presence'.¹¹⁵ 'Such spectacles [would have] ... reeked of stale sweat, tobacco, bad breath, ale and old clothes.'¹¹⁶

As a patron of the Old King's Arms and/or The Bell, George Worgan may have been pleased that the proposed legislation announced in *The Times* of Monday, 13 February 1797 did not become law; had the proposed bill been successful, and had Worgan been caught gambling on a Sunday, the irony of the prescribed punishment would not have escaped his attention (given his past adventures):

111 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 59.

112 Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c. 1780 – c. 1880*, p. 46.

113 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

114 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

115 Allen, *History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity*, p. 243. Quoted in Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 78.

116 Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 148.

It is said, and we hope with truth, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the head, and with the concurrence of the Episcopal Lords, means to introduce a Bill into Parliament to prevent *gambling on a Sunday*. An act at present does exist against this pernicious practice; but the penalty amounts to a fine, that the Groom-porters at Hazard,¹¹⁷ or the Dealers at Faro,¹¹⁸ can with ease pay by the *profits of an hour*. The punishment for the offence of playing any game of chance on a Sunday is, by this new intended Bill, to be *transportation for seven years to Botany Bay*. The owner of the house, by a particular clause, is more severely dealt with. *He, or she, permitting such gambling, shall be transported for life.*¹¹⁹

Then, as now, pubs were not merely contexts within which drinking took place, but were also ‘centres of game and sports’.¹²⁰ During the early nineteenth century, drinking at the inn played

a central role in people’s lives ... Given the dubious nature of much of the water supply, it was often safer to drink beer than to drink water from the public springs ... Alcohol was ... used to seal bargains between businessmen and traders; and it provided an all too temporary relief from the harsh living conditions of the majority of the people. Drink was resorted to by both rich and poor at many points in their lives.¹²¹

In 1803, the botanist George Caley sanguinely wrote from Sydney Cove to Joseph Banks in London: ‘is not the drudgery or laborious work of the great towns in England done by the use of spirits or other fermented liquor?’¹²²

In Liskeard, Webb’s Hotel, ‘a handsome, sizeable Neo-classical building’¹²³ built in 1833, was ‘one of the finest ... in the whole of Cornwall’.¹²⁴ By 1847,¹²⁵ ‘there were at least 16 inns, pubs and beer houses’ in Liskeard—‘one for every 250 inhabitants’.¹²⁶

117 ‘Hazard was a game of pure chance, in which the players threw dice against a particular number between five and nine, which was chosen by the “caster”. It could be played by any number of people, who took it in turns to “call the main”. Since the odds were well known, it was a game of pure chance, similar to the modern American game of craps.’ Murray, *An Elegant Madness*, p. 163.

118 ‘Faro was a variation on the theme of roulette, but eventually fell into disrepute because it was so easy for the bank to cheat, and was succeeded by a craze for macao, another game involving several players.’ *Ibid.*, p. 163. ‘Faro could be played by any number of people ... Players placed bets with a banker on the likelihood of their cards being the same as cards that were put in a special box by the dealer. It was a risky game partly because the players could bet on a number of outcomes, partly because they could choose how much to bet and partly because the banker enjoyed a built-in advantage. So, unless everyone took a turn at being the banker, players were statistically bound to lose.’ Tillyard, *Aristocrats*, p. 106.

119 *The Times*, 13 February 1797. Quoted in Ashton, *Old Times*, p. 178.

120 Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 80.

121 *Ibid.*, p. 87.

122 Quoted in Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 70.

123 Gillard, *Cornwall and Scilly Urban Survey*, p. 20.

124 Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 4.

125 That is, nine years after George Worgan’s death.

126 Gillard, *Cornwall and Scilly Urban Survey*, p. 48.

Of these, only six remain: the Fountain (Plate 73); Webb's Hotel (Plate 74); the Barley Sheaf, built in 1825 (Plate 75); the White Horse, 'which probably dates from the seventeenth century'¹²⁷ (Plate 76); the Red Lion (Plate 77); and the Albion, 'an 18th century public house with a Delabole slate roof and an almost symmetrical three bay façade'¹²⁸ (Plate 78).¹²⁹ 'Being so close to the town centre ... [these] inns were built to accommodate those visiting the town for the markets and fairs.'¹³⁰



Plate 73 The Fountain Inn, Liskeard (as it appears today).

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 74 Webb's Hotel, Liskeard (as it appears today).

Source: Photo by the author.

127 Ibid., p. 48.

128 Ibid., p. 32.

129 Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 87.

130 Gillard, *Cornwall and Scilly Urban Survey*, p. 55.



Plate 75 The Barley Sheaf Inn, Liskeard (as it appears today): the moulded cornice and wooden doorcase with pilasters and enriched entablature are original.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 76 The White Horse Inn, Liskeard (as it appears today).

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 77 The Red Lion Inn, Liskeard (as it appears today).

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 78 The Albion Inn, Liskeard (as it appears today): as one of the oldest surviving buildings in the Dean Street/West area, it gives an impression of the scale of buildings that originally occupied this part of Liskeard.

Source: Photo by the author.

Apart from drinking and gambling at the inns of Liskeard, other public entertainments would have been available to George Worgan. During the late 1760s, Philip Astley (1742–1814) founded a circus in London. The circus had an equestrian emphasis, but also included rope-dancers, gymnasts and a clown. Astley's circus had a profound impact

on the entertainment world, invading the boards of Covent Garden for the first time in 1811, and frequently thereafter, and made well known in the provinces by Astley's winter tours.

Soon there were rivals. By about 1830 ... [Cornwall was] travelled by ... Saunder's, Cooke's, Samwell's and Clarke's ... The visit of the circus was a memorable event in the life of any community; when the American lion tamer Van Amburgh visited Redruth in Cornwall in July 1842 he headed a procession of 40 horses and carriages, drove 8 horses in hand himself, and attracted a crowd of over 7,000.¹³¹

It is possible that George Worgan may have attended a performance given in Liskeard by one of the circuses that visited Cornwall during the 1830s.

Although public concerts would (on occasion) have taken place in Liskeard, these did not become popular and common leisure-time pursuits until the 1840s, after Worgan's lifetime.

In 1805, the English physician and social critic Charles Hall (1740–1825) wrote: 'Leisure in a poor man is thought quite a different thing from what it is to a rich man, and goes by a different name. In the poor it is called idleness, the cause of all mischief.'¹³² That George Worgan would have had free, non-obligated time for use in the pursuit of leisure activities at the inn (or within other public contexts) placed him in what was increasingly described during the early nineteenth century as the 'leisured or leisure classes'.¹³³

George Worgan Marries

A year after Worgan arrived back in England from Sydney Cove, and having been paid off by the navy, he married Mary Lawry¹³⁴ of Liskeard, at St Martin's Church,¹³⁵ on Thursday, 23 May 1793 (Plate 79).¹³⁶ George was 36 years old;

131 Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c. 1780–c. 1880*, p. 33.

132 Quoted in S. Pollard, 'Factory Discipline in the Industrial Revolution', in *The Economic History Review* (Oxford: Blackwell on behalf of the Economic History Society, 1963), (NS), Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 269, fn. 2.

133 See *ibid.*

134 Mary Lawry was the daughter of John and Anne Lawry. Mary was baptised at St Gluvias's Church, Penryn, Cornwall, on 4 November 1764. See 'Parish Records Collection 1538–2005 Baptism'.

135 'St. Martin's is one of the three largest churches in Cornwall ... It is the most dominant feature of the area and all the surrounding roads lead to it.' Gillard, *Cornwall and Scilly Urban Survey*, pp. 67–8.

136 'Marriage Certificate of George Bouchier Worgan and Mary Lawry'.

Mary was 29. Some in Liskeard may have regarded the seven-year disparity in the couple's age as verging on the inappropriate. 'Such a discrepancy'—and markedly wider—'was common-place in aristocratic marriages ... but less common in middle-class couples'.¹³⁷ George and Mary were married by the vicar of St Martin's, the Reverend William Hony.¹³⁸



Plate 79 The Church of St Martin, Liskeard.

Source: Photo by the author.

In the 'Introduction' to his published report entitled *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall Drawn Up and Published by Order of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement*,¹³⁹ George Worgan provides us with a glimpse of his attitude to the women of Cornwall: '[Cornish] women are amiable, for the most part accomplished, and make excellent wives.' Cornwall's

137 Howard, *Gluck*, p. 29.

138 See W. H. Paynter, *The Parish Church of St. Martin Liskeard* (Liskeard, Cornwall: Parochial Church Council, 1966), p. 31.

139 Worgan, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*. Worgan's report 'occupies 182 octavo pages, with a map of the soils of Cornwall, some drained grounds, fences, implements, cottages, farm offices, and front elevations. The portraits of swine and a Devon bull are complete caricatures.' 'CCCL.—Worgan, 1811', in J. Donaldson, *Agricultural Biography: Containing a Notice of the Life and Writings of the British Authors on Agriculture, from the Earliest Date in 1480 to the Present Time* (London: Printed for the Author, 1854), p. 101.

women are 'diamonds ... of the most beautiful lustre'.¹⁴⁰ Mary Lawry was doubtless one such woman. Mary's father, John, as well as her friend(?) Mary Watson, signed the marriage certificate as witnesses.¹⁴¹

At the time of George's wedding, it is possible that the alterations that were made to the interior of St Martin's in the same year had just been completed: amongst other things, the church's beautiful carved oak rood screen was destroyed 'and carved medieval pews'¹⁴² were replaced with high pitch-pine pews, which formed 'horse-boxes and pens in which the congregation lay hidden'.¹⁴³ The internal reordering meant that the church resembled 'a chapel, where preaching was considered of paramount importance'.¹⁴⁴

The installation of high pews suggests that Liskeardian society (revealing a conformance with English society in general) was a class-ridden minefield.

A serious example of discrimination was the custom of private pews, bought by the rich and reserved exclusively for their use, which often resulted in there being no room for the poor in the church at all. The idea of buying a place in church was taken for granted by most of the population [in England] at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁵

In *Brief Remarks on English Manners*, an anonymous author describes high pews, stressing the iniquity of segregation in church based on socioeconomic class. Because of

the pernicious practice of dividing our churches into pews ... the poorer classes are not only separated from their superiors, but in many instances they are shut out of the church for want of means to *purchase* a seat within its walls ... In ancient times probably the great man of each parish had his family pew, but by degrees, as the influence of money prevailed, his rich neighbours continued to vie with him and with each other, till at last all our churches have become disfigured to the eye by their tasteless divisions, resembling pens for cattle, and many of them *dishonoured* by being made *receptacles for the rich to the exclusion of the poor*.¹⁴⁶

Sadly, it appears that snobbery—upheld by the existence of high pews—was rife at St Martin's.

140 'Introduction', in Worgan, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*, p. xi.

141 'Marriage Certificate of George Bouchier Worgan and Mary Lawry'.

142 Paynter, *The Parish Church of St. Martin Liskeard*, p. 20.

143 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

144 Gillard, *Cornwall and Scilly Urban Survey*, p. 19.

145 Murray, *An Elegant Madness*, p. 243.

146 *Brief Remarks on English Manners, and an Attempt to Account for Some of Our Most Striking Peculiarities. In a Series of Letters to a Friend in France. By an Englishman* (London: John Booth, 1816), pp. 76–7.

Four bells in the thirteenth-century tower of St Martin's (the treble and the next lowest-sounding bells having been cast in 1755, the third bell in 1735, and the tenor or fourth bell in 1753)¹⁴⁷ would have rung out George and Mary's joy.

George and Mary Worgan's Children

For George Worgan, country life, with 'its slower rhythms and the importance of children in its scheme of things',¹⁴⁸ appears to have been an attractive alternative to the unpredictabilities and intensities of his naval career.

Five years after her marriage to George, Mary Worgan (aged 34) gave birth to her first child, a daughter, named Mary. Baby Mary was baptised at St Wenna's Church, in the parish of Morval, on Sunday, 6 May 1798.¹⁴⁹ It seems odd that the Worgans selected St Wenna's as the church within which to have their child baptised; when compared with St Martin's, St Wenna's is much further away from the Worgans' farms. Parish boundaries may have influenced their decision. Baby Mary died 16 months later, on Thursday, 19 September 1799.¹⁵⁰ Infant mortality was common at this time, and few families were strangers to childhood deaths.

George and Mary (at the age of 36) had a second child, George William, who was baptised (probably at St Wenna's, Morval) on Thursday, 9 January 1800.¹⁵¹ With their recent history, there must have been considerable anxiety in George and Mary's minds as to whether little George William would survive. (When Mary conceived, both she and her husband would have been 'launched on a roaring wave of fate. No one could predict how easily she would bear pregnancy, how safely she would deliver, how robust would be her infant, or how long and healthy the life of her child.')¹⁵² Happily, George William thrived.

The next year, the couple had their second daughter, Mary, who was baptised (probably at St Wenna's) on Thursday, 17 September 1801.¹⁵³

147 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 73. The treble and next lowest-sounding bell, as well as the tenor (or fourth bell), 'were cast by Pennington, Bell-founder of Stoke Climsland, near Callington'. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

148 Tillyard, *Aristocrats*, p. 116.

149 'Research Area', in *Parish Births, Marriages, Death Records: Baptism Records* (Truro, Cornwall: Cornwall Family History Society, n.d.).

150 'Burial Data of Mary Worgan', Record #1612412, *Cornwall Online Parish Clerks Database*.

151 'Baptism Record', in *The Genealogist* (n.d.). See also 'England, Births & Christenings, 1538–1975, George William Worgan, 1800', in *FamilySearch* (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2012).

152 Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 96.

153 'Research Area'. See also 'England, Births & Christenings, 1538–1975, Mary Worgan, 1801', in *FamilySearch* (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2012).

On Wednesday, 23 November 1803, George and Mary's fourth child and their second son, John, was baptised (probably at St Wenna's),¹⁵⁴ but he died in infancy.

The couple's fifth child and their second surviving son, John Parsons, was baptised at St Martin's, Liskeard, on Tuesday, 12 March 1805.¹⁵⁵ The selection of John's middle name, Parsons, may have been influenced by the fact that 17 years earlier, in 1778, George Bouchier Worgan's younger sister, Charlotte, had married Sir William Parsons.¹⁵⁶

George and Mary's surviving family therefore consisted of George William (their eldest son), Mary and John Parsons (their youngest son). Both George William and John Parsons eventually migrated to Australia. George and Mary's daughter, Mary, lived out her life and died in Liskeard.

George Worgan, the Published Author

In 1793 the Cornwall Agricultural Society was formed. Meetings were held in various parts of Cornwall, with competitions for ploughing, for stock, and for machinery. Substantial prizes were offered—3 and 5 guineas—and some awards were made for growing crops, requiring the judges to travel from farm to farm.

The Society attracted the attention of the newly established Board of Agriculture, whose president in 1793 approached the Cornish Society with a request for 'a complete account of the state of agriculture in so interesting a district' as part of its aim to undertake a comprehensive survey of the agriculture of every county. Robert Fraser's [fl. 1793–1822] 'General Review' was accordingly published in 1794,¹⁵⁷ but it was considered less than adequate and it was hoped that a revision could soon be compiled by someone more qualified to do so.¹⁵⁸

In 1808, George Worgan—'despite his somewhat doubtful credentials'¹⁵⁹—wrote his *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall* at the behest

154 'Baptism Record'.

155 'Birth Certificate of John Parsons Worgan', Record #1910227, *Cornwall Online Parish Clerks Database* (n.d.).

156 See Ancestry.com.au.

157 R. Fraser, *General View of the County of Cornwall. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By Robert Fraser, A.M. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement* (London: C. Macrae, 1794).

158 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', pp. 4–5.

159 Menneer, 'George Worgan', p. 12.

of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture, Arthur Young (who paid him £100 for the privilege).¹⁶⁰ The tome's preface, entitled 'Preliminary Observation',¹⁶¹ is dated 'Bodmin, Nov. 30 1808'.¹⁶²

Unfortunately, the Board of Agriculture found Worgan's efforts to be less than satisfactory, subsequently engaging three Cornish gentlemen—'all *amateur* and public spirited farmers'¹⁶³—to revise Worgan's research

1. the Reverend Robert Walker, vicar of St Winnoe
2. the Reverend Jeremiah Trist, vicar of Veryan from 1782 to 1829
3. Vice-Admiral Charles Vinnicombe Penrose (1759–1830), of Ethy in the parish of St Winnoe, who was later knighted.

These gentlemen were Worgan's friends, and had assisted him with the initial draft of his survey. In order to justify their involvement with the rewriting, the three gentlemen wrote: 'When therefore it was proposed to us to revise [Worgan's] ... Papers, we thought we possessed a particular advantage, from the mere circumstance of having some knowledge of his plan and execution.'¹⁶⁴

The three editors, however, appear to have taken only a brief moment to protect George from any ridicule; they admitted that they had (magnanimously) preserved 'a large part of the original'.¹⁶⁵ In almost the same breath, however, they also claimed to have taken 'great liberties with his manuscript, and generally suppressed what was deemed redundant'.¹⁶⁶ The editors confessed to having made 'considerable erasements, alterations and additions',¹⁶⁷ and indicated (honourably) that they had taken 'care that wherever we have made observations or stated facts, for which we alone are answerable, the initials of our respective names are subjoined'.¹⁶⁸ Using these initials, it can be seen that the Reverend Robert Walker rewrote sections dealing with

1. leases (Chapter 4, Section 5)
2. crops commonly cultivated (Chapter 7, Section 4)
3. crops not commonly cultivated (Chapter 7, Section 5).

160 I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*.

161 Worgan, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*, p. v.

162 *Ibid.*, p. vi.

163 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity*, p. 365.

164 Worgan, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*, p. vii.

165 *Ibid.*, p. viii.

166 *Ibid.*

167 *Ibid.*

168 *Ibid.*, p. ix.

The Reverend Jeremiah Trist rewrote sections dealing with

1. woods and plantations: coppicing, timber and willow plantations (Chapter 10)
2. improvements (Chapter 12): drainage (Section 1), eight sorts of manuring (Section 3)
3. irrigation (Chapter 12, Section 4)
4. population (Chapter 15, Section 8).

Vice-Admiral Charles Penrose rewrote sections dealing with

1. implements (Chapter 5)
2. gates (Chapter 6)
3. labourers' houses (Chapter 3, Section 3).

This left the bulk of the survey as Worgan had originally written it, his work comprising chapters and/or sections concerning

1. the geographical state and circumstances of the county (Chapter 1): situation (Section 1), climate (Section 3), surface and scenery (Section 4), minerals (Section 5) and water (Section 6)
2. the state of property (Chapter 2): estates and their management (Section 1)
3. buildings (Chapter 3): houses of proprietors (Section 1), farmhouses and offices (Section 2) and cottages (Section 3)
4. modes of occupation (Chapter 4): sizes of farms (Section 1), rent (Section 2), tithes (Section 3) and poor rates (Section 4)
5. enclosing (Chapter 6): fences (Section 1)
6. arable land (Chapter 7): tillage (Section 1) and fallowing (Section 2)
7. grassland (Chapter 8): natural meadows (Section 1), pastures (Section 2) and hay harvests (Section 3)
8. gardens and orchards (Chapter 9)
9. waste (Chapter 11)
10. improvements (Chapter 12): paring and burning (Section 2) and weeding (Section 5)
11. livestock (Chapter 13): cattle (Section 1), sheep (Section 2), horses (Section 3), pigs (Section 4), rabbits (Section 5), poultry and pigeons (Section 6) and bees (Section 8)
12. the rural economy (Chapter 14)

13. the political economy (Chapter 15): roads (Section 1), canals (Section 2), fairs and weekly markets (Sections 3 and 4), commerce (Section 5) and the poor (Section 7)
14. obstacles to improvements (Chapter 16)
15. agricultural societies (Chapter 17, Section 1)
16. weights and measures (Section 2).¹⁶⁹

In his introduction, Worgan went to great pains to disprove the 'very erroneous idea and illiberal aspersion' that people in Cornwall '*are nearly in a state of barbarism*'.

Instances of their civility and benevolence the Surveyor [that is, Worgan] has to report from his own knowledge. Three several nights, in his tour through Cornwall, he missed his road, and was benighted, and each time, in the remotest part of the country, on gently tapping at the door of the cottager, the good man rose from his bed, left his home, and walked with him some miles, nor would leave him until he had conducted him to his place of destination. One of these good Christians, on taking leave of him, said, with a countenance that spoke his heart, 'Health and a long and happy life to you Sir, and Heaven after death.' Can a peasantry who will thus rise cheerfully from their beds at midnight, take the bewildered stranger by the hand, and conduct him safely through dangers, deserve the harsh appellation of *barbarians*?¹⁷⁰

Following revision, Worgan's survey was first published in London in 1811. In the first edition, the three gentleman editors state:

[W]e believe Mr. Worgan to have been very diligent in collecting materials for his Work. It happened however unfortunately, that he was obliged to perform the greater part of his Survey during winter, by which he not only endured much hardship, but was also forced to take many things upon trust, of which at a more favourable season, he might have been an eye witness.¹⁷¹

That the credibility of Worgan's research was so publicly called into question must have been a bitter pill for George to swallow, especially when the criticism derived from his friends and colleagues. Sadly, things did not improve when his

169 See Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', pp. 6–7. See also Worgan, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*, pp. xiii–xvi.

170 'Introduction', in Worgan, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*, p. xii.

171 *Ibid.*, immediately following Worgan's 'Preliminary Observation', p. viii.

research was ‘described in the *West of England Magazine* in 1813 as “in many places extremely quaint and affected”; and in the chapter on livestock, “there is not much that is intended to any great utility in any respect whatever”’.¹⁷²

Fortunately, the effect of these negative critiques on sales of the book was minimal; George Worgan’s *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall* (1811) was reprinted in 1815.

George’s trudging around rural Cornwall in the depths of the winter of 1808 as a researcher would have cost him a considerable amount of money—money that he never recouped. It appears that in 1810 Worgan found himself in a precarious financial situation, for ‘he wrote to Henry Hawkins Tremayne of Heligan, thanking him for his kindness to ‘my poor afflicted family”’.¹⁷³

Things did not improve. Two years later, in a letter dated Monday, 13 July 1812, Richard Rosedew, a local landowner, wrote to Philip Wynnell-Mayow (1771–1845), Worgan’s former landlord of the farm at Bray:

About 10 days since I was accosted at my front door by a person somewhat in appearance of a broken gentleman and given an open note which I enclose. As I was reading it he took out of a case a long statement on parchment with a great number of names as subscribers, some as high as £10.¹⁷⁴

During his discussion with Rosedew, Worgan indiscreetly and unwisely criticised his former landlord Wynnell-Mayow, criticisms that Rosedew refused to accept. As a consequence, Rosedew chose not to give.

George Worgan, the Inventor

During the early nineteenth century, changes occurring within the contexts of industrial design and manufacturing stimulated experimentation in the design and manufacture of farming machinery. In Cornwall, the resultant spirit of innovation that attended farming practices was reflected in the competitions held by the Cornwall Agricultural Society. These competitions ‘included potato and turnip cultivation, the development of water meadows, cider orchards and cider making, essays on agricultural improvement, and “the person having

172 Menneer, ‘George Worgan’, p. 12.

173 Edwards, ‘George Bouchier Worgan’, p. 5.

174 *Bray Papers*, BRA1737/45 (Truro: Cornwall Record Office). I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*.

the greatest number of children under 21, brought up without parochial assistance'''.¹⁷⁵ Most importantly perhaps, the Society created an award for 'new or improved husbandry implements'.¹⁷⁶

It appears that George Worgan was something of an inventor. In 1806, the Cornwall Agricultural Society awarded the substantial sum of £3 to "'Mr Worgan of Glynn" [who] ... designed and exhibited a great cultivator, a lesser cultivator, a shifting double plough and a combined roller and harrow'.¹⁷⁷ (After having been awarded such a prize, it is no wonder that Worgan praised the virtues of the Cornwall Agricultural Society:

The Cornwall Agricultural Society has been ... attended with very beneficial effects in the encouragement of agriculture throughout the county; and it has never been in a more flourishing state than at present.)¹⁷⁸

A report concerning Worgan's inventions was published in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*:

The husbandry implements produced by Mr Worgan attracted the attention of a great many agriculturalists, and from their ingenious construction and easy draught with which they may be worked, appear to be deserving of further attention. However, the inspector, not having seen any of these implements in use, cannot speak as to the utility of them.¹⁷⁹

George Worgan, the Schoolmaster

George Worgan was not a successful farmer. Unfortunately, 'his introduction of new [farming] methods failed to pay off'.¹⁸⁰ 'Being very theoretical in the management [of his farms], and having some difficulty in the holding, which he attributed to entails,¹⁸¹ he quitted [his farms] ... with considerable loss.'¹⁸²

The anonymous editor of the *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan, Surgeon of the Sirius* states that Worgan, in order to augment his failing income, 'was at various times schoolmaster and church organist'.¹⁸³ Contemporaneous

175 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 5.

176 See *ibid.*, p. 5.

177 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

178 'Agricultural Societies', in Worgan, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*, Chapter 17, Section 1, p. 180.

179 *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 31 May 1806. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 5.

180 Menneer, 'George Worgan', p. 12.

181 An 'entail' is a legal restriction to the ownership and inheritance of property.

182 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity*, p. 526.

183 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. xii.

documentary evidence reinforces the fact that Worgan worked as a schoolteacher: Worgan's will describes him as 'schoolmaster, of Liskeard'.¹⁸⁴ It was following the completion of his *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall* in 1808 that Worgan 'turned school-master'.¹⁸⁵

We do not know if, as the years passed, George Worgan, as 'a man of extensive reading',¹⁸⁶ found himself employed respectively by several schools in Liskeard or whether he was engaged by only one. If he taught at several schools, he may, for a period, have found himself at the Liskeard Grammar School, a 'symbol of civic pride ... conducted on Church of England principles'.¹⁸⁷ Financially, this school was 'supported mainly by members of the borough'.¹⁸⁸

The Liskeard Grammar School comprised 'one long room, gabled at both ends, and open to the rafters of the roof, with a smaller room at one side, where there was a fire place and where the boys said their lessons'.¹⁸⁹ The boys 'said their lessons' out loud as part of rote learning. The school, open only to boys, was located on Castle Street, relatively near St Martin's Church, on the site that is now Castle Park. 'This led to the area becoming associated with education'.¹⁹⁰

On a map of Liskeard dating from 1840, the site occupied by the building shown in Plate 80 is labelled 'School'. It is probable that the building shown in Plate 80 was the grammar school.¹⁹¹ In the mid nineteenth century, the building 'went through a ... transformation from school to police station'.¹⁹²

'Like most small town grammar schools, Liskeard's provided a classical education, largely based on Latin ... taught to the sons of ... squires and prosperous traders.'¹⁹³ The 'low, mean edifice'¹⁹⁴ within which the students of Liskeard's Grammar School were educated was 'bad without and worse within'.¹⁹⁵ On Tuesday, 1 March 1836 (two years and three days before George Worgan died), the town council decided to remove 'the "town dung" ... to "the garden near the school" where it was to be sold monthly. This was presumably not good news for the children attending the school!'¹⁹⁶

184 Cornwall Council, 'Archdeaconry of Cornwall, Probate Court', Reference no. AP/W/4081 (Truro: Cornwall Council, n.d.).

185 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 99.

186 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity*, p. 526.

187 Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 151.

188 Pigot, 'Liskeard, Cornwall', p. 149.

189 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 99.

190 Gillard, *Cornwall and Scilly Urban Survey*, p. 60.

191 I am indebted to Daphne James and Jay Johnson of Liskeard for providing access to the 1840 map.

192 Gillard, *Cornwall and Scilly Urban Survey*, p. 61.

193 Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 151.

194 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 99.

195 *Ibid.*, p. 99.

196 Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, pp. 14–15.



Plate 80 The site, if not the building, of the Liskeard Grammar School (as it appears today).

Source: Photo by the author.

That Worgan may have been employed at the Liskeard Grammar School is pure conjecture; unfortunately, 'where school records did exist, they have over the years completely disappeared'.¹⁹⁷ If not at the Liskeard Grammar School, Worgan may have taught, on occasion, at one of the new private schools that had emerged in the town during the late eighteenth century. These schools taught middle-class boys and girls, providing a wide-ranging curriculum that included subjects such as 'navigation, accounting, advanced arithmetic and good handwriting ... the types of skills that the children of the rising commercial classes would find it useful to acquire'.¹⁹⁸

One such Liskeard school with a fine reputation was the Windsor Academy, located in Golden Bank House on the southward Plymouth Road. In 1820, the school was advertised as being 'at such a convenient distance from Liskeard, as to preclude the contaminations of a town'.¹⁹⁹ The Windsor Academy

197 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 99.

198 R. Jago, 'Some Notes on the Windsor Academy' (Unpublished, 1984). Quoted in Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 152.

199 *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 8 July 1820. Quoted in Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 152.

was a boarding and day school ... The curriculum was wide, including the expected scripture, history, geography, arithmetic, grammar, penmanship, drawing, music and languages (Latin and French). But it also contained a strong scientific, and technical component, offering applied science, technical drawing, building and machine construction, and even 'natural philosophy' (described as astronomy, electricity, acoustics, geology, physiology, botany and physiography).²⁰⁰

The school 'appears to have closed during the 1830s'.²⁰¹

We know that Worgan was employed at one of the five schools that were established in Liskeard during the early nineteenth century specifically to cater for the children of poor, working-class parents. A report written in 1818 on education states: 'many families [in Liskeard] are too poor to educate their children, without the aid of these schools.'²⁰² 'Liskeard's poor were no more numerous than any other Cornish town ... [but] were perhaps more fortunate than some in having a local professional and business class who professed a social conscience.'²⁰³

In 1812 the Central School was opened in Truro, partly to educate children, partly to train teachers for other schools to be set up in other parts of Cornwall.

By 1814 schools had been set up in various parts of Cornwall and over 500 children were being educated. By 1823 the school had trained 11 mistresses and 30 masters, including George Worgan.²⁰⁴

Worgan was recommended for training as a teacher by Reverend Athanasius Laffer, who was for a period headmaster of the Liskeard Grammar School. Worgan was 'to be instructed as a schoolmaster for the Liskeard school'.²⁰⁵

In 1813, a boys' school was set up (using money raised by subscription) under the auspices of the Anglican Church's 'National Society for the education of the children of the poor in accordance with the teaching of the Established Church'.²⁰⁶ The school was located in a house 'accordingly built for the purpose',²⁰⁷ owned by the National Society. The house was 'situated on the "Castle Garden", at

200 Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 152.

201 *Ibid.*, p. 152.

202 Cornwall Record Office, 'FS3/1017: Select Committee on Education of the Poor 1818', in *British Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. 9 (1819), pp. 91–114. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 155.

203 Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 55.

204 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 9.

205 Cornwall Record Office, 'D/CS 1: Minute Book, Truro Central Schools, 1811 Onwards' (Truro: Cornwall Record Office). Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 9.

206 See Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 154.

207 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity*, p. 183.

the corner of the Castle Hill and Castle Street and immediately opposite the castle grounds'.²⁰⁸ The National Society's Boys' School nestled amongst the small houses and cottages near, and downhill from, Liskeard's grammar school. A map dating from 1840 suggests that the school was located on the site that is now occupied by an apartment building (Plate 81).²⁰⁹



Plate 81 The site of the National Society Boys' School, Liskeard (as it appears today).

Source: Photo by the author.

In 1813, George Worgan (at 56 years of age) was employed as headmaster of the newly established boys' school. The school was run,

as all National Society schools were, using 'Dr [Andrew] Bell's [1753–1832] system'. It was a very economical method of teaching as only one master was needed. He taught the older children, who were known as 'monitors', and they in turn repeated the lesson to groups of younger children, all in the same room.²¹⁰

208 Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, pp. 154–5.

209 I am indebted to Daphne James and Jay Johnson of Liskeard for access to the 1840 map.

210 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 9.

The Bell system 'had been used in England since 1811 and was developed as an alternative to that originated by the Quaker, Joseph Lancaster [1778–1838] in 1798 ... Lancaster's schools, run by the nonconformist British and Foreign Bible Society, offered non-denominational religious instruction'. In contrast, religious instruction within the context of the Bell system used 'the Church of England catechism ... The fact that ... religious instruction [could be] non-denominational ... [was] seen as a threat to the Church of England ... the British authorities [decided] to replace the Lancastrian system with that of Bell ... a clear indication that it was determined to guarantee the ascendancy of the Anglican Church'.²¹¹

The curriculum George Worgan taught would have included mathematics; perhaps he made use of William Cockin's (1736–1801) textbook *A Rational and Practical Treatise of Arithmetic*,²¹² 'published in [1766] ... whose exercises caught the imagination and taught practical accounts in a memorable way':²¹³

Suppose a dog, a wolf, and a lion were to devour a sheep, and that the dog could eat up the sheep in an hour, the wolf in $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour and the lion in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour; now if the lion begins to eat $\frac{1}{8}$ of an hour before the other two, and afterwards all three eat together, the question is in what time will the sheep be devoured?

A lad having got 4,000 nuts, in his return was met by Mad-Tom who took from him $\frac{5}{8}$ of $\frac{2}{3}$ of his whole stock: Raving-Ned light upon him afterwards and forced $\frac{2}{5}$ of $\frac{5}{8}$ of the remainder from him: Unluckily Positive-Jack found him, and required $\frac{7}{10}$ of $\frac{17}{20}$ of what he had left: Smiling-Dolly was by promise to have $\frac{3}{4}$ of a quarter of what nuts he brought home: How many had the boy left?²¹⁴

Initially—that is, from 1813—the school flourished; however, it foundered a few years after it opened because of 'the falling off of subscribers as well as scholars'.²¹⁵ Perhaps Liskeard's philanthropists

could be forgiven for suffering from ... donor fatigue ... the satirical author of 'Advice from a Father to a Son' in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1760) suggests

... 'as the mad extravagance of the age is *charity*, and you must meet with frequent temptations, and earnest solicitations, to squander your money

211 Fletcher, 'Religion and Education', p. 87.

212 W. Cockin, *A Rational and Practical Treatise of Arithmetic (in Two Parts). Containing All that is Necessary to be Known in this Art, to which is Added, in the Manner of Notes, the Reason and Demonstration of Every Rule and Operation, as they Occur, on Principles Purely Arithmetical, or Such as Will Easily be Comprehended by a Beginner* (London: W. Nicoll, 1766).

213 Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 137.

214 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 137.

215 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 99.

in that way, I shall, in the first place, give you some instructions in the *art of parrying a charitable subscription*. The want of this necessary art has been a great misfortune to many people I could name you. For besides parting with their money against their will, they got the character of being charitable, which drew upon them fresh applications from other quarters, multiplying by success, and creating endless vexation.'

His answer? First rule, 'to like the charity, but dislike the mode of it'. If that fails, the second rule, 'to like some other charity better' and lastly, 'to insinuate (but without saying it in plain terms) that you either will contribute, or have already contributed handsomely, tho' you do not subscribe.'²¹⁶

During the period between the school's closure and 1833, there was no school in Liskeard 'for boys "of the labouring classes", apart from "a small school for teaching lads to read and write for two or three hours in the winter evenings"'.²¹⁷ 'In 1835 ... the building was subsequently leased as a private school.'²¹⁸

Poor George. By 1820, not only had he failed as a farmer (necessitating that he train and seek employment as a schoolteacher), but also his research (published as *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*)²¹⁹ had been publicly derided—and he had been a crucial part of an unsuccessful educational enterprise (even though the failure was through no fault of his own).

George Worgan, the Church Organist

The notion that Worgan was employed at various times as a church organist²²⁰ in order to supplement his income may be a fantasy. It is unlikely that Worgan was church organist in any parish church in or near Liskeard. This is because the largest and nearest churches—St Martin's, Liskeard and St Petroc's, Bodmin—did not at any time during Worgan's life have organs. In the smaller churches in the Liskeard area (including those nearest to Worgan's farms at Glynn near Bodmin), God may have been praised with unaccompanied congregational singing. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however, 'singing by the congregation was little practised in the Anglican Church, making a band and choir highly desirable'.²²¹

216 Riding, *Mid-Georgian Britain 1740–69*, p. 71.

217 Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 155. Quoting Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity*, p. 184.

218 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 10.

219 Worgan, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*.

220 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. xii.

221 Jordan, 'Music and Civil Society in New South Wales', p. 195.

During the period of Worgan's retirement, St Martin's, Liskeard—one of the largest churches in Cornwall—had a gallery at the western end of the nave containing 'the choir, with violins, 'cellos, flutes, clarinets, bassoons and scorpions [that is, serpents] to make sweet music for the good people of Liskeard'. In 1844, six years after Worgan's death and his subsequent burial at St Martin's, an organ made by the highly respected organ builder James Chapman Bishop (1782–1854) 'placed at the back of the choir gallery did away with the' instrumental ensemble.²²²

That St Martin's had an orchestra to accompany the singing was not unusual for many churches of the time, especially if they were large enough. During the late 1830s, for example, music for the services held in the Wesleyan Methodist Association chapel at Greenbank in Liskeard²²³ was supplied by a fine choir accompanied by 'two cornets, three flutes, two violins and a double bass'.²²⁴ The Wesleyan Methodist Association chapel was opened in June 1838, at which time 'the town was visited by a greater number of persons from Plymouth, Devonport, Callington, Camelford, Lostwithiel, and other places, than had ever been known on any similar occasion'.²²⁵

'Methodism was seen as something of a threat to a quiet and somewhat lazy established [Anglican] church.'²²⁶

'As early as 1833, the vicar of a Cornish parish had lamented that "in a few words, we have lost the people. The religion of the mass[es] is become Wesleyan Methodism."²²⁷

The success of Methodism owed a lot to its blatant poaching of music from secular traditions.

The rowdy singing of psalms and music around the bed of the dying was inherited, less the drink, from popular culture ... in the preaching-house ... they let themselves go; they shouted they wept, they groaned, they not seldom laughed aloud, with a laugh of intense excitement, a wonderful laugh ...

Because it was attuned to popular culture ... Methodism was more successful than the heavy hand of upper- and middle-class [Anglican] Evangelicalism.²²⁸

222 Paynter, *The Parish Church of St. Martin Liskeard*, p. 20. This organ is currently housed in the church of St Ive (pronounced 'ee-v'), a short distance from Liskeard.

223 The Greenbank Chapel was, and still is, located in Green Bank Road (a road leading out of Liskeard, to Callington, in a north-easterly direction).

224 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 64.

225 West Briton, 8 June 1838. Quoted in Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 60.

226 Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 214.

227 J. Rule, *The Labouring Miner in Cornwall, c1740 to 1870*, Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Warwick, 1971), p. 217. Quoted in Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 64.

228 Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c. 1780 – c. 1880*, p. 40.

The Anglican congregation of St Martin's Church had not only an orchestra to accompany their singing, but also a choir. The choir was taken very seriously: in 1800, for example, the churchwardens of St Martin's paid £47 10s (more than nine months' wages) for the singing; in the following year the amount increased to £48 3s 2d.²²⁹ In ensuing years, the amount spent to maintain St Martin's choir was similarly large.²³⁰ There is no evidence that George Worgan was involved with the training of the choir.

Despite Worgan's (presumed) keyboard skills and understanding of music, it seems unlikely that he was ever a church organist in Liskeard, or in any of the churches in Liskeard's outlying villages.

A fleeting literary reference, however, implies that a Mr Worgan may have been heard at some stage playing upon an organ. In 1893, John Brown MD wrote a small pamphlet in which the childhood of a certain Marjorie Fleming was described. Marjorie's birth date is given as '15 January 1803; her death 19 December 1811'.²³¹ In 1809 (at the age of six) Marjorie sang the following words:

[S]he and I in bed lies nice
And undisturbed by rats or mice;
She is disgusted by Mr. Worgan,
Though he plays upon the organ.²³²

Given the year in which Marjorie purportedly sang these lines, the 'Mr Worgan' to whom she refers could be either (and most probably is) George Worgan's famous father, Dr John Worgan (who had died 19 years before, in 1790), or George Bouchier Worgan. Brown gives no explanation as to why 'she' should be disgusted by 'Mr Worgan' (despite the verse's ensuing line, which may be construed to imply that organists are axiomatically virtuous). If the verse refers to George Worgan's father, Dr John Worgan, Marjorie may not have been impressed by the fact that Dr Worgan had divorced his wife Sarah (for infidelity) in 1768 (divorce was uncommon and always scandalous), remarried a few years later, and, following the death of his second wife in 1777, remarried again in 1779 (Dr Worgan's 'morals were blameless').²³³

It is not known if George Bouchier Worgan (having left his piano with Elizabeth Macarthur in 1791) purchased another square piano upon his return to England for use in his retirement. We can only wonder if he managed to maintain his

229 See Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 84.

230 *Ibid.*, p. 84.

231 J. Brown, *Marjorie Fleming: A Sketch being the Paper Entitled 'Pet Marjorie: A Story of Child Life Fifty Years Ago'* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1893), p. 29.

232 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

233 Charles Burney, quoted in Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 131.

technical proficiency—such as it may have been—as a pianist. No evidence has come to light suggesting that Worgan ever played the piano for anyone during the period of his retirement.

After he returned to England, George Worgan ceased contact with Elizabeth Macarthur. He made no inquiries concerning her pianistic progress or the fate of his Beck square piano, and Elizabeth Macarthur does not appear to have attempted to contact Worgan in order to provide him with such information. Worgan's marriage to Mary Lawry, and the commitments associated with raising two sons and a daughter, probably diverted Worgan's attention away from the need to maintain contact with Macarthur. His farming and teaching activities would also have taken up much of his time and energy.

Financial Hardship

In 1828, 'having fallen on hard times, Worgan petitioned the Secretary of State for Colonies to give his [youngest] son John Parsons Worgan, aged about 22 years,²³⁴ employment in New South Wales'.²³⁵

Worgan's financial difficulties arose from his having quitted his farms 'with considerable loss'.²³⁶ The payment of rent, taxes and the leases of his farms had certainly been a burdensome part of Worgan's rural life. In chapters two, four and 16 of his *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*, Worgan's comments expose not only his own plight, but also that of many farmers:

Entailed Estates.—I was in hopes that I had been a singular sufferer in Cornwall, from this kind of deceptive tenure; it would then not have been worthy of notice; but in my excursions through the county, I have met with fellow-sufferers, and with others who are likely to become so. As such cases have occurred, and may occur again, it behoves every man, who is about to occupy a farm for a terra by lease, to make enquiry whether it be an entailed estate or not; because the possessor [the landlord] having the power of letting [a farm to a renter] for his own life only [that is, only for the period of the landlord's life]; in case of his [the landlord's] death, the occupier [the renter] is left entirely at the mercy of his [the landlord's] successor ...²³⁷

234 Based on John's date of baptism (12 March 1805), he would have been 23 years old. See 'Birth Certificate of John Parsons Worgan'.

235 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. xii.

236 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity*, p. 526.

237 'Tenures', in Worgan, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*, Chapter 2, p. 22.

Taxes were formerly generally paid by the landlord, but of late years, the tenant is usually bound to pay all taxes and assessments, the land tax often excepted. The tithes are almost every where considered as a tenant's tax ...²³⁸

Of late, some proprietors, or rather, perhaps, their stewards, in order to obtain a certain clear rent, have thrown the whole burthen, both of taxes and repairs, upon the tenant.²³⁹

Furthermore, the 'assessment of the annual value of lands ... subjects the industrious farmer to a varied and increasing taxation upon his improvements. And however politic it may be, as a measure of finance, it operates specially on the efforts of the ... renter'.²⁴⁰

It seems that the ways of a compassionless world rife with opportunism raged against George Worgan the humble farmer.

In Europe during the eighteenth century, levels of taxation steadily increased 'as armies and fleets grew bigger and as governments increased their commitment to education'.²⁴¹ Although British governments did not

spend on education, Britain shared in the general trend ... whereas national income doubled between 1700 and 1790, [taxation] revenue per capita increased more than two and a half times. In 1700, the government was taking some 9.1% of the national income, but by 1790 it had risen to 15.0%.²⁴²

Even though taxes were minimal compared with modern rates of taxation,

it was considered iniquitous to have to pay any at all. Britain was actually the first country in Europe to enact income tax: in 1799 the government, desperate for money to pay the armed forces, imposed a personal levy of two shillings in the pound on all incomes in excess of £200 a year. A descending scale of rates was applied to lower incomes, with exemption below £60 p.a.²⁴³

George Worgan was well acquainted with financial precariousness, and his anxieties would have been compounded by the burden of taxation.

Indirect taxation most affected the working and middle classes. Even the necessities of life were taxed ... indirect taxation ... cost the average

238 Ibid., 'Mode of Occupation, Section 2: Rent', Chapter 4, p. 32.

239 Ibid., Section 5, Chapter 4, p. 36.

240 Ibid., Chapter 16, p. 178.

241 Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, p. 142.

242 Ibid., p. 142.

243 Murray, *An Elegant Madness*, p. 86.

labourer half his yearly income ... based on a yearly income of £22 10s ... [there were] taxes on malt (by far the highest, at £4 11s 3d), sugar, tea and coffee (regarded as luxuries, and taxed accordingly at £1 4s), soap, housing, clothes and even food (£3).

The window tax was another great cause of complaint, particularly, of course, amongst the landlords who owned whole villages as well as their various mansions ... In 1784 the tax on a house with ten windows was more than doubled, from 11s 4d to £1 4s 4d and by 1808 it had risen to £2 16s: a house with thirty windows paid £19 12s 6d annually, with corresponding rises according to the number of windows ... It was thus an obvious economy to block up some of the windows, so people began to live and sleep in rooms which had neither natural light nor air, with inevitable results for the health of the community. This was not, however, a consideration which was obvious at the time since most people, including doctors, regarded fresh air as lethal.²⁴⁴

Because disease was rife in the cities, one could say that, to a certain extent, fresh air was indeed lethal.

In England during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the profusion of taxes made life a misery. The English clergyman, critic and philosopher Sydney Smith (1771–1845) summed up the experience:

[E]very article which enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the foot—taxes upon everything which is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell or taste—taxes upon warmth, light and locomotion—taxes upon everything on earth, and the waters under the earth—or everything that comes from abroad, or is grown at home—taxes on the raw material—taxes on every fresh value that is added to it by the industry of man—taxes on the sauce which pampers man's appetite, and the drug that restores him to health—on the ermine which decorates the judge and the rope that hangs the criminal—on the poor man's salt and the rich man's spice—on the brass nails of the coffin, and the ribands of the bride—at bed or board, couchant or levant, we must pay:—The schoolboy whips his taxed top—the beardless youth manages his taxed horse, with a taxed bridle on a taxed road:—and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine which has paid 7 per cent., into a spoon that has paid 15 per cent.—flings himself back on his chintz-bed which has paid 22 per cent.—makes his will on an eight pound stamp, and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a license of an hundred pounds for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then

244 Ibid., p. 87.

immediately taxed from 2 to 10 per cent. Besides the probate, large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel; his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble; and he is then gathered to his fathers,—to be taxed no more.²⁴⁵

Ironically, despite the fact that during the first decade of the nineteenth century England was taxed to the hilt to pay for war with France, the English middle class slavishly followed Parisian fashion. As early as 1766, the English author Tobias Smollett (1721–71), in his *Travels through France and Italy*, observed:

The French, however, with all their absurdities, preserve a certain ascendancy over us, which is very disgraceful to our nation; and this appears in nothing more than in the article of dress. We are contented to be thought their apes in fashion; but, in fact, we are slaves to their tailors, mantua-makers [dressmakers], barbers, and other tradesmen.²⁴⁶

Many English aristocratic women were also devoted to French fashion. For example, on Friday, 2 January 1750, Lady Jane Coke (1706–61) wrote: 'As for fashions, according to English custom we follow the French Ambassadors.'²⁴⁷ The French ambassador Madame de Mirepoix 'was a leader of fashion, and one of the principal ladies of society during her husband's term of appointment' in London.²⁴⁸ In England, 'fashion had remained static for decades or more'. During the mid-eighteenth century, however, 'it grew possible to identify specific styles for every passing year ... in 1753 purple was in vogue for women, in 1754, it was the turn of white linen with a pink pattern and in 1755 of dove grey'.²⁴⁹

An observation made by the English physician John Bulwer (1606–56) in 1653 was still pertinent 100 years on in relation to the English aristocracy and middle class:

Our English ladies, who seeme to have borrowed some of their cosmeticall conceits from barbarous nations, are seldome known to be content with

245 S. Smith, 'ART. III. Statistical Annals of the United States of America. By Adam Seybert. 4to. Philadelphia, 1818', in *The Edinburgh Review: Or Critical Journal: For Jan. 1820 ... May 1820* (Edinburgh and London: Archibald Constable & Co. and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1820), Vol. 33, pp. 77–8.

246 Riding, *Mid-Georgian Britain 1740–69*, p. 45.

247 'Letter from Lady Jane Coke to Mary Eyre, 2 January 1750', in A. Rathbone (ed.), *Letters from Lady Jane Coke to Her Friend Mrs. Eyre at Derby 1747–1758* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1899), p. 43. Quoted in Tague, *Women of Quality*, p. 143.

248 *Ibid.*, p. 34. Whilst in Paris, the English politician, art historian and man of letters Horace Walpole wrote of Madame Mirepoix: 'Madame de Mirepoix ... has read, but seldom shows it, and has perfect taste. Her manner is cold, but very civil; ... Nobody in France knows the world better, and nobody is personally so well with the King. She is false, artful, and insinuating beyond measure when it is her interest, but indolent and a coward. She never had any passion but gaming, and always loses. For ever paying court, the sole produce of a life of art is to get money from the King to carry on a course of paying debts or contracting new ones, which she discharges as fast as she is able.' C. D. Yonge (ed.), *Letters of Horace Walpole Volume II* (London: T. Fischer Unwin, 1890), Letter 91.

249 A. de Botton, *Status Anxiety* (Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin Books, 2005), p. 35.

a face of gods making: for they are either adding, detracting, or altering continually, having many focusses in readiness for the same purpose. Sometimes they think they have too much colour, then they use art to make them look pale and faire. Now they have too little colour, then Spanish paper, red leather, or other cosmeticall rubriques must be had. Yet for all this, it may be, the skins of their faces do not please them.²⁵⁰

For George Worgan, the payment of farm leases would have represented yet another drain on his finances. Worgan informs us that farm leases 'are mostly held for terms of fourteen years, a few for twenty-one years, and still fewer for seven'.²⁵¹ A new single lease usually cost 14–18 years' rent. The renewal of an existing lease usually cost three years' rent (depending on the estate policy).²⁵² Worgan took up his first leases ca 1800.²⁵³ It is probable that the cost of renewing the leases, combined with land taxes, acted as a catalyst for Worgan's financial hardship.

Worgan's landlord at the farm in Bray was Philip Wynell-Mayow (1771–1844), a man who, according to his obituary,

was very charitable and benevolent, and on several occasions ... [was] known, when a needy offender against the revenue laws had been committed to gaol in default of payment of penalties imposed, out of his own resources to become a private donor to the family thus deprived of their ordinary means of support.²⁵⁴

It appears, however, that Wynell-Mayow's benevolence did not extend to George Worgan.²⁵⁵

It is reasonable to assume that Worgan experienced financial difficulties from at least the time of the first publication of his *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall* in 1811 (if not from the time that he finished writing the report in 1808), after which he 'turned school-master'.²⁵⁶

250 J. Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd, or the Artificial Changeling. Historically Presented, in the Mad and Cruel Gallantry, Foolish Bravery, Ridiculous Beauty, Filthy Fineness, and Loathesome Loveliness of Most Nations, Fashioning & Altering their Bodies from the Mould Intended by Nature. With a Vindication of the Regular Beauty and Honesty of Nature, and an Appendix of the Pedigree of the English Gallant* (London: J. Hardesty, 1653). Quoted in J. S. Cox, *Hair and Beauty Secrets of the 17th Century with a 17th C. Conversation between a Periwig-Maker and a Gentleman Buying a Periwig* (Guernsey: Toucan Press, 1971), p. 2.

251 'Mode of Occupation, Section 5: Leases' in Worgan, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall Drawn Up and Published by Order of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement*, Chapter 4.

252 See Menneer, 'George Worgan', p. 13.

253 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. xi.

254 S. Urban, 'Obituary', in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (London: John Bower Nicols & Son, 1845), (NS), Vol. 23 (March), p. 316.

255 See 'George Worgan, the Published Author', above.

256 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 99.

In June 1822, Worgan's address in Liskeard is given as Dean Street (Plate 82).²⁵⁷ Eight years later, in 1830, *Pigot & Co.'s National Commercial Directory* identifies George Worgan as one of Liskeard's 'gentry', and lists his address in Liskeard as West Street,²⁵⁸ a road on the northern fringes of Liskeard, leading out of the town in a north-westerly direction (Plate 83).²⁵⁹ If Worgan was employed as a schoolteacher during the 1820s, it is likely that he would have been provided with accommodation as part of his employment. That there are no records regarding his payment of rent is the expected consequence.

That in 1828 Worgan petitioned the Secretary of State for Colonies to employ his youngest son in New South Wales²⁶⁰ suggests a failing financial context. It also reveals a loving, fatherly concern for the personal fulfilment and welfare of one of his children. Worgan's actions expose the fortitude that was a necessity for those who had 'embarked on the parental course'. For, as a parent, Worgan watched 'the unfathomable waters of providence lapping ominously and relentlessly at [his] ... undefended feet'.²⁶¹



Plate 82 Dean Street, Liskeard (as it appears today).

Source: Photo by the author.

257 Cornwall Council, 'Copy of Release, Liskeard, 21 June 1822', in *X793 Pethybridge Collection*, Ref. no. X793/205 (Truro: Cornwall Council, 1822).

258 Pigot, 'Liskeard, Cornwall', p. 149.

259 Worgan lived in one of the houses that spread along West Street as far as the present Westbourne car park.

260 See Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. xii.

261 Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 125.



Plate 83 West Street, Liskeard (as it appears today).

Source: Photo by the author.

Wadeland House

In 1836 Worgan built 'Wadeland House' on New Road,²⁶² a recently constructed road leading out of Liskeard, to Bodmin, in a westerly direction.²⁶³ Worgan's Wadeland House was situated 20 metres from the northern side of New Road, approximately 0.5 kilometres from the town centre. Four years before, 'the Liskeard-Looe Canal Company had cut the New Road [and footpath] from Moorswater into the town, saving the steep and hazardous descent'²⁶⁴ through Lady Park Wood²⁶⁵ to Moorswater (approximately 2 kilometres away) 'by the

²⁶² Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity*, p. 452.

²⁶³ On 15 November 1993, Wadeland House was listed as a Grade II English Heritage Building (ID 382226).

²⁶⁴ Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 4; and Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity*, p. 382.

²⁶⁵ 'Ladye Park, Cornwall, was in Medieval times a great place of Christian Pilgrimage. The shrine and chapel of Our Ladye of the Park was dissolved at the reformation.' 'Ladye Park or Our Lady in the Park Liskeard—Cornwall', (2001, last updated 2 May 2009).

Old Road'.²⁶⁶ In 1825, 'the building of the Looe to Liskeard Canal ... eased the transportation of coal from South Wales for use in the town, and the lime and seasand required by the surrounding farmers to fertilize the land'.²⁶⁷

A tithe map of 1840 reveals that two vacant blocks separated Wadeland House from the nearest houses; these houses, on Dean Street, defined the western outskirts of the town.²⁶⁸ For the Worgans at their idyllic Wadeland House, 'the countryside was never too far away';²⁶⁹ this is especially so because Wadeland House was part of a farm, comprising several acres of farmland behind and to the side of the building.

That Worgan had Wadeland House built in 1836 is both surprising and remarkable. Not only was Worgan 79 years old at the time, but also the enterprise would have cost him a considerable amount of money. Approximately '£300 was considered the cost of building such a house';²⁷⁰ this was the equivalent of a prosperous tradesman's yearly income. It is not clear where Worgan obtained the money to build Wadeland House. (Could it perhaps have been money inherited following the death of his wife's parents?) In 1828, eight years prior to the construction of Wadeland House, Worgan's youngest son, John Parsons, had immigrated to New South Wales. Five years later, in 1833, his eldest son, George William, may also have left Liskeard, in a somewhat fraught state of mind, for London.²⁷¹ Ensuing contexts may have allowed Worgan to enjoy some relief from financial pressure; such contexts, combined with what appears to have been Worgan's frugality during the period(s) of his employment as a schoolteacher, suggest that he exercised the financial prudence necessary for saving enough money to pay for the building project.

Worgan's use of his resources to build Wadeland House strongly suggests that by 1836, not only was he committed to being a permanent part of Liskeard's citizenry, but also (apart from seeking to provide generously for his wife) he was looking forward to spending his final years in security and comfort. Certainly, Worgan's involvement in the building of Wadeland House would have kept him active in his advanced old age.

Wadeland House still exists, and in many respects remains unaltered since Worgan built it. The current owners are aware of the historical significance of their family home, and have made of it a haven of love and hospitality. Wadeland House comprises a two-storey building (Plate 84), with an attached service cottage (Plate 85), and a separate privy at the rear (Plate 86);²⁷² the privy's nine-pane casement is original.

266 Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 4; and Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity*, p. 382.

267 Gillard, *Cornwall and Scilly Urban Survey*, p. 20.

268 See Deacon, *Liskeard & Its People in the 19th Century*, p. 3.

269 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

270 Pocock, 'History Abounds in Society's New Home', p. 27.

271 See 'Whispers and Rumours: Who Was Charles Parsons Worgan?', in Chapter 12, this volume.

272 The following description of the house and service cottage is based on (and includes quotations taken from) 'Listing Text', in *British Listed Buildings, History in Structure: Daniel's Cottage, Attached Walls and Earth Closet, Liskeard* (n.d.).



Plate 84 Wadeland House (as it appears today).

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 85 The service cottage attached to Wadeland House: in the foreground, a single-room pantry wing extends at the back of the house.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 86 The separate privy at the rear of Wadeland House.

Source: Photo by the author.

At the back of the house, a north-facing single-room pantry wing extends behind the kitchen (Plate 87). The pantry wing has a dry-slate roof. The pantry's orientation, and the fact that the room is in part below ground level, helps to keep it cool, thereby enhancing its function as a storage facility geared to the preservation of food.

The front and sides of the house are made of incised stucco on rubble. In typical Cornish fashion, the hipped tile roof (Plate 88), with projecting eaves at the front (Plate 89), sweeps lower at the rear (Plate 90) than at the front. The original roof was replaced in 1968.

Some of the cast-iron gutters have an ogee decorative profile. Originally, there were two brick chimney stacks; there are now three (Plate 90).



Plate 87 Wadeland House: at the back of the house, a single-room pantry wing extends behind the kitchen.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 88 Wadeland House: the hipped concrete-tile roof.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 89 Wadeland House: projecting eaves at the front.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 90 Wadeland House: in typical Cornish fashion, the roof sweeps lower at the rear than at the front.

Source: Photo by the author.

The windows of the symmetrical three-window front (Plate 91) still have their original small-horned sashes and glazing bars (Plate 92).

The central doorway has its original four-panel door. At some stage after it was originally installed, the door's two top panels were glazed; recently, stained-glass panels have replaced the glazing (Plate 93). The vertical section of the wall lying between the doorframe and the outer wall is panelled, as is the soffit (Plate 94).

Entrance to the central doorway is via a distyle Roman Doric porch (Plate 95). The porch suggests the facade of a nobleman's country seat.²⁷³ Each of the porch's plain columns has a moulded base and a Doric frieze to the entablature (Plate 96). The two front pillars were recently replaced. Those nearest the doorway are original.

273 See L. James, *The Middle Class: A History* (London: Little, Brown, 2006), p. 174.



Plate 91 Wadland House: symmetrical three-window front.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 92 Wadland House: original small-horned sashes and glazing bars.

Source: Photo by the author.



**Left: Plate 93 Wadeland House: original four-panel central doorway.
Right: Plate 94 Wadeland House: original panelling of the left-hand vertical section of the wall lying between the doorframe and the outer wall.**

Source: Photos by the author.



Left: Plate 95 Wadeland House: distyle Roman Doric porch.
Right: Plate 96 Wadeland House: each of the porch's plain columns has a moulded base and a Doric frieze to the entablature.

Source: Photos by the author.

The front rooms and entrance hallway are imposing and elegantly proportioned. The dimensions of the rooms at the back of the house are much more modest. It is reasonable to assume that limitations on Worgan's finances precluded him from making every room in the house an imposing one.

The interior of the house has many of its original features, including

1. the bell-pull and bell for the central doorway (Plate 97)
2. bell-pull (lever) mechanism for the ground floor right-hand front (drawing) room (Plates 98–100)
3. moulded plaster ceiling cornices (Plates 99–101)
4. internal window shutters (Plates 102 and 103)

5. rear niches and cupboards in the right-hand front (drawing) room
6. the open-well stair (Plate 104) with an exquisitely comfortable mahogany handrail scrolled over the newel post (Plates 105 and 106)
7. the laterally sliding pantry window (Plate 107).



Left: Plate 97 Wadland House: the original exterior bell-pull—located adjacent and to the left of the central doorway.

Right: Plate 98 Wadland House: the original bell-pull (lever)—located at the right-hand edge of the left-hand rear niche in the ground-floor right-hand front (drawing) room (detail).

Source: Photos by the author.



Plate 99 Wadeland House: original moulded plaster ceiling cornices in the ground-floor right-hand front (drawing) room—the bell-pull mechanism follows the right-hand exterior edge of the left-hand rear niche, and the lower edge of the cornice above the left-hand rear niche (detail).

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 100 Wadeland House: original moulded plaster ceiling cornices comprising the right-hand rear corner of the ground-floor central entrance hallway (detail)—the original servant's bell is operated via a bell-pull (lever) located in the ground-floor right-hand front (drawing) room.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 101 Wadeland House: top-floor original moulded plaster cornice (detail).

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 102 Wadeland House: original internal window shutters (right-hand, half-closed) in the left-hand ground-floor front room (detail).



Plate 103 Wadeland House: original internal window shutters (closed) in the left-hand ground-floor front room (detail).

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 104 Wadeland House: the original open-well stair.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 105 Wadeland House: the original mahogany handrail, scrolled over the newel post (detail).

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 106 Wadeland House: the original mahogany handrail, scrolled over the newel post (detail).

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 107 Wadeland House: the original laterally sliding pantry window (detail)—a freshly cooked pie, for example, could be placed on a shelf underneath the window, with the sliding window open to aid cooling. Vertical metal bars on the inside of the window prevent the pie from being stolen when the sliding window is open.

Source: Photo by the author.

The Service Cottage

The attached single-room two-storey rubble service cottage has a dry-slate roof, with a rubble and brick lateral chimney stack (Plate 108).

The ground floor of the cottage contains one original window, incorporating a twentieth-century sash. Plate 109 shows the original slate sill at the bottom of this window.

The slate ground floor is original (Plate 110). In Worgan's day, the ground floor was used for many purposes, and may sometimes even have housed animals.

The first floor originally comprised two chambers (it is now a single room), and functioned as servants' accommodation. Access to the servants' quarters was

via an external doorway approached by a flight of stone steps (Plate 111). The stairway still has its original iron balustrade (Plates 111 and 112). The four-pane horned sash window at the left of the doorway is also original (Plate 111).

A privy was located a short distance from the service cottage (Plate 86).

The front gate piers and screen walls of the street entrance to Wadeland House are probably original. They comprise 'coursed slatestone rubble with slate copings. The square-on plan gate piers [and end piers] flank cyma-on-plan screen walls' (Plates 113 and 114).²⁷⁴



Plate 108 Wadeland House: attached service cottage—the cottage has a dry-slate roof with a rubble and brick lateral chimney stack.

Source: Photo by the author.

274 'Images of England, Number 382226', in *English Heritage National Monuments Record* (n.d.).



Plate 109 Wadeland House: attached service cottage—the original ground-floor window’s slate windowsill.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 110 Wadeland House: attached service cottage—original slate ground floor (detail).

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 111 Wadland House: attached service cottage—access to the first-floor servants' quarters is via an external doorway approached by a flight of stone steps. The iron balustrade is original.

Source: Photo by the author.

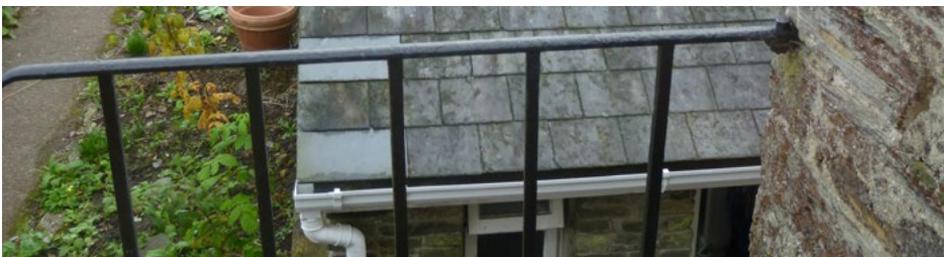


Plate 112 Wadland House: attached service cottage—the external stairway's original iron balustrade (detail).

Photo by the author.



Plate 113 Wadeland House: original front gate piers and screen walls.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 114 Wadeland House: original right-hand front gate pier and screen wall (detail).

Source: Photo by the author.

A well is located at the back of the house. A feed pipe connects the well to a pump, which would have been operated by a servant. The pump feeds water through a channel located in the back wall up to a tank in the ceiling. Using gravity to create pressure, stored water from the tank was available inside the house. Such a luxury feature was rare in 1836, and is suggestive not only of George Worgan's fascination for design innovation and invention,²⁷⁵ but also his liking for creature comforts.

275 See 'George Worgan, the Inventor', above.

Chapter 12

George Worgan's Youngest Son, John Parsons, Immigrates to Sydney

During his final years in Wadeland House, George Worgan may, on occasion, have reflected upon his life's journey, filled as it had been with excitement, adventure and more than a fair share of tribulation. As fate would have it, the life paths of his two sons were also destined to lead in unexpected, testing directions.

In 1828, Worgan petitioned the Secretary of State for the Colonies to provide his youngest son, John Parsons, with employment in New South Wales.¹ He explained 'that he "had fallen on hard times" ([Worgan] ... was by then 71 and must surely have given up teaching)'.² Fortunately, his heartfelt request met with a sympathetic response from the authorities.

On Monday, 23 February 1830, the brig *Elizabeth* arrived at Hobart Town, having departed from Plymouth on Tuesday, 8 September 1829. The *Elizabeth* carried 'cargo principally for New South Wales',³ as well as passengers travelling to Sydney. The Hobart Town *Courier* lists one of these passengers as 'Worgan'.⁴ Was this George Worgan's youngest son, John Parsons? (While this is likely, it is by no means certain.)

John Parsons (?) Worgan's arrival at Hobart Town may have been attended by an event similar to that experienced eight years earlier (on Saturday, 12 January 1822) by a servant, John Brown (fl. 1821–32), of the Scott family. Having sailed from England to Hobart Town on HMS *Britomart*, Brown wrote:

[A]t 6 O'clock in the evening we came to anchor at Hobart Town which is the principle settlement of Van Deimans Land, we were soon surrounded with canoes full of natives both men and women with fish and oysters which they sold for biscuit, they are of a dark chocolate colour well made with woolley heads the only clothing they wear is a belt round their middle made of hair, which serves them for a kind of pocket for if anything is given them they put it inside the belt.⁵

1 See Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. xii.

2 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 10. That Worgan was experiencing financial difficulties in 1828 makes his ability to fund the building of Wadeland House only eight years later all the more inexplicable.

3 *The Courier*, 27 February 1830, Vol. 3, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

4 *Ibid.*

5 J. Brown (attrib.), *Anonymous Diary by a Servant of the Scott Family, 8 Aug. 1821–Mar. 1824 (written after 1825), with Notes, 1832* (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures, ca 1825), Image 17 (No. a2852017).

The *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Saturday, 30 April 1830 identifies the brig *Elizabeth*—upon which ‘Worgan’ had travelled from Plymouth to Hobart Town—as being one of the ships expected in Sydney.⁶ The *Elizabeth* arrived that same day, carrying 11 male convicts⁷ and 28 other passengers. (The *Sydney Shipping Arrivals Register* dated 30 April 1830⁸ records that the *Elizabeth* had departed from ‘London and Hobart Town [on, respectively] 8th September [1829 and] 8th April [1830]’.)⁹ The *Sydney Shipping Arrivals Register* dated Tuesday, 30 April 1830 lists one of the passengers on board the *Elizabeth* as ‘Mr. Wm Worgan’, whose ‘Profession, trade, or calling’ is described as ‘settler’.¹⁰

Was this George Bouchier Worgan’s youngest son, John Parsons, and if so, why is he listed as ‘William’? Perhaps a clerical error was made (three other passengers on board the *Elizabeth* were also called William). Shipping arrivals information published in the Sydney press eight years later suggests that this ‘Mr. Wm Worgan’ was not George Bouchier Worgan’s eldest son, George William (who arrived in Sydney eight years after ‘Mr. Wm Worgan’, on Friday, 3 August 1838).¹¹ No other person with the surname Worgan is listed as having arrived in Sydney either during the 1820s or in the year of ‘Mr. Wm’ Worgan’s (John Parsons?) arrival (in 1830).

As John Parsons Worgan sailed through the Heads into Sydney Harbour, his first impressions may have been similar to those expressed by the artist Conrad Martens (1801–78), who, in his journal entry dated Thursday, 9 April 1835, wrote:

The appearance when off the heads of Port Jackson is that of a wild and ironbound coast and the entrance that of a gigantic gateway.¹² But the scene changes immediately upon entering to the calm and beautiful, islands bays and headlands ... covered with wood ... and after passing a

6 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 3 April 1830, Vol. 28, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

7 ‘1830: Convict Ship Arrivals—1830’, in *Convict Stockade: A Wiki Site for Australian Convict Researchers* (n.d.). ‘The National Archives has recently published online the logbooks of the surgeons who ministered to the transported convicts on their voyages to New South Wales.’ (The logbooks can be accessed at www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/surgeonsatsea) During the early 1830s, life below decks for a convict commonly included ‘squalor, deprivation and disease’. S. Pocock, ‘A Voyage with the Sick and Dying’, in *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 142 (December) (Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society, 2011), pp. 34–5.

8 The register of shipping arrivals was instituted by Governor Phillip in 1799.

9 Ancestry.com.au; ‘New South Wales, Australia, Unassisted Immigrant Passenger Lists, 1826–1922, Original Data: Inward Passenger Lists’ (Kingswood, NSW: State Records Authority of New South Wales), Series 13278, Reels 399–560, 2001–122, 2751; ‘Reports of Vessels Arrived (or Shipping reports)’ (Kingswood, NSW: State Records Authority of New South Wales), Series 1291, Reels 1263–85, 2851.

10 *Ibid.* Of the 28 passengers listed, Worgan appears as the twentieth.

11 See ‘Shipping Intelligence Arrivals’, *The Sydney Herald*, 6 August 1838, Vol. 8, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

12 A watercolour drawing entitled *Sydney Heads* by Augustus Earle (1793–1838), dated ca 1826, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. PXC 284; Album ID 824681; Digital order no. a709031).

point about 2 miles within the entrance, the town of Sydney is seen tho' at a distance of 5 or 6 miles and still further the faint outline of the blue mountains in the interior.¹³

About four months after John Parsons arrived in Sydney, he began steady employment; between Monday, 13 September 1830 and Saturday, 13 August 1836—that is between his 25th and 31st years—John Parsons was clerk to the Bench of Magistrates at Hyde Park Barracks in Sydney.¹⁴

John Parsons, His Father's Journal and Dr John Lhotsky

The naturalist Dr John Lhotsky (1795?–1866?), in his book *A Journey from Sydney to the Australian Alps*,¹⁵ testifies to the presence of John Parsons in Sydney:

Amongst a collection relating to the history of New South Wales—a collection which I am daily increasing, I possess a very valuable manuscript in 2 vols. under the following title; 'An account of the first Colonization of New South Wales—also, of that part of the Country colonised, its inhabitants, &c. &c., in a series of letters to a friend, by G. B. Worgan, Esq., surgeon in His Majesty's Ship Sirius.' This manuscript communicated to me by the son of the author, (Mr. John P. Worgan,) will, when published, afford much information, and complete the—as it were, primordial narratives of Captains Phillips, Hunter, Collins, &c.¹⁶

Dr Lhotsky arrived in Sydney from Brazil in 1832. He subsequently left Sydney for Hobart Town in October 1836, departing from there in April 1838 for London on board the *Emu*.¹⁷ It is reasonable to assume that Lhotsky met

13 C. Martens, *Journal of a Voyage on Board H.M.S. Hyacinth Commenced May. 19. 1833* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures, 1833–35), Images 123 (No. a1090124) and 124 (a1090125). A watercolour drawing entitled *A View of Sydney N. S. Wales on Entering the Heads the Distance of Seven Miles*, attributed to George William Evans (1780–1852), dated 1809?, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. PXC 388; Album ID 823548; Digital order no. a1313026).

14 See Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. xii. Details concerning the period and place of John Parsons Worgan's employment are found in the 'Introduction'. The anonymous author of the introduction provides no sources for the information. A hand-coloured lithograph depicting Hyde Park Barracks by John Gardner Austin (?–1842), dated 1836, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. PXC 581; Album ID 861838; Digital order no. a2398013).

15 J. Lhotsky, *A Journey from Sydney to the Australian Alps, Undertaken in the Months of January, February, and March, 1834: Being an Account of the Geographical & Natural Relation of the Country Traversed, its Aborigines, &c. Together with Some General Information Respecting the Colony of New South Wales* (Sydney: n.p., 1835).

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13, fn. †.

17 See G. P. Whitley, 'Lhotsky, John (1795–1866)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1967], Vol. 2.

John Parsons Worgan in Sydney between 1832 (the year of Lhotsky's arrival in Sydney) and 1835 (the year of publication of Lhotsky's *A Journey from Sydney to the Australian Alps*, in which he mentions 'John P. Worgan').

It is logical to speculate that in 1830, John Parsons brought a version of his father's journal with him to Sydney. In the extant version of George Bouchier Worgan's journal (which takes the form of a long letter to his younger brother Richard), Worgan refers to two other versions of his journal: 1) his 'rough journal';¹⁸ and 2) a 'fuller and more accurate'¹⁹ version.

The whereabouts of these two versions is unknown. Could it be that either the 'rough' or the 'fuller & more accurate' version of George Bouchier Worgan's journal has been lost because it was brought to Sydney by John Parsons?

It is reasonable to suppose that it was the fuller and more accurate version that John Parsons brought to Sydney. George Worgan's journal was housed in Dr Lhotsky's 'collection relating to the history of New South Wales'.²⁰ Lhotsky writes that Worgan's journal was 'communicated to me by the son of the author, (Mr. John P. Worgan)'.²¹ From a twenty-first-century perspective, it is not clear exactly what Lhotsky means when he uses the word 'communicated'. During the early nineteenth century, an archaic meaning associated with the word was 'to give'. Although this meaning was virtually obsolete by the time Lhotsky used the word 'communicated' in his book *A Journey from Sydney to the Australian Alps*, it is likely that he intended the reader to understand the following: 'a very valuable Manuscript [that is, George Worgan's journal was] ... communicated [that is, given] to me by the son of the author, (Mr. John P. Worgan)'.²²

Did Lhotsky regard Worgan's journal as being 'very valuable' because the document was the original manuscript? This is probable. In the extant version of George Bouchier Worgan's journal, the second-last paragraph includes the following words: 'I am keeping by me an account of the voyage &c. &c. in a series of letters ... They are something fuller & more accurate than this.'²³ The title of Worgan's journal in Lhotsky's possession included the following words: 'An account ... in a series of letters.'²⁴ Both the 'account' that George Bouchier Worgan admitted to 'keeping by' him (which he took home to England from Sydney Cove in 1791) and the manuscript in Lhotsky's possession were each described as being in the form of a 'series of letters'. There can be little doubt that these two descriptions apply to one and the same document.

18 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 26.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

20 Lhotsky, *A Journey from Sydney to the Australian Alps*, p. 12, fn. †.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 13, fn.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13, fn. †.

23 Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan*, p. 58.

24 Lhotsky, *A Journey from Sydney to the Australian Alps*, p. 13, fn.

George Bouchier's admission that the version of his journal appearing as 'a series of letters' is fuller and more accurate than any other version enables us to posit that it was this version of his father's journal that John Parsons Worgan brought to Sydney, where, some time between 1832 and 1835, he gave it to Dr Lhotsky. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, one assumes that John Parsons brought the journal to Sydney with his father's blessing.

Dr Lhotsky writes that George Bouchier Worgan's journal 'will, when published, afford much information'.²⁵ Perhaps Lhotsky intended to publish the manuscript. It seems, however, that much of Lhotsky's time was spent not only giving public lectures, but also writing newspaper articles (which 'are too numerous to list'),²⁶ tracts, pamphlets and contributions to scientific, literary and political journals.²⁷ These activities, as well as financial considerations, may have diverted Lhotsky away from the task of publishing Worgan's journal (the version of George Bouchier's journal in Lhotsky's possession was never published).

Prior to Lhotsky's departure from Hobart Town for London in 1838, he found himself burdened by increasing levels of debt. On Tuesday, 3 April 1838, the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* reported: 'Our old acquaintance Dr. Lhotsky has not left Van Dieman's Land yet. The Dr. carries on in Hobart Town the same game he practised in Sydney during his four years residence here, getting into debt to every one that will allow him, and libelling such as refuse.'²⁸

In order to quit his debts before he departed from Hobart Town, Lhotsky's 'collection of natural history ... was put up for ... sale'.²⁹ On Monday, 5 February 1838, *The Sydney Herald* reported that the 'Mechanic's Institution' had purchased Lhotsky's collection for '£20, payable ten days after the sailing of the vessel which is to convey the Doctor from [Tasmanian] ... shores. This is one way of getting rid of a trouble-some customer.'³⁰

It is not known if George Bouchier's journal was included in the sale. If it was, perhaps the 'fuller & more accurate' version of Worgan's journal sits somewhere in Tasmania, awaiting discovery. The journal currently rests in the wallet in which time puts alms for oblivion.³¹

25 Ibid., p. 13, fn.

26 Whitley, 'Lhotsky, John (1795–1866)'.

27 See *ibid.*

28 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 3 April 1838, Vol. 36, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

29 Whitley, 'Lhotsky, John (1795–1866)'.

30 'Van Diemen's Land News', *The Sydney Herald*, 5 February 1838, Vol. 8, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

31 See O. H. White, 'The Letters of William Collins', in *Review of English Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927), Vol. os-III, No. 9 (January), p. 12.

In Hobart Town, Dr Lhotsky's farewell lecture, entitled 'Science, Education, and Civilisation', produced a passionate response from those citizens of the Apple Isle³² who were fortunate enough to attend. On Wednesday, 21 March 1838, *The Colonist* described the event:

[M]any of the auditory, inspired no doubt by the subject, began to show the effects of the lecture on Civilization and Education, by projecting with considerable force several globular pieces of the *pyrus malus* from different parts of the theatre towards the centre of the stage; or, in vulgar language, they began to throw apples at the lecturer; whereat, the learned gentleman, (like a second Newton,) as the apples fell about him, paused—doubtless to reflect upon the cause of their gravitation towards the centre: nor was his philosophical mind long in discovering the true cause, of which, as soon as he had apparently satisfied himself, he thanked the audience for the honour which they had done him, in listening so attentively to his remarks, and some what abruptly made his bow and his exit. During the performance ... two trap-doors upon the stage were opened, and two demons, with forks and flaming torches, ascended—rushed about for a short period—and then descended. This exhibition, for which we were unprepared, we have since been informed, was to be understood allegorically, as representing ... evil genius ... under the semblance of demons of discord, driving away the little good which might be otherwise effected by civilization and education.³³

The audience's response may have had as much to do with the fact that attendance at the theatre was often a test of endurance, as it did with Dr Lhotsky's unsplendid farewell lecture. A patron at the Royal Victoria Theatre in Hobart (which was officially opened on Wednesday, 8 March 1837, one year before Dr Lhotsky presented the fruits of his creative talent) wrote: 'We were squeezed into impatience by the crowd, and half poisoned by the smell of stale tobacco smoke, foul breath, and unwashed, frowsy bodies, proceeding from a dense mass of vulgar spirit and beer-drinking, oily haired knaves, who pushed upon one another without mercy.'³⁴

Upon his return to London, Dr Lhotsky 'sank into dire poverty'.³⁵ Lhotsky had 'acquired letters' by the botanical artist Ferdinand Bauer (1760–1826) written during the voyage commanded by Matthew Flinders on HMS *Investigator*.³⁶ In

32 During the mid-twentieth century, Tasmania became known as the 'Apple Isle' because, for many years, it was one of the world's major apple producers. The etymology of the title is also based on the supposed resemblance of the map of Tasmania to the shape of an apple.

33 *The Colonist; Or Journal of Politics, Commerce, Agriculture, Literature, Science, and Religion for the Colony of New South Wales*, 21 March 1838, Vol. 4, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

34 W. H. Hudspeth, *The Theatre Royal, A Brief History* (Hobart: The Mercury Press, 1948), p. 7.

35 Whitley, 'Lhotsky, John (1795–1866)'.

36 *Ibid.*

order (presumably) to improve his situation, Lhotsky presented these letters to the Linnean Society.³⁷ If, at the time, Lhotsky still possessed George Bouchier Worgan's two-volume journal, he may (for similar reasons) have offered the manuscript to interested parties. Unfortunately, the fate of the manuscript that John Parsons 'communicated' to Dr Lhotsky remains a mystery.

Perhaps John Parsons had musical skills. On Monday, 21 April 1845—that is, nine years after John Parsons had ceased employment as clerk to the Bench of Magistrates at Hyde Park Barracks, Sydney—the *Sydney Morning Herald* published the following intriguing corrigendum:

To the Editors of the Sydney Morning Herald.

Gentlemen,—In the Herald of to-day, I am represented as having assisted the Town Band, on the night of the Jewish Festival. I did no such thing; but was a guest on that occasion, if you please.

—For the sake of my friends, (I care not), will you kindly give this a corner in your valuable paper?

I am, Gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,

John Worgan.

April 19 [1845].³⁸

In a letter dated Wednesday, 6 July 2007, Alec and Olive Worgan, descendants of one of George Bouchier Worgan's brothers,³⁹ writing to Brian Barrow, an antiques restorer, fortepiano aficionado and owner of the Longman & Broderip square piano dated 1785/86? discussed in Appendix B of Volume 2 of this publication, state: 'We believe he [John Parsons Worgan] died in 1848 but do not know where he died or any other details.'⁴⁰ Evidence concerning John Parsons appears in the form of an entry in the Darlinghurst Gaol Description and Entrance Books dated Thursday, 9 November 1843.

The Description Book ... [reveals] that [the then 38 year old] John ... was 5 feet 5 1/2 inches tall, with a fresh complexion, dark hair and hazel eyes. According to the Sydney Morning Herald (10 Nov 1843), he was charged with stealing a £ note. [John Parsons was discharged from the gaol approximately five weeks later, on Tuesday, 12 December 1843.]

37 Ibid.

38 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 April 1845, Vol. 19, p. 2.

39 This information is derived from a conversation held on Saturday, 28 July 2012 between the author and Brian Barrow. See Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

40 I am indebted to Brian Barrow for access to this letter.

Again in 1849, John Worgan is entered at Darlinghurst gaol. The information entered is similar to that above, including the occupation of Clerk, with the addition that he is stout. He was admitted [on Monday,] 26 February 1849 ... and discharged [approximately two weeks later, on Wednesday,] 14 March 1849.⁴¹

Until further information comes to light, the details of John Parsons Worgan's final years and the circumstances surrounding his death remain unknown.

Despite the fact that the colony at Sydney Cove was 'murky with injustice, bigotry, exploitation, long memories and short fuses',⁴² it appears that John Parsons Worgan is one of the many 'modestly born, determined individuals' who managed to carve out an honourable and productive life in New South Wales; the new colony provided John Parsons with a context that (especially in future years) enabled 'men of no description [to] ... achieve a label, a post, a self-definition'.⁴³

George Worgan's Eldest Son, George William, Immigrates to Sydney

The life in Sydney of George Worgan's eldest son, George William, appears to have been much more colourful than that of John Parsons Worgan. It is likely that George William was the 'Mr Worgan, music-master' who arrived in Sydney from Plymouth on the barque *Forentia* on Friday, 3 August 1838—five months after his father, George Bouchier Worgan, had died (George William departed from England in April 1837, one month after his father had died).⁴⁴ At the time of his arrival in Sydney, George William was 38 years old.

Because of the vagaries of the British economy caused by the 'technological innovation that changed the balance between rural England and ... industry, the British government had been encouraging people—principally from rural regions—to seek their fortunes elsewhere'.⁴⁵ On Saturday, 21 December 1844, only six years after George William Worgan had arrived in Sydney, the *Illustrated London News* reported:

41 M. Hall, '5. John Parsons Worgan (1805-?)' in *Random Genealogy* (Friday, 8 August 2014) (retrieved 29 May 2015).

42 Paxman, *Empire*, p. 2.

43 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 111.

44 'Shipping Intelligence Arrivals'. See also M. Hall, '2. George William Worgan (1800–1862)' in *Random Genealogy* (Friday, 8 August 2014) (retrieved 29 May 2015).

45 J. Macaonghus, 'A Global Family', in *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 141 (September) (Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society, 2011), p. 26.

[E]migration has been progressively going on, not only to the South Seas, but also to the Canadas, and vast numbers of persons have availed themselves of the Government grant to quit their native shores for the purpose of seeking a better subsistence in the land of the stranger; and when we look at the existing condition of a considerable portion of our agricultural and manufacturing population, it excites but little wonder that a feverish restlessness should arise for change.⁴⁶

There is no evidence that John Parsons Worgan and George William Worgan ever made contact with each other in Sydney (one would like to think they did). There is also no evidence suggesting that either of the two brothers enquired of Elizabeth Macarthur regarding the fate of their father's piano—an instrument that, as time passed, would have been regarded as being more and more old-fashioned.

Only five days after his arrival, George William placed the following advertisement in *The Sydney Herald* of Wednesday, 8 August 1838:

Mr. G. W. Worgan,

*Member of the Royal Society of Musicians, London, singing master, and teacher of the pianoforte, begs respectfully to acquaint the ladies, the gentlemen and inhabitants of Sydney and its neighbourhood, that he has just arrived from London, and intends giving instruction in the above branches of his profession for terms, &c, apply at Mr. Francis, Prince-street, opposite the Military Hospital. Schools attended. The pianoforte tuned by Mr. G. W. W on an improved principle.*⁴⁷

The Royal Society of Musicians was a charitable organisation—founded in 1738 as the 'Fund for Decay'd Musicians'—which provided professional musicians and their families with a degree of financial support in times of need. 'The originator of this fund was' the violinist Michael Festing (1705–52),⁴⁸ who, 'with a feeble hand, little genius for composition, and but a shallow knowledge in counterpoint, by good sense, probity, prudent conduct, and a gentleman-like behaviour, acquired a weight and influence in his profession, at which hardly any musician of his class ever arrived'.⁴⁹

46 theshiplist.com/ILN.htm, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 26.

47 *The Sydney Herald*, 8 August 1838, Vol. 8, p. 3. This was the first of 22 such advertisements that George William placed in Sydney newspapers between Wednesday, 8 August and Monday, 17 December 1838.

48 Young, *The Concert Tradition*, p. 87.

49 Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, Vol. 2, pp. 1011–12.

Worgan's mention of his membership of the Royal Society was doubtless a marketing ploy intended to enhance his credibility. George William had been inducted as a member of the Royal Society of Musicians (as a pianist) on Sunday, 4 January 1835, three years prior to his arrival in Sydney.⁵⁰

One month after George William's arrival in Sydney, *The Australian* of Tuesday, 9 October 1838 published the following information:

Mechanics' School of Arts.—

Amongst the other sources of mutual instruction at this increasing and useful Institution, there will in future be a Weekly Musical Class, on the same principle as the Wednesday Evening Debating Class. The days of meeting are not yet decided on, but we understand, that Mr Worgan has offered his services as leader of the class—and, as that gentleman has acquired a high character for his musical attainments, the class is likely to be of a superior description.⁵¹

George William Performs

Two days later, on Thursday, 11 October 1838, *The Australian* advertised the participation of 'a celebrated vocal amateur, Mr. Worgan' at a 'Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music' to be given on Wednesday, 17 October in the 'Saloon of the Royal Hotel.'⁵² Worgan's performance received the following critique:

A gentleman named Worgan, who has recently arrived, sang a simple little ballad, accompanying himself on the piano-forte [we do not know who made or owned the instrument]; Mr. W displayed much taste, but his voice is so low and weak that, at the lower end of the room, he was nearly inaudible; but from the way in which he acquitted himself, there can be no doubt of his being an excellent musician.⁵³

Worgan's career was a busy one. The next month, he participated in yet another 'Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music' given in the saloon of the Royal Hotel,⁵⁴ on Wednesday, 21 November.

50 'Worgan: Membership No. A381', in *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain. The Catalogue: RSM Members 1800–1849*.

51 *The Australian*, 16 October 1838, (NS), Vol. 5, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

52 *The Australian*, 11 October 1838, (NS), Vol. 5, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia. A hand-coloured lithograph entitled *George Street & The Royal Hotel & Commercial Exchange in 1836* by George Roberts (ca 1800–65), dated 1850, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. PXA 581; Album ID 861838; Digital order no. a2398013).

53 'Domestic Intelligence', *The Sydney Herald*, 22 October 1838, Vol. 8, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

54 See advertisement published in *The Australian*, 20 November 1838, (NS), Vol. 5, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

Two months later, on Wednesday, 23 January, Worgan sang in a concert given in the saloon of the Royal Hotel.⁵⁵ One month later, *The Sydney Herald* of Wednesday, 20 February 1839 advertised Worgan's involvement (as singer) in a concert to be held seven days later in the saloon of the Royal Hotel.⁵⁶ At this concert, 'the bass voice of the *amateur* was too powerful for Mr. Worgan, who ... was also a little *out* in the harmony ... Mr. Worgan cannot sing a ballad—his voice is any thing but melodious, and his cadences any thing but tasteful'.⁵⁷ Because critics 'who have no respect for the object of their comments feel no compunction about showing off their incendiary wit at the expense of their hapless and more-or-less defenseless victims',⁵⁸ and because 'it is a widely known fact—or, at least, a widely held belief—that negative criticism is more entertaining to read than enthusiastic endorsement',⁵⁹ the anonymous critic's evaluation of George William's vocal and interpretative skills was ignored by the musical community.

Eight months later, George William Worgan participated—as 'principal vocal performer' along with 'the entire musical talent of Sydney'⁶⁰—in a 'Grand Miscellaneous Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music'⁶¹ given at the Royal Victoria Theatre, Pitt Street, on Wednesday, 2 October 1839 (at this time, the Royal Victoria Theatre had been open for only one year).⁶² This concert was indeed a grand affair, 'comprising upwards of seventy performers'.⁶³

Six weeks later, on Wednesday, 13 November, George William sang two trios—with 'Mr. and Mrs. Bushell'⁶⁴—at a 'Grand Concert'⁶⁵ held in the saloon of the Royal Hotel. At this concert, 'the performances were ... very creditable, at least to the vocal performers. The instruments being entirely left to themselves, went every one his own way in glorious confusion.'⁶⁶

55 See advertisement published in *The Australian*, 19 January 1839, (NS), Vol. 6, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

56 *The Sydney Herald*, 20 February 1839, Vol. 9, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

57 *The Colonist; Or, Journal of Politics, Commerce, Agriculture, Literature, Science, and Religion, for the Colony of New South Wales*, 2 March 1839, Vol. 5, No. 279, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

58 P. Schickele, 'Foreword: If You Can't Think of Something Nice to Say, Come Sit Next to Me', in N. Slonimsky, *Lexicon of Musical Invective: Critical Assaults on Composers since Beethoven's Time* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000), p. x.

59 *Ibid.*, p. ix.

60 *The Sydney Herald*, 20 September 1839, Vol. 9, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

61 *Sydney Monitor and Commercial Advertiser*, 27 September 1839, Vol. 14, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

62 An engraving entitled *Interior of the Royal Victoria Theatre, Sydney* by Joseph Fowles (1810–78), dated 1849, is housed at the National Library of Australia, Canberra (Pictures Collection, nla.pic-an8329195).

63 *Sydney Monitor and Commercial Advertiser*, 27 September 1839, p. 3.

64 *Australasian Chronicle*, 8 November 1839, Vol. 1, No. 29, p. 4, Trove, National Library of Australia.

65 *Ibid.*

66 *Australasian Chronicle*, 15 November 1839, Vol. 1, No. 31, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

A little more than two weeks later—on Sunday, 1 December 1839⁶⁷—Worgan went on a piano-tuning tour with the musical instrument retailer,⁶⁸ publisher and piano tuner Francis Ellard (1798–1854) to Maitland, New South Wales.

Francis Ellard's Piano-Tuning Tours

Five years earlier, Ellard had made a piano-tuning tour to the Hunter River area and Maitland. In this instance, his advertisement in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Thursday, 13 November 1834 reveals his intention:

To the inhabitants residing on the Hunter's River.

F. Ellard, musical instrument manufacturer and pianoforte tuner, begs to inform the inhabitants of the above district, that he will be in Maitland on Monday, the 24th Instant.

Any commands left at Mr. Cox's Hotel, shall be punctually attended to.⁶⁹

In April the next year, Ellard made a piano-tuning tour of the Goulburn district. In the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Saturday, 28 March 1835, he advertised:

To the *Inhabitants of Bong Bong, Inverary, and Goulburn, &c.*

F. Ellard, musical instrument maker, and pianoforte tuner, will be in the above neighbourhood (on or about the 2d of April) any commands left for him at the Post Offices of the above places, shall be punctually attended to.

*Music Warehouse, Hunter-street.*⁷⁰

It was about this time—that is, 1835—that John Benham (1784?–1845), 'piano-forte maker',⁷¹ who arrived in Australia in 1831, designed(?) and produced the first Australian-made piano⁷² in his workshop at 5 Liverpool Street East,⁷³

67 *The Sydney Herald*, 29 November 1839, Vol. 9, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

68 In relation to the sale of pianos, Ellard sold both new and second-hand instruments.

69 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 13 November 1834, Vol. 32, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

70 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 28 March 1835, Vol. 33, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

71 See *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 9 July 1835, Vol. 33, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

72 The only extant piano by John Benham (and probably the earliest surviving Australian-made piano) is in upright form—a 'cottage' piano. This instrument is part of the Powerhouse Museum Collection: Registration no. H8405. For details, see 'Upright Pianoforte by John Benham, 1830–1840', in *Powerhouse Museum Collection Search 2.53* (Sydney: Powerhouse Museum, n.d.).

73 See *The Sydney Herald*, 19 October 1835, Vol. 5, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

Sydney. About 1835–38, a square piano was made by the London firm of Collard & Collard expressly for Francis Ellard (Ellard’s piano is currently housed in the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney).⁷⁴

It appears that Francis Ellard did not visit the ‘isolated property named Gilmour, near Lake Bathurst, between Goulburn and Braidwood’,⁷⁵ where the pioneer Ann Gore found it impossible to keep her piano in tune. On Friday, 29 September 1837, Ann, writing to her cousin Ellen Collinson in London, remarked: ‘When we first came up we found great amusement in music but unfortunately our piano is now out of tune so much that we are unable to play and there is no possibility of getting it repaired.’⁷⁶

W. J. Johnson’s Piano-Tuning Tours

In January 1836, the arrival in Sydney of ‘Mr. W. J. Johnson, Professor of Music, and Tuner of Organs and Piano-Fortes’,⁷⁷ created Ellard’s only commercial piano-tuning competition. Johnson announced that he had ‘great experience in tuning’.⁷⁸ He claimed that his experience had produced ‘the flattering encomiums he [had] ... received from the leading men in the musical profession’.⁷⁹ Johnson located his business establishment in ‘George-street, next door to the Commercial Bank’.⁸⁰ In October 1838, he relocated to ‘Castlereagh-street, between Bathurst and Liverpool-streets’.⁸¹

Competition between Johnson and Ellard was fierce. A year after arriving in Sydney, Johnson advertised—in January 1837—that he would ‘make arrangements, for visiting periodically all the principal towns in the colony, for the purpose of tuning, &c’.⁸² Both Johnson and Ellard regularly made piano-tuning tours of districts beyond Sydney, sometimes offering their services only weeks apart from one another in the same town.

Advertisements in the Sydney press reveal that in August 1837, and again in September 1838, Francis Ellard made piano-tuning tours to Maitland.

74 Powerhouse Museum Collection: Registration no. 2002/70/1. For details, see ‘Square Piano by Collard & Collard, 1835–1838’, in *Powerhouse Museum Collection Search 2.53* (Sydney: Powerhouse Museum, n.d.).

75 Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. 166. Gilmour comprised 471 hectares. See W. Battersby, ‘Updated Biography of ‘the late Commander Gore’’, in *Franklin Expedition News and Views*, 6 November 2010.

76 A. Gore, *Ann Gore Letters*, MS 1677 (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1837). Quoted in Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. 168.

77 *The Sydney Herald*, 4 February 1836, Vol. 6, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

78 *Ibid.*

79 *Ibid.*

80 *Ibid.*

81 See advertisement published in *The Sydney Herald*, 19 October 1838, Vol. 8, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

82 *The Sydney Herald*, 12 January 1837, Vol. 7, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

Ellard's inclusion of George William Worgan on his piano-tuning tour of December 1839 may have been an attempt to win over clientele from Johnson. Ellard announced his intention to include George William in an advertisement published in *The Sydney Herald* on Friday, 29 November 1839:

To the Inhabitants of the Hunter and Paterson Rivers.—F. Ellard begs to acquaint the inhabitants of the above districts that he and Mr. George William Worgan, will be in Maitland on or about the 1st of December for the purpose of tuning and repairing piano-fortes. All commands by letter, left at the Post Office, will be punctually attended to.

Music Saloon, George street

*Sydney, November 25, 1839*⁸³

Following the conclusion of this piano-tuning tour, a little more than four months later, on Saturday, 4 April 1840, 'William Worgan, musician' was charged with being drunk. The charge, however, was 'not ... fully proved'.⁸⁴ George William was not a regular miscreant. 'The magistrates periodically attempted to control liquor and put down "disorderly houses", obviously with little success.'⁸⁵ Until 1850, Sydney

constituted a rough, often pretentious, superficially puritanical and often nauseatingly hypocritical society. It is often difficult to determine whether the puritanism was deeper and more real than the hypocrisy ...

The isolation, the nostalgia and the sheer boredom of the ... [colony] for many ... caused them to seek a refuge and relief in intoxication ... drink ... never ceased ... to have a prominent and perhaps dominating place in the society, for the most part behind a façade of prim rectitude and sanctimoniously applauded hard work, abstemiousness and purity.⁸⁶

The next month, on Tuesday, 26 May 1840, George William Worgan again sang in public, at a concert held at the Theatre Royal.⁸⁷ That the Theatre Royal existed at all at this time was somewhat of a miracle. The Theatre Royal was located directly behind the Royal Hotel—the saloon of which had been the scene of so many performances in which George William Worgan had participated. Patrons 'could pass through the hotel going to and from the theatre, spending

83 *The Sydney Herald*, 29 November 1839, p. 1.

84 'Police Incidents', *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 9 April 1840, Vol. 38, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

85 R. W. Connell and T. H. Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History: Documents, Narrative and Argument* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1980), p. 58.

86 Cumes, *Their Chastity Was Not Too Rigid*, pp. 201–3.

87 See advertisement published in *The Sydney Herald*, 25 May 1840, Vol. 10, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

their money on refreshments on the way'. Theatregoers were reminded that 'a cold collation and other refreshments were constantly on the table for their accommodation'.⁸⁸ On the night of Tuesday, 17 March 1840,

a 'drunken carter' lit both his pipe and some straw in a stable adjoining the [Royal] hotel. Rushing from a St Patrick's Day Ball at Government House, Lieutenant [Edward] Lugard [b. 1810] 'levelled several tenements' but saved the Royal Victoria Theatre, and Colonel [George] Barney [1792–1862] laid a trail of gunpowder to blow up some houses, if need be, to stop the fire spreading. Only 'the providential lulling of the wind' removed the danger of a Great Fire of Sydney and the total damage to the Royal Hotel and other buildings was estimated at £20 000.⁸⁹

The saloon of the Royal Hotel, the scene of so many concerts, was a smouldering ruin.

Two more advertisements published in 1841 mention George William as a 'vocal performer' in an oratorio performance held at St Mary's Cathedral.⁹⁰

George William, Organist of St Mary's Cathedral

The Sydney Herald of Saturday, 9 July 1842 describes George William Worgan as 'the organist of St. Mary's' Cathedral, Sydney.⁹¹ In 1838, Worgan had participated in the dedication ceremony.⁹² Worgan was employed as the regular organist at St Mary's Cathedral between 1842 and 1843.⁹³

88 Cumes, *Their Chastity Was Not Too Rigid*, p. 176.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 231. Cumes takes the quotations from: J. Fowles, *Sydney in 1848: Illustrated by Copper-Plate Engravings of its Principal Streets, Public Buildings, Churches, Chapels, etc., from Drawings by Joseph Fowles* (Sydney: J. Fowles, 1848), Chapter 12, pp. 50–1, Project Gutenberg of Australia eBook, eBook No. 0600151h.html. On Monday, 10 April 1837—three years before the fire—in correspondence between two convicts—one of whom was Lieutenant Lugard's butler—Lieutenant Lugard was referred to as 'the lobster'. See *Free Settler or Felon?* (2015), Entry #130040.

90 *The Australian*, 17 June 1841, No. 968, Vol. 8, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia; *The Australasian Chronicle*, 22 June 1841, No. 253, Vol. 3, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

91 *The Sydney Herald*, 9 July 1842, Vol. 14, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

92 Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 147, fn. 484.

93 A watercolour drawing entitled *Roman Catholic Cathedral, St. Mary's* by Edmund Thomas Blacket (1817–83), dated 1842, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. PXE 925 Box 1; Album ID 824206; Digital order no. a881008). See also the watercolour drawing entitled *Hyde Park, St. Mary's Cathedral and Belfry* by John Rae (1813–1900), dated 1842, housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. DG SV*/Sp Coll/Rae/17; Digital order no. a928374). See also the tinted lithograph entitled *The Cathedral Church of St. Mary's, Sydney, NSW* by John Skinner Prout (1805–76), dated 1841–44, housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. V*/Sp Coll/Prout/3; Digital order no. a1528653).

A report published in the *Australasian Chronicle* of Tuesday, 13 December 1842, concerning a Requiem Mass given the previous day at St Mary's Cathedral for the Duke of Orleans, states that 'a select choir [was] ... accompanied on the organ by Mr. Worgan'.⁹⁴

George William was also 'involved in the presentation of a *Te Deum* on 19 March 1843 to mark Dr. [John Bede] Polding's [1794–1877] elevation to Archbishop ... Worgan was praised for his organ playing'.⁹⁵ No evidence suggests that George William Worgan was Roman Catholic.

The organ that George William played at St Mary's Cathedral was made by Henry Bevington & Sons, one of the leading organ builders in London, whose workshop was located in Greek Street, Soho.⁹⁶ The organ was the colony's largest, 'and boasted an independent pedal department instead of an octave or so of pedals permanently coupled to the great'.⁹⁷

According to a description published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of Friday, 5 February 1841, the instrument was

of very excellent quality, [possessing] ... considerable power, especially on the pedals ...

The organ at St Mary's is one of the finest in the world, having one fifth greater compass than that of St Paul's Cathedral, which goes from CCC (16 feet pipe) to F in alto; one note greater than that of Westminster Abbey, which goes from GGG (24 feet pipe) to D in alto; and within a fifth of the great organs of York Minster and Birmingham (each 32 feet pipe).⁹⁸

Unfortunately, Henry Bevington used 'unsuitable or unseasoned wood ... and the instrument fell into disrepair in a few years. Repairs were effected under the direction of Bishop Charles Henry Davis [1815–54] soon after his arrival in 1848.'⁹⁹ (Bishop Davis 'excelled as a musician. An accomplished organist, he composed and arranged and sang—and improved the voices of his choir with a generous egg-flip of his own invention.')¹⁰⁰ 'This splendid and fascinating instrument was destroyed with the Cathedral in the fire of 29 June 1865.'¹⁰¹

94 *The Australasian Chronicle*, 13 December 1842, Vol. 4, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

95 Rushworth, *Historic Organs of New South Wales*, p. 369.

96 Greek Street, Soho, runs southward off the southern end of Soho Square. See C. Smith, *Smith's New Map of London* (London: Charles Smith, ca 1830), 'Map Section: Regent Street & Charing Cross', in *London and Environs Maps and Views* (Last updated 31 December 2011).

97 R. Parkinson, 'Instrument 3', in *St Mary's Catholic Cathedral Sydney* (n.d.).

98 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 35.

99 Rushworth, *Historic Organs of New South Wales*, p. 36.

100 P. O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia: A History* (West Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1977), p. 90.

101 Rushworth, *Historic Organs of New South Wales*, p. 36.

In the moments of its destruction, the cathedral took on

a terrible grandeur: 'The cold frosty air, blowing on the rafters caused them to glitter with resplendent brilliancy. The flames, like innumerable serpents of fire, hissed and crackled along every part of the building; and as they swept from one interior fitting to another, assumed most singular shapes'. Nothing was insured; the material loss was about £50 000.¹⁰²

That an organ maker of Bevington's experience and fine reputation used 'unsuitable or unseasoned wood' for the organ of St Mary's Cathedral is inexplicable, and forces one to entertain the notion that he may have held the insufferably ignorant and imbecilic attitude that is still encountered within certain irritating British circles: nothing good can come from the colonies, so why bother?

A proposal was put forward to replace the lost organ with a harmonium, but the public outcry was so vociferous that a smaller replacement organ, made by the Sydney organ builder Thomas V. Bridson, was purchased in 1865. The new instrument was first used on 19 November 1865.¹⁰³ Unfortunately, this short-lived organ was also destroyed by fire, in 1869.

On Wednesday, 31 August 1842, George William Worgan sang in a performance given at the Royal Victoria Theatre, Pitt Street, of Händel's oratorio 'Messiah'.¹⁰⁴ Two months later, Worgan is again described as the organist of St Mary's in an advertisement that reveals that he was also at that time employed as a singing teacher at Miss Rennie's 'College High School'.¹⁰⁵

Miss Rennie, her father, the Scottish naturalist James Rennie (1787–1867), and her brother, Edward Alexander, had arrived in Sydney in 1840. 'The men opened a College High School at 6 Elizabeth Street while [Miss] Rennie opened a day school for young ladies at the same address.'¹⁰⁶ On Thursday, 9 December 1841, she advertised in the *Colonial Observer* that 'the greatest attention will be paid to music, drawing, ornamental work, languages, and other Fashionable accomplishments', and claimed to have 'received a most expensive education in France, Prussia and England'. A later advertisement promised that 'on fixed days, the young ladies will be taken out to gardens to learn Botany, and to the fields to draw from nature'.¹⁰⁷

102 O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia*, p. 136.

103 See advertisement published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 December 1845, Vol. 20, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

104 See advertisement published in *The Australasian Chronicle*, 23 August 1842, Vol. 4, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

105 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 October 1842, Vol. 14, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

106 'Miss Rennie', in *Design & Art Australia Online* (2011).

107 *Ibid.*

George William began his employment as singing teacher at Miss Rennie's day school between ca 1841 and August 1842.

On Thursday, 8 December 1842, the *Sydney Morning Herald* announced 'the appearance of a cantata composed by George Worgan *How Sweet those tuneful bells*, published [in Sydney] by Francis Ellard'.¹⁰⁸ The work was '[r]espectfully dedicated to the Very Reverend F[rancis] Murphy'¹⁰⁹ (1795–1858), Catholic vicar-general (with jurisdiction over the whole of Australia) and the first bishop to be consecrated in Australasia (in St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, on Sunday, 8 September 1844).¹¹⁰ The cantata is the only surviving work composed by George William Worgan, and was written in aid of the bell appeal at St Mary's Cathedral. In 1843, 'archbishop Polding duly returned from Europe with a peal of bells'.¹¹¹

George William is Declared Insolvent

For many during the early 1840s, Sydney was a far from happy place. The landowner Terence Aubrey Murray (1810–73), writing on Thursday, 16 September 1841, described the situation: 'times are dreadfully bad here, and everyone is afraid of being ruined. Money is so scarce that people do not know what to do. We shall be poor together and that will be some comfort.'¹¹² The economic slump that adversely affected Sydney's economy during the early 1840s caused the bankruptcy of many people, including George William. On Monday, 26 June 1843, 'George William Worgan, of Pitt Street, Professor of Music',¹¹³ was declared bankrupt. George William subsequently appeared before Justice Sir James Dowling (1787–1844) on Friday, 14 July 1843, 'at the Supreme Court House, Sydney ... at 10.30, a.m.',¹¹⁴ at which time a claim made against George William by 'J. Clancey, for £12 11s was proved'.¹¹⁵

A few weeks before his court appearance, Worgan had been consigned to prison for debt.¹¹⁶ This explains why the period of his tenure as organist of St Mary's

108 Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 256. A copy of this cantata is housed in the State Library of Queensland (Call no. QSL42612; ASM PVM how).

109 Ibid., p. 454.

110 See O. Thorpe, 'Murphy, Francis (1795–1858)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1967], Vol. 2.

111 Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 454.

112 Quoted in Cumes, *Their Chastity Was Not Too Rigid*, pp. 222–3.

113 'Worgan', in *Insolvency Index, New South Wales State Records* (Sydney: NSW State Records Office), File no. 00786. See also *New South Wales Government Gazette*, 30 June 1843, No. 54, p. 852, Item 2344.

114 See 'Insolvency Proceedings Friday', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 July 1843, Vol. 16, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.. See also 'Insolvency Business', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 July 1843, Vol. 16, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

115 'Insolvency Business', *The Australasian Chronicle*, 18 July 1839, Vol. 4, No. 577, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

116 See Rushworth, *Historic Organs of New South Wales*, p. 369.

Cathedral—between 1842 and 1843—was so short. ‘No regular organist replaced him.’¹¹⁷ Because of the contemporaneous stigma surrounding insolvency, it is probable that in late June 1843, George William’s employment as singing teacher at Miss Rennie’s day school was terminated.

It is not known when Worgan was released from gaol. On Friday, 20 June 1845, however, George William played the piano at the ‘Mayor’s Grand Tea Party’¹¹⁸—a teetotal extravaganza—presumably as a free man. On Wednesday, 17 December 1845, at the Royal Hotel, Worgan sang at a concert.¹¹⁹

George William Marries

Six days later, on Tuesday, 23 December 1845, he sang as one of ‘the whole professional talent of the colony ... assisted by a large number of vocal and instrumental amateurs’ at the Royal Victoria Theatre, in a performance of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s arrangement of Händel’s¹²⁰ oratorio ‘Messiah’.¹²¹ The concert was advertised as being of ‘unrivalled grandeur and magnificence’.¹²² In this performance, Worgan sang in the company of another principal vocalist, Mary Tuohy. A little more than a year later, on Monday, 4 January 1847, George William Worgan married Mary Tuohy.¹²³ The marriage, officiated by Chaplain Thomas Wall Bodenham (1818–51), took place at the parish Church of St James, Sydney.¹²⁴

Further Performances

On Wednesday, 17 June 1846, George William sang at a ‘grand evening concert ... given in the saloon of the Royal Hotel ... by all the available musical talent of Sydney’.¹²⁵

117 Ibid., p. 370.

118 *The Morning Chronicle*, 25 June 1845, Vol. 2, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

119 See advertisement published in *The Australian*, 16 September 1845, (NS), Vol. 2, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

120 See advertisement published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 December 1845, (NS), Vol. 2, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

121 See advertisement published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 December 1845, p. 3.

122 Ibid.

123 See ‘IGI Individual Record: Southwest Pacific: George William Worgan’, in *Family Search International Genealogical Index v.5.0* (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2008). Mary Tuohy may have made her solo debut at a concert organised by her teacher, Maria T. Hinckesmann (Hincksman) (b. 1803), on Friday, 30 May 1845. (See advertisement in *The Australian*, Thursday, 29 May 1845.) At this event, Mary sang Michael William Balfe’s (1808–70) ballad *The light of other days*. Two months later (in July) she gave her own concert, though no program or later notices appeared. See G. Skinner, ‘Tuohy, Miss’ in ‘A biographical register of Australian colonial musical personnel—T’ in *Austral Harmony* (University of Sydney, 2015) (retrieved 29 May 2015).

124 See *New South Wales Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages*, No. 64, Vol. 32C.

125 See advertisement published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 June 1846, Vol. 21, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

During the next year, on Wednesday, 11 August 1847, Worgan gave an impromptu performance at the 'Australian Grand Lodge Hall of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows ... on a new instrument called the harmonian, which is far more powerful than the seraphine,¹²⁶ and its tones considerably sweeter'.¹²⁷

In 1850, George William Worgan sang at a 'Grand Concert' held on Friday, 7 June, in the saloon of the Royal Hotel.¹²⁸

Scandal and Public Ridicule

Three years after George William's marriage to Mary Tuohy, the *Sydney Morning Herald* of Thursday, 3 January 1850 announced: 'Birth at Woolloomooloo, on Sunday, December 30 [1849], Mrs. George William Worgan, of a daughter.'¹²⁹

Only a handful of months after the birth of their daughter, the quality of George's and Mary's relationship may have deteriorated.

On Thursday, 13 February 1851, disaster struck. *The Empire* reports:

Family Differences.—Mr. George William Worgan appeared on summons, for neglecting to comply with an order of the Bench, dated 26th August, 1850, at which hearing he was ordered to pay a weekly sum of 15s. for the support of his deserted wife. Mr. Little, who appeared for the defendant, satisfied their worships by the most palpable testimony, that since the making of the order, the parties had been living together as man and wife, therefore, he contended, the complaint was completely absurd. The Bench, after alluding to the unsettled state of the law upon this particular, refused to make an order. Mr. O'Reilly, who had been retained for the prosecution, upon hearing this decision, *shook his mane*, and winked at Paddy Driscoll.¹³⁰

On Wednesday, 19 February 1851, the *Sydney Morning Herald* published the following information concerning 'Deserted Wives and Children': 'George William Worgan, of William-street, Woolloomooloo, was ... charged by Mary, his wife, with having deserted her, and refusing to contribute to her maintenance. This defendant was ordered to pay the sum of 15s weekly, for the period of six months.'¹³¹

126 A seraphine is a hybrid keyed wind instrument similar to the harmonium, in which the principles of the reed organ are combined with some of those of an accordion. Its sound is produced by air being blown across metal reeds.

127 *The Australian*, 14 August 1847, (NS), Vol. 4, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

128 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 June 1850, Vol. 27, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

129 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 January 1850, Vol. 27, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia. George William and Mary named their daughter Mary.

130 *The Empire*, 13 February 1851, Vol. 1, No. 26, p. 91, Trove, National Library of Australia.

131 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 February 1851, Vol. 30, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

The State Records of New South Wales reveal that at this time Worgan employed Bridget McWheeney, 'an orphan ex *Lady Peel*'.¹³² Did Worgan's affections turn away from his wife and towards McWheeney, or were the unfortunate 'growlings of connubial thunderstorms'¹³³ a recurrent element of Worgan's married life? Was George William a rogue? *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer* was relentless in its mockery:

The Discord-ion.—This new musical instrument, which is found in a vast number of Sydney families, is the invention, we believe, of that celebrated musician, Mr. George William Worgan, who keeps one continually in his own house. Mrs. W. and himself are much used to play duetts upon it; and, at times, he does the *fortissimo* to such an extent that she is compelled to rush into the cottage of her next door neighbour, Mr. William Richard Smith, to get the din out of her ears. About six months ago she invited the George-street authorities to join in the family concert; they politely accepted her offer, and ordered Mr. Worgan to give her three-fourths of a note, weekly, to enable her to leave his organ-loft and play her own tune in another locality.¹³⁴

That George William so abused his wife (and that he may have become romantically involved with Bridget McWheeney) suggests that his moral character was flawed and weak. If this was indeed his nature, the fact strengthens the speculation that prior to immigrating to Sydney, George William had left Liskeard for London under suspicious circumstances.¹³⁵

'Grocott's Dissolving Views'

In April 1851, two months after undergoing this public ridicule, George William provided the background music (most probably on a piano) for 'Grocotts Dissolving Views', a cinematic experience similar to a slide show. (By the 1820s,

132 See Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 257, fn. 116.

133 *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer*, 15 February 1851, (NS), Vol. 7, No. 59, p. 2.

134 *Ibid.*

135 George William may have fled from Liskeard because he had fathered an illegitimate child. See 'Whispers and Rumours: Who Was Charles Parsons Worgan?', below. Approximately a year and a half before his arrival at Sydney Cove on Friday, 3 August 1838, George William had crossed paths with the law in Liskeard. *The Royal Cornwall Gazette* published the following account on Friday, 31 March 1837: 'On Thursday last Messrs Geo. Worgan, jun., Nicholas Clemence, and Joseph Elford were brought before the Liskeard Borough Magistrates charged with committing depredations by breaking various gates &c. on the night of the preceding Saturday. After an investigation of the case, which lasted several hours, the parties were fined 5 pounds each, besides the costs and repairs.' See M. Hall, '2. George William Worgan (1800–1862)' in *Random Genealogy* (Friday, 8 August 2014) (retrieved 29 May 2015). It appears that by March 1837 at least, George William had returned to Liskeard from London (approximately two years before, in January 1835, he had been inducted as a member of the Royal Society of Musicians—as a pianist—in London). His illegal actions in Liskeard suggest that not only was his character flawed, but also that his ethics may have been, on occasion, 'flexible'.

a 'magic-lantern' show was called a 'phantasmagoria'.¹³⁶ On Monday, 21 April, the following advertisement for Grocott's technological extravaganza appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald*:

These beautiful views were purchased in London, from Carpenter and Westley, by the late Captain Stanley, of H.M.S. Rattlesnake, regardless of expense, and are admitted to be fully equal to the views shown daily in London, at the Polytechnic.

Showing a radius of 15 feet. The Saloon has been fitted up to accommodate 150 persons, and in addition to the above the rooms are full of beautiful pictures. The whole of the views occupy in showing one hour and a half, during which appropriate music is played by Mr. G. W. Worgan.

The following is a list of the principal views:

Holyrood Chapel, showing a radius of 16 feet, dissolving into Netley Abbey.

St. Petersburg, dissolved into a Castle on the Rhine

Lord Nelson, dissolved into the ship Victory

Arch of Peace at Milan, dissolved into the Giant's Causeway

York Minster on Fire, dissolved into Kilsby Railway Tunnel

Together with a splendid collection of Chromatropes, or illuminated fireworks

The Comic Scenes are also very amusing:—

The only true portraits of the 'Bunyip,' in three positions

1. As he appeared
2. Looking for prey.
3. With his eye out.

... New Specimens in the Vegetable Kingdom

... Harlequin, who, like the little dog that fell into the sausage-machine, will appear in several pieces

The Chromatropes, it is to be hoped, will go off well.¹³⁷

136 See Murray, *An Elegant Madness*, p. 123, fn.

137 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 April 1851, Vol. 30, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

Grocott's 'Dissolving Views' were based on what was then known as a 'panorama'. In 1787, as the First Fleet headed towards the Cape of Good Hope,

Robert Barker, an Irishman working in Edinburgh, patented a new kind of theatre. He called it 'panorama', from the Greek *pan* (all) and *horama* (view). He took his invention to London and by 1793 [only seven months after George Worgan had stepped ashore from the *Waaksamheyd* at Portsmouth] had opened the Panorama theatre at Leicester Square. On the cylindrical walls of a rotunda, he painted huge 360-degree scenes of exotic places ... The panorama was the Imax of the Enlightenment.¹³⁸

George William Leaves Sydney

George William's involvement with Grocott's 'Dissolving Views' in late April 1851 was his swan song, after which (it seems) he left Sydney. Perhaps he absconded in order to avoid paying maintenance ('the sum of 15s weekly, for the period of six months');¹³⁹ the court's ruling was made in February, only two months before Worgan vanished from Sydney. George William is not mentioned in Sydney newspapers for 10 years. What became of him is a mystery; perhaps he went 'on the road' as a piano tuner.¹⁴⁰

Not unreasonably, 'Errol Lea-Scarlett assumed that [George William] ... must be the same ... Worgan ... who arrived in New Zealand in 1851 and died there in 1888'.¹⁴¹ On Friday, 21 March 1851, *The Southern Cross and New Zealand Guardian* announced the arrival in Auckland of the 'Cresswell, 574 tons'.¹⁴² Amongst the passengers listed is 'Worgan'.¹⁴³ (Worgan's first impressions of New Zealand may have been similar to those experienced nine years before by Mary Ann Martin, a young migrant from England: 'The tall leaves of the flax glittered in the sunlight. To a Londoner born and bred this home seemed like a fairyland. The clear air seemed to quiver and sparkle with light.')¹⁴⁴ It is unlikely that the New Zealand Worgan is Sydney's George William, because passenger Worgan's arrival in Auckland occurred one month *before* the Sydney press advertised George William's participation in Grocott's 'Dissolving Views'.¹⁴⁵

138 Davison, 'The Panorama and the Printing Press', p. 14.

139 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 February 1851, p. 2.

140 I am indebted to the eminent historian and emeritus curator of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Elizabeth Ellis OAM, for this suggestion.

141 Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 258. Skinner's reference is to E. J. Lea-Scarlett, 'Music, Choir and Organ', in P. O'Farrell (ed.), *St. Mary's Cathedral Sydney, 1821–1971* (Sydney: Devonshire Press for St Mary's Cathedral, 1971), p. 162.

142 'Shipping List. Arrived', *Southern Cross and New Zealand Guardian*, 21 March 1851, Vol. 4, No. 389, p. 2.

143 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

144 Data acquired from an exhibition label, 'Stories from Young Refugees in New Zealand', in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, on Friday, 25 November 2011.

145 See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 April 1851, p. 1.

The New Zealand Worgan is in fact George Worgan (1802–88), the grandson of Dr John Worgan; his parents were Joseph¹⁴⁶ and Jemima Worgan. 'He was taught the piano by J. B. Cramer and ... gave piano lessons to members of fashionable society, including the daughters of Clementi ... after his attempt at sheep farming [in New Zealand] failed, he continued to teach music.'¹⁴⁷

Sydney's Prodigal Son Returns

The whereabouts and activities of George William after late April 1851 are not known.

On Saturday, 2 November 1861, *The Sydney Herald* published the following advertisement: 'Mr. Worgan, professed tuner of the pianoforte, having returned to Sydney, respectfully requests all orders for him to be left with Mr. William King, Pianoforte Warehouse, Market-street.'¹⁴⁸

It is reasonable to assume that this 'Mr. Worgan' was George William. The advertisement reveals that 'Mr. Worgan' had the skills necessary to tune pianos, and George William had, after all, been on a piano-tuning tour to Maitland with the publisher Francis Ellard 22 years before, in November 1839.

If George William departed from Australian shores in 1851, his return to Sydney 10 years later may have been motivated by the prospect of lucrative opportunities associated with gold-rush wealth. (In 1861, a passenger bound for Australia on board the *SS Great Britain*, 'then the world's greatest ocean liner',¹⁴⁹ wrote: 'Australia! At the present time, what interest—what excitement—in the very word! In every circle, it is the all-absorbing topic.'¹⁵⁰ In 1861, however, no mention is made in Sydney newspapers of anyone with the name of Worgan having arrived by ship. When George William left Sydney in 1851, he probably did not leave Australia.

During the 10 years following George William's departure from Sydney, there are only two instances in which a person who may be construed as being George William is mentioned in the Australian press. Both instances are associated with Adelaide newspapers. As a Cornishman, George William may have been

146 In 1780, Dr John Worgan enrolled his son Joseph at Eton College. See 'Worgan 1780–87', in *The Eton College Register, 1753–1790*. It is from this entry in register that we learn of the Worgan family's 1780 address: 'Milman Street, London.'

147 P. McGairl, 'Worgan: (7) George Worgan', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), Vol. 27, p. 567.

148 *The Sydney Herald*, 2 November 1861, Vol. 44, p. 9, Trove, National Library of Australia.

149 A. Parsonage, 'Shipshape & Bristol Fashion', in *Qantas: The Australian Way* (Sydney: ACP Magazines, 2011), No. 221 (November), p. 160. Between 1852 and 1875, the *Great Britain* maintained a 'regular passenger service between Britain and Australia, carrying some 5000 people over 32 voyages'. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

150 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 160.

drawn to Adelaide: ‘South Australia’s Yorke Peninsula [was] ... known as “Little Cornwall”. It has been estimated [that] between 1837 and 1840, 15 per cent of all assisted migrants to South Australia were Cornish.’¹⁵¹

1. ‘Wm. Worgan’ is listed in the *Supplement to the South Australian Register* of Wednesday, 21 September 1853 (‘Unclaimed Letters—August 31 1853’).¹⁵²
2. *The South Australian Advertiser* of Tuesday, 8 February 1859: the ‘Shipping News’ reveals that part of the cargo brought to Adelaide on board ‘the Ballarat, from London’ comprised ‘52 cases, W. Worgan’.¹⁵³

If George William left Sydney for Adelaide in 1851, he may not only have changed his profession (‘52 cases’ of what?), but may also have gone under his second name, William, in order to ensure that his reputation, which had been so publicly tarnished in Sydney, would not precede him.

On Tuesday, 9 February 1869, eight years after ‘Mr. Worgan, professed tuner of the pianoforte ... returned to Sydney’,¹⁵⁴ a record of court proceedings at Strathalbyn,¹⁵⁵ 57 kilometres south of Adelaide, describes a defendant, ‘Worgan’, as a publican. It seems unlikely that publican Worgan was George William. It is, however, reasonable to assume that publican Worgan was the ‘W. Worgan’ who, in 1859, imported ‘52 cases’ (of liquor?) to Adelaide on board ‘the Ballarat, from London’.¹⁵⁶ The mystery surrounding George William’s ‘lost’ years remains; he disappeared and reappeared, like a fleeting shadow in the ‘opal-blue bush of the Australian interior’.¹⁵⁷

George William Worgan died in Sydney on Wednesday, 11 June 1862,¹⁵⁸ only seven months after returning from his mysterious absence. He was 62 years old when he died.¹⁵⁹ His death certificate gives his occupation as ‘organist’; his

151 ‘Cornish People’, in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (n.d.).

152 ‘Unclaimed Letters—August 31 1853’, *Supplement to The South Australian Register*, 21 September 1853, Vol. 17, No. 2189, p. 2S, Trove, National Library of Australia.

153 ‘Shipping News’, *The South Australian Advertiser*, 8 February 1859, Vol. 1, No. 182, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

154 *The Sydney Herald*, 2 November 1861, p. 9.

155 ‘Local Court—Strathalbyn. Tuesday, February 9’, *The South Australian Advertiser*, 15 February 1869, Vol. 11, No. 3225, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

156 ‘Shipping News’, *The South Australian Advertiser*, 8 February 1859, p. 2.

157 A. Atkinson and M. Aveling (eds), *Australians: A Historical Library—Australians 1838* (Broadway, NSW: Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, 1987), p. 13.

158 ‘Death Certificate’, Registration no. 1862/000630 (Sydney: New South Wales Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, n.d.). I am indebted to Brian Barrow for access to a copy of George William Worgan’s death certificate. See also Ancestry.com.au, *Australia Death Index, 1787–1985* (Original data: compiled from publicly available sources, n.d.).

159 George William Worgan’s death certificate erroneously gives his age at the time of his death as 65.

place of death is given as 'Infirmary'—perhaps implying that, at the time, he was a pauper.¹⁶⁰ George William Worgan was buried at Camperdown Cemetery, Sydney, on Monday, 16 June 1862.¹⁶¹

George Bouchier Worgan Dies in Liskeard

On Sunday, 4 March 1838, two years after he had built Wadeland House on New Road,¹⁶² Liskeard, George Bouchier Worgan died, aged 81 years (his death certificate gives his age as 80 years).¹⁶³ He did not make a will; letters of administration dated Thursday, 6 June 1844, granted to his wife, Mary, indicate that his effects were valued at just 'under £300'¹⁶⁴—scarcely riches, and yet, representing the equivalent of a prosperous tradesman's annual income, and enough money, if needed, to purchase a comfortable house.

Worgan's death certificate, dated Tuesday, 6 March 1838, describes his occupation as 'gentleman'.¹⁶⁵ The certificate indicates that he died from 'apoplexy' (most likely a stroke); his death may have been presaged by symptoms ranging from prolonged unconsciousness, through partial to complete paralysis. There can be little doubt that, lovingly, Mary's hands would have caressed George's cheek 'as if they were washing it with kindness'.¹⁶⁶

Worgan's 'brief obituary merely says "sudden death"'.¹⁶⁷ Other sources record that he hanged himself.¹⁶⁸ If this is so, perhaps 30 grinding years of financial hardship (beginning ca 1808 after the completion of his *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*) and/or depression (arising from his lack of success as farmer, researcher/author, headmaster and provider for his

160 I am indebted to the eminent historian and emeritus curator of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Elizabeth Ellis OAM, for alerting me to this possibility.

161 I am indebted to Brian Barrow for access to documentation relating to George William Worgan's burial. Camperdown Cemetery was established in 1849. The interment of George William Worgan was one of '15,733 burials in Camperdown Cemetery between 1849 and 1867 when the creation of new grave plots was prohibited and burials were only permitted by license from the Chief Secretary'. M. Martin, 'Camperdown Cemetery', in *Society of Australian Genealogists' Primary Records Collection Guide* (June 2008).

162 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity*, p. 452.

163 See General Register Office, 'Ref. March 1838 Quarter, Liskeard District', Vol. 9, p. 117.

164 Cornwall Record Office, 'Administration Bond, Estate of G. B. Worgan, 6 June 1844' (Truro: Cornwall Record Office, 1844).

165 Certified Copy of George Bouchier Worgan's Death Certificate: 'Given at the General Register Office, Under the Seal of the Said Office, the 30th day of December 2011', Application no. 3723266-1, Certificate no. DYD174213.

166 West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 17.

167 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 10.

168 See 'Worgan, George Boucher' in G. C. Boase and W. P. Courtney, *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis: A Catalogue of the Writings, both Manuscript and Printed, of Cornishmen, and of Works Relating to the County of Cornwall with Biographical Memoranda and Copious Literary References. Volume 2: P-Z* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1878), pp. 507, 524; Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 99; and Menneer, 'George Worgan', p. 12.

family) drove him to commit such an extreme act. If George Worgan committed suicide, permission would not have been granted for his body to be interred in consecrated ground. The venerable jurist and judge Sir William Blackstone (1723–80) described the grim legal consequences of suicide in his *Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England*:

[T]he law has ... ranked [suicide] ... amongst the highest crimes.

... [W]hat punishment can human laws inflict on one who has withdrawn himself from their reach? They can only act upon what he has left behind him, his reputation and fortune: on the former, by an ignominious burial in the highway, with a stake driven through his body; on the latter, by a forfeiture of all his goods and chattels to the king: hoping that his care for either his own reputation, or the welfare of his family, would be some motive to restrain him from so desperate and wicked an act.¹⁶⁹

That Worgan's grave is located in the cemetery attached to St Martin's Church, Liskeard (Plate 115), indicates that he did not commit suicide. He was buried in hallowed ground on Thursday, 8 March 1838.

When George Worgan's body was interred, the St Martin's Church burial ground comprised 0.4 hectares of land.¹⁷⁰ George Worgan's funeral service was taken by the Vicar of St Martin's, the Reverend John Strode Foot.¹⁷¹ It is not known which men walked behind Worgan's coffin in the cortège (at the time, women did not usually attend funerals).¹⁷²

169 W. Blackstone, 'Of Homicide', in *Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1765–69), Book 4, Chapter 14, pp. 189–90. In England and Wales, attempted suicide was illegal until 1961.

170 Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 74. Half an acre (0.2 hectares) was added in 1849. In 1959, the area of the cemetery was further increased. See Paynter, *The Parish Church of St. Martin Liskeard*, p. 28.

171 See Paynter, *The Parish Church of St. Martin Liskeard*, p. 31.

172 See 'Biographical Note' in Austen, *The Complete Novels*, p. 8.



Plate 115 George Worgan's grave, Church of St Martin, Liskeard: the grave is marked by the headstone third from the left.

Source: Photo by the author.

Worgan's headstone reads (Plate 116): 'Sacred / to the memory / of / George Boucher Worgan / late surgeon in the navy. / Who died the 4 March / 1838 / aged 80 years.' (Worgan was, in fact, 81 years old when he died).

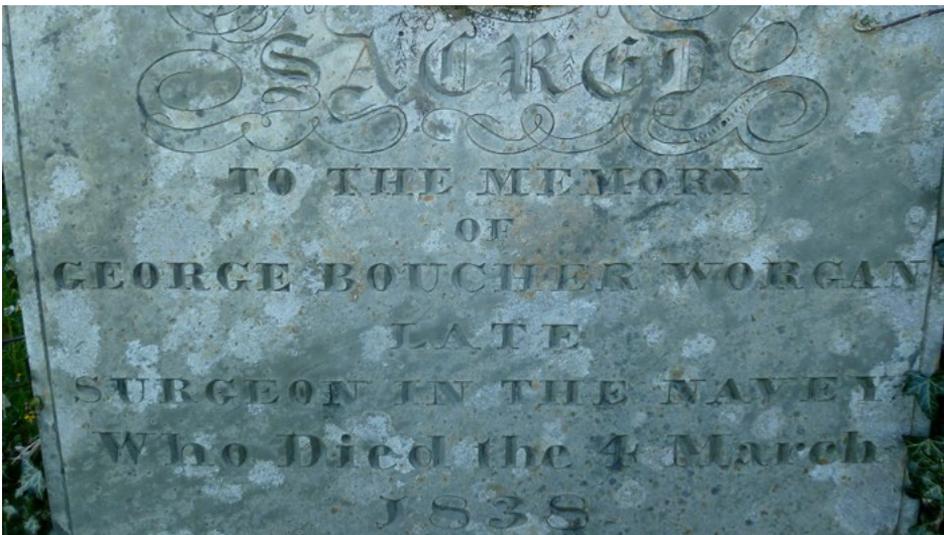


Plate 116 The inscription on George Worgan's headstone.

Source: Photo by the author.

On Friday, 1 September 1995, a brass plaque was attached to the top centre front of Worgan's headstone. This was done 'with the consent of the descendants and the burial place administrators', and included 'an unveiling dedication ceremony' held within 'the context of a descendants' family reunion'.¹⁷³

The plaque—whose proportions have little aesthetic correspondence with those of the headstone—covers some of the exquisite etched scrollwork that both surrounds and embellishes the word 'Sacred' (Plate 117). The brass plaque reads (Plate 118): 'George Bouchier / Worgan / Sailed First Fleet / 13-5-1787 / Died 8-3-1838 / Fellowship of First Fleeters / 1994'.



Plate 117 The brass plaque affixed to George Worgan's headstone.

Source: Photo by the author.

¹⁷³ 'First Fleeter Gravesite Plaque Ceremonies—1976–2010', in *Fellowship of the First Fleeters* (n.d.). The plaque on George Worgan's headstone is the 98th of the 119 plaques that had been attached to the gravestones of First Fleeters until 31 December 2010.

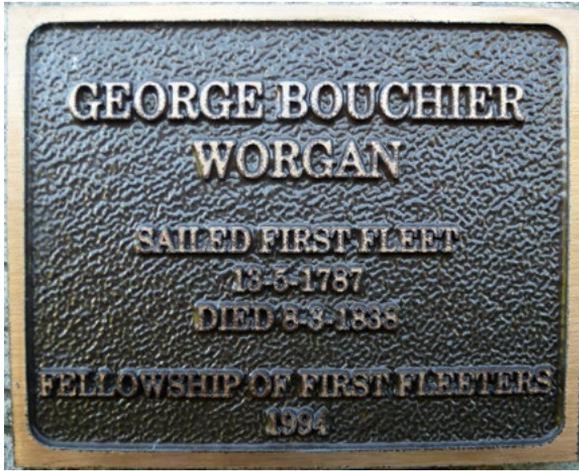


Plate 118 The brass plaque on George Worgan's headstone (detail).

Source: Photo by the author.

Several inconsistencies leave the visiting pilgrim in a state of quiet confusion and incredulity

1. the date of death given on the plaque (8 March 1838) does not correspond with that given either on Worgan's headstone or on his death certificate (4 March 1838)
2. the brass plaque's 'Bouchier' (although correct) does not conform with the headstone's 'Boucher'
3. the plaque's inscription includes, as an unexplained final statement: 'Fellowship of First Fleeters 1994'
4. there is no mention on the plaque of Australia (thereby rendering the plaque ineffective as a medium for increasing the understanding of those who have no knowledge of the First Fleet)
5. the plaque's broken English is inelegant (it should be remembered that George Worgan was an articulate 'man of extensive reading').¹⁷⁴

Furthermore, the plaque's date, '1994', does not conform with the online listing provided by the Fellowship of First Fleeters (where '1995' is given as the 'Date of Plaque').¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity*, p. 526.

¹⁷⁵ See 'First Fleeter Gravesite Plaque Ceremonies'.

For some, the plaque may encourage reflection on the fact that to ‘drag knowledge of reality over the threshold of [ignorance] ... is an exhausting task, whether it is performed by art or by experience’.¹⁷⁶

Adjacent to George Worgan’s grave, on the right, Ann Lawry (1774–1845) is buried. Ann was the sister of George’s wife, Mary. Ann was born 10 years before Mary. Ann, who never married, died in 1845 at the age of 71, 18 months before Mary died.

Behind George Worgan’s headstone, and (as one faces the back of George Bouchier’s headstone) adjacent to the left, lies his wife, Mary, and Charles Parsons Worgan. Mary and Charles’s single headstone, which rises slightly higher than George’s, reads (Plates 119 and 120): ‘In Memory of / Mary / The wife of / George Boucher Worgan / late surgeon / in the royal navy, / Who died / December the 14, / 1846. / Aged 82 years. / Also of / Charles Parsons Worgan / who died July the 7, / 1848. / Aged 15 years.’

Burgeoning vines, ‘polished silver in a sudden outpouring of sunshine’,¹⁷⁷ cover part of the word ‘Charles’ with a shadowy chiaroscuro.



Plate 119 Mary Worgan’s headstone.

Source: Photo by the author.

¹⁷⁶ West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 644.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

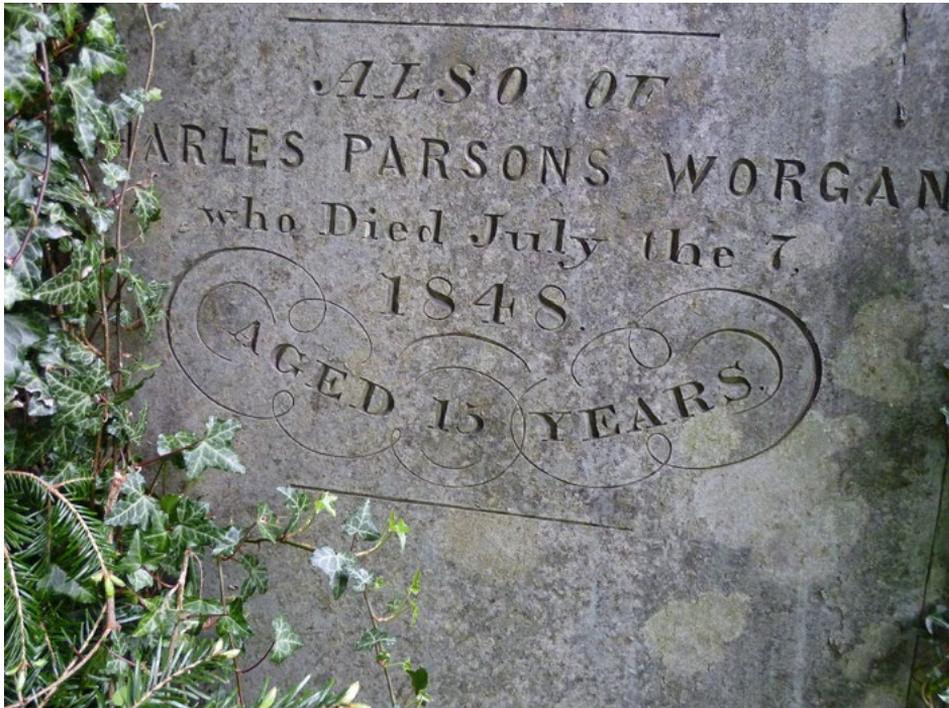


Plate 120 Charles Parsons Worgan's headstone.

Source: Photo by the author.

Whispers and Rumours: Who was Charles Parsons Worgan?

i) Charles Parsons' Mother

Charles Parsons Worgan was baptised in Liskeard in 1833,¹⁷⁸ five years before George Bouchier Worgan died. Charles Parsons' baptismal record lists his mother as 'Charlotte', his father simply as 'Worgan'.¹⁷⁹

Charlotte Sophia Worgan was George Worgan's sister. Charlotte Sophia was christened at St Andrew's Church, Holborn, London, on Wednesday, 2 September 1761.¹⁸⁰ Charlotte Sophia was four years younger than her brother George.

178 'Baptism Record'.

179 'Research Area', in *Parish Births, Marriages, Death Records*.

180 'Guildhall, St Andrew Holborn: Register of Baptisms 1761-1770', P69/AND2/A/01/Ms 6667/11, in *Ancestry.com.au* (n.d.).

On Saturday, 21 November 1778, at the age of 17, Charlotte Sophia married the then 42-year-old William Parsons,¹⁸¹ composer, and, from 1786, ‘Master of the King’s Musick’ to King George III. Because Charlotte Sophia was a minor, the marriage record shows that Charlotte married Parsons ‘by Licence & with consent of John Worgan Father’¹⁸² (during the early nineteenth century, ‘the marriage of a minor without parental consent was illegal in England’).¹⁸³ The marriage ceremony took place at St Marylebone’s Church, Westminster, London.

Sir William Parsons was the first English musician ever to be knighted, and was

the best singing-master of his day ... He was a well-educated, well-informed man, and a perfect gentleman in his conduct and manners ... Sir William Parsons had the honour to pass a great deal of time with the royal family, by whom he was much respected for his acquirements, his excellent temper and high character. An illustrious personage once said of him, that he always showed a readiness to further the interest of his professional brethren, but that he never knew him utter a syllable injurious to any one of them.¹⁸⁴

Sir William Parsons died at his home in 22 Somerset Street, Portman Square¹⁸⁵ (Plate 121), London, on Saturday, 19 July 1817, at the age of 71.¹⁸⁶ According to the records of St Marylebone’s Church, Westminster, Charlotte Sophia died 36 years later, between July and September 1853, at the age of 92.¹⁸⁷

By 1833—the year of Charles Parsons’ birth—Charlotte Sophia would have been 72 years old, well beyond childbearing age. It is unlikely that George Worgan’s sister Charlotte Sophia is Charles Parsons’ mother.

181 Ibid.

182 ‘Marriage Record No. 515’, St Marylebone Church, Westminster.

183 Murray, *An Elegant Madness*, p. 148.

184 ‘Extracts from the Diary of a Dilettante, 7th’, in *The Harmonicon. 1828. Part the First, Containing Essays, Criticisms, Biography, Foreign Reports, and Miscellaneous Correspondence* (London: Samuel Leigh, 1828), p. 232.

185 See ‘Somerset S.’ in W. Darton, jr, *An Entire New Plan of the Cities of London & Westminster, & Borough of Southwark; The East & West India Docks, Regent’s Park, New Bridges, &c. &c. with the Whole of the New Improvements of the Present Time* (London: W. Darton, jr, 1817), in *London and Environs Maps and Views* (Last updated 31 December 2011).

186 See L. M. Middleton, ‘Parsons, William (1746?–1817)’, in S. Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography. Volume 43: ‘Owens–Passelewe’* (New York: Macmillan, 1895).

187 *Find My Past, Deaths 1796–2006*, Vol. 1A, p. 245.



Plate 121 Portman Square, London (as it appears today).

Source: Photo by the author.

The census of 1841—taken on the evening of Sunday, 6 June, three years after George Worgan's death—lists a 25-year-old 'Charlotte Worgan' living with George's widow, Mary, in Wadeland House, Liskeard.¹⁸⁸ If the census information is correct, Charlotte was born in 1816. Oddly, there is no contemporaneous record plus or minus five years of a Charlotte Worgan being born or baptised in any parish in England.

Perhaps Charlotte was a servant. According to George Worgan's pronouncements in his *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*, 'farm servants have 8–12 guineas a year and their board'.¹⁸⁹ Given that Wadeland House was part of a farm, Charlotte, as a servant, most probably received board as part of her remuneration; she would have slept in the servants' quarters on the first floor of the attached service cottage (Plates 108 and 111).

Then again, perhaps Charlotte was George Bouchier and Mary's adopted daughter. In 1816, if Charlotte were not adopted, she would have been born to

188 The census erroneously gives Mary Worgan's age as 65 years. Given that Mary was born in 1764, she would have been 77 at the time the census was conducted.

189 Quoted in Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 8.

a 52-year-old mother (Mary) and a 59-year-old father (George Bouchier). This of course is not impossible, but age-related issues (and significantly, the absence of a baptismal record) render it unlikely. The 25-year-old 'Charlotte Worgan' mentioned in the 1841 census cannot have been George Bouchier's younger sister Charlotte Sophia (who, at the time of the census, was 80 years old).

The 1841 census also tells us that a six-year-old 'Charles Worgan' lived at Wadeland House. As 'Charles Parsons Worgan' was baptised in 1833,¹⁹⁰ a two-year discrepancy exists between the date of his birth as implied by his baptismal record (1833), and that implied by his age given as census information (1835); perhaps the information provided by Charlotte for the census was intended to deflect any potential for embarrassment arising from her son's illegitimacy.¹⁹¹

Like George Worgan's youngest son, John Parsons, the selection of Charles's middle name, Parsons, may have been inspired by the fact that George's sister Charlotte Sophia had married Sir William Parsons.

That the Charlotte of Wadeland House was only 17 when she gave birth to Charles Parsons in 1833 would not have been out of keeping with conventions of the time. That she was unmarried when she gave birth, however, was not in keeping with contemporaneous conventions.

In an age when female chastity was of fundamental importance both within a very competitive marriage market and in regard to inheritance, sexual activity outside of marriage was deemed a crime against society itself. What greater and more emphatic evidence of such activity was there than the existence of a child? Abandonment and infanticide were commonplace in such circumstances.¹⁹²

The Worgans, ignoring the opprobrium associated with illegitimacy, neither abandoned nor murdered baby Charles Parsons; they also did not leave him in an orphanage.

ii) Charles Parsons' Father

The identity of Charles Parsons' father remains a mystery. Charles Parsons was baptised at St Martin's Church, Liskeard, on Wednesday, 20 November 1833.¹⁹³

190 Cornwall Family History Society, *Parish Births, Marriages, Deaths Records, Baptism Records* (Truro, Cornwall: Cornwall Family History Society, n.d.).

191 See 'ii) Charles Parsons' Father', below.

192 J. Riding, *'The Purest Benevolence': Handel & the Foundling Hospital* (London: The Handel House Trust, n.d.), p. 1.

193 Cornwall Family History Society, *Parish Births, Marriages, Deaths Records, Baptism Records*.

Charles Parsons' baptismal record describes his father simply as 'Worgan'.¹⁹⁴ Mysteriously, the column entitled 'Father Forename' has been left blank.¹⁹⁵ This lack of detail raises some unfortunate suspicions.

Every one of the baptismal records of George and Mary Worgan's five children (including Mary and John, who died in infancy) identify 'George Boucher' Worgan as being their father. George and Mary Worgan's children were baptised at St Wenna's Church in the Parish of Morval, with the exception of their youngest surviving son, John Parsons, who was baptised at St Martin's Church, Liskeard. Contemporaneous baptismal records created at both St Wenna's and St Martin's consistently and unerringly reveal a detailed approach to the provision of information concerning the father's forename(s). (A clerk in holy orders i.e. a clergyman of the Church of England, was [also] a civil servant (because the C of E is the state religion) and [was] ... thus [legally] responsible for the [creation and] safe keeping of official records.)¹⁹⁶ Disinterest or laziness on the part of the clergyman-clerk at St Martin's Church, Liskeard, cannot reasonably be used to explain the lack of detail on Charles Parsons' baptismal record. Perhaps discretion inspired the omission of the forename(s) of Charles's father.

Given that Charles's father's surname is given as 'Worgan', one hesitates to posit that the then 76-year-old George Bouchier Worgan fathered Charles Parsons with his 17-year-old servant or adopted daughter; it is reasonable to maintain that this would be contrary to George Bouchier's character.

According to *J. Pigot & Co.'s National Commercial Directory*, no banker, manufacturer, merchant, professional gentleman or trader with the surname 'Worgan' lived in Liskeard apart from 'Geo. Boucher'—that is, George Bouchier.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, no Worgan of similar social rank lived in the nearby village of Bodmin,¹⁹⁸ or, in fact, in the whole of Cornwall. The only Worgan in Liskeard apart from George Bouchier who could have been responsible for 17-year-old Charlotte's pregnancy in 1833 was George Bouchier's eldest son, George William (George Bouchier's youngest son, John Parsons, had immigrated to Sydney four years before, in 1829).¹⁹⁹

If Charlotte were a servant, the intimacy that she would have had with her master's family would have offered opportunities for both legitimate and

194 See *ibid.*

195 See *ibid.*

196 S. Treseder, 'Marriage Certificates Explained: What is the Difference between a Church Marriage Certificate and a GRO Marriage Certificate?', in *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 141 (September) (Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society, 2011), p. 29.

197 See Pigot, 'Liskeard, Cornwall', p. 149.

198 See *ibid.*, 'Bodmin, Cornwall', pp. 135–6.

199 In 1838, when Charles Parsons was five years old, George William immigrated to Sydney. See 'Shipping Intelligence Arrivals', *The Sydney Herald*, p. 2.

illicit alliances²⁰⁰ (her pregnancy allows us to see some of the temptations and vulnerabilities of servants at the time). If Charlotte was George and Mary's adopted daughter then George William's actions were more than untoward. If Charlotte was George and Mary's biological daughter then the family had become the victim of incest.

George William may have left (fled?) Liskeard for London either shortly after it was discovered that Charlotte was pregnant or just after Charlotte gave birth to Charles Parsons in 1833.

On Sunday, 4 January 1835, George William was inducted as a member of the Royal Society of Musicians in London (Plate 122).



Plate 122 The Royal Society of Musicians, London (as it appears today).

Source: Photo by the author.

200 See C. B. Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 18.

The Royal Society described George William as having had success as a 'piano forte master in schools and private families'.²⁰¹ It is reasonable to assume that prior to his admission to the Royal Society in 1835, he must have been professionally active in London for long enough to build a credible reputation as a piano teacher; if he arrived in London in 1833, the ensuing two years would have provided him with more than enough time to establish a reputation for being trustworthy.

Royal Society documentation describes George William as 'a married man'.²⁰² No contemporaneous documentation anywhere in England records his marriage. A married man would certainly have been regarded as a 'safer' kind of person to give piano lessons to a young lady in her home. Perhaps George William lied about his marital status in order to gain employment (perhaps George William's ethics were indeed, 'flexible').

A conjectural scenario emerges that paints George William in a rather bad light: one is reluctant to hypothesise that, at the age of 33, George William fathered Charles Parsons with the 17-year-old Charlotte.

If George William did compromise Charlotte's virtue, and if his younger brother, John Parsons, knew about this particular skeleton in the family closet, the circumstance could explain the seeming lack of affection between the two brothers after they had both independently immigrated to Sydney. Men who debauched and abandoned pregnant, unmarried young ladies were below contempt not only because they 'removed a chaste female from the marriage market (of whatever segment of society)', but also because they often set 'in train a tragic descent into vice and prostitution'.²⁰³ In Sydney, John Parsons' and George William's apparent disinterest in each other's lives may also be explained by their age difference (five years); perhaps this gave rise to an icy relationship maintained by the ongoing effects of sibling rivalry. The evident instabilities of George William's married life in Sydney²⁰⁴ suggest that the shortcomings of his character²⁰⁵ may have made him capable of seducing Charlotte.

That George Bouchier Worgan built Wadeland House a good distance from the outskirts of Liskeard may be explained by a desire to escape the prying eyes of the townspeople in relation to the existence of Charles Parsons. Then again, the land upon which he built may have been all that was available within his price range. Given that the land comprised a farm, he may not only have yearned for

201 'Worgan: Membership No. A381', in *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain. The Catalogue*.

202 Ibid. George William subsequently married in Sydney, in January 1847. See 'George William Marries', below.

203 Riding, *Mid-Georgian Britain 1740-69*, p. 15.

204 See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 February 1851, p. 2. See also *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer*, 15 February 1851, p. 2.

205 See 'Scandal and Public Ridicule', above.

the farming life (success at which had eluded him so many years before), but may also have quested after the delights of rural solitude. George Worgan's decision to locate Wadeland House on a farm, as well as his statement that '[m]y very earliest inclinations and propensities led me to the study and pursuit of agriculture',²⁰⁶ suggest that he retained a lifelong passion for farming and the rural life.

Some researchers maintain that George Bouchier Worgan hanged himself in 1838²⁰⁷ (the year George William migrated to Sydney). If George Bouchier did commit suicide, it is reasonable to assume that one of the reasons that drove him to this act of desperation was the knowledge that either his family was linked with the unwanted pregnancy outside of marriage of a minor or a member of his household had become the victim of incest. On the other hand, his depression may have been the cumulative result of his failures as a farmer, provider, researcher/author and headmaster.²⁰⁸ That Worgan built Wadeland House only two years before he died suggests, however, that he was not plagued by despair in his old age. Furthermore, given the fact that George Bouchier's body was interred in hallowed ground²⁰⁹ (the law of the time 'enacted vengeance on ... [a suicide's] reputation and fortune',²¹⁰ prescribing 'ignominious burial in the highway, with a stake driven through his body'),²¹¹ he cannot have committed suicide.

It is reasonable to conjecture that Charles Parsons' mother, Charlotte, may have been the 'Charlotte Elizabeth Worgan' who had a civil marriage ceremony in Liskeard during the October–December quarter of 1842.²¹² ('After 1837 a couple were able to be married', within a context of civil registration, 'by the local registrar'.)²¹³ At the time of her marriage

1. Charlotte was 26 years old
2. her son, Charles Parsons, was nine years old (he had only six more years to live)
3. Charlotte and her son were living in Wadeland House (where, presumably, they had lived for the previous six years—since its completion in 1836)
4. George Bouchier had been dead for four years.

206 Arthur Young Papers, Ad. MSS 35129 (London: British Library). I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*.

207 See 'Worgan, George Boucher', in Boase and Courtney, *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, p. 906; Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 99; and Menneer, 'George Worgan', p. 12.

208 See Worgan, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall ...*

209 See 'George Bouchier Worgan Dies in Liskeard', above.

210 Pembroke, *Arthur Phillip*, p. 263.

211 W. Blackstone, *Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1765–69), Book 4, Chapter 14, p. 190.

212 *Find My Past, Record Collections: Marriages—England & Wales 1837–2005: Marriages from Quarter Oct–Nov–Dec 1842*, Vol. 9, p. 219.

213 Treseder, 'Marriage Certificates Explained', p. 29.

Charlotte's marriage was probably to the then 27-year-old William Murray, jnr (b. 1815). This can be deduced from

1. documentation concerning civil marriages in Liskeard during the October–December quarter of 1842, which indicates that Charlotte married one of the following men
 - a) Joseph Bennet
 - b) William Murray
 - c) John Runnels
 - d) Richard Squire²¹⁴
2. the death certificate of a 'Charlotte Elizabeth Murray', who died in Liskeard in 1864²¹⁵ (the only contemporaneous death certificate from Liskeard on which the name 'Charlotte' appears).

According to *J. Pigot & Co.'s National Commercial Directory* of 1830, William Murray, of Church Street, Liskeard, was a 'watch and clock maker'.²¹⁶

That Charlotte's marriage took place within the context of a civil ceremony may be explained by the church's refusal to sanction her marriage because she had given birth to Charles Parsons out of wedlock, as a minor, and perhaps because of the haunting spectre of incest. Love, however, conquers all: William Murray must have been so deeply in love with Charlotte that he was both inspired and empowered to ignore the stigma that attended her.

If Charlotte Worgan and the 'Charlotte Elizabeth Murray' who died in 1864 are one and the same person then Charlotte was 48 years old when she died. Her husband almost immediately married his former housekeeper, Jane Whitford, with whom he had been co-habiting for several years.²¹⁷

With the spotlight shining on the protagonists of this family drama, the following summary traces significant events.

- 1746: William Parsons, the future husband of Charlotte Sophia (George Bouchier Worgan's sister) is born.
- 1757: George Bouchier Worgan is born.
- 1761: Charlotte Sophia (George Bouchier's sister) is born.
- 1778: Charlotte Sophia marries William Parsons, in London.

214 Ibid.

215 *Find My Past, Deaths 1796–2006*.

216 Pigot, 'Liskeard, Cornwall', p. 150. The William Murray listed in *Pigot's Directory* may have been either father or son. What is certain, however, is that by 1861, William Murray, jnr, was an auctioneer and the high bailiff of the county court. See M. Hall, *Random Genealogy*.

217 *Find My Past, Deaths 1796–2006*. See also M. Hall, '6. poss. Charlotte Elizabeth Worgan (1815–1864)' in *Random Genealogy* (Friday, 8 August 2014) (retrieved 29 May 2015).

- 1793: George Bouchier marries Mary Lawry, in Liskeard.
- 1800: George William, George and Mary's eldest son, is born.
- 1805: John Parsons, George and Mary's youngest son, is born.
- 1815: William Murray, the future husband of Charlotte (George and Mary's servant or adopted daughter?) is born.
- 1816: Charlotte (the servant or adopted daughter) is born.
- 1817: Sir William Parsons, Charlotte Sophia's husband, dies, in London.
- 1829: John Parsons, George and Mary's youngest son, immigrates to Australia.
- 1833: Charlotte (the servant or adopted daughter) falls pregnant.
- 1833: Charles Parsons, Charlotte's son, is born.
- 1833?: George William, George and Mary's eldest son, leaves Liskeard(?).
- 1835: George William is inducted as a member of the Royal Society of Musicians, in London.
- 1836: George Bouchier builds Wadeland House, on the outskirts of Liskeard.
- 1837: George William, George and Mary's eldest son, is in Liskeard, and is in trouble with the law there.
- 1838: George Bouchier dies, in Liskeard, aged 81.
- 1838: George William immigrates to Australia.
- 1842: Charlotte (George and Mary's servant or adopted daughter) marries William Murray, in Liskeard.
- 1846: Mary, George Bouchier's wife, dies, in Liskeard, aged 82.
- 1848: Charles Parsons, Charlotte's son, dies, in Liskeard, aged 15.
- 1853: Charlotte Sophia, George Bouchier's sister, dies, in London, aged 92.
- 1862: George William, George and Mary's eldest son, dies, in Sydney, aged 62.
- 1864: Charlotte (the servant or adopted daughter) dies, in Liskeard, aged 48 (16 years after the death of her son, Charles Parsons).

The simple mention of 'Worgan' on Charles Parsons' baptismal record implies that his true father either was not known or was not named in order to protect someone's identity, and that George Bouchier Worgan took on the 'fatherly' responsibility of raising and providing for Charles Parsons.

That the truth was so effectively suppressed is miraculous. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, English society (especially the aristocracy) appears to have been obsessed with marriage, sex and property.

One of the crucial ingredients in the success of Edward Cave's [1691–1754] *Gentleman's Magazine* was the monthly column of marriages, which gave the amount of dowry, real or invented, and any piquant garnishings that could be provided. Marriage gossip was the staple fare of many ... correspondences, often with considerable detail of the financial arrangements ... Nuptial performance was monitored. Horace Walpole was disappointed that he had 'no anecdotes of the wedding-night' to pass on after Lord Fitzwilliam's marriage in 1744 and when Lord Beauchamp in 1768 married a daughter of Viscount Windsor, an Irish peer, George Selwyn reported of the honeymoon that: 'Beauchamp is seen out so early in a morning that it does not look as if much business was doing.'²¹⁸

Like the aristocracy, a community as small as Liskeard would have been rife with gossip whenever scandal appeared; after all, 'entertainment' (at best) may have been 'genteel', but 'scandal was a drawingroom amusement'.²¹⁹ And yet, surprisingly, there is not a whisper, not a rumour concerning Charlotte and George William Worgan.

That Charles Parsons is buried next to George Bouchier Worgan and his wife, Mary, strongly suggests that not only is there a close familial connection, but also Charles Parsons was greatly loved. That there is no mention on Charles Parsons' tombstone either of his parents or of his relationship to George Bouchier or Mary Worgan (let alone to his mother, Charlotte) encourages conjecture. 'This is a case in which thoughtful people may reach different conclusions from the same evidence. Any further facts brought forward would certainly be more than welcome.'²²⁰ All that can be said with certainty is that the circumstances surrounding Charlotte and her son, Charles Parsons, are replete with mystery (and mysteries once solved are, arguably, not as interesting).

George Bouchier Worgan's Character and Personality

Edwards regards Worgan as 'a shadowy figure', stating that 'it is difficult to decide what sort of a man he really was'.²²¹ Evidence, however, suggests otherwise; recurring patterns (as well as all-too-human inconsistencies) in George Worgan's behaviour provide insights into his character and personality.

218 Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, p. 73.

219 Cumes, *Their Chastity Was Not Too Rigid*, p. 49.

220 B. Curnow, 'But Whose Bride was Jennifer Hollow?', in *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 141 (September) (Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society, 2011), p. 9.

221 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 10.

He appears to have been a perceptive and articulate man, who had sufficient self-confidence, courage and ability to respond with energy and creativity to life's challenges.

As a conscientious and caring naval surgeon, Worgan appears, throughout the First Fleet voyage, to have been 'determined to put [his] ... professional skills at the disposal' of the convicts, marines and crew.²²² His relations with the officers on board the *Sirius* were positive, and he would have found satisfaction in the knowledge that on the voyage to Botany Bay, 'no cause of complaint was alleged by anyone against' him.²²³ Following his return from Sydney Cove to Plymouth, he was described in the periodical *The Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer* as a 'young gentleman of approved character and merit'.²²⁴

Following his retirement from the navy, Worgan 'mixed with other professional men in Cornwall—lawyers, farmers, clergy; but one wonders how he viewed life and society in rural Cornwall after a London childhood and the excitement and adventure of his naval career'.²²⁵ Despite the fact that he was not born in Cornwall, Worgan 'married, settled, lived and worked locally and served his adopted county as best he could'.²²⁶ There can be little doubt that Worgan was motivated and industrious.

Worgan's statement that '[m]y very earliest inclinations and propensities led me to the study and pursuit of agriculture'²²⁷ suggests that he retained a lifelong ardour for farming and the rural life. Worgan's experimental farming methods imply that he was both intrigued and inspired by innovation. At his agricultural best, his proclivity for inventing farm machinery suggests that he had a clear, analytical and creative mind.

Remarks contained in his *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall* show that he was bewildered and outraged when he encountered inequitable and disadvantaging laws.²²⁸ And yet, Worgan's ethics are called into question through his duplicitous and opportunistic involvement in the victualling racket on *Le Caton*. The compassionate side of Worgan's personality is revealed by the care that he lavished upon his wife and children.

222 Brooke and Brandon, *Bound for Botany Bay*, p. 198.

223 Thomas Logan, surgeon superintendent on the convict transport ship *Albion*, Logbook entry dated 14 November 1828. Quoted in Pocock, 'A Voyage with the Sick and Dying', p. 35.

224 *The Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer*, [Edinburgh], 16 May 1792, Vol. 9, p. 80. In this source, George Worgan's surname is incorrectly given; he is described as 'Mr Morgan, surgeon of his majesty's ship *Sirius*, who returns to England in the Dutch vessel' (p. 80).

225 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 10.

226 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

227 *Arthur Young Papers*, Ad. MSS 35129 (London: British Library). I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*.

228 See Worgan, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall ...*, 'Tenures', Chapter 2, p. 22; 'Mode of Occupation, Section 2: Rent', Chapter 4, p. 32; 'Mode of Occupation, Section 5: Leases', Chapter 4, p. 38; 'Obstacles to Improvements', Chapter 16, p. 178.

That Worgan successfully trained as a schoolteacher late in life suggests that he possessed not only the humility necessary to learn, but also the intelligence, analytical skills, memory, patience and compassion associated with the professional practice of teaching.

Unfortunately, no matter how 'enthusiastic he may have been in the various stages of his life, he enjoyed a singular lack of success in nearly every venture which he tried';²²⁹ however, 'far better it is to dare mighty things ... even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows not victory nor defeat'.²³⁰ George Eliot's (1819–80)²³¹ words seem apposite: 'the growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number that lived faithfully a hidden life, and rest in unvisited tombs.'²³²

The failures in Worgan's life were rarely caused by his own inadequacies: the square piano that he took to Sydney Cove was ruined by extremes of weather; he failed as a farmer; his farming inventions were ignored in the long term; his research was publicly ridiculed; he did not establish any connections with 'the industrial or business organisations which were springing up all over' Cornwall;²³³ the school at which he was employed as headmaster closed; his financial situation was often precarious; and the mysterious paternity of Charles Parsons Worgan suggests that the virtue of George's household had been compromised. Even though the last two years of George Worgan's life were spent in the comfort of Wadeland House, the presence of Charles Parsons there may have been a constant reminder that disorder and turpitude had visited the household.

Because sexual dishonor was universally regarded as so grave, it served widely as metaphor and marker of disarray, dishonesty, and disrepute. Though aimed in the first instance at women, given their vulnerability ... sexual insult/innuendo struck at the men who were supposed to be their custodians, guarantors, and sole beneficiaries.²³⁴

229 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 1.

230 Theodore Roosevelt. Quoted in B. Freeman, 'What's in Your Coop?', in B. Freeman, S. Duke, R. B. Jordan, G. Malone and F. C. Sandin, *Eggstra Courage for the Chicken Hearted: More Heartfelt Stories to Encourage Confident Living* (Tulsa, Okla.: Honor Books, 1999), p. 169.

231 George Eliot was the pen name of the Victorian novelist Mary Anne Evans.

232 G. Eliot, *Middlemarch* (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 1994), p. 688.

233 Edwards, 'George Bouchier Worgan', p. 1.

234 S. L. Kaplan, *The Bakers of Paris and the Bread Question 1700–1775* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), p. 434.

Impressively, George Worgan remained resilient in the face of tribulation, and with each setback that beleaguered him appears to have recovered with surprising vitality. Worgan showed that ‘man is not powerless when life goes ill, that he can assemble sounds and colours and actions into patterns’, embodying an ‘antidote’ to life’s ‘poison’.²³⁵

That Worgan could afford to purchase a Beck piano, and to build Wadeland House, shows that he was capable of thrift. (It also shows that he had good taste, especially in relation to pianos.)

In 1829, the poet, literary scholar and essayist Robert Southey (1774–1843) described the ideals of service that should be pursued by a ‘good and wise man’. Southey’s description rings true in relation to Worgan’s character and personality:

To do his duty first to his family, then to his neighbours, lastly to his country and kind; to promote the welfare and happiness of those who are in any degree dependant upon him, or whom he has the means of assisting, and never wantonly to injure the meanest thing that lives; to encourage, as far as he may have the power, whatever is useful and ornamental in society, whatever tends to refine and elevate humanity; to store his mind with such knowledge as it is fitted to receive, and he is able to attain; and so to employ the talents committed to his charge, that when the account is required, he may hope to have his stewardship approved.²³⁶

Some researchers have suggested that George Worgan may have ‘considered himself to have been “a success only at failure”’.²³⁷ Others have suggested that his ‘long Calvary of ... misfortune’²³⁸ broke his spirit and drove him to commit suicide²³⁹ (Worgan cannot have committed suicide, for he was buried in hallowed ground).²⁴⁰ Such assessments unfairly malign him, for despite the difficulties Worgan endured, despondence failed to conquer. He appears, overall, to have maintained an optimistic attitude to life as an independent and engaging individual who remained maturely vulnerable and dependably giving to those around him. He was, in the words of his navy colleague Arthur Bowes Smyth, ‘a very sensible good kind of man’.²⁴¹

235 West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, pp. 747–8.

236 R. Southey, *Sir Thomas More: Or, Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1829), Vol. 1, p. 165.

237 Edwards, ‘George Bouchier Worgan’, p. 1.

238 R. de Ayala and J.-P. Guéno (eds), *Illustrated Letters: Artists and Writers Correspond* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999), p. 88.

239 See ‘Worgan, George Boucher’ in Boase and Courtney, *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, p. 906; Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*, p. 99; and Menneer, ‘George Worgan’, p. 12.

240 See ‘George Bouchier Worgan Dies in Liskeard’ above.

241 Smyth, *A Journal of a Voyage from Portsmouth to New South Wales and China in the Lady Penrhyn*, Image 37.

Significant Events in George Bouchier Worgan's Life: Summary

The following summary traces some of the significant events in the life of George Bouchier Worgan.

- 3 May 1757: George Bouchier Worgan is christened at St Andrew's, Holborn.
- 1775: George Bouchier joins the British Navy, and serves as a Surgeon's Mate on the hospital ship *Tiger*.
- 1778–79: George Bouchier serves as a Surgeon's Second Mate.
- 1779: George Bouchier is certified as a Surgeon Fifth Rate.
- 1780–82: George Bouchier serves on board the hospital ship *Pilote*.
- 1783–85: George Bouchier is unaccounted for; perhaps he worked as a naval surgeon (on the Portsmouth guardship *Ganges*) or was on some sort of detached list.²⁴²
- 1783: George Bouchier purchases a square piano by John Broadwood;²⁴³ or
- 1780–86: George Bouchier purchases a square piano by Frederick Beck; or
- 1785–86: George Bouchier purchases a square piano by Longman & Broderip.²⁴⁴
- 1786: George Bouchier serves on the Portsmouth guardship *Ganges*.
- 30 October 1786: George Bouchier is discharged from the *Ganges* to the *Sirius*.²⁴⁵
- 1 November 1786: George Bouchier joins the *Sirius*.
- 13 May 1787: George Bouchier departs Portsmouth for Botany Bay on board the *Sirius*.
- 20 August 1787: George Bouchier plays his Beck(?) square piano for fellow officers on board the *Sirius* in Rio de Janeiro.
- 19 January 1788: George Bouchier arrives at Botany Bay.
- 26 January 1788, approximately 3 pm: George Bouchier departs Botany Bay for Port Jackson on board the *Sirius*.
- 26 January 1788, approximately 7 pm: George Bouchier arrives at Port Jackson.

242 I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*.

243 See Appendix C, Volume 2 of this publication.

244 See Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

245 See Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 393.

- Between 27 January and 2 October? 1788: George Bouchier takes his Beck(?) square piano ashore at Port Jackson before his departure on the *Sirius* for the Cape of Good Hope(?).
- 2 October 1788: George Bouchier departs Port Jackson for the Cape of Good Hope on board the *Sirius*.
- 9 May 1789: George Bouchier arrives at Port Jackson from the Cape of Good Hope (having circumnavigated the globe).
- By 6 March 1790: George Bouchier's Beck(?) square piano is permanently located ashore at Sydney Cove.
- Between January and 7 March 1791: George Bouchier moves his Beck(?) square piano into John and Elizabeth Macarthur's new thatched wattle-and-daub hut.
- Between January and 7 March? 1791: George Bouchier gives his Beck(?) square piano to Elizabeth Macarthur.
- 27 April 1791: George Bouchier departs Sydney Cove for England on board the Dutch ship *Waaksamheid*.
- 22 April 1792: George Bouchier arrives at Portsmouth from Sydney Cove.
- 4 May 1792: George Bouchier is discharged from any duties associated with the colony at Sydney Cove.
- 1793: George Bouchier marries Mary Lawry, in Liskeard, Cornwall.
- 1793–98: George Bouchier serves as surgeon's first mate on the hospital ship *Le Caton*.
- 1 March 1794: Samuel Keast, Purser on *Le Caton*, relinquishes his victualling contract to George Worgan.
- Late January?/early February? 1798: Immediately prior to the *Le Caton* being converted into a prison ship, George Bouchier retires, because of ill health, on a half-pay navy pension.
- 1798: George Bouchier is the leaseholder of two farms, one at Bray, and one at Hendra, in the Parish of Morval, Cornwall.
- 1800: George William, George and Mary's eldest son, is born.
- 1801: Mary, George and Mary's daughter, is born.
- 8 November 1803: George Bouchier testifies at a naval inquiry in relation to his involvement with corrupt victualling practices during his period of service on board *Le Caton*.
- 1804: George Bouchier takes up the lease of a farm at Glynn, in the Parish of Cardinham, Cornwall.
- 1805: John Parsons, George and Mary's youngest son, is born.
- 1806: George Bouchier experiences financial hardship.

- May 1806: The Cornwall Agricultural Society awards George Bouchier a £3 prize for his farming machinery inventions.
- 1806: Two years after moving his family to the leased farm at Glynn, George Bouchier breaks the lease and leaves the farm owing two years' rent.
- November 1808: At the behest of the Board of Agriculture, George Bouchier researches and writes his *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*.
- 1809–10?: The Board of Agriculture engages the Reverend Robert Walker, the Reverend Jeremiah Trist and Vice-Admiral Charles Penrose to rewrite George Bouchier's *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*.
- 1809–12: George Bouchier experiences financial hardship.
- 1809?–12?: George Bouchier takes up employment as a schoolteacher in Liskeard(?).
- 1811: George Bouchier's *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall* is first published in London.
- 1812: George Bouchier trains at the Central Schools, Truro, Cornwall, as a schoolteacher.
- 1813: George Bouchier is employed as headmaster of the National Society Boys School, Liskeard.
- 1815: The second edition of George Bouchier's *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall* is published.
- 1815?: The National Society Boys School, Liskeard, closes.
- 1815? – early 1830s?: George Bouchier is employed as a schoolteacher in Liskeard(?).
- 1822: George Bouchier lives in Dean Street, Liskeard.
- 1828: George Bouchier experiences financial hardship.
- 1829: John Parsons, George and Mary's youngest son, immigrates to Australia.
- 1830: George Bouchier lives in West Street, Liskeard.
- 1833: Charlotte, George and Mary's servant(?) or adopted(?) daughter, falls pregnant.
- 1833: Charles Parsons, Charlotte's son, is born.
- 1833?: George William, George and Mary's eldest son, leaves Liskeard(?).
- 1836: George Bouchier builds Wadeland House, on the outskirts of Liskeard.
- 1838: George Bouchier dies, in Liskeard, aged 81.

Chapter 13

Elizabeth Farm Cottage, Parramatta

By early November 1791, George Worgan was sailing between Batavia (Jakarta) and Cape Town on his return journey to England on board the *Waaksamheyd*. At the same time, thousands of kilometres away, John and Elizabeth Macarthur were returning to Sydney Cove, having spent approximately four months at Rose Hill.

Two months prior to the Macarthurs' return, the *Gorgon* arrived at Sydney Cove, on Wednesday, 21 September 1791. The *Gorgon* carried officers and marines of the NSW Corps (as well as the chamber organ, destined for Norfolk Island, which had been acquired in Cape Town by Lieutenant Philip Gidley King).¹

To [Elizabeth's] ... great joy, several of the newly arrived officers had their wives with them, as had the ship's captain and the government agent. [Elizabeth writes that] as a result, *our little circle has been of late quite brilliant; we are constantly making little parties in boats up and down the various inlets of the harbour ... There are so many ladies in the regiment that I am not likely to feel the want of female society as I first did.*²

In June 1792, John 'returned to Rose Hill (by then called Parramatta) ... as regimental paymaster. Elizabeth remained in Sydney where their daughter Elizabeth was born.'³ Perhaps the renaming of Rose Hill with the Aboriginal word 'Parramatta' had not so much to do with respect for Aboriginal culture, nor with etymological accuracy, as with an assertion of possession, an act of 'civilising'—a claim to priority through the appropriation of the Aboriginal word. After all, Captain Cook 'had already set a precedent: when, on the *Endeavour* voyage ... [he] restored St George's Island to its native name of Tahiti, he was not so much exhibiting his interest in Tahitian sovereignty as his self-interest in establishing his precedence there over the island's earlier English visitor, Samuel Wallis [1728–95]'.⁴

During the absence of her husband, and prior to the birth of her daughter, Elizabeth may have found playing Worgan's piano a source of solace during her

1 See 'The Colony's First Pipe Organ', in Chapter 11, this volume.

2 Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 84.

3 Hughes, *The Macarthurs*, p. 4.

4 Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p. 67.

'vacant hours'.⁵ It is reasonable to assume that Elizabeth's pianistic skills were still quite basic. As an unaccomplished pianist, she may have been reluctant to play in front of the wives of the newly arrived officers of the NSW Corps. It is likely, however, that the women making up Elizabeth's 'little circle'⁶ would have been aware not only that she owned a piano, but also that the instrument had been given to her by surgeon George Worgan.

In January 1793, Captain David Collins, the colony's first judge advocate, wrote:

In the course of this month the lieutenant-governor judged it necessary to send an officer to Parramatta, whom he could entrust with the direction of the convicts employed there ... as well as to take charge of the public grain. This business had always been executed by one of the superintendants, under the immediate inspection and orders of the governor, who latterly had dedicated the greatest part of his time and attention to these settlements. But it was attended with infinite fatigue to his excellency; and the business had now grown so extensive, that it became absolutely necessary that the person who might have the regulation of it should reside upon the spot, that he might personally enforce the execution of his orders, and be at all times ready to attend to the various applications which were constantly making from settlers.

The lieutenant-governor, therefore (his presence being required at Sydney, the head-quarters of his regiment, and the seat of the government of the country) deputed this trust to Lieutenant John Macarthur, of the New South Wales corps; the superintendants, storekeepers, overseers, and convicts at the two settlements, being placed under his immediate inspection.⁷

On Tuesday, 12 February 1793, John Macarthur occupied a government land grant of 40 hectares 'on the south side of the creek leading to Parramatta'.⁸ He did this 13 days before the official paperwork was signed. Macarthur was officially given his land grant on Monday, 25 February 1793. By this time, John had been promoted to captain. By May 1793, Macarthur commanded

the military detachment at Parramatta [and] ... ran the public works ... Macarthur and his seventy-four soldiers [were] ... in charge of almost half the colony—including over half the convicts and most of

5 Macarthur, 'Letter to Bridget Kingdon', 7 March 1791. See Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales*, pp. 498–9.

6 See Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 84.

7 Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, &c. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country*, Chapter XX, para. 19.

8 Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 100.

its agricultural activities—while [acting Governor Major Francis] Grose, his four captains and several hundred soldiers lolled about Sydney Cove enjoying the harbour breezes ... apparently not doing much at all.⁹

Macarthur's grant—'some of the best land yet found'¹⁰—was 'to be known by the Name of Elizabeth Farm' in honour of his wife.¹¹

'With ample access to convict labour'—the Macarthurs were given 10 convicts to clear and farm the land—'Macarthur cleared and cultivated 50 acres [20 hectares] of virgin land, thus earning a further hundred acres [40 hectares] grant, and, with unrestricted access to convict craftsmen.'¹²

John Macarthur immediately set about supervising the construction, by unpaid convict labour, of a small cottage on Elizabeth Farm.

Macarthur was responsible for allocating convict workers ... He ... creamed the top off the labour market, while those who displeased him received farmhands riddled with tuberculosis, equipped with fewer than the usual number of limbs, or unnaturally interested in the colony's limited supply of livestock ...

A steady trickle of animal husbandry cases came before the courts in the early days of the settlement. Successful prosecutions were difficult because of the requirement that two witnesses give evidence against the accused—offenders not only had to be deviants, but exhibitionists to boot. James Reece was executed in 1799 for making bacon, as was the unfortunate sow he'd befriended. The colonial courts would also order the death of any four-legged party to such proceedings in accordance with Leviticus 20:15.¹³

One wonders how the unpaid convicts felt about being forced to construct the cottage at Elizabeth Farm.

'The phrase 'Kiss my arse!' was a popular one in Sydney Cove—it appears in the records of the judge-advocate's court as standard badinage, and may well have been' muttered by the convicts in response to John Macarthur's orders as they laboured over the construction of Elizabeth Farm cottage.¹⁴

The convicts who formed the bulk of the agricultural and pastoral work-force ... were in assignment to private settlers ... Some features

9 Ibid., p. 114.

10 Ibid., p. 100.

11 Quoted in Hughes, *The Macarthurs*, p. 4.

12 Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta*, p. 9.

13 Hunt, *Girt*, p. 147.

14 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 115.

[of such an arrangement] remained constant, such as the legal basis of the arrangement as a tacit contract between the government and the settler. But the actual context of assignment varied so much, and the situations into which convicts were thrust were so different, that from their point of view it was completely unpredictable ... Convicts who got a conciliatory master would be in a position hardly distinguishable from that of a labourer or household servant in England. But those who got a grasping or hostile master, or one infected by a sense of righteousness and a mission to punish the transgressor, might be in for years of brutality and oppression. In cases of dispute, the government would almost certainly step in on the settler's side.¹⁵

Elizabeth Farm cottage sat on the brow of a small hill, and looked across to the Parramatta River (Plate 123).



Plate 123 Joseph Lycett (1774? – ca 1828): *The Residence of John McArthur Esqre. Near Parramatta, New South Wales* (1825)—the two figures in the foreground may be John and Elizabeth Macarthur. Hand-coloured aquatint; plate mark 23.2 x 33.0 centimetres.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Australia, Canberra. Pictures Collection, nla.pic-an7690900.

15 Connell and Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History*, pp. 44–5.

The exact 1793 plan of Elizabeth Farm cottage is unknown. What is known is that it was rectangular, brick, 5.6 metres by 15.5 metres with a ‘parlour’—that is, a drawing room—the hall and, presumably, the bedroom (later to become the dining room).¹⁶

‘The kitchen and servants’ accommodation were ... separate buildings’¹⁷—‘lean-to constructions or skillings, built against the back wall of the house, or, if the recorded length of the house is not an error, built at either end of the house’¹⁸—‘giving the ... house, once finished, the air of a set of pavilions. It had, like almost every other building in the colony, plenty of fireplaces and just one storey. The house was surrounded by a three-acre [1.2 hectare] garden and orchard.’¹⁹

The main face of the house had a centrally placed square-headed doorway that was flanked on each side by two 12-paned Georgian windows.²⁰

The cottage was made from

hand-pressed clay bricks crudely fired without the benefit of kilns. These were made from ... clay obtained from Clay Cliff Creek, 100 meters north of the house. The creek is now a stormwater channel. The bricks were laid with English bond in a mud mortar, as lime was not readily available before 1795.²¹

The building had a ‘steeply pitched roof and close-cropped eaves’.²² ‘The roof was formed of massive baulks of pit-sawn timber held together by wooden pegs without the use of nails or iron, and sheathed with cedar planks.’²³

The cottage was ‘roofed with [split] hardwood [swamp-oak] shingles rather than thatch or tiles’.²⁴ ‘In 1793, Elizabeth Farm [cottage] ... was an exemplar of good and conscientious building.’²⁵

Nine months after construction first began—and 17 months after John Macarthur had left his wife in Sydney to take up his position as regimental paymaster at Parramatta—the Macarthurs, now with three young children, moved permanently to Elizabeth Farm, in November 1793.

16 Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta*, p. 18.

17 Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 109.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 109.

20 Freeland, ‘Elizabeth Farm’, p. 3.

21 I. Sansom, *The Conservation of Elizabeth Farm* (Glebe, NSW: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 1984), p. 6.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

23 Freeland, ‘Elizabeth Farm’, p. 3.

24 Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta*, p. 18.

25 Freeland, ‘Elizabeth Farm’, p. 3.

By August 1794, Elizabeth Farm cottage consisted of 'four rooms on the ground floor, a large hall, closets, cellar &c.; adjoining is a kitchen, with servants' apartments and other necessary offices'.²⁶

Worgan's Piano at Elizabeth Farm

It is probable that in November 1793, Elizabeth took Worgan's piano to Elizabeth Farm cottage, where it remained as part of the household furniture for at least the next 17 years. When Elizabeth Macarthur first brought the piano to Elizabeth Farm, the instrument would most probably have been put into the drawing room. 'The elite mistress managed her household property like a museum curator administering her collection, for the neatness and order of a house and furniture was a quintessential feature of genteel economy, a mark too reflective of character to be left entirely to the unexact care of servants.'²⁷ As an 'elite mistress', Elizabeth would have paid 'precise attention to the physical arrangement of the household',²⁸ including the exact location of her piano—an instrument that 'helped to structure family space and activity'.²⁹ Such care 'for the private dimension, for the home as an expression of the individualism typical of modern man', was characteristic of the bourgeois spirit, and 'took concrete form in the search for and in the application of extremely strict norms'.³⁰

That Elizabeth probably chose to place Worgan's stylishly inlaid square piano in the drawing room is not surprising. During the late eighteenth century, the drawing room—a term derived from the earlier 'withdrawing room'—was usually adjacent to the dining room. 'The drawing room was a more flexible space than the dining room, being the place where guests were entertained by the family, or shown into for sherry before a meal.'³¹ According to Thomas Sheraton, writing in *The Cabinet Dictionary* in 1803,³² the function of the drawing room was 'to concentrate the elegance of the whole house, [it being] the highest display of richness of furniture'.³³ Here, furnishings were formal and upholstery lavish.³⁴

The danger of luxury, however, was a late eighteenth-century concern.

26 Elizabeth Macarthur, letter dated Friday, 22 August 1794, in Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales*, pp. 508–9. Quoted in Rosen, *Australia's Oldest House*, p. 107.

27 Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 147.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 148.

29 Black, *Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 109.

30 Eco, *On Beauty*, p. 244.

31 T. Yorke, *Georgian & Regency Houses Explained* (Newbury, Berkshire: Countryside Books, 2009), p. 100.

32 T. Sheraton, *The Cabinet Dictionary*, 2 vols (London: W. Smith, 1803), sold for £1 12s in 1803. See 'Furniture Styles Thomas Sheraton: Design Books' (n.d.).

33 Quoted in Riley, *World Furniture*, p. 137.

34 See *ibid.*, p. 137.

Some worried that there was a tendency for people to pursue the creation of splendid [drawing rooms] ... to 'outshine' their neighbours. This was thought to be corrupting because it put the ownership and display of material goods before more important moral values. These arguments, combined with the idea ... of politeness, which ... valued restraint rather than excess, led [some] to [adopt] a taste for plainer furnishings and decoration.³⁵

Not only was the drawing room a space within which guests were entertained, but it was also the room within which that most British of vices—a cup of tea—was served following the evening meal. 'Tea was a popular drink at the time, and was usually served weak and without milk' (often with the addition of sugar).³⁶ Because tea was expensive, 'tealeaves were kept under lock and key and when finished with were passed onto the servants to be used again or to be sold locally'.³⁷ 'The elegant ritual of tea begat numerous ... small tables including a variety supported by a pillar on a tripod base known as a teapoy.'³⁸

During the early nineteenth century, the 10 500 tonnes of tealeaves that were imported every year to London,³⁹ exclusively from China, were of either the black or the green varieties.⁴⁰ Black tea was more expensive than green. Elizabeth Macarthur would have 'presided over the tea table, taking the tea from a locked ... caddy and making it in a teapot with boiling water heated in an urn or in a kettle heated by a spirit lamp'.⁴¹ The tea urn was an eighteenth-century icon: 'it was an urn-shaped kettle with a tap [or spigot] close to the base instead of a spout, first charcoal-heated, and after 1774 with a patented box iron. Silver-plated tea equipages centred around a tea urn led novelty and fashion by the later eighteenth century.'⁴²

Elizabeth Macarthur may also have served biscuits, cakes and/or sandwiches with tea. (Sandwiches were first referred to as such in ca 1765. They were named after John Montagu, Fourth Earl of Sandwich, who on one occasion 'spent 24 hours at the gambling table sustained only by some slices of cold beef between pieces of toast'.)⁴³ *The Complete Servant* by Samuel and Sarah Adams of 1825 recommends "Sandwiches should be neatly cut in mouthfuls, so as to be taken up with a fork".⁴⁴

35 The quotation comprises an excerpt from an exhibition label (for an eighteenth-century room) in the Geffrye Museum, London.

36 Yorke, *Georgian & Regency Houses Explained*, p. 100.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 100.

38 Riley, *World Furniture*, p. 138.

39 See Morris, *Why the West Rules*, p. 7.

40 See Palmer, *The Soanes at Home*, p. 57.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

42 Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, p. 164.

43 Palmer, *The Soanes at Home*, p. 56.

44 Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 56–7.

During the mid to late eighteenth century (for the wealthy at least), 'dinner' was usually taken between 2 pm and 5 pm. By the early nineteenth century, this had changed to a time with which we would be more familiar: approximately 5–7 pm. That the meal times of the wealthy moved forward during the second half of the eighteenth century was commented on by a 'country correspondent [who] in the 1790s complained that ... "the manners, the customs, the hours of eating, and in short, the whole face of things is ... turned topsy-turvy within these 40 years"' .⁴⁵

For many, dinner was the main meal of the day. If Elizabeth Macarthur took wine with her meal, she may have watered it down, 'as it was the custom of some ladies to do at the time'.⁴⁶ By the early nineteenth century, 'dining practice had developed many refinements'.⁴⁷ When more than one individual attended dinner, such refinements included, for example, 'serving wine from chilled containers and providing each diner with his or her own wineglass, which was rinsed between refills'.⁴⁸

In the drawing room, chairs and tables were set around the perimeter. The centre of the room was left open. Worgan's square piano would most likely have been placed close to, and parallel with, the inside wall of the drawing room at Elizabeth Farm cottage (an inside wall was preferred because of temperature stability). When closed, the instrument would have functioned as a side table (the normal role of a square piano).

Most late eighteenth-century square pianos have no veneer or inlay on the spine (as is the case with Worgan's piano) (Plate 124). This is because the spine was meant to never be seen; the instrument, like a cabinet, was intended to stand against a wall rather than in the centre of a room.

Any piano with a veneered and inlaid spine functioned as an indication of wealth; in the very large rooms of the palaces and great houses of the wealthy, such an instrument was often placed in the centre of the room in order that the spine could be seen.

45 Cited in P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 181. Quoted in Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, p. 227.

46 Palmer, *The Soanes at Home*, p. 59.

47 Koda and Bolton, *Dangerous Liaisons*, p. 17.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 17.



Plate 124 The unveneered spine of George Worgan's square piano.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Alterations Made to Elizabeth Farm Cottage

Over the next few decades, Elizabeth Farm cottage was enlarged, reflecting the growing prosperity and dominant social position of the Macarthur family.⁴⁹

'John Macarthur appears to have added a verandah to' Elizabeth Farm cottage 'shortly after it was built, possibly in 1794' (Plate 125).⁵⁰ During the late eighteenth century, verandahs were 'never appreciated or used as a means of keeping a house cool. Because of their main purpose as passageways'⁵¹—as well as 'a place for meeting and socializing'⁵²—'verandahs were not arranged with regard to the sun but to the movement of people'.⁵³

49 See 'The Trouble with John: A Biographical Snapshot', in *Elizabeth Farm Museum: A Regular Posting of News and Updates for Museum Staff and Volunteers* (Elizabeth Farm, NSW: Public Program, May 2006).

50 Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta*, p. 55.

51 Freeland, 'Elizabeth Farm', p. 3.

52 Rosen, *Australia's Oldest House*, p. 19.

53 Freeland, 'Elizabeth Farm', p. 3.



Plate 125 Elizabeth Farm cottage.

Source: Photo by the author.

The most ambitious and complicated building program of the late 1820s saw the house transformed into an Indian bungalow.⁵⁴

In a letter written to his son Edward on Tuesday, 12 September 1826, during the process of refurbishment, John Macarthur states: 'we are occupying the old drawing room as a dining room ... the hall [is] the same as before with an addition of one foot to its length.'⁵⁵ 'Evidence suggests that further alterations took place in the late-1820s or late-1830s—probably carried out by the architect John Verge (1782–1861).'⁵⁶

Part of these alterations involved the main fireplace in the 1826 dining room—that is, the 1793 drawing room—which was given a new marble surround and mantle shelves.

54 See 'The Trouble with John'.

55 Quoted in Freeland, 'Elizabeth Farm', p. 4.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

No part of the original 1793 building can be seen today, but its walls and ceilings form the dining-room, hall and living-room of its present incarnation.⁵⁷

Elizabeth Farm is acknowledged as one of the most significant buildings in Australia not only for its associations with [the Macarthur] ... family, but also as a unique archive of the development of building techniques, architectural styles and social history of the first forty years of British colonization of Australia ...

Elizabeth Farm is considered to be of such significance that it is incorporated into the New South Wales Heritage Act (1977) as Permanent Conservation Order Number One.⁵⁸

In May 1794, the Macarthurs' son John (junior) was born. Obviously proud of her home and property, Elizabeth wrote to Bridget Kingdon on Sunday, 23 August 1794, describing her house as 'an excellent brick building 68 feet in length and 18 feet in width, independent of kitchen and servants' apartments'.⁵⁹

As inspector of building works, John Macarthur not only controlled the supply of convict labour, but was also in a position to obtain the most skilled workers for his own farm. From the time that the Macarthurs first moved permanently into Elizabeth Farm cottage in November 1793, until just a year later, the number of convicts working there trebled. ('In 1795, only five of the approximately 40 servants at Elizabeth Farm were female. By 1822, only two of the workers at Elizabeth Farm were female.')

Elizabeth continues in her letter to Bridget Kingdon dated 23 August 1794:

I have a farm of nearly 250 acres [100 hectares], of which upwards of 100 [40 hectares] are under cultivation and the greater part of which is cleared of timber. In the granaries remain upwards of 1,800 bushels of corn; 20 acres [8 hectares] of fine wheat [is] growing and 80 acres [32 hectares] prepared for Indian corn [maize]. The stock consists of a horse, 2 mares, 2 cows, 130 goats, upwards of 100 hogs and poultry of all kinds ... the house is surrounded by a vineyard and gardens of about 3 acres [1.2 hectares], the latter abounding with excellent vegetables.⁶¹

The popularity of gardening as a fashionable leisure activity grew during the 18th century ... Light, amateur gardening was seen as an

57 See *ibid.*, p. 3.

58 Sansom, *The Conservation of Elizabeth Farm*, pp. 2–3.

59 de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, p. 68.

60 Geraghty, *A Change in Circumstance*, pp. 54–5.

61 E. Macarthur, 'Letter to Bridget Kingdon, 23 August 1794', in *Macarthur Papers 12* (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, 1794). Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 68–9.

acceptable pursuit for women. By the end of the century, a visitor to London observed that 'every one in town or country had a garden ... A woman in very easy circumstances and abundantly gentle in form and manners would sow and plant and rake incessantly'.⁶²

That, in 1794, Elizabeth Macarthur's garden abounded 'with excellent vegetables'⁶³ is not surprising, given the ever-present potential for food shortage. (The fear of starvation explains the fact that in Sydney, 33 years later, many houses had 'substantial gardens "decked out with flowers and teeming with culinary delicacies"'.)⁶⁴ By 1824, Elizabeth Macarthur's garden

grew an abundance of peaches, apricots and melons to such profusion that the pigs were fed upon them when they were in season; while loquats, which had been brought from China also did well ... Elizabeth Farm had an air of settlement about it. European trees, olive, oak, mulberry, horse-chestnut and others, planted in the early days of settlement, were well established. Flower beds, in which a great variety of roses proliferated, lay around the house.⁶⁵

Elizabeth's garden may also have had a less practical function, being calculated to imply that she was a 'woman in very easy circumstances and abundantly gentle in form and manners'.⁶⁶ Late eighteenth-century gardens

were mainly ornamental and featured paved or rolled gravel paths, beds edged with box or other low-growing plants, and the use of clipped evergreen shrubs. Bulbs and annuals were arranged in neat groups between perennials, and bare soil was left visible between the plants.

Potted plants, which could be moved around easily, were used to add variety, colour and scent to gardens. They were also frequently brought indoors.⁶⁷

Some of these elements—that is, rolled gravel paths, beds edged with low-growing plants, evergreen shrubs and potted plants—can still be seen in the garden at Elizabeth Farm cottage (Plate 125).

62 The quotation comprises an excerpt from an exhibition label (for an eighteenth-century sunroom) in the Geffrye Museum, London.

63 Macarthur, 'Letter to Bridget Kingdon, 23 August 1794'. Quoted in de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, p. 69.

64 Fletcher, 'Sydney', p. 70. Fletcher takes the quotation from P. Cunningham, *Two Years in New South Wales*, 2 vols (London: Henry Colburn, 1827), Vol. 1, p. 40.

65 Geraghty, *A Change in Circumstance*, p. 51.

66 Excerpt taken from an exhibition label in the Geffrye Museum, London.

67 The quotation comprises an excerpt from an exhibition label in the Geffrye Museum, London.

John Macarthur's Duel

In 1801, 'the pugnacious John Macarthur, who saw himself as a gentleman and a "man of honour", foolishly provoked' his commanding officer, Lieutenant-Governor William Paterson (1755–1810),⁶⁸ into demanding 'a duel at a time when duelling was against the law'.⁶⁹

Duelling between officers was contrary to the army's Articles of War, section 7, article 2, which declared *No officer ... shall presume to send a challenge to any other officer ... to fight a duel, upon pain ... of being cashiered* (i.e. dismissed from the army). Moreover, according to article 3 of the same section, *all seconds, promoters, and carriers of challenges in order to duels, shall be deemed as principals, and be punished accordingly*.⁷⁰

Anyone connected with a duel therefore found themselves in a predicament. In 1795, the anonymous author of *Cautions and Advices to Officers of the Army* declared: 'such is the unaccountable prevalence of custom, that the disobeyer of these orders is generally applauded, while the obeyer of them is obliged to quit the army with disgrace!'⁷¹

That John Macarthur regarded himself as an easily affronted gentleman is not surprising. At the very least, he had become a dazzlingly successful self-made man. According to Governor King, when John Macarthur arrived in the colony in 1790, he was £500 in debt.⁷² In 1801, by the time he had provoked Lieutenant-Governor Paterson into demanding satisfaction, he was worth at least £20 000.⁷³

Lieutenant-Governor Paterson's second was Captain Neil Mackellar (? – after March 1802). On Thursday, 10 September 1801, Mackellar visited Macarthur and said:

You have abused the confidence Colonel Paterson had reposed in you, he expects you will give him that satisfaction he, as an injured man, has a right to require.

68 An oil-on-canvas portrait of William Paterson by William Owen (1769–1825), dated ca 1800, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. DG 175; Album ID 874690; Digital order no. a928495).

69 de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, p. 74.

70 Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 197.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 197. 'The last recorded duel in New South Wales was in 1851 between a future Premier and the Surveyor General.' King, *Elizabeth Macarthur and Her World*, p. 26.

72 See Hoorn, *Australian Pastoral*, p. 47.

73 See Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals*, p. 84.

To this Macarthur replied, whatever he pleases. [Macarthur's] friend Captain John Piper⁷⁴ agreed to be his second.⁷⁵

At 1 pm on Monday, 14 September 1801, the duel took place at an unknown location in Parramatta.

Just prior to the duel, and contrary to custom, Macarthur loaded his pistols himself. This is because his guns were faulty. After the duel, several officers examined Macarthur's pistols, 'and agreed that, due to various defects, no one unacquainted with one of them could load it *without the greatest danger of shooting himself*'.⁷⁶

Lieutenant-Governor Paterson's guns were loaded by his second, Captain Mackellar.

The seconds then tossed a coin to see who would shoot first, and [John] Piper won. They measured out twelve steps, and [Macarthur and Paterson] ... took their places facing each other. Macarthur raised his gun and fired, hitting Paterson ... in the right shoulder ... There was still a chance that Paterson might return fire, but the injury proved too serious to allow this ...

The ball could not be extracted from Paterson's shoulder and the doctors couldn't say if he would survive.⁷⁷

On hearing of the duel at 8 that evening, Governor King had Captains Mackellar and Piper put under arrest in their barracks. The next day, King had John Macarthur (whom he described as a 'rich Botany Bay perturbator')⁷⁸ put under house arrest, confining him to Elizabeth Farm cottage.

Mackellar, Piper and Macarthur were held under arrest, without charge, 'for eight days, the maximum allowed under military law'.⁷⁹

'King decided that it would be too difficult to try Macarthur in the colony, so he ... ordered him to prepare himself for a return to England, where he would be' court-martialled.⁸⁰

74 A watercolour portrait entitled *Captain John Piper Commandant of His Majesty's Settlement Norfolk Island in the South Pacific Ocean for Six Years* by an unknown artist, on ivory, dated ca 1815, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. MIN 75; Digital order no. a128921).

75 Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 196.

76 *Ibid.*, pp. 197–8.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 198.

78 Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, p. 46.

79 'A court martial in 1802 acquitted Piper for his part in the affair after he apologised.' Cumes, *Their Chastity Was Not Too Rigid*, p. 73.

80 Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 203.

Arrogantly and presumptuously, Macarthur responded to Governor King's order by letter. He wrote:

'I ... wish to be acquainted whether my arrest is intended to be so rigid as to prevent me from walking over my own grounds for the benefit of exercise and health, as a close confinement previous to the voyage I have to undertake must necessarily make me very unfit to embark on it.' King told him he could walk in his garden but no further.⁸¹

Perhaps, in the midst of this turmoil, Elizabeth occasionally played Worgan's piano in order to bring some calm into John's and her life at Elizabeth Farm.

On Sunday, 15 November 1801, John Macarthur sailed from the colony on board the *Hunter*, via Calcutta, for his court-martial in England.

With him he took his second and third children, Elizabeth, aged nine ... John, aged seven ... [and a servant. Macarthur's] eldest child, Edward, had already returned to England⁸² to school [two years previously] at the age of ... [ten, in 1799].⁸³ Elizabeth remained in the colony with her youngest children, Mary, James, and William, to manage Macarthur's affairs.⁸⁴

That two years previously the 10-year-old Edward Macarthur (1789–1872) had been sent alone

on board the *Marquis Cornwallis* ... to England to be educated [must] ... have been an extraordinarily wrenching experience for Elizabeth and possibly John, neither of whom was to see him for many years. That he was sent, and at such an early age, indicates the importance of a good education in a young gentleman's life, and also, perhaps, his parents' desire to remove the growing boy from the pernicious influence of New South Wales.⁸⁵

By remarkable good fortune ... [John Macarthur's] ship ... was forced to put into Ambiona [now Ambon, in Indonesia] to shelter from a gale. There he met the British resident, Sir Robert Farquhar, son of the influential Sir Walter Farquhar, who was physician to the Prince

81 Ibid., p. 205.

82 'Edward was born on 16 March 1789 at Bath, England.' In 1790, 'he went to Sydney with his parents ... and spent his boyhood' in Sydney 'and at Elizabeth Farm' until 1799, when he was 'sent to England to be educated ... He returned to Sydney in 1806' at the age of 17. A. J. Hill, 'Macarthur, Sir Edward (1789–1872)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1974], Vol. 5.

83 See *ibid.*

84 Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta*, p. 11.

85 Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 150.

of Wales. Macarthur was able to give young Sir Robert some advice which he regarded as valuable; and when the disgraced ... [Macarthur eventually] reached England he was welcomed by Sir Walter with great cordiality.⁸⁶

(Not long after, and as an expression of his gratitude, Sir Walter Farquhar (1738–1819) used his influence to obtain a generous land grant in New South Wales for John Macarthur.)

On Monday, 29 March 1802, four months after Macarthur's departure in disgrace from Sydney Cove, Lieutenant-Governor Paterson's second in the infamous duel, Captain Neil Mackellar, left for England on the American whaler *Caroline*. Mackellar carried documents that were to function as evidence in his prosecution of John Macarthur in London. He also carried John Macarthur's confiscated sword.

Captain Mackellar and the *Caroline* were never heard from again. The death of the unfortunate Mackellar 'was a considerable stroke of luck for John Macarthur'.⁸⁷ The absence of any witnesses in England (apart from Macarthur himself) made his court-martial untenable.

John Macarthur's Happy Sheep

Macarthur also managed to wriggle out of the charges laid against him by distracting attention away from his behaviour in the colony, to matters concerning the development of the wool industry in New South Wales. Macarthur's timing was impeccable. Britain was experiencing a crisis of supply in the wool market.

The political disruption of the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon had cast doubt upon the British textile industry's continued access to Spanish super-fine wool. Therefore, textile manufacturers sought access to an abundant supply of wool within the Empire to satisfy this need. Macarthur [believed] ... that the wool industry in NSW had the potential to expand in the same way the cotton industry had done in America, which had developed into an enormously lucrative industry.⁸⁸

When Macarthur left Sydney Cove on Sunday, 15 November 1801 for his court-martial, the owners of the largest flocks of sheep in New South Wales were either military or civilian officers: Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Foveaux (1767–1846)

86 Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals*, p. 84.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 211.

88 Geraghty, *A Change in Circumstance*, p. 17.

owned 1250; Paymaster William Cox (1764–1837) owned 1000; Commissary John Palmer (1760–1833) owned 650; Quarter-master Thomas Laycock (1786?–1809) and Reverend Samuel Marsden (1765–1838) each owned 340.⁸⁹

Macarthur's interest in breeding sheep first began in 1794. Macarthur initially purchased 'sixty Bengali ewes and three Irish sheep from the captains of convict ships. These animals, bred for mutton rather than wool, were crossed by Macarthur and the result was an improved grade in the wool.'⁹⁰ Three years later, in 1797, Macarthur bought 'a number of merino sheep'⁹¹ from the Second Commander of the *Reliance*, Henry Waterhouse (1770–1812), who, in June 1797, was 'the first to import merino into Sydney'⁹² and 'crossed them with his own flock, by 1800 some 600 strong'. In 1801, 'he augmented his flocks with another 1200 sheep ... through purchasing [Joseph] Foveaux's' Toongabbie farm, which was 'for sale following Foveaux's [move] from the colony' to Norfolk Island as acting Lieutenant-Governor.⁹³

'By 1800, thirty-four officer-farmers had accumulated 14,584 acres [5900 hectares] of land, 6,295 head of stock, and held 1,528 acres [600 hectares] under cultivation.'⁹⁴

In 1803, whilst in England for his court-martial, Macarthur

prepared a *Statement of the Improvement and Progress of the Breed of Fine Woolled Sheep in New South Wales* for the Government and, in a remarkable exercise of self-promotion, established himself as the colony's representative of the industry and the most worthy recipient of preferential support for its development.⁹⁵

Macarthur's ideas attracted the attention of the Committee of the Privy Council on Trade and Foreign Plantations. Not only were the charges against him dropped, but also through his friendship 'with Sir Walter Farquhar, [he] was given the opportunity to buy [six] ... Spanish pure merino rams and a valuable merino ewe',⁹⁶ which were 'auctioned'⁹⁷ from His Majesty's Spanish flock. 'Through the kind intercession of Sir Walter Farquhar, John Macarthur

89 J. N. Hughes, *John Macarthur and the Wool Industry* (Glebe, NSW: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 1984), p. 4.

90 Hoorn, *Australian Pastoral*, p. 47.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

92 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

93 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

94 Geraghty, *A Change in Circumstance*, p. 17. Geraghty takes her figures from: R. Fitzgerald and M. Hearn, *Bligh, Macarthur and the Rum Rebellion* (Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1988), p. 30.

95 Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta*, p. 11.

96 de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, pp. 74–5.

97 See Geraghty, *A Change in Circumstance*, p. 18.

received a grant' from Lord Camden (1759–1840), the Secretary of State for War and Colonies, of 2000 hectares of 'the best pasture land in New South Wales for raising sheep'.⁹⁸

Macarthur was promised an additional 2000 hectares if his ambitious merino sheep-breeding venture was a success.

It is not surprising that Macarthur's grant of 2000 hectares—'selected at the Cowpastures, rich pastoral land to the south-west of Sydney'⁹⁹—was named Camden after the Secretary of State for War and Colonies. Lord Camden also gave Macarthur 30 convicts to work his newly acquired land,¹⁰⁰ as well as permission to resign from the army. Commander Henry Waterhouse, who sold a number of merino sheep to John Macarthur in 1797, 'described the Cowpastures, across the Nepean [River] and at the foot of the Blue Mountains, as a beautiful park, totally divested of underwood, interspersed with plains, with rich luxuriant grass'.¹⁰¹

The first sheep were more like large dogs than today's fat, waddling woolly creatures. Like dogs, the most prized sheep wore collars ... Elizabeth Macarthur, had she lived long enough to see [Australian sheep] ... in their paddocks in ... [the twenty-first century], would have realized that they were about seven times as heavy as her original sheep.¹⁰²

John Macarthur Returns to New South Wales

John Macarthur returned to New South Wales in June 1805. Fortunately for John Macarthur, Lieutenant-Governor Paterson survived his duelling wound. This survival did not come, however, without its psychological consequences. In January 1803, two years and one month after Macarthur had left Sydney Cove for his court-martial in England, Paterson 'had himself examined by no fewer than five doctors, all of who concurred that he needed to maintain *as easy and tranquil a state as possible*'.¹⁰³

Following a severe and unpleasant falling out with Governor King, Paterson wrote to Sir Joseph Banks, stating: 'Not having a very good constitution, the anxiety and uneasiness I suffered injured my health so materially as to require absolute retirement.'¹⁰⁴

98 de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, pp. 74–5.

99 Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta*, p. 11.

100 See Birmingham, *Leviathan*, p. 269.

101 Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 231.

102 G. Blainey, *A Shorter History of Australia* (North Sydney: Vintage Books, 2009), p. 44.

103 Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 219.

104 *Ibid.*, p. 219.

William Paterson died on his voyage back to England.

'When his widow arrived at Portsmouth in November 1810, Macarthur met her' (between 1809 and 1817, Macarthur was in virtual exile in London) 'and returned to town yesterday bringing under my escort Mrs Paterson, who appears to be grateful for this mark of attention—you know I sometimes like to return disobliging acts this way'.¹⁰⁵

Such an act of kindness (regardless of Macarthur's motives) was uncharacteristic. Macarthur was a compassionless and unforgiving enemy. 'Anyone who thwarted his wishes and ambitions was marked for his deepest hatred.'¹⁰⁶ He boasted to Governor Ralph Darling (1772–1858) that he had 'never yet failed in ruining a man who had become obnoxious to him'.¹⁰⁷ One can only wonder at what it was that had driven him into such a state of moral sickness.

There can be little doubt that the Macarthurs saw themselves as members of the colonial elite, having aspirations to live out the image of gentility in the colony. During the early 1800s, however, their idea of gentility

was already becoming, if not obsolete, then certainly old-fashioned in England. It was feudal and rural. It belonged more to the 1720s than the [early 1800s]. It parodied an ideal of privilege they had never had and, moreover, was distinguished by its absolute inability to relax. English gentility defined itself in relation to an aristocracy above and a peasantry and serving classes below. But its vision of the 'good yeoman' did not apply very well in convict Australia, whose peasantry was, by definition, not good.¹⁰⁸

Nevertheless, the Macarthurs were members of the colony's pastoral gentry. As an officer of the original settlement, John Macarthur (like some of his peers) had

a prickly sense of [his] ... own status as ... [a gentleman,] which was maintained by a ceremonious code of interaction (it was taken as an insult to leave the word 'Esquire' off the address of a letter), and a constant display of deference from social inferiors (it was taken as an insult not to raise one's hat to a gentleman in passing) ...

The accumulation of wealth turned a considerable part of [the colony's] ... social elite into an economic force which moved from trade towards pastoralism, seeking not only profit but also the traditional prestige of large land ownership ...

105 Ibid., p. 325.

106 Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals*, p. 40.

107 Birmingham, *Leviathan*, p. 267.

108 Hughes, *The Fatal Shore*, pp. 324–5.

Pastoralism under the gentry created a polarised, patriarchal society in the countryside, a deep gulf of status, property and power separating the work-force from the rulers.¹⁰⁹

Within the cold embrace of respectability, however, the status of gentleman had to be carried not only with subtlety, but also with 'a languid elegance'.¹¹⁰ The proud Lord Chesterfield (1694–1773), for example, advised his illegitimate son: 'Wear your learning, like your watch, in a private pocket; and do not pull it out merely to show you have one ... Perfect good-breeding is equally inconsistent with a stiff formality, an impertinent forwardness and an awkward bashfulness.'¹¹¹ Despite outward appearances, the Macarthurs may well have been 'afflicted by the fear of losing status and wealth which gnaws at all members of the bourgeoisie [who] ... scratch and claw ... their way to prominence'.¹¹²

George Bouchier Worgan's Piano in Elizabeth Macarthur's Life

On her upstream estate in 1800, Elizabeth Macarthur would have regarded the downstream 'first' settlement as a bustling one. At Sydney Cove,¹¹³

high on 'the rocks' above [a] ... dockyard ... was [a] stone windmill, situated so as to catch the harbour wind and process the grain being grown upstream and north on the Hawkesbury. A sandstone granary [had been] ... built on the western side of the Tank Stream, not far from the Hospital Wharf ... An assembly of small huts dotted the hillside, connected by winding pathways rather than streets. There were homes, shops, pubs, and even a theatre.

All the houses faced the Heads, the gateway to the world to which the town was increasingly connected after [12 years] ... of settlement.¹¹⁴

109 Connell and Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History*, pp. 51, 53.

110 de Botton, *Status Anxiety*, p. 189.

111 P. D. Chesterfield, *Letters to His Son on the Fine Art of Becoming a Man of the World and a Gentleman* (Last updated 14 February 2007), Letter 30, Bath, 22 February 1748.

112 Birmingham, *Leviathan*, p. 279.

113 See oil-on-canvas painting entitled *Sydney. Capital New South Wales* by an unknown artist, dated ca 1800, housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. DG 56; Album ID 825790; Digital order no. a1528055).

114 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 68.

Sydney had ‘quickly developed in precisely the opposite way to the original vision for the colony; instead of a closely supervised, harsh, subsistence agricultural settlement, it was a distinctly urban place with considerable freedom’.¹¹⁵

The harbour at Sydney Cove was also a hive of activity. For example, whenever a ‘convict transport arrived, the local people took to the water in small “bumboats” to tout fresh fish and vegetables and re-establish links with anticipated or unexpected friends and relatives’.¹¹⁶ The convict Joseph Holt described such a scene: having anchored at Sydney Cove ‘on a Sunday morning in January 1800’,¹¹⁷ Holt found that within

the course of half-an-hour, fifty boats were alongside; all the robbers, pickpockets, and thieves had plenty of acquaintance, but I did not see a soul to whom I was known ... Next morning there were twice as many boats alongside as on the previous day, every one bringing presents to their acquaintance.¹¹⁸

For Elizabeth Macarthur at Elizabeth Farm, playing Worgan’s square piano may have been one of several ‘genteel escapes’ that sometimes engaged her attention. Elizabeth may have found such an escape desirable, given that her ‘difficulties’ concerning the running of Elizabeth Farm were never ending. In a letter dated Sunday, 15 April 1804 (written during her husband’s first absence overseas between 1801 and 1805), she admitted to her friend ‘the kindly and luxury-loving [Captain] John Piper’¹¹⁹ (who had acted as John Macarthur’s second during his duel with Lieutenant-Governor Paterson): ‘The management of our concerns gets troublesome to me in the extreme, and I am perpetually annoyed by some vexation or other.’¹²⁰ Many of the letters of contemporaneous English aristocratic women reveal that they ‘engaged in matters that took them beyond narrowly domestic affairs. They were most successful in doing so when circumstances left them without the presence of a male head of household.’¹²¹ Elizabeth Macarthur was no exception.

When it came to playing Worgan’s piano, perhaps Elizabeth (in a manner reminiscent of the novelist Jane Austen) was discreet; there may have been a

115 G. Karskens, *The Colony: A History of Early Sydney* (Crow’s Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2010), p. 78.

116 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 68.

117 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

118 J. Holt, *Memoirs of Joseph Holt: General of the Irish Rebels, 1798*, 2 vols (London: Henry Colburn, 1838), Vol. 2, pp. 56–8. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 68.

119 Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals*, p. 42.

120 E. Macarthur, ‘Letter to John Piper, 15 April 1804’, in *Piper Papers* (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales), A256, Vol. 3, p. 419. Quoted in Hughes, *John Macarthur and the Wool Industry*, p. 4. Also quoted in King, *Elizabeth Macarthur and Her World*, p. 30.

121 Tague, *Women of Quality*, p. 124.

resemblance between the musical circumstances and pianistic skills of Elizabeth Macarthur and Jane Austen. In her *Memoir* of 1867, Jane Austen's niece Caroline reminisced:

Aunt Jane began her day with music—for which I conclude she had a natural taste; as she thus kept it up—'tho she had no one to teach; was never induced (as I have heard) to play in company; and none of her family cared much for it. I suppose that she might not trouble them, she chose her practising time before breakfast—when she could have the room to herself—She practised regularly every morning—She played very pretty tunes, I thought—and I liked to stand by her and listen to them; but the music (for I knew the books well in after years) would now be thought disgracefully easy.¹²²

(Austen owned a square piano by Christopher Ganer. In May 1801, she sold the instrument when the family moved from the village of Steventon, near Basingstoke, in Hampshire—where, until that time, Jane had spent all her life—to Bath.)¹²³

On the other hand, Elizabeth may not have played her piano at all. In her letter to Bridget Kingdon dated Monday, 7 March 1791, she revealed her concerns related to the possibility for ongoing pianistic progress once George Worgan had departed from the colony: 'I fear that without my master I shall not make any great proficiency.'¹²⁴ Or perhaps McGuanne's judgment of Elizabeth Macarthur is closer to the truth than is comfortable. He states (without supporting evidence): 'When Surgeon Worgan left the colony ... he left the first piano as a present to Mrs. Macarthur, but the instrument was silent for want of a player—the ... lady was not a musician.'¹²⁵

George Bouchier Worgan's Piano Escapes Destruction for the First Time

Between Sunday, 4 March and Monday, 5 March 1804, Worgan's piano escaped destruction by a fire that had been planned by the leaders of a convict uprising. Although the rebellion 'seems to have involved English as much as Irish [convicts,

122 C. Austen, *My Aunt Jane, A Memoir* (London: The Jane Austen Society, 1952). Quoted in M. Coulson, *Soft and Loud: Jane Austen and the Pianoforte* (The Jane Austen Society of Australia, n.d.).

123 See A. Bradney-Smith, 'Famous Early Piano Maker Christopher Ganer (Gauer???)': Response to a Query by Graham S. Gadd', in *Ancestry.com: Message Boards* (2009).

124 Quoted in Egan, *Buried Alive*, p. 229.

125 J. P. McGuanne, 'The Humours and Pastimes of Early Sydney', in *The Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings* (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society, 1901), Vol. 1. Quoted in Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 425.

the uprising] ... was officially given an Irish identity, for the Irish convicts had acquired the image of monopolizing such turbulent tendencies and rebellious intentions as existed'.¹²⁶ Some Irish convicts had been transported to the colony for committing 'offences that were uniquely Irish. For example, the innumerate or unipedal Mary McLoughlin was transported for "felony of sock"¹²⁷.

Whilst taking supper at the Anglican Reverend Samuel Marsden's Parramatta home one Sunday evening, Elizabeth was informed that the convicts (known as 'croppies')¹²⁸ were at the Macarthurs' Seven Hills and Pennant Hills farms; a house at Castle Hill was in flames (signalling the beginning of the uprising), and the rebels were approaching Parramatta¹²⁹ ('the flames from burning Castle Hill were visible from Parramatta').¹³⁰ The Marsdens and the Macarthurs were friends, frequently enjoying each other's hospitality. Eliza Marsden¹³¹ 'found Elizabeth Macarthur [to be] a charming ... woman who rejoiced in the company of her ... children'.¹³² Moreover, Eliza wrote that Elizabeth was 'a very pleasant agreeable lady'.¹³³

Elizabeth described the moment when a manservant burst into the parlour, 'pale and in violent agitation. "Sir", says he, looking wildly at Mr Marsden "Come with me". And "you too", looking at me. Then half shutting the door he told us that the "croppies" had risen.'¹³⁴

The Reverend Marsden¹³⁵ was particularly loathed by the croppies. 'Known as the "flogging parson", he was responsible for [mercilessly] flogging many Irish Catholic convicts.'¹³⁶ Marsden

identified Catholicism with rebellion ... He predicted: 'it is more than probable that if the Catholic Religion was once allowed to be celebrated by authority, that the colony would be lost to the British Empire in less than one year'. His supporting argument ran thus. The number of Catholic convicts was very great; most of them were Irish of the lowest class, 'wild, ignorant and savage ... men that have been familiar with robberies, murders and every horrid crime from their infancy'.

126 O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia*, p. 5.

127 Hunt, *Girt*, pp. 149–50.

128 See King, *Elizabeth Macarthur and Her World*, p. 31.

129 See *ibid.*, p. 31.

130 Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. 27.

131 A watercolour portrait of Elizabeth Marsden by Richard Read (ca 1765–1827?), on ivory, dated 1821, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. MIN 74; Digital order no. a128728).

132 King, *Elizabeth Macarthur and Her World*, p. 37.

133 Quoted in Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. 40.

134 Macarthur, 'Letter to John Piper, 15 April 1804'. Quoted in de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, p. 75.

135 A watercolour portrait of the Reverend Samuel Marsden by Richard Read (ca 1765–1827?), dated 1833, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. ML 29; Album ID 874693; Digital order no. a928171).

136 de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, p. 75.

To Marsden they seemed 'destitute of every principle of religion and morality ... governed entirely by the impulse of passion, and always alive to rebellion'. Were the Mass allowed, it would become the occasion of seditious assemblies which would issue in assassination, arson and destruction and the overthrow of the government; for not only was there the 'natural ferocity' of the Catholic Irish, but they would infect other convicts with their turbulence, and that horror of the colony's rulers, a mass convict mutiny, would surely occur.¹³⁷

The Reverend Marsden's cruelty as a magistrate was confirmed by Commissioner John Thomas Bigge (1780–1843),¹³⁸ 'who wrote that his character as a magistrate was "stamped with severity"'.¹³⁹ 'In an age that was far from squeamish in the matter of cruelty, Marsden was singled out by reputable men of the colony as a magistrate whose punishments were extraordinarily severe.'¹⁴⁰

Apart from his anti-Catholic bigotry, the Reverend Marsden's lack of mercy may also 'be attributed to his high-mindedness, his passionate detestation of sin and his conviction that Parramatta was such a sink of iniquity that morality could be preserved only by the most rigorous disciplinary measures'.¹⁴¹ For all that, 'the flogging parson' was commonly regarded in the colony as an unattractive character.

Marsden was

a busy squire, attending to his rich estates; he was a money-lender and an investor; he engaged extensively in trade and manufacture; he was a magistrate; he was a vigorous contender in political squabbles; he was a persistent litigant; he travelled extensively. These were the occupations that largely filled his days.¹⁴²

137 O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia*, p. 7.

138 A watercolour portrait of John Thomas Bigge by Thomas Uwins (1782–1857), dated 1819, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. P2/290; Digital order no. a1528261).

139 A. T. Yarwood, 'Marsden, Samuel (1765–1838)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1967].

140 Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals*, p. 182.

141 Yarwood, 'Marsden, Samuel (1765–1838)'.

142 Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals*, p. 173.

Leaving Elizabeth Farm cottage (including Worgan's piano) in the care of servants (who must have been every bit as scared as Elizabeth herself), Elizabeth and her children, in the company of the Marsdens, fled from Parramatta¹⁴³ to Sydney by boat, arriving at 3 am.¹⁴⁴

The boat that took the refugees to Sydney probably belonged to one of the watermen who plied the estuary at the head of the harbour, and who was subject to the comprehensive set of port regulations published as a proclamation in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, on Sunday, 10 July 1803: 'to be more circumspect in their conduct towards their passengers ... The boats to be always kept tight, furnished with at least four oars in case the passengers may wish to assist in rowing, and with one mast and sail. To treat the passengers with civility.'¹⁴⁵ Given the extreme circumstances, one can only hope that the boatman did not charge the stipulated 1s per adult and 6d per child for the journey, but made the journey gratis. (Had the boatman been a compassionless opportunist, he may have hired out the 'whole boat' for the prescribed '£1 6 shillings'.)¹⁴⁶

Elizabeth and her children were accommodated in the Marsdens' Sydney residence, to which, wrote Elizabeth, 'our little frightened, sleepy tribe were escorted and civilities poured in upon us from every quarter'.¹⁴⁷

The Convict Uprising is Defeated

The convict rebellion was ruthlessly suppressed. Superior firepower enabled 'less than three dozen troops to defeat over 250 rebels'.¹⁴⁸ Major George Johnston's (1764–1823)¹⁴⁹ men were so enthusiastic in their pursuit of the convicts that 'he had to threaten to shoot some of them to stop them killing the convicts they had taken'.¹⁵⁰ Retribution was savage: 15 rebels 'were butchered ... eight hanged and more flogged in an effort to obtain information'¹⁵¹—proving Georges

143 A watercolour drawing entitled *The Landing Place at Parramatta, Port Jackson*, attributed to George William Evans (1780–1852), dated 1809?, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. PXD 388; Album ID 823548; Digital order no. a1313034).

144 An engraving entitled *By Water to Parramatta; With a Distant View of the Western Mountains Taken from the Wind Mill Hill at Sydney*, by James Heath (1757–1843), dated 1798, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. DL Pd 764; Digital order no. a1528096).

145 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 10 July 1803, Vol. 1, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

146 See *ibid.*

147 Macarthur, 'Letter to John Piper, 15 April 1804'. Quoted in King, *Elizabeth Macarthur and Her World*, p. 31.

148 Keneally, *Australians*, caption for image 'Convict uprising at Castle Hill', between p. 180 and p. 181.

149 A watercolour portrait of George Johnston by Robert Dighton (1752–1814), dated 1810, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. ML 511; Digital order no. a1528248).

150 Duffy, *Man of Honour*, p. 228.

151 Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, p. 45.

Clemenceau's (1841–1929) 'point that "military justice is to justice what military music is to music"'.¹⁵² 'The bodies of the fifteen rebels killed in the battle ... were left to rot where they lay.'¹⁵³

The *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Sunday, 11 March 1804 gives an account of how an end was put to the uprising:

Major and trooper advanced within pistol shot, and endeavoured to persuade [the rebels] ... to submit to the mercy that was offered them ... which they refused. The Major required to see their chiefs, who after some deliberation met them half way, between the detachment and the insurgents, when by a great presence of mind and address the Major presented his pistol at the head of the principal leader (Philip Cunningham), and the trooper following his motions, presented his pistol also to the other leader's head, (Wm. Johnston) and drove them into the detachment without the least opposition from the body of the insurgents. Major Johnston immediately ordered Quarter Master Laycock to advance with the detachment, &c and cut the body to pieces, which immediately filed off and fled in all directions, pursued by the detachment and followers, several shots were fired by the Insurgents without effect. As the pursuit was along the road & on each side in the woods, the number of dead are not yet ascertained; nine bodies were found about the road, and several were known to be killed in the pursuit through the woods. A number were overtaken and made prisoners, among whom was the leader (Philip Cunningham), who was to all appearances left dead on the road ... Philip Cunningham the principal leader ... being still alive, and very properly considered by Major Johnston as a proper object to make an immediate example of, by virtue of the martial law that then existed, and the discretionary power given him by His Excellency, and after taking the opinion of the officers about him, directed him to be publicly executed on the stair case of the public store, which he had boasted in his march he was going to plunder ... ten ... including the two leaders Johnstone and Humes ... were ... sentenced to be hanged—Johnstone and Humes to be hung in chains: a part of the sentence was carried into execution at 6 o'clock on Thursday evening, upon Humes, Charles Hill, and John Place ... Humes gave much important information, respecting the secret contrivers; and on Friday morning Johnston, Harrington, and Neale were executed at Castle Hill.¹⁵⁴

152 Quoted in G. Robertson, *Crimes against Humanity: The Struggle for Global Justice* (Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin Australia, 2008), p. 624.

153 Hunt, *Girt*, p. 184.

154 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 11 March 1804, Vol. 2, pp. 2–3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

Plate 126 portrays the unfolding of events; in keeping with a particular style of eighteenth-century painting, different stages of the conflict are depicted simultaneously.

The tragic tale is told thus: in the centre distance, a dark-coated figure, Father James Dixon (1758–1840), a Roman-Catholic priest, asks the convict rebels to ‘Lay down your Arms you deluded Countrymen’. (After the rebellion had been ‘bloodily repressed, the ... panic-stricken Protestant establishment’ was convinced ‘that Father Dixon had been in some way implicated, and that, obscurely, the rebellion was the outcome of Catholic teachings. Dixon’s privileges of public ministry were withdrawn.’)¹⁵⁵ The convict leader, Philip Cunningham, standing in the foreground on the right-hand side, cries ‘Death or Liberty Major’. Major George Johnston (mounted on the brown horse) aims his pistol at Cunningham’s head and replies, ‘You scoundrel, I’ll liberate you’. Inspired by Major Johnston, the trooper mounted on the black horse aims his pistol at the head of the other convict leader, William Johnston, and orders, ‘Croppy lay down’. William Johnston immediately cries out, ‘We are all ruin’d’. Quartermaster Thomas Laycock (1756?–1809) strikes the convict leader with his sword, saying ‘Thou Rebel Dog’. The bleeding convict despairingly cries, ‘Oh Jesus’. The troops open fire on the rebels. In the distance (behind the trees on the left-hand side), two convict leaders, Humes and Johnstone, are hanged on the gallows—a grim reminder to would-be rebels that the empire would always strike back’.¹⁵⁶

155 O’Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia*, p. 5.

156 Hunt, *Girt*, p. 185.



Plate 126 Unknown artist: *Major Johnston with Quarter Master Laycock One Sergeant and Twenty Five Privates of ye New South Wales Corps defeats Two Hundred and Sixty Six Armed Rebels 5 March 1804 (1804). Watercolour on paper; 31.2 x 41.3 centimetres.*

Source: Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Australia, Canberra. Pictures Collection, nla.pic-an5577479.

Following the 10 days of martial law that were declared in the colony, Elizabeth Macarthur and her children returned to Elizabeth Farm cottage. Subsequently, she was informed that the convicts had intended 'to set fire to her home as they knew of her lonely situation and thought that the soldiers would immediately go in strength to her aid. The defence of the barracks would thus be weakened.'¹⁵⁷ That the Irish convicts singled out Elizabeth Macarthur suggests that she had become a person of importance in the colony, and that the rebels were aware of her social prestige. In a letter written to Captain John Piper on Sunday, 15 April 1804, Elizabeth remarked: 'Thank God all was happily prevented.'¹⁵⁸ Worgan's piano had escaped a fiery demise, surviving the convict rebellion to sound another day.

157 Macarthur, 'Letter to John Piper, 15 April 1804'. Quoted in King, *Elizabeth Macarthur and Her World*, p. 31.

158 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 31.

Elizabeth Macarthur at Leisure

During the extended absences of John Macarthur overseas (1801–05 and 1809–17), when not engaged in the day-to-day management of Elizabeth Farm, Elizabeth may have been occupied with

plain sewing, visiting, fancy needlework, the taking of tea and the reading of novels.¹⁵⁹

A catalogue of the books at Elizabeth Farm, made in 1854, revealed that, once the farm was established, Elizabeth's choice of imported books covered a wide field from Roman history to the novels of Walter Scott [1771–1832] and the poems of Lord Byron [1788–1824].¹⁶⁰

(At one time, Elizabeth became 'so fascinated by Afghanistan that she borrowed all she could on the subject'.)¹⁶¹

During the early nineteenth century, a leisure culture emerged that 'revolved around literary institutions, lectures ... concerts'¹⁶² and the reading of books.

At the centre of such a culture, there lay a view of men and women as beings having freedom of will, responsibility for any actions flowing from that freedom, and capable of 'standing on his or her own two feet'. As an autonomous being, responsible for what he or she made of his or her life, the individual would see self-help and 'improvement' as a duty ...

'Improving' leisure became synonymous with 'respectable' leisure.¹⁶³

'Respectable' leisure was commonly linked with reading.

In the eighth chapter of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, Charles Bingley lists the skills that an 'accomplished' woman must possess: music, singing, drawing, dancing and languages.¹⁶⁴ Bingley continues by remarking that an accomplished woman must also 'possess a certain something in her air and manner of walking, the tone of her voice, her address and expressions'.¹⁶⁵ Mr

159 'Elizabeth Farm: John and Elizabeth Macarthur', in *Historic Houses Trust*.

160 de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, p. 68.

161 Atkinson and Aveling, *Australians*, p. 114.

162 Deacon, *Liskeard & its People in the 19th Century*, p. 77.

163 *Ibid.*, pp. 77–8.

164 See Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, p. 43.

165 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

Darcy continues the conversation by stating: 'All this she must possess ... and to all this she must yet add something more substantial, in the improvement of her mind by extensive reading.'¹⁶⁶

In 1838, the Quaker William Howitt (1792–1879) linked leisure-time reading with happiness. 'Happiness', he said,

does not consist in booths and garlands, drums and horns, or in capering round a May-pole. Happiness is a fire-side thing. It is a thing of grave and earnest tone; and the deeper and truer it is, the more it is removed from the riot of mere merriment ... the more our humble classes come to taste of the pleasures of books and intellect, and the fire-side affections which grow out of the growth of heart and mind, the less charms will the outward forms of rejoicing have for them.¹⁶⁷

'Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Quakers ... habitually condemned theatre and dancing ... travelling actors were blamed by the godly for everything from encouraging sin to ... yellow fever epidemic.'¹⁶⁸ Not that Elizabeth Macarthur was of the 'humble classes'. Nevertheless, sitting near the fireside with a book, in private, constituted 'respectable' leisure, because 'a contented home was the ... proper alternative to the increasingly private leisure of the drinking place'¹⁶⁹ (for many, it was the fireside of the pub that beckoned).

That Elizabeth Macarthur's reading matter was eclectic is not surprising given: first, her engagement, as a 'respectable' lady, with the 'improving' and 'respectable' leisure pastime of reading; second, the fine education that the Reverend Kingdon had provided for her in her youth; third, her apparent desire to be 'accomplished'; fourth, her thirst for knowledge; and fifth, her innate and apparently incisive intelligence.

166 Ibid., p. 43.

167 Quoted in Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c. 1780–c. 1880*, p. 88.

168 Potter, 'Music by the "Celebrated Mozart"', p. 91.

169 Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c. 1780–c. 1880*, p. 89.

Two Hundred and Seventeen Years Later, Worgan's Piano Returns to Elizabeth Farm

On Thursday, 11 February 2010, Worgan's piano was taken from its current location (in Ermington, Sydney) and placed in the 1826 dining room of Elizabeth Farm cottage. This room was selected because prior to the room's 1826 refurbishment, it may have been the Macarthurs' drawing room—the most likely location of Worgan's piano.

The 1826 dining room is now a rather stark and loveless shell, a space of ineffable blandness (Plate 127). The room feels empty, sad and subtly remote. There is little sense of the warmth and passions of home life, time having consumed John and Elizabeth's extraordinary past. Gone is the lavish paraphernalia that once reflected the couple's sensibilities. Even a sudden burst of sunshine through the windows fails to uplift the heart. The room remains immoderately poignant; all is grace and melancholy.

Plate 127 shows the 1826 dining room as it appears now. The colour of the walls is similar to the colour they were painted in the early 1830s.¹⁷⁰ Note the bare wooden floorboards, which are in keeping with late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century norms; to clean them, 'household manuals advised that they should be scrubbed with hot sand. A dark brown stain was also recommended to hide dirt.'¹⁷¹ Worgan's 1780/86? Beck square piano, positioned next to the fireplace that faces the front windows, was subsequently photographed (Plates 128 and 129). As the first time in more than 200 years that Worgan's piano has sat in Elizabeth Farm house, the instrument entrancingly resumed its place as a medium of beauty and cultural sophistication.

170 See 'Drawing Room', in *Historic Houses Trust: Discover Elizabeth Farm* (n.d.).

171 The quotation comprises an excerpt from an exhibition label in the Geffrye Museum, London.



Plate 127 Elizabeth Farm cottage: 1826 dining room.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 128 George Worgan's Beck piano in the 1826 dining room of Elizabeth Farm cottage.

Source: Photo by the author.



Plate 129 George Worgan’s Beck piano in the 1826 dining room of Elizabeth Farm cottage.

Source: Photo by the author.

The Historic Houses Trust describes Elizabeth Farm cottage as ‘Australia’s oldest European building’.¹⁷² Moreover, Ian Sansom states: ‘Elizabeth Farm contains the structure of the oldest remaining building in Australia.’¹⁷³ Historian Sue Rosen, however, convincingly demonstrates that Experiment Farm Cottage, built by John Harris, surgeon to the NSW Corps, is ‘the oldest surviving European building in Australia’,¹⁷⁴ and reveals the damage that may be done ‘when heritage “experts” refuse to engage with historians’.¹⁷⁵

The Macarthurs would probably have laughed had they known that people would someday pay money to visit their home.

Precedent forces us to suppose that later generations will one day walk around our houses with the same attitude of ... amusement with which

172 ‘Elizabeth Farm’, in *Historic Houses Trust: Venues* (Historic Houses Trust, n.d.).

173 Sansom, *The Conservation of Elizabeth Farm*, p. 1.

174 Rosen, *Australia’s Oldest House*, p. 118.

175 *Ibid.*, Back cover.

we now consider many of the possessions of the dead. They will marvel at our wallpapers and our sofas and laugh at aesthetic crimes to which we are impervious.¹⁷⁶

The Macarthurs may also have been astonished, perhaps grateful, to think that people would be curious about, or deeply moved by, the domestic space that they simply took for granted.¹⁷⁷

Mrs Macquarie's Piano: An anecdote

Worgan's 1780/86? Beck square piano is particularly portable. Because the instrument's legs are hinged to the bottom of the case, Elizabeth Macarthur would have been able to easily move the piano and its stand (presumably with the help of a servant's straining arms). An anecdote describing the use of Mrs Elizabeth Henrietta *Macquarie's* (not Elizabeth *Macarthur's*) piano to frighten Indigenous trespassers reveals that only two people were needed to carry an 'old piano' (a square piano?).¹⁷⁸

The anecdote may have its source in the writings of the colonial-born author John George Lang (1816–64). Lang included among his fictional stories, 'often with a strong factual content, an account of Mrs Macquarie's piano, providing an image of its civilizing qualities together with its powers as a successful deterrent to marauding Aborigines'.¹⁷⁹

Lang writes:

The next morning, soon after daylight, Romer came into my apartment, and, with a smile upon his face, said, 'This old piano, it occurs to me, may be turned to very profitable account.'

'How?' I inquired.

'We may make it an instrument of terror to the blacks. Of late they have become awfully troublesome in the matter of spearing the cattle, merely for the fat wherewith to grease themselves, and only last week we lost in this way a very valuable cow. I will send for some of the tribe and frighten them, or rather you must, by playing on the bass keys.'

176 A. de Botton, *The Architecture of Happiness: The Secret Art of Furnishing Your Life* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), p. 154.

177 See H. Sachs, *The Ninth: Beethoven and the World in 1824* (London: Faber & Faber, 2010), p. 12.

178 See J. Lang, *Botany Bay, True Tales of Early Australia, XIII: Music a Terror* (n.d.).

179 K. Fahy, 'Furniture and Furniture-Makers', in J. Broadbent and J. Hughes (eds), *The Age of Macquarie* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press in association with Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 1992), p. 122.

I liked the idea vastly. Besides, I was very curious to see the expression of a savage's face when, for the first time, he heard music.

The encampment of the blacks was only three or four miles [5 or 6 kilometres] distant, and a stockman was sent to bring several of them; and at noon, about eight or nine of them, in all their nudity, made their appearance. Mrs. Romer had a strong objection to admit them in or near the house, and so Romer and I carried the old piano [a square piano?] out into the open space in front of the dwelling.

The aboriginal native of New Holland—just like the native of India—cannot help touching and examining everything that is strange to him; and no sooner did 'the blacks' whom we summoned observe the old piano, than they moved towards and examined it very attentively. One of them at last opened the instrument, and touched the keys rather heavily, and (like, Fear in the 'Ode to the Passions'), terrified at the sound he had produced, recoiled backwards, his spear poised ready to be thrown, and his brilliant black eye firmly fixed on the demon, for as such he regarded the old piano. His companions also poised their long spears, and retreated cautiously step by step.

Romer now begged of them not to be alarmed, and with some little difficulty brought them back to the piano, where he represented to them that inside was a fearful demon, who would eat up the whole of their tribe if he were told to do so; but that, if they did nothing to offend or annoy him [Romer], they had nothing whatever to fear.

I corroborated this statement by nodding my head; and, advancing to the instrument, I touched the keys and began to play as loudly as possible. Who shall describe their faces and their attitudes? Some of them grasped their boomerangs, others poised their spears ready to repel any sudden attack that the demon might make upon them. It was a scene such as I would not have missed on any account.

When I had ceased playing, Romer explained to them that I had been telling the demon what he was to do, on the next occasion of a bullock, a cow, or a calf being speared on the run; and they must have believed every word he said, for from that day forward the nuisance abated, and the tribe very rarely came near the forest where our cattle used to graze; so that the old piano, after all, was by no means dear at the price I paid for it, to say nothing of the amusement which it afforded to Romer's children.¹⁸⁰

180 Lang, *Botany Bay, True Tales of Early Australia, XIII.*

George Bouchier Worgan's Piano Escapes Destruction for the Second Time

On Saturday, 26 January 1805—10 months after Worgan's piano had escaped destruction by fire during the Irish convict uprising—Worgan's 1780/86? Beck square piano once again narrowly escaped a raging conflagration. The *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Sunday, 27 January 1805 reports that when fire broke out in the detached kitchen of Elizabeth Farm cottage, annihilation of the residential section of the house was narrowly prevented:

Yesterday, between the hours of twelve and one at noon, a fire broke out on the farm of Mrs. M'Arthur, at Parramatta, by which a detached kitchen was in a short time destroyed. From the direction of the wind the flame several times reached the dwelling-house, but was happily extinguished every time with scarce perceptible damage by the military detachment on duty at Parramatta, whose active exertions prevailed in subduing the fire, and limiting its ravage to the former building [that is, the kitchen], which was however totally consumed.¹⁸¹

Elizabeth Macarthur Purchases Thomas Laycock's Piano

James Broadbent states that in 1810, 'Elizabeth Macarthur appears to have replaced Worgan's piano with a larger and finer instrument (perhaps a piano in upright form) that was purchased at auction in Sydney from the estate of Thomas Laycock [1756?–1809] for the then substantial sum of £85'¹⁸² (approximately four times the price of a new square piano in London). Elizabeth may have used Worgan's piano as part payment for her 'new' piano; such a transaction would have been regarded as a viable part of purchasing a second-hand instrument. There is, however, no evidence suggesting that Elizabeth actually got rid of Worgan's piano in 1810. Even though it is logical to propose that Elizabeth's new piano was 'larger' and 'finer' than Worgan's piano, we do not know exactly how it differed from Worgan's piano.¹⁸³ Furthermore, there is no evidence that Thomas Laycock's piano was an instrument in upright form.

181 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 27 January 1805, Vol. 2, p. 4, Trove, National Library of Australia.

182 Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta*, p. 38. The source of Broadbent's data is *Macarthur Papers*, A2909 (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales), pp. 9, 11.

183 See 'Elizabeth Macarthur's Longman & Broderip Square Piano?', in Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

‘Structural problems inherent in square piano fabrication, as the makers strove for a more powerful tone, [and] increasing string tensions while at the same time widening the case to accommodate extended keyboards caused many [piano makers] ... to ponder the merits of a new type of piano in upright form.’¹⁸⁴ (Many design difficulties specific to the upright piano were successfully overcome by late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century makers; in 1811, the Viennese piano maker J. F. Bleyer, on examining an upright piano, wrote: ‘When we examine this action closely, we observe the drops of sweat shed by its inventor.’)¹⁸⁵

That an upright piano would have found its way to Australia so soon after its invention in London is unlikely. Significant dates pertinent to the development of the upright piano are listed below.

- 1795: Patent for Robert Stodart’s ‘upright grand piano-forte in the form of a bookcase’—commonly referred to as an ‘upright grand’ (Plates 2, 130 and 131).¹⁸⁶
- December 1798: Patent for William Southwell’s ‘upright square’ piano.¹⁸⁷
- 1800: John Isaac Hawkins’ (1772–1855) small upright piano (‘patent portable grand’).¹⁸⁸
- 1811: Patent for the inventive William Southwell’s ‘cabinet piano’ (Plate 132).¹⁸⁹
- ca 1811: Broadwood begins to make cabinet pianos.¹⁹⁰
- 1811: Robert Wornum’s (1780–1852) ‘cottage upright’.¹⁹¹

If Laycock’s piano arrived with him in September 1791 on board the *Gorgon*, the instrument could not have been in upright form—such pianos were not invented until 1795. There remains the possibility that Laycock imported an upright instrument into the colony sometime after 1795 and before his death

184 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 96.

185 Quoted in E. Closson, *History of the Piano*, translated by Delano Ames (London: Paul Elek Publishers, 1947), p. 112. Bleyer’s remark appeared in an article written by him, in which he ‘discussed many aspects of the upright fortepianos of the firm Wachtl und Bleyer in Vienna’. P. Poletti, ‘Bleyer’s Text’, in *Construction and Restoration of Historical Pianos* (n.d.). Bleyer’s article was published in *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Allgemeine Musikalischen Zeitung* [*Intelligence-Sheet to the General Music Journal*], [Leipzig], No. XVII (November 1811).

186 Patent no. 2028, registered Monday, 12 January 1795. See Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, p. 250, fn. 36.

187 Patent no. 2264, registered Thursday, 6 December 1798. See *ibid.*, p. 250, fn. 43.

188 Advertisement in the *Philadelphia Aurora* of May? 1800. See *ibid.*, p. 255, fn. 14. Patent no. 2446, registered Thursday, 13 November 1800. See *ibid.*, p. 250, fn. 64.

189 Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, p. 8. Patent no. 3419, registered Tuesday, 26 March 1811. See *ibid.*, p. 178.

190 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 97.

191 The height of Wornum’s ‘cottage upright’ was approximately 1.5 metres. By the mid-1830s, ‘the square piano was being replaced by the [cottage] upright ... which took up even less room and became the favourite domestic instrument of the Victorian household’. Goold, *Mr. Langshaw’s Square Piano*, p. 273.

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View

on Wednesday, 27 December 1809. If his piano (after Thursday, 4 January 1810, Elizabeth Macarthur's piano) had been such a rare and innovative type of instrument (and this within the contexts both of English and of colonial culture), remarks would certainly have been made by contemporaneous colonial commentators, who remain silent on the matter.



Left: Plate 130 Upright grand piano by John Broadwood & Sons (London, 1815).

Right: Plate 131 Upright grand piano by John Broadwood & Sons (London, 1815): door open.

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Reproduced with permission of Ralph Schureck. Photos by the author.



Plate 132 Cabinet piano by John Broadwood & Sons (London, ca 1810).

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Reproduced with permission of Ralph Schureck. Photo by the author.

It did not take too long, however, for upright pianos to find their way to the colony. The first mention in the antipodean press of an upright piano appears in an advertisement published in the *Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser* on Friday, 9 April 1824.¹⁹² The first mention of an upright piano in the Sydney press appears in an advertisement for the raffling of 'an elegant patent upright piano-forte, by Wornum', published in *The Australian* on Wednesday, 18 April 1827.¹⁹³ In both instances, these advertisements appear more than a decade after Elizabeth Macarthur purchased Thomas Laycock's piano at his estate auction on Thursday, 4 January 1810.

¹⁹² See *Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser*, 9 April 1824, No. 414, p. 4, Trove, National Library of Australia.

¹⁹³ *The Australian*, 18 April 1827, No. 188, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

A portrait of the merchant, pastoralist, politician and philanthropist Robert Campbell at Wharf House, Sydney, painted by Charles Rodius in 1834, shows Campbell 'seated on a gilt japanned chair beside a table ... In the background can be seen an upright grand piano' (or, because the instrument's proportions are inaccurately depicted, perhaps a cabinet piano), with a typical 'pleated silk front' panel (commonly known as the 'sunburst' or 'cloudburst' design) in the upper section.¹⁹⁴

Approximately one year after Campbell's portrait was painted, the pianoforte maker John Benham¹⁹⁵ designed(?) and produced the first Australian-made piano. This extant instrument is in upright form (a 'cottage' piano).¹⁹⁶

Having bought a piano from Thomas Laycock's estate, Elizabeth Macarthur may have held onto Worgan's piano for sentimental reasons (it would be surprising if Elizabeth had not formed at least some degree of attachment to Worgan's piano), having in her possession (for a time at least) two pianos at Elizabeth Farm cottage. If this was the case (there is no documentary evidence to support the notion), Elizabeth may not have been the only colonist to have had two pianos in her home. The 'sale of the contents of John Palmer's [1760–1833] Woolloomooloo House in 1816'¹⁹⁷ ... included two pianofortes'.¹⁹⁸ ('John Palmer arrived in New South Wales with the First Fleet ... as purser of [the] ... *Sirius*.)¹⁹⁹

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, for families who owned two pianos, one piano usually functioned as a practice instrument. Normally, the practice piano had been in the family's possession for some years, and was the older of the two pianos.

If Elizabeth held onto Worgan's piano when she acquired her 'new' piano from Laycock's estate, Worgan's piano—as an 'old-fashioned' practice instrument—may have been relegated to an 'unimportant' room. Elizabeth's new, more fashionable piano would have taken pride of place in the drawing room of Elizabeth Farm cottage.

194 Fahy, 'Furniture and Furniture-Makers', p. 123.

195 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 9 July 1835, p. 3.

196 This instrument is part of the Powerhouse Museum Collection, Registration no. H8405.

197 Woolloomooloo House, 'mortgaged for over £13,000, was eventually sold to' the merchant and pastoralist Edward Riley (1784–1825) 'for £2,290 in May 1822, though the stock and furnishings were auctioned in 1816'. J. Conway, 'Riley, Edward (1784–1825)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1967], Vol. 2.

198 Fahy, 'Furniture and Furniture-Makers', p. 123.

199 M. Steven, 'Palmer, John (1760–1833)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1967], Vol. 2.

What is certain is that on Thursday, 4 January 1810 Elizabeth purchased a piano from the estate of Thomas Laycock for the seemingly extortionate sum of £85.²⁰⁰ Reckoned in today's monetary values, Elizabeth's new piano cost approximately £2900 (A\$5000).²⁰¹ There are several explanations for why Elizabeth Macarthur paid the not inconsiderable sum of £85 for Laycock's piano.²⁰² Perhaps she was an unfortunate victim of the financial opportunism that sometimes existed in relation to the cost of square pianos sold by Sydney residents to other citizens of that city; after all, the population of the colony was relatively small, and pianos were a rare and desirable commodity. On Sunday, 24 July 1803, for example, a piano (presumably square) was advertised for sale in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*;²⁰³ the asking price was an exorbitant 60 guineas (approximately three times the price of a new square piano in London). Judge Advocate Ellis Bent provides another example of the unprincipled practice. In a letter dated Friday, 27 April 1810, Bent, writing from Sydney to his mother in England, recounts:

Mrs. Paterson had a small pianoforte [that is, a square piano] but she asked for it £40. and the sounding board was broken [a testament perhaps to the extremes of temperature and humidity in Sydney], and the instrument was in other respects not a good one. I offered her £26 for it, but it was not accepted, tho' it did not cost her more than £25 and she had used it for ten years.²⁰⁴

Mrs Paterson 'was the wife of the lieutenant-colonel of the New South Wales Corps and had arrived with her husband in 1791. At the time Bent wrote she was packing to leave for England.'²⁰⁵

One assumes that the piano purchased by Elizabeth Macarthur at Thomas Laycock's estate auction on Thursday, 4 January 1810 was, unlike Mrs Paterson's square piano, in good condition. 'Either Mrs Macarthur had been practising assiduously since Worgan's departure, or she was determined to give her daughters the early opportunities she herself had lacked.'²⁰⁶ One also assumes that Elizabeth was so drawn to the instrument that she was prepared to spend £85 to acquire it.

200 *Macarthur Papers*, pp. 9, 11. See Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta*, p. 38. See also 'The Allure, for Elizabeth Macarthur, of Laycock's Longman & Broderip(?) Piano: Summary' in Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

201 Currency conversion via the National Archives; and Universal Currency Converter.

202 See 'Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip Square Piano: Elizabeth Macarthur's Second Piano?', in Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

203 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 24 July 1803, Vol. 1, p. 4.

204 Bent, 'Letter to His Mother', 27 April 1810. See *Ellis Bent Correspondence* (Canberra: National Library of Australia), MS 195, pp. 147–8.

205 Jordan, 'Music and Civil Society in New South Wales', p. 206.

206 *Ibid.*

Thomas Laycock

Thomas Laycock had been quartermaster to the NSW Corps. He arrived in Sydney on the *Gorgon* in September 1791. In February 1793, Laycock was granted 32 hectares 'at Parsley Bay, later the site of Vacluse House ... [and] by 1807' he held a total of 670 hectares.²⁰⁷ Given Elizabeth's social aspirations and pretensions, it is not surprising that she bought a piano that had belonged to one of Sydney's most eminent gentlemen and owner of one of the largest flocks of sheep in New South Wales.

By 1810, Elizabeth Farm was 'well established and well ordered with its comfortable cottage, its gardens and orchard'.²⁰⁸ At this time, Governor Lachlan Macquarie spoke of Elizabeth Farm: 'This [has] ... by far the finest soil and best pasturage I have yet seen in the colony; the grounds are beautiful and bounded by a large creek ... I saw some fields of fine promising wheat and several numerous flocks of sheep and herds of horned cattle.'²⁰⁹

Because of Thomas Laycock's wealth, it was almost inevitable that (even as a second-hand instrument) his 'elegant piano-forte'²¹⁰ was likely to be an expensive item to purchase at his estate auction. (Laycock had already contributed to Elizabeth Macarthur's pianistic aspirations; it was he who led the detachment of soldiers that suppressed the Irish convict uprising of 1804. The Irish rebels had threatened Worgan's piano with destruction by fire, and Laycock's actions had inadvertently preserved the instrument from damage.)

In 1805—the year after Laycock had helped subdue the Irish convict uprising—a letter was written by one officer of the NSW Corps to another concerning the scandalous behaviour of Thomas Laycock:

It gives me extreme uneasiness to relate to you unpleasant news concerning ... Mr. Laycock ... whose conduct has been so extremely improper since his wife has left the colony as to be noticed by almost every person and if possible every succeeding day has been marked in him with some fresh act of folly, indecency or un-officer-like behaviour ... It is with regret that I add the father's bad example has been follow'd by the son [Thomas Laycock, 1786?–1823]—You will perhaps scarcely credit that L^t Laycock escorted his fathers convict whore through the

207 'Laycock, Thomas (1756?–1809)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1967], Vol. 2.

208 King, *Elizabeth Macarthur and Her World*, p. 56.

209 L. Macquarie, *Lachlan Macquarie Governor of New South Wales, Journals of His Tours in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land 1818–1822* (Sydney: Library of Australian History in association with the Library Council of New South Wales, 1979), p. 2. Quoted in Hoorn, *Australian Pastoral*, p. 34.

210 See the advertisement for the auctioning of Laycock's estate published in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 31 December 1809, Vol. 7, p. 1.

streets arm and arm on duty in full regimentals & had the indecency to walk with her on the public parade last Sunday whilst the band of the regiment was playing.²¹¹

Four years after this letter of condemnation was penned, Laycock's son was struck by lightning whilst picnicking at South Head.

[O]n Sunday 15 January 1809, a 'genteel pleasure party' of fourteen officers and 'ladies' went to the South Head where, between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon, they were preparing to take a cold collation beneath a fig tree. They had tables set up, with knives and forks, and it was supposed that the cutlery attracted the lightning which, without warning, suddenly struck the picnic party. No one was killed but a young lady had her hair set ablaze, Mr [John] Harris [1754–1838] and Mr Sloane were knocked down, Lieutenant Laycock was lamed, Captain Porteous felt the shock and Mr Gregory Blaxland [1778–1853], who later, with [William] Lawson [1774–1850] and [William Charles] Wentworth [1790–1872], found a way across the Blue Mountains, had a bottle knocked out of his hand but escaped injury.²¹²

Eleven months later, Thomas Laycock the elder died—mentally deranged and unable to manage his affairs—'at his house in Pitt's Row',²¹³ on Wednesday, 27 December 1809.

It appears that Thomas Laycock, jr, had no wish to keep his father's piano. Perhaps Thomas, jr, having married Isabella Bunker on Thursday, 1 June in 1809, already owned a piano himself, or perhaps he simply 'was not sufficiently interested [in music] to retain ... [the piano] of his father'.²¹⁴

Thomas Laycock's Estate Auction

Four days after the death of Thomas Laycock, sr, the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Sunday, 31 December 1809 advertised the auctioning of his estate:

Sale by Auction, by Mr. Bevan,

On Thursday next the 4th of January, 1810, on the premises of Mr. Laycock, deceased, in Pitt's Row, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, all

211 E. Abbott, 'Letter to John Piper, 30 October 1805', in *Piper Papers* (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales), Vol. 1, A254, pp. 61–4. Quoted in Connell and Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History*, pp. 94–5.

212 Cumes, *Their Chastity Was Not Too Rigid*, p. 24.

213 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

214 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

the neat household furniture, consisting of bedsteads, beds, bolsters, blankets, and mattresses, tables and chairs, table linen, sheeting, a small quantity of plate, knives, forks, and all kinds of kitchen furniture, a quantity of wearing apparel, some fine Hyson tea, sugar, wine and spirits, an elegant piano-forte with music books.²¹⁵

The auctioneer, David Bevan, owned sales rooms in George Street. Bevan's description of Laycock's piano as 'elegant' may have carried a very specific implication.

From at least 1815 Broadwood price lists offered certain pianos with an optional 'Elegant' decoration.

For example, in 1815, Broadwood offered a 'Square, elegant' for £26 ... a 'Square with single action' for £17 6s [and] ... a 'Square with double action' for £18 3s.

What was so special about the 'Elegant' that it should cost more than any other square piano.²¹⁶

William Frederick Collard (1776–1866) used the same description, at least until 1832, as did Robert Wornum, at least until 1838.

Collard offered a square 'elegant, with rounded corners' for £40 ... this was more expensive than six other sorts of square piano and less expensive than three other types.

Wornum's 'Elegant ... from 46 to 50 guineas' [was the most expensive of six types].

How do we de-code their use of the word 'Elegant'? Could it, for example, have meant buhl [*bouille*] or other inlay?²¹⁷

Although this seems likely, the perplexing problem of 'elegant' pianos remains as a tantalising goad to the cryptologist. What is obvious is that 'elegant' pianos were intended for higher-end customers.

That Elizabeth Macarthur travelled from Elizabeth Farm to Sydney to attend the auction of Thomas Laycock's estate indicates the degree of her resolve to acquire another piano (and perhaps an 'elegant' one at that). That she acquired the piano of the eventually disreputable Thomas Laycock, sr, is astonishing, given her tendency towards snobbery. That she could make time to travel to the auction is remarkable; Elizabeth constantly worked to ensure that Elizabeth

215 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 31 December 1809, p. 1.

216 Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, p. 184.

217 *Ibid.*, p. 184.

Farm did not fail. Writing to the wealthy Sydney merchant and trader Garnham Blaxcell (1778–1817) on Saturday, 20 May 1809, Elizabeth confessed that ‘every day I feel such an accumulated weight of responsibility and care, that whatever tends to lighten any part of it is desirable’.²¹⁸ Perhaps Elizabeth hoped that the purchase of a ‘new’ and ‘elegant’ piano from the estate of Thomas Laycock would catalyse the creation of music-making contexts within which her ‘accumulated weight of responsibility and care’ might be lightened.

A letter written by John Macarthur—who was into his second year of what was to become an eight-year absence in England—to Elizabeth on Friday, 3 August 1810, reveals that he knew that his wife was constantly pressured by the decision-making and day-to-day activities associated with running the farm. He writes:

I am perfectly aware, my beloved wife of the difficulties you have to contend with, and fully convinced that not one woman in a thousand, (no one that I know) would have resolution and perseverance to contend with them all, much more to surmount them in the manner that you have so happily done. That I am grateful and delighted with your conduct I think it is needless for me to say.²¹⁹

Elizabeth appears determined to be financially successful, presumably in order both that her family could enjoy the benefits of a prosperous life and that she would never again be poor (memories of her youthful status as a ‘charity child’ would doubtless have strengthened her resolve). At the time, poverty was regarded as the result of a deficient character,²²⁰ and Elizabeth would have done all in her power to avoid being regarded in such a way. ‘A common upper-class view was that poverty was a product of indolence and that the indigent poor had only themselves to blame.’²²¹

Elizabeth’s purchase of a piano from Laycock’s estate on Thursday, 4 January 1810 suggests that music-making may still have been a part of her life, perhaps a pleasurable and contemplative foil to the daily pressures associated with her running of the farm. It is possible that since Worgan’s departure in 1791, she

218 E. Macarthur, ‘Letter to Garnham Blaxcell, 20 May 1809’, in *Macarthur Papers 10* (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales).

219 J. Macarthur, ‘Letter to Elizabeth Macarthur, 3 August 1810’, in *Macarthur Papers 2* (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales).

220 Attitudes have not changed. Dr John Falzon, Chief Executive of St Vincent de Paul Society’s National Council and a member of the Australian Social Inclusion Board, and Sally Cowling, Research Manager, UnitingCare Burnside, state in an essay written to mark the start of Anti-Poverty Week: ‘For nearly 15 years, welfare reform in Australia has been driven by breathless enthusiasm for America’s “new Paternalism” and its “close supervision of the poor”. It presumes people “doing it tough” are living examples of moral failure.’ J. Falzon and S. Cowling, ‘Poverty of Ideas in Welfare Crackdown’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 October 2010, [Opinion], p. 13.

221 Bridges, *Foundations of Identity*, p. 23.

had continued to practise the piano, and despite her concerns ('but I fear that without my master [George Worgan] I shall not make any great proficiency'),²²² the standard of her playing had improved.

Music Books

The advertisement published in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Sunday, 31 December 1809 for the auctioning of Laycock's estate mentions the inclusion of 'music books'²²³ with the 'elegant piano-forte'. The addition of music books would certainly have made the lot more attractive to potential buyers. This was because

Australia was a captive local retail music market, perpetually kept waiting and hungry by its geographical isolation for new imported, usually printed, musical product from homeland Britain and Europe. Imagining how limited the available repertoire was, is not hard; emigrants—professional and amateur—may well have brought their own music collections with them on the voyage out ... once here, they were literally stuck with their 'desert island' selection, save for periodic arrival of shipments of 'new music' from home (always prominently advertised by music-sellers).²²⁴

It is not known whether or not Elizabeth could play the pieces contained in the music books that were sold along with Laycock's piano at David Bevin's George Street sales rooms, nor is it known specifically what repertoire these music books contained. The books may have contained works by composers listed in a letter dated Tuesday, 9 December 1806, written by the explorer Matthew Flinders to his mother-in-law asking after his family:

Have you a piano forte in the house for them: if you have, be so good as to lay out two guineas for me in music and present to them in my name: it will be proper to get some friend in London to chuse the newest and best ... [Ignaz] Pleyel, [Daniel] Steibelt, [Joseph] Mazinghi and [Joseph] Heydn [Haydn] are amongst the best authors.²²⁵

Or perhaps the music books that Elizabeth Macarthur purchased contained works by the composers listed in a letter dated Friday, 27 April 1810, written in Sydney by judge advocate Ellis Bent to his mother: 'If the piano should be sent

222 Macarthur, 'Letter to Bridget Kingdon, 7 March 1791'. Quoted in Egan, *Buried Alive*, p. 229.

223 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 31 December 1809, p. 1.

224 Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 15.

225 M. Flinders, 'Letter to His Mother-in-Law, 9 December 1806', in *Matthew Flinders, Private Letters. Volume 2, 1806–10* (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales), Safe 1/56. Quoted in Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 64.

I should like a few books of well selected music, to be sent with it including, songs, operas, sonatas, lessons etc', of Joseph Mazzinghi, Louis von Esch (d. ca 1819), James Hook, Joseph Haydn, Ignaz Pleyel and others.²²⁶

Why Did Elizabeth Macarthur Purchase Thomas Laycock's Piano?

The acquisition in 1810 of an 'elegant', and possibly more 'modern', piano²²⁷ may have represented Elizabeth's desire to appear cultured, wealthy and up-to-date (in 1810, Worgan's 1780/86? Beck piano would have been decidedly old-fashioned). By 1810, Sydney was a culturally self-confident city and Elizabeth Macarthur one of the burgeoning colony's more prominent citizens. As surgeon Joseph Arnold (1782–1818) wrote to his brother on Sunday, 18 March 1810:

[A] person coming into Sydney cove would think himself in the midst of a large city. If he dines out here he finds all the luxury and elegance of the first English tables: and elegant equipages are often observed in the streets: the accommodations at the inns are as good as any where in England and you may have wines of almost every kind.²²⁸

Elizabeth Macarthur's ownership of a piano was a status symbol. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the piano attracted attention as a status symbol

to an even greater extent than had been the case with the harpsichord. An expensive, attractively decorated piano implied a certain economic and social standing; a small shabby instrument might well be taken as evidence of the limited means of its owner. There was every incentive to be seen to be able to afford the latest and most fashionable type. Yet it was not merely a question of physical appearance; the pianoforte was undergoing rapid development, and there were thus good musical reasons for constantly updating one's model ... Pianos 'with additional keys' were often advertised, and they were keenly sought by players.²²⁹

226 I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for making his transcription of this letter available.

227 See 'Elizabeth Macarthur's Longman & Broderip Square Piano?', in Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

228 J. Arnold, 'Letter to His Brother, 18 March 1810' (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales), A1849. Quoted in F. Crowley, *A Documentary History of Australia. Volume 1* (Sydney: Thomas Nelson Australia, 1980), p. 171.

229 Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*, p. 200.

Pianos 'with additional keys'

John Broadwood was the first piano maker to extend the keyboard compass of the English grand piano to 5.5 octaves. 'Until 1790 all known pianos sold by Broadwood were of 5 octaves' (FF–f³). '[T]hese 61-note [fully chromatic] keyboards correspond exactly with the resources required by all published music of the period',²³⁰ and represent the keyboard compass commonly encountered throughout most of late eighteenth-century Europe. From 1790, Broadwood added (for some grand pianos) an extra half-octave in the treble. This resulted in a compass of FF–c⁴. Broadwood added the extra notes in response to a request from the pianist-composer Jan Ladislav Dussek, who asked that they be incorporated for 'dramatic sparkle'.²³¹ The extra treble notes were soon commonly referred to as 'additional keys'.

The inventive Irish harpsichord, piano and harp maker William Southwell had already made the first extended compass square piano during the early 1780s.²³² The 'earliest known square piano with a five-and-a-half-octave keyboard is ... inscribed "Southwell Fecit 1784"'.²³³ This is the earliest known piano of any kind to have a 5.5-octave keyboard.²³⁴

In order to incorporate the additional keys into the limited space available in a square piano, Southwell extended 'the soundboard to the left, above the treble keys', and lengthened 'the bridge into a recurving U-shape'.²³⁵ The hammers for the additional notes struck 'a separate order of strings'²³⁶ (attached to a new little hitch-pin block fastened to the back of the case) through a slot 'cut in the far edge of the soundboard ... [The] top eight keys and hammers (f³–c⁴)'²³⁷ were 'fitted to a separate keyframe so that the mechanism' did not need to be curtailed, and passed 'right underneath the soundboard'.²³⁸

Around the 1830s, additional keys in square pianos were added by lengthening the entire instrument, and having 'all the notes in one run'²³⁹ without any need for 'a slot [to be] cut in the ... soundboard for the extra hammers to rise through'.²⁴⁰

230 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 69. 'In Spain the standard keyboard was usually GG to g3.' *Ibid.*, p. 69, fn. 51.

231 H. A. Craw, *A Biography and Thematic Catalogue of the Works of J. L. Dussek (1760–1812)*, Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Southern California, 1964), pp. 60–1. See also Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, p. 75.

232 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 70.

233 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 73.

234 See *ibid.*, caption for Plate 5, between p. 210 and p. 211.

235 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

236 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 58.

237 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

238 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 105.

239 Hackett, 'The Square Piano in England 1766–1866'.

240 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 105.

Square pianos with additional keys began to appear frequently during the early 1790s. It is reasonable to assume that Southwell's belated patent for the idea (number 2017, granted in London on Saturday, 18 October 1794)²⁴¹ was conceded by all other piano makers. Those who incorporated additional keys into their instruments may have paid Southwell a fee for the use of his invention.²⁴²

In 1793, Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow made and sold three square pianos with additional keys—violating their Monday, 2 January 1786 14-year exclusive contract with Longman & Broderip,²⁴³ in which they had agreed not to make or sell pianos on their own. Broadwood began making 5.5-octave square pianos in 1793.

The fact that by 1793 the extended keyboard compass was being used—with or without Southwell's permission—by esteemed piano makers may have caused the inventor to seek a patent in 1794.²⁴⁴ The demand for pianos with additional keys gave rise to music composed especially for such instruments. For example, on Tuesday, 19 November 1793, Longman & Broderip published 'A Sonata for the Grand and Small Piano Forte with Additional Keys. Composed, and Dedicated to Mrs Chinnery, by J. L. Dussek. Op. 24'.²⁴⁵ Another work in which the extended keyboard compass was exploited followed from their press, on Friday, 4 April 1794,²⁴⁶ and 'by that autumn Longman & Broderip were ready to enter the market of building and selling pianos on which to play this music'.²⁴⁷

The earliest extant Longman & Broderip 5.5-octave square piano is dated 1796 (serial number 306).²⁴⁸ Five-and-a-half-octave Longman & Broderip square pianos were subject to a serial number series that 'ran from approximately 1795 to 1798 and [to] a serial number of approximately 900'.²⁴⁹

Thomas Laycock arrived in Sydney in 1791. If he brought a piano with him, and if the instrument was a square piano, it may have had additional keys. If this was so, that fact may have enticed Elizabeth Macarthur to purchase the instrument at Laycock's estate auction. Given that eminent and fashionable makers such as

241 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 55.

242 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, pp. 70–1.

243 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', pp. 50–1, 82. See '9) Thomas Culliford (1747–1821)', in Appendix E, Volume 2 of this publication.

244 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 59, fn. 39.

245 M. Kassler, *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall 1710–1818 Compiled by Michael Kassler from Lists Prepared for William Hawes, D. W. Krummel and Alan Tyson and from Other Sources* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), p. 212.

246 'A Grand Duett for Two Performers on the Piano Forte with Additional Keys, Composed by Matthew Peter King. Op. 8.' See *ibid.*, p. 226. Matthew Peter King (ca 1773–1823) was an English composer and music theorist.

247 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 58.

248 See D. Hunt, 'Instrument History/Research: Longman & Broderip Squares', in *Early Piano: Fortepiano Information Site* (Last updated March 2009).

249 See *ibid.*

Broadwood began making 5.5-octave square pianos in 1793 (three years after Laycock arrived in Sydney), and Longman & Broderip in ca 1794, it seems unlikely, however, that Laycock's instrument had additional keys.

An advertisement published on Saturday, 30 October 1813 in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* lists '[f]or sale, a capital piano forte, with the additional keys, made by Bolton'.²⁵⁰ This is the first advertisement appearing in the Sydney press in which a piano with additional keys is described. It is reasonable to assume that this Bolton instrument was a square piano.

(Bolton's identity remains a mystery. He may have been the 'T. Bolton' who composed 'Six Waltzes, Composed and Adapted as Lessons for the Piano Forte, with Accompaniments for a Tambourine and Triangle (ad libitum); And Instructions for Performing on the Tambourine'.²⁵¹ An anonymous critic writing in *The Monthly Magazine; Or, British Register* of Tuesday, 1 April 1800 described Bolton's 'Six Waltzes' in the following way: 'lovers of tambourine music will find a variety of useful hints. The *flamps*, *semi-flamps*, the *travale*, the *double-travale*, the *gùgles*, the *bass*, the *turn*, and other necessary particulars, are explained. The waltzes are, for the most part, uncommonly pleasing, and well calculated for tambourine and triangle accompaniments.'²⁵²)

The advertisement for the Bolton piano with additional keys (appearing in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Saturday, 30 October 1813) was published only three years after Elizabeth Macarthur had purchased Laycock's pianoforte²⁵³ at David Bevin's, on Thursday, 14 January 1810.

Whilst it is possible that Laycock's piano was an instrument with additional keys, there is no documentary evidence to support the notion. If the instrument had additional keys, David Bevan did not need to mention the fact in his advertisement for the piano's sale at Laycock's estate auction (published in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* on Sunday, 31 December 1809). By 1809, a 68-note keyboard compass (5.5 octaves: FF–c⁴) was nothing special.

The casework and/or nameboard of Laycock's 'elegant' piano was probably more opulently and/or intricately ornamented than that of Worgan's Beck piano²⁵⁴—

250 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 30 October 1813, Vol. 11, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

251 T. Bolton, *Six Waltzes, Composed and Adapted as Lessons for the Piano Forte, with Accompaniments for a Tambourine and Triangle (ad libitum); And Instructions for Performing on the Tambourine* (London: Goulding, Phipps & d'Almaine, n.d.).

252 'Review of New Musical Publications', in *The Monthly Magazine; Or, British Register*, Vol. IX ... Part I. For 1800. From January to July, Inclusive. No. 57. No. 3 of Vol. 9, April 1, 1800 (London: R. Phillips, 1800), p. 296.

253 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 31 December 1809, p. 1.

254 Concerning the meaning of the term 'elegant' in relation to pianos, see 'Thomas Laycock's Estate Auction', above.

this being a factor that enticed Elizabeth Macarthur to buy.²⁵⁵ Although Elizabeth may have been eager to display her ‘wealth in a material way ... unlike [some] ... who rode the wave of pastoral prosperity ... [she] was never vulgar. When [the] ... newly acquired wealth [of others] resulted in flashy opulence, [Elizabeth was] ... “of the best polish”.’²⁵⁶ The maintenance of her good taste may have been supported by the fact that she and her children kept ‘more clear of the mob than any family in the colony’.²⁵⁷ Regardless of the intricacy of the casework on Laycock’s piano, the instrument’s possible modernity—when compared with Worgan’s Beck piano²⁵⁸—may have made it desirable to Elizabeth.

It is at this point—1810—that Elizabeth Macarthur ceases to be part of the history of Worgan’s square piano. Unfortunately, Elizabeth Macarthur subsequently endured a great sadness.

Early in 1817, after what must have been a wrenching eight-year sojourn in London, John Macarthur returned to New South Wales.

Eight years is a long time for any couple to be apart. All we know about their long anticipated reunion is the fact that it was not always a happy one ...

John was more irascible and high-handed while Elizabeth had lost any trace of shyness. She had become a woman of property, used to giving orders and being obeyed by her staff.²⁵⁹

Late in life, John Macarthur succumbed to insanity (today, he would probably have been diagnosed with bipolar disorder). He seasawed

between bursts of great energy and deep depressions leading finally to madness. He accused Elizabeth of adultery and wanton behavior and as a punishment banished her from the family home [at Camden Park]. Elizabeth hoped this separation [she lived at Elizabeth Farm cottage] was only for a short time, but she never saw John again, he died ... [on Friday, 11 April] 1834 at the age of sixty-seven; his wife was in Sydney assisting her daughter Mary give birth when the news reached her. Elizabeth grieved in private and stoically showed no indication of the

255 See ‘Elizabeth Macarthur’s Longman & Broderip Square Piano?’, in Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

256 Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta*, pp. 38–9.

257 H. Scott, ‘Letter to His Mother, August 1824’, in *Scott Papers* (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales), A2264.

258 See ‘Elizabeth Macarthur’s Longman & Broderip Square Piano?’, in Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication. No documentary evidence exists to support the notion that Laycock’s piano had additional keys.

259 de Vries, *Females on the Fatal Shore*, pp. 86–7.

pain she must have felt when told her husband never spoke of her again. However, a letter to her son Edward in England is said to have carried a mark where a tear had fallen.²⁶⁰

'To her credit Elizabeth continued to be respected by many of the leading colonial families, even when [John] Macarthur's psychosis developed, by June 1832, to the point that physical restraint was necessary.'²⁶¹ (She confided to her son Edward: 'Let us be thankful to the Almighty, that a wholesome restraint was placed upon your beloved father before his malady had induced him to acts of greater violence.')²⁶²

John Macarthur Dies

The *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Tuesday, 15 April 1834 published John Macarthur's obituary. It contains some of 'the conventional (and somewhat empty) eulogistic pieties of the day':²⁶³

Died

At Camden, on Friday last, John McArthur, Esq. M. C. This gentleman in political life, advocated the imperious principle of confining all offices and civic honours to emigrants. In private society he united the highest qualities. His prisoner servants never had occasion to complain of deficient sustenance: and it is much to be regretted that strong political prejudices should have so much sullied the otherwise excellent disposition of such a man.²⁶⁴

Perhaps an observation made in 1822 by the colonist Robert Scott (1799–1844) represents a more complete insight into John Macarthur's personality: 'the leading man in the colony ... very clever, shrewd calculating man, with an extraordinary degree of perseverance and foresight, but a man of the most violent passions, his friendship strong and his hatred invincible.'²⁶⁵

260 Kennedy, 'Elizabeth Macarthur (1766–1850)'.

261 Geraghty, *A Change in Circumstance*, p. 25.

262 Quoted in King, *Elizabeth Macarthur and Her World*, p. 154.

263 'Biographical Note', in J. Austen, *The Complete Novels: With More than Two Hundred Full Colour Illustrations by Hugh Thomson* (London: CRW Publishing, 2009), p. 8.

264 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 15 April 1834, Vol. 32, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

265 R. Scott, 'Letter to His Mother, 14 May 1822', in *Scott Papers* (Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales), A2263.

Although Elizabeth

deeply mourned the death of her fractious ... husband ... life at Elizabeth Farm was pleasant. As a widow she had more visitors than as the wife of a very quarrelsome man, and she enjoyed their conversation.

She accepted without question that her sons would in future make the major decisions within the family. In her widowhood, they sometimes consulted her but, while she remained the centre of her family's affections, she was never its head.²⁶⁶

Elizabeth Macarthur Dies

Sixteen years after the death of John Macarthur, Elizabeth Macarthur died, aged 83, on Saturday, 9 February 1850, on the eve of the discovery of gold in Australia.²⁶⁷ She was 'beloved and revered by all who knew her'.²⁶⁸ One of Elizabeth's greatest strengths 'was her ability to build and maintain a strong and harmonious family life, even through the long absences of her husband ... and the innumerable demands of farm life'.²⁶⁹ Elizabeth appears to have regarded her main roles in the colony 'as ... setting ... social standards and ... nurturing ... a society of responsible people'.²⁷⁰ Perhaps her 'most remarkable achievement was her management of the Macarthurs' complex agricultural and business empire'.²⁷¹ She was a woman of 'energy, endurance and culture who provided a background of solid worth and modest cultivation [both] for ... [her] menfolk and for ... [colonial] society as a whole'.²⁷²

The *Sydney Morning Herald* of Saturday, 16 February 1850 announced Elizabeth Macarthur's death in a perfunctory way, seemingly insensible to her lifelong courage, vision and tenacity: 'Died. On the 9th instant, at Clovelly, the residence of H. Watson Parker, Esq., Elizabeth, widow of the late John Macarthur, Esq., of Camden, aged 83 years.'²⁷³

266 Atkinson and Aveling, *Australians*, p. 114.

267 'The Australian gold rushes started in 1851 when prospector Edward Hammond Hargraves [1816–91] claimed the discovery of payable gold near Bathurst, New South Wales.' 'Australian Gold Rush & Timeline', in *GoldRush* (Skwirk.com.au, 2009).

268 S. Macarthur-Onslow, *Some Early Records of the Macarthurs of Camden* (Adelaide: Rigby Limited in association with John Currey, O'Neil, 1973), p. 472.

269 'Elizabeth Macarthur 1767?–1850', in *Christian History Research: South Land of the Holy Spirit* (n.d.), Chapter 11, 'Pioneers'.

270 Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. 21.

271 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

272 Cumes, *Their Chastity Was Not Too Rigid*, p. 27.

273 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 February 1850, Vol. 27, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

Chapter 14

George Bouchier Worgan's Piano Offered for Sale?

In order to continue our journey with surgeon Worgan's piano, we must backtrack to an event that transpired on Thursday, 4 January 1810, 40 years before Elizabeth Macarthur's death. This event was the auction at which Elizabeth purchased a piano from Thomas Laycock's estate.

There are gaps in our knowledge of what became of Worgan's piano following this auction. The instrument may have been sold at auction ca 1810, and if so, it may have been sold by one of Sydney's leading merchants, the public auctioneer and emancipist Simeon Lord (1771–1840).¹

Simeon Lord

Simeon Lord's business establishment was situated in a large four-storey house—the largest in the town—adjacent to the Tank Stream bridge,² on what is now the corner of Bridge Street and Macquarie Place.³ Although substantial, Lord's house was built 'with a minimum of decoration'.⁴

'Instead of facing the water, Lord's house [looked] ... up the hill towards Government House, which', although it was separated from the harbour's edge by gardens, 'was somewhat smaller and shabbier than his home. Its deliberate aspect might have reflected deference or hubris.'⁵

Lord built his house in 1803, using 'local sandstone for the house walls ... two floors were lined with cedar'.⁶ (In the same year, on Monday, 25 July,

1 A watercolour portrait of Simeon Lord by an unknown artist, on ivory, dated ca 1830, is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. MIN 92; Digital order no. a128827).

2 Simeon Lord's house is depicted in a watercolour drawing entitled *East View of Sydney in New South Wales* by John Eyre (1771–?), dated ca 1809, housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. DL Pg 49; Digital order no. a1528247). Lord's house is the large four-storey building in the distance, situated adjacent to the bridge over the Tank Stream.

3 See D. H. Hainsworth, 'Lord, Simeon (1771–1840)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1967], Vol. 2.

4 Broadbent, *The Australian Colonial House*, p. 12.

5 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 71.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 71.

at an auction held at his Sydney warehouse,⁷ Lord offered a pianoforte⁸ for sale. Judging by the advertised price of 60 guineas, it is reasonable to assume that the instrument was a grand piano. This is the first advertisement to appear in Australia's earliest newspaper concerning the sale of a piano.) In 1811, D. D. Mann, in his *Present Picture of New South Wales*, described Lord's house as 'the most magnificent in the colony',⁹ but, from the evidence available, 'little except the very generously proportioned front doorcase with side-lights and large semicircular fanlight and the house's unrivalled bulk supports such praise'¹⁰ ('houses, roads [and] ... avenues are as fugitive, alas, as the years').¹¹

The enormous size of Lord's house can be explained by the fact that it was 'planned as a shrewd business manoeuvre',¹² functioning simultaneously as a boarding-house, a business centre and a private home. Second Commander of the *Reliance*, Henry Waterhouse, when writing to Sir Joseph Banks on Tuesday, 10 June 1806, described Lord's dwelling as 'a good & neat ... house, at which a stranger on his arrival might lodge & board, or eat by himself, this was so convenient to the masters & mates of merchant vessels, that Lord got the disposal of most of their investments'.¹³

The lowest level of Lord's house comprised storerooms. The ground floor was above these, comprising 'four large rooms including a counting house and auction room ... on the first floor there were bedrooms and dressing rooms and at the top were fourteen single rooms. Lord's house became a focal point for trade and business ... and the recognized rendezvous and shore base for visiting ships' captains.¹⁴

Simeon Lord was one of the colony's first merchants 'to demonstrate their success materially in the size and appearance of their establishments'.¹⁵ As a successful merchant, Lord made his fortune 'by moving local timber, Pacific sandalwood, Hunter River coal, Tahitian pork, South Seas whale oil' (whaling was Australia's first primary industry), 'Indian rum and British manufactured goods through the harbour on their way to local buyers or markets overseas. That the colony imported more than it exported remained a constant.'¹⁶

7 See advertisement published in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 17 July 1803, Trove, National Library of Australia, p. 1.

8 Ibid.

9 D. D. Mann, *Present Picture of New South Wales* (London: J. Booth, 1811), p. 57.

10 Broadbent, *The Australian Colonial House*, p. 12.

11 K. S. Robinson, *2312* (London: Orbit, 2012), p. 196.

12 Broadbent, *The Australian Colonial House*, p. 12.

13 H. Waterhouse, 'Letter Received by Banks from Henry Waterhouse, 10 June 1806', in *Papers of Sir Joseph Banks* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Online Collections), Series 23.42, Frame no. CY 3008/164.

14 Bridges, *Foundations of Identity*, p. 55.

15 Broadbent, *The Australian Colonial House*, p. 14.

16 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 74.

Lord became so wealthy that he even ‘bought a Spanish ship, captured by a British whaler as a war prize, renamed it the *Anna Josepha* in honour of Governor King’s wife and used it to ship coal and timber spars to the Cape of Good Hope’.¹⁷ In fact, Simeon Lord and his wife, Mary (née Hyde; 1779–1864), ‘became one of the richest couples in the Colony of New South Wales, with only six Sydney residents having greater landholdings’.¹⁸

If not to Simeon Lord, Elizabeth Macarthur may have sold Worgan’s piano to another of the several socially acceptable merchants and auctioneers who conducted their business in Sydney.

1810: David Bevan

The *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Saturday, 31 March 1810 contains an advertisement for the sale of ‘an elegant’¹⁹ piano forte’. The advertisement states:

Sales by Auction, by Mr. Bevan,

At his rooms in High Street, Sydney, on Monday next the 2d of April, at ten o’clock in the forenoon, a quantity of Brazil tobacco, black and white lace, ladies dresses, bed-gowns, gowns, petticoats and shifts, a few dozen bottles of capers, ladies and gentlemen’s shoes, buggy and [?] key whips, large pin glasses, an elegant piano forte, ladies’ side saddles, a child’s English chair, a small quantity of crockery ware, glass, and plate, writing desks, iron pots and other kitchen furniture, and a variety of other fashionable and useful articles.²⁰

Apart from three advertisements listing a piano for sale on board the *Mary* in May 1812 (immediately following that ship’s arrival in Sydney),²¹ this advertisement is the only one appearing in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* between 1810 and 1812 listing a piano for sale in Sydney.

Given that Elizabeth Macarthur purchased a piano from Thomas Laycock’s estate on Thursday, 4 January 1810, it may be conjectured that she arranged (at that time) for David Bevan to sell Worgan’s piano sometime after the auction.

17 Ibid., p. 73.

18 N. Bannan, ‘Relationship with Simeon Lord’, in *Bannan Family Australian Relatives* (Unpublished ms, n.d.), p. 4. I am indebted to Nicholas Bannan of Perth for providing me with a copy of this unpublished text.

19 Implications of the term ‘elegant’ (in relation to pianos) are discussed in ‘Thomas Laycock’s Estate Auction’ in Chapter 13, this volume.

20 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 31 March 1810, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

21 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 9 May 1812, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia; *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 16 May 1812, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia; and *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 23 May 1812, p. 4, Trove, National Library of Australia.

Because of the commonly encountered 'trade-in' practices of the time (usually related to 'updating' a piano), Worgan's piano may even have formed part of Elizabeth's payment for Laycock's instrument. Within this context, Worgan's piano may have come into the possession of the auctioneer David Bevan. If so, Worgan's piano may be the unidentified elegant pianoforte that was subsequently offered for sale by Bevan at his salerooms in 'High Street, Sydney' on Monday, 2 April 1810.

1813: Robert Jenkins

Two years and seven months later, in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Saturday, 30 October 1813, another piano is advertised for sale. This piano is described as having additional keys and was 'made by Bolton'.²² It was sold by R. Jenkins (1777?–1822), 'licensed auctioneer, Macquarie street'.²³ Worgan's 1780/86? Beck square piano has a fully chromatic compass of 61 notes (FF–f³), and as such cannot be described as an instrument with additional keys. The piano advertised on Saturday, 30 October 1813 in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* cannot be Worgan's piano.

1814: David Bevan

A year later, the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Saturday, 8 January 1814 advertises '[a]n excellent piano forte' for sale at auction.²⁴ This auction took place at 11 am²⁵ on Wednesday, 12 January 1814, at Bevan's George Street sale rooms. The piano's vendor is unidentified, so it cannot be ascertained whether or not this instrument is Worgan's 1780/86? Beck square piano.

1815: Mr Charters, 68 George Street, Corner of Market Street

We do not know what became of Worgan's piano during the five years between Thursday, 4 January 1810—the date of Elizabeth Macarthur's purchase of Laycock's piano—and Saturday, 14 January 1815.

On 14 January 1815, the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* includes the following advertisement: 'Now on sale, at 68, George street, corner

22 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 30 October 1813, p. 1.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

24 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 8 January 1814, Vol. 12, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

25 *Ibid.*

of Market Street,²⁶ some choice Newcastle cedar, in inch, three quarter inch, and half inch boards. N. B.—A very handsome piano forte by Beck, in perfect order, to be disposed of.²⁷

This advertisement signals the beginning of a period of approximately four and half months during which a Beck piano was offered for sale six times in the *Sydney Gazette*, and *New South Wales Advertiser*.

That the piano is described in the advertisement as being both ‘very handsome’ (implying exceptional case decoration and exquisite design) and ‘by Beck’ strongly suggests that it was Worgan’s instrument. The 1780/86? Beck square piano currently owned by Stewart Symonds in Sydney (identified in this study as having belonged to George Worgan) has an attractively veneered and inlaid nameboard and a beautifully inlaid case.²⁸ Uniquely for English square pianos, the instrument has exquisite square-tapered cabriole legs. The curved inside edge of each leg is inlaid. These elegant design and decorative elements more than suggest a ‘very handsome’ instrument.

That Frederick Beck’s name is specifically mentioned in each of the six advertisements published in the *Sydney Gazette*, and *New South Wales Advertiser* in 1815 is significant. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century in Sydney, the inclusion of a maker’s name in advertisements for the sale of a piano was rare (pianos were most commonly described only as ‘piano forte’).

In 1815, in the absence of any sources suggesting otherwise, Worgan’s piano was the only instrument in Australia made by Frederick Beck. The mention of Beck’s name in the advertisement may have alerted astute potential buyers not only to the piano’s uniqueness, but also to the fact that the instrument had been owned by one of the colony’s most prominent citizens, Elizabeth Macarthur.

Perhaps the asking price was high, as the piano did not sell immediately. A month later, the following advertisement appeared in the *Sydney Gazette*, and *New South Wales Advertiser* of Saturday, 4 February 1815: ‘To be disposed of, a very handsome piano forte, by Beck, in perfect order, with a small collection of music. Enquire at No. 68, George-street, corner of Market-street.’²⁹

Two months later, the following advertisement appeared in the *Sydney Gazette*, and *New South Wales Advertiser* of Saturday, 15 April 1815: ‘Further particulars

26 The Sydney Town Hall is currently located at this address.

27 *Sydney Gazette*, and *New South Wales Advertiser*, 14 January 1815, p. 2.

28 Comprising a simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay, consisting of an ebony stringer adjacent to a boxwood stringer, with a band of cross-banded fine ribbon-grained brown timber (beech?), followed by a band of alternating diagonally cut boxwood and an ebony stringer.

29 *Sydney Gazette*, and *New South Wales Advertiser*, Saturday, 4 February 1815, p. 4.

made known by applying to Mr. Charters, 68, George street, corner of Market-street. NB.—A very handsome piano forte in perfect order to be disposed of, for which a negotiable bill will be taken in payment ... Apply as above.³⁰

Still the piano did not sell. A month later, another advertisement appeared in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, on Saturday, 13 May 1815: 'Now on sale, at 68, George street, corner of Market-street ... Also, an excellent piano forte, by Beck, in perfect order.'³¹

A week later, Charters again offered the piano for sale: 'Now on sale, at 68, George street, corner of Market-street ... Also, an excellent piano forte, by Beck, in perfect order.'³²

Despite these efforts, Charters still had no success in selling the piano. Two weeks later, on Saturday, 3 June 1815, the following (and final) advertisement appeared in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, on Saturday, 3 June 1815: 'Now on sale, at 68, George street, corner of Market-street ... Also, an excellent piano forte, by Beck, in perfect order, for which a negotiable bill will be taken in payment.'³³

No further advertisements for the sale of the Beck piano appeared.

George Chartres

'Mr Charters' was the lawyer George Chartres (fl. 1810–17). Dublin born, he was convicted of fraud on Saturday, 14 July 1810,

and sentenced to be transported for seven years. [In July 1811,] he arrived at Sydney in the *Providence*. He was given a ticket-of-leave on his arrival and soon afterwards was appointed clerk to D'Arcy Wentworth [1762?–1827] superintendent of police, at a salary of £30, a position he held throughout his stay in the colony ... [In 1812,] Chartres advertised that he would transact all manner of conveyancing and was ready to render professional assistance 'as might appear requisite for the prosecution or defence of suits' in the courts ... On 27 February 1813 he was sentenced to the Coal River (Newcastle) for misconduct, but received another ticket-of-leave in December, returned to Sydney and on

30 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 15 April 1815, Vol. 13, No. 583, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

31 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 13 May 1815, Vol. 13, No. 598, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

32 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 20 May 1815, Vol. 13, No. 599, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

33 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 3 June 1815, Vol. 13, No. 601, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

13 June 1814 was conditionally pardoned. Five days later he announced his intention of resuming his legal activities, now at 68 George Street, though he accompanied his practice by mercantile dealings and keeping a public house.³⁴

Having ‘sold his stock, his house and other assets’, he left Sydney for England ‘with his wife in the *Harriet* on 22 December 1817’. Although judge Jeffery Hart Bent (1781–1852) ‘wrote in 1819 that [Chartres] ... had become bankrupt, nothing more of him is certainly known’.³⁵

It is reasonable to assume that George Chartres maintained possession of the Beck piano for almost two years until the month before he left Sydney for England on Monday, 22 December 1817.

1817: Simeon Lord

On Saturday, 8 November 1817, the following advertisement appeared in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* concerning an auction, by Simeon Lord, scheduled for Thursday, 13 November 1817:

Sales by Auction ... by Mr. Lord, at the residence of Mr. Chartres, [68] George-street, Sydney, on Thursday next, the 13th Instant, at eleven in the forenoon, and on every succeeding Thursday at same hour (until the whole shall be disposed of), the remaining stock in trade, consisting of men and women’s cotton hose, English prints, haberdashery, &c. &c.—Likewise, the household furniture; comprising an elegant rose-wood four-post bedstead, fluted and carved, running on brass castors, with English chintz hangings, rose-wood secretary, chest of drawers, parlour and drawing room chairs, sofas, dining and other tables, ladies and gentlemen’s portable writing desks, &c. &c. &c.—Also, a very excellent toned piano forte by Beck, a few volumes of books, an elegant gig and harness, a black gelding, well adapted for farming purposes, and a valuable gold watch, by Moon, London.³⁶

Given the changes in piano sound and musical aesthetic that had occurred by 1817, that the piano is described as ‘excellent toned’ is a remarkable comment to make in relation to an instrument made in 1780/86?. The description is doubtless a sales ploy. It is not known if a buyer emerged for the Beck piano.

34 K. G. Allars, ‘Chartres, George (?–?)’, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1966], Vol. 1.

35 Ibid.

36 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 8 November 1817, Vol. 15, No. 729, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

1838: John Blackman

Given that pianos advertised for sale in the Sydney press during the 1820s and 1830s do not usually include any instruments made by Beck, any mention of a Beck piano must alert the senses. This is the case in an advertisement published in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Tuesday, 5 June 1838, in which 'one second-hand pianoforte, by Beck, of London' is mentioned:

For Sale by Auction, by Mr. Blackman, To-Morrow, the 6th June, 1838, at his rooms at 11 o'clock precisely, without reserve, 48 pair of fancy striped and railway drill trowsers 20 pair of superfine blue cloth trousers 2 pieces of English Parramatta cloth 15 elegant China crape shawls, various colors 2 bags sugar.

Also, one second-hand pianoforte, by Beck, of London.³⁷

Was this Worgan's piano? It does seem likely. That London is specified enables a narrowing of the field to occur.

1. During the first half of the nineteenth century, there were only three piano makers with the surname of Beck in the world
 - a) Carl Friedrich Beck (1790–1839),³⁸ who worked in Berlin between ca 1820 and 1839
 - b) Johannes Beck (1817–63),³⁹ who worked in Ebingen between 1817 and 1863, making six-octave square pianos (no surviving instruments are known)
 - c) an unidentified Beck, possibly Joseph Beck, who worked in Paris between 1819 and 1822.⁴⁰

As far as is known, these makers never worked or had a sales outlet either in London or anywhere in the British Empire.

2. During the 1820s and 1830s there were more than 220 piano makers and dealers in London.⁴¹ Not one of these London piano makers has the surname of Beck—or anything that resembles it. In fact, there had not been a piano maker named Beck in London since Frederick Beck established his workshop at 4 Broad Street, Golden Square, in ca 1771 (Beck died ca 1798). Moreover, during the 1820s and 1830s there appears to be no evidence for

37 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 5 June 1838, Vol. 36, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

38 See *ibid.*, p. 45.

39 See *ibid.*, p. 45.

40 See de Place, *Le Piano-forte à Paris entre 1760 et 1822*, p. 180.

41 See Appendix H, Volume 2 of this publication.

a) pianos made by Beck being commonly available for sale in England; during the 1820s and 1830s, the only advertisement published in the British press in which a second-hand Beck piano is offered for sale appears in *The Bury and Norwich Post* of Wednesday, 27 April 1831⁴²

b) pianos made by Beck being exported from England for subsequent sale in Australia.

The mention of ‘one second-hand pianoforte, by Beck, of London’ in the advertisement in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of 5 June is tantalising.

Perhaps the auctioneer John Blackman included Beck’s name in his advertisement not only to alert potential buyers to the instrument’s age (in 1838, Beck’s piano would have been extremely outmoded), but also to its uniqueness in Australia. By the 1830s, any mention of a piano made by Beck would most probably have caused curiosity (if not indifference); this is because other piano makers had gained prominence in Sydney.

In the 14 years between 1828 and 1842, 17 piano makers/firms are specifically mentioned by name in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*:

- Anderson (mentioned once)⁴³
- John Benham⁴⁴ (mentioned eight times)⁴⁵
- Broadwood (mentioned 43 times)⁴⁶
- Broadwood & Sons (mentioned 18 times)⁴⁷

42 See Appendix N, Volume 2 of this publication.

43 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 11 April 1840, Vol. 38, Trove, National Library of Australia..

44 John Benham (fl. 1831–45), ‘whose origins are uncertain, built the first piano in Australia’. Housed in ‘the Old Mint Building, Sydney, it is constructed of Australian red cedar’. See Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, p. 27.

45 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 12 December 1835, Vol. 33; 15 December 1835, Vol. 33; 17 December 1835, Vol. 33; 19 December 1835, Vol. 33; 22 December 1835, Vol. 33; 24 December 1835, Vol. 33; 29 December 1835, Vol. 33; 31 December 1835, Vol. 33.

46 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 14 January 1828, Vol. 26, Trove, National Library of Australia; 18 January 1828, Vol. 26; 29 August 1828, Vol. 26; 8 January 1829, Vol. 27; 10 January 1829, Vol. 27; 17 January 1829, Vol. 27; 20 January 1829, Vol. 27; 10 March 1829, Vol. 27; 19 September 1829, Vol. 27; 1 June 1830, Vol. 28; 14 June 1832, Vol. 30; 16 June 1832, Vol. 30; 19 June 1832, Vol. 30; 21 June 1832, Vol. 30; 5 January 1833, Vol. 31; 10 January 1833, Vol. 31; 12 January 1833, Vol. 31; 17 January 1833, Vol. 31; 19 January 1833, Vol. 31; 26 January 1833, Vol. 31; 7 June 1834, Vol. 32; 8 March 1836, Vol. 34; 12 March 1836, Vol. 34; 19 March 1836, Vol. 34; 22 March 1836, Vol. 34; 24 March 1836, Vol. 34; 31 March 1836, Vol. 34; 2 April 1836, Vol. 34; 5 April 1836, Vol. 34; 28 June 1836, Vol. 34; 3 November 1836, Vol. 34; 15 November 1836, Vol. 34; 22 November 1836, Vol. 34; 24 November 1836, Vol. 34; 26 November 1836, Vol. 34; 29 November 1836, Vol. 34; 27 December 1836, Vol. 34; 22 March 1838, Vol. 36; 24 March 1838, Vol. 36; 31 January 1839, Vol. 37; 2 February 1839, Vol. 37; 5 February 1839, Vol. 37; 11 April 1840, Vol. 38; 24 August 1841, Vol. 39; 26 August 1841, Vol. 39.

47 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 7 April 1828, Vol. 26, Trove, National Library of Australia; 9 April 1828, Vol. 26; 11 April 1828, Vol. 26; 16 April 1828, Vol. 26; 18 April 1828, Vol. 26; 21

- John Chace (mentioned twice)⁴⁸
- Clementi & Co. (mentioned 15 times)⁴⁹
- Collard & Collard (mentioned 16 times)⁵⁰
- Dale & Co. (mentioned twice)⁵¹
- Elliott & Co. (mentioned five times)⁵²
- Joseph Davis (mentioned five times)⁵³
- Gerock & Co. (mentioned four times)⁵⁴
- Gunter (mentioned twice)⁵⁵
- Isaac Henry Robert Mott (mentioned six times)⁵⁶
- Small, Bruce & Co. (mentioned once)⁵⁷
- Stodart (mentioned six times)⁵⁸
- Tomkison (mentioned 15 times)⁵⁹
- Wolfe & Co. (mentioned once).⁶⁰

April 1828, Vol. 26; 10 September 1828, Vol. 26; 12 September 1828, Vol. 26; 17 September 1828, Vol. 26; 24 September 1828, Vol. 26; 26 September 1828, Vol. 26; 5 January 1836, Vol. 34; 7 January 1836, Vol. 34; 10 January 1837, Vol. 3; 12 January 1837; 10 May 1838, Vol. 36; 12 May 1838, Vol. 36; 15 May 1838, Vol. 36.

48 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 11 April 1840; 11 June 1840, Vol. 38, Trove, National Library of Australia.

49 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 3 January 1829, Vol. 27, Trove, National Library of Australia; 3 January 1829; 8 January 1829; 10 January 1829; 21 December 1830, Vol. 28; 23 December 1830, Vol. 28; 22 March 1831, Vol. 29; 24 March 1831, Vol. 29; 26 January 1839, Vol. 37; 29 January 1839, Vol. 37; 31 January; 2 February 1840; 5 February 1840; 27 June 1840 [twice], Vol. 38; 30 June 1840, Vol. 38.

50 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 16 September 1837, Vol. 35; 21 September 1837, Vol. 35; 23 September 1837, Vol. 35; 28 September 1837, Vol. 35; 10 May 1838; 12 May 1838; 15 May 1838; 26 March 1839, Vol. 37; 2 April 1839; 16 January 1840 [twice], Vol. 38; 18 January 1840, Vol. 38; 23 May 1840, Vol. 38; 25 May 1840, Vol. 38; 30 May 1840, Vol. 38; 5 September 1840, Vol. 38.

51 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 19 May 1840, Vol. 38, Trove, National Library of Australia; 21 May 1840, Vol. 38.

52 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 24 September 1835, Vol. 33, Trove, National Library of Australia; 1 October 1835, Vol. 33; 3 October 1835, Vol. 33; 6 October 1835, Vol. 33; 8 October 1835, Vol. 33.

53 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 3 April 1834, Vol. 32, Trove, National Library of Australia; 5 April 1834, Vol. 32; 8 April 1834, Vol. 32; 10 April 1834, Vol. 32; 12 April 1834, Vol. 32.

54 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 6 September 1834, Vol. 32, Trove, National Library of Australia; 9 September 1834, Vol. 32; 11 September 1834, Vol. 32; 13 September 1834, Vol. 32.

55 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 20 October 1838, Vol. 36, Trove, National Library of Australia; 23 October 1838, Vol. 36.

56 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 31 December 1836, Vol. 34, Trove, National Library of Australia; 27 October 1838, Vol. 36; 25 January 1842, Vol. 40; 27 January 1842 [twice], Vol. 40; 29 January 1842, Vol. 40.

57 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 5 September 1840.

58 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 14 April 1832, Vol. 30, Trove, National Library of Australia; 26 January 1839; 29 January 1839; 31 January 1839; 2 February 1839; 5 February 1839.

59 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 9 December 1830, Vol. 28, Trove, National Library of Australia; 11 December 1830, Vol. 28; 14 December 1830, Vol. 28; 18 December 1830, Vol. 28; 21 December 1830; 23 December 1830; 30 December 1830, Vol. 28; 4 January 1831, Vol. 29; 6 January 1831, Vol. 29; 8 January 1831, Vol. 29; 11 January 1831, Vol. 29; 13 January 1831, Vol. 29; 31 December 1839, Vol. 37; 2 January 1840, Vol. 38; 10 July 1841, Vol. 3.

60 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 19 May 1840.

By way of summary, the Broadwood firm occupies pride of place (61 times), followed by Clementi & Co. (including Collard & Collard; 31 times), Tomkison (15 times), Benham (eight times), Mott and Stodart (six times each), Elliott & Co. and Davis, Gerock & Co. (five times each), Chase, Dale & Co. and Gunter (twice each), and Anderson, Small, Bruce & Co. and Wolfe & Co. (once each).

These data suggest that in Sydney, at least by the 1830s, not only was private music making a common pastime amongst those who could afford to purchase a piano, but also a ready supply of instruments and sheet music was available. ('In April 1828, the *South-Asian Register* reported that "Professor" Edwards', who owned a 'music warehouse in Underwood's Buildings near the wharf in George Street ... sold, during the previous three years, no fewer than twenty-three new pianos in Sydney, imported from London'.⁶¹ Furthermore, on Monday, 19 December 1831, Anne Maria Bourke, the daughter of the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Richard Bourke, observed that in Sydney 'a good many ladies play the harp and pianoforte very well'.⁶²)

Apart from ardent amateurs, Sydney's musical life also included professional musicians of talent and ability. For example, Vincent Wallace (1812–65), who settled in Sydney in January 1836,⁶³

had been one of the leading violinists in the orchestra accompanying [Niccolò] Paganini [1782–1840] for his Dublin concerts in August–September 1831, and in the theatre orchestra directed that season by the renowned London leader, Paolo Spagnoletti [1768–1834].⁶⁴

While he was in Sydney ... Wallace's violin fantasies *a lá Paganini*, and piano solos *après Herz*, reportedly pleased audiences less than

61 Cumes, *Their Chastity Was Not Too Rigid*, p. 106. Cumes sources his information from the *South-Asian Register*, p. 290.

62 Thomson, *Journal of a Voyage to Australia*. Quoted in Clarke and Spender, *Life Lines*, p. 77.

63 Having 'emigrated to Hobart Town with his wife and infant son, his sister Elizabeth, a soprano, and his brother Wellington, a flautist' in November 1835, Wallace gave one recital there before he and his family moved to Sydney. For this recital, Wallace used a piano made by Goulding, d'Almaine & Potter. The instrument was owned by the artist and engraver Thomas Bock (1790–1855), who, having arrived in Hobart Town in January 1824, kept it at his home in Campbell Street, Hobart Town. The piano came to Van Diemen's Land on the *Tiger*, which ran aground on a sandbank in the Derwent River; Bock's high-quality piano had to be rescued from this precarious situation. William Bradshaw purchased the instrument from a second-hand dealer (the piano had become available because of a divorce; the husband sent the instrument from Tasmania to a Melbourne warehouse, from where it was sold to Bradshaw). The instrument, along with its original piano stool, is currently housed in a private collection. I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for this information. Quotation taken from C. Mackerras, 'Wallace, William Vincent (1812–1865)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1967], Vol. 2.

64 Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 26.

his improvisations on their favourite airs, the same sort of sentimental ballads for which his [opera] *Maritana* later became (and long remained) famous.⁶⁵

Wallace came to Sydney unknown as a musician save to a few, went to the bush, and was for a time engaged on a station. He returned to the metropolis, and some friends hearing him play by accident were amazed to discover in a simple immigrant a violinist of the first rank, and at the solicitations of Sir Richard Bourke, the Governor of the colony, he was induced to give a concert, which took place on the 12th February, 1836, and proved a great success. He played his own compositions, both for violin and pianoforte ... He then advertised himself as 'Leader of the Anacreontic Society and Professor of Composition of the Royal Society', and commenced teaching. Wallace did not remain long in Sydney. He went to New Zealand, from there he proceeded to South America, passed through a variety of incidents, and then returned to London, where he composed the opera of *Maritana*, and became famous, not only as an operatic writer, but as a composer of music for the pianoforte ... his finest being the fantasia on *Maritana*, seldom performed.⁶⁶

On Saturday, 19 March 1836, the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* referred to Vincent Wallace as 'the Australian Paganini'.⁶⁷ There can be no doubt that Wallace was the most talented and brilliant musician to perform in Sydney during the 1830s.

In the presence of a musical talent as dazzling as Vincent Wallace, it is unlikely that during the 1830s any mention of a piano made by Frederick Beck would have impressed.

It has been shown above that between 1828 and 1842, the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* specifically mentions 17 piano makers/firms by name. During the same period, *The Sydney Herald* mentions 10 piano makers/firms

- Allen (mentioned twice)⁶⁸
- Ashton (mentioned once)⁶⁹
- Broadwood (mentioned 10 times)⁷⁰

65 Ibid., p. 32.

66 Brewer, *The Drama and Music in New South Wales*, p. 56. Quoted in Skinner, *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition*, p. 419, Appendix 1.

67 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 19 March 1836, p. 2.

68 *The Sydney Herald*, 15 July 1833, Vol. 3, No. 179, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia; 18 July 1833, Vol. 3, No. 180, p. 1.

69 *The Sydney Herald*, 18 February 1839, Vol. 9, No. 796, p. 4, Trove, National Library of Australia.

70 *The Sydney Herald*, 11 June 1832, Vol. 2, No. 65, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia; 14 June 1832, Vol. 2, No. 66, p. 1; 15 June 1832, Vol. 2, p. 1; 18 June 1832, Vol. 2, No. 67, p. 1; 21 June 1832, Vol. 2, No. 68, p. 1; 3 June 1833, Vol. 3, No. 167, p. 3; 6 June 1833, Vol. 3, No. 168, p. 1; 5 September 1833, Vol. 3, No. 194,

- Clementi (mentioned six times)⁷¹
- Davis (mentioned four times)⁷²
- Dettmer (mentioned once)⁷³
- Kirckman (mentioned once)⁷⁴
- Smith (mentioned once)⁷⁵
- Stodart (mentioned five times)⁷⁶
- Tomkison (mentioned five times).⁷⁷

The Broadwood firm occupies pride of place (10 times), followed by Clementi (six times), Stodart and Tomkison (five times each), Davis (four times), Allen (twice), Ashton, Dettmer, Kirckman and Smith (once each).

Between the late 1820s and early 1840s, information published in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* and *The Sydney Herald* suggests that the pianos most often purchased in Sydney as new instruments were imported from London, and were made by Broadwood, Clementi (including Collard & Collard), Stodart or Tomkison. (As early as 1802, Clementi's pianos were estimated to be among the best in the world. In 1802, the London correspondent of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* [General Music Journal] wrote that Clementi & Co. 'without doubt produce the finest but also the most valuable instruments in the world, whose quality has been refined by Clementi's technical mind and artistic experience'.)⁷⁸

Auctioneer John Blackman's advertisement for 'one second-hand pianoforte, by Beck, of London' published in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Tuesday, 5 June 1838, appeared 21 years after the last mention of a

p. 3; 10 April 1840, Vol. 10, No. 975, p. 3.

71 *The Sydney Herald*, 20 February 1832, Vol. 2, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia; 26 September 1833, Vol. 3, No. 200, p. 3; 30 September 1833, Vol. 3, No. 201, p. 1; 3 October 1833, Vol. 3, No. 202, p. 1; 24 April 1834, Vol. 4, No. 260, p. 3; 29 June 1840, Vol. 10, No. 1007, p. 8.

72 *The Sydney Herald*, 3 April 1834, Vol. 4, No. 254, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia; 7 April 1834, Vol. 4, No. 255, p. 3; 10 April 1834, p. 1; 14 April 1834, Vol. 4, No. 256, p. 3.

73 *The Sydney Herald*, 27 May 1839, Vol. 9, No. 838, p. 3, Trove, National Library of Australia.

74 *The Sydney Herald*, 18 February 1839, p. 4.

75 *The Sydney Herald*, 29 August 1833, Vol. 3, No. 192, p. 2, Trove, National Library of Australia.

76 *The Sydney Herald*, 16 May 1831, Vol. 1, No. 5, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia; 2 April 1832, Vol. 2, No. 51, p. 1; 9 April 1832, Vol. 2, No. 52, p. 1; 16 April 1832, Vol. 2, No. 53, p. 1; 23 April 1832, Vol. 2, No. 54, p. 1.

77 *The Sydney Herald*, 24 December 1832, [mentioned twice], Vol. 2, No. 121, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia; 27 December 1832, [mentioned twice], Vol. 2; 8 May 1839, Vol. 9, No. 830, p. 3.

78 '[L]iefert, ohne allen Widerspruch, die trefflichsten Instrumente in der Welt, die von Clementi's mechanischem Kopf und Kunsterfahrung veredelt, aber freilich auch die kostbarsten sind [Returns without all contradiction, are the most excellent instruments in the world, refined by Clementi's mechanical head and experience of art, but of course are also the most valuable]. In 'Zustand der Musik in England, besonders in London [State of Music in England, Especially in London]', in *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* [General Music Journal] (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1802), Vol. 5, No. 12, Cols 197–8, fn. **.

Beck piano had been made in the Sydney press.⁷⁹ After Blackman's advertisement, the surname 'Beck' is never again mentioned in any Sydney newspaper⁸⁰ in connection with a piano.

John Blackman's auction was held on Wednesday, 6 June 1838; this was three months and two days after George Bouchier Worgan had died in Liskeard. Blackman had established his 'Auction Mart' sale rooms at 'Mr. Hutchinson's Buildings, No. 5, King-street'⁸¹ four years before, on 29 March 1834. The *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Tuesday, 1 April 1834 contains the following observation: 'Another competitor for public favour as an auctioneer enters the arena, in the person of Mr. John Blackman. His rooms are in King-street.'⁸²

Two days later, on Thursday, 3 April 1834, the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* more informatively reveals that 'a Mr. John Blackman, has opened business as an auctioneer, at No 5, King-street, in the house lately occupied by Mr. Brenand'.⁸³

By the time John Blackman offered the Beck piano for sale on Wednesday, 6 June 1838,

there were nearly twenty thousand people in Sydney ... Sixteen thousand of these were free and there was agitation to stop the transportation of convicts. The granting of free land had been abolished in 1831 and land sales now helped to raise money to assist free immigration ... In 1836 ... [there were] 570 arrivals in Port Jackson, and only 16 of these were convict ships. Of the rest, most were immigrant vessels, whalers, traders and local coasters carrying passengers and produce.⁸⁴

However vibrant a picture these statistics may paint, two years before John Blackman's auction, the English naturalist Charles Darwin (1809–82) left Australia after a brief visit with the following valediction: 'Farewell Australia! you are a rising child, and doubtless some day will reign a great princess in the south; but you are too great and ambitious for affection, yet not great enough for respect. I leave your shores without sorrow or regret.'⁸⁵

79 An advertisement appearing in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* concerning an auction (scheduled for Thursday, 13 November 1817) at which Simeon Lord offers for sale 'a very excellent toned piano forte by Beck'. See *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 8 November 1817, p. 1.

80 The author has searched for mention of a Beck piano in Sydney newspapers up to, and including, 1954.

81 *The Sydney Herald*, 7 April 1834, p. 1.

82 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 1 April 1834, Vol. 32, p. 2.

83 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 3 April 1834, p. 3.

84 Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 84.

85 Quoted in Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals*, p. 223.

Chapter 15

That Accounts for the Coke in the Milkanut:¹ William Bradshaw's stock book entry and three differing provenance versions

It is not known what became of the Beck piano after John Blackman's auction of Wednesday, 6 June 1838. Hypotheses pertaining to the history of the instrument after 1838 can be created using information derived from four sources

1. William Bradshaw's stock book entry detailing his purchase of the 1780/86? Beck square piano (Plates 328e and 328f)
2. three differing provenance versions, each of which is based on hearsay.

None of the four sources conclusively proves that the Beck piano came to Botany Bay with the First Fleet.

William Bradshaw's Stock Book: The entry dated 29 October 1973

Bradshaw kept meticulous records of his acquisitions. Data for each acquisition were recorded in a large purpose-printed ledger, and comprised handwritten information (in ink) entered into columns spaced over two adjacent pages. Each column was headed (respectively, left to right)

- left-hand page
 1. day of purchase or receipt, and hour of day
 2. description of old wares purchased or received
 3. date (a handwritten heading)
 4. cost (in pounds).
- right-hand page
 5. name and surname of person by or through whom purchased or received

¹ N. Rees, *All Gong and No Dinner: 1001 Homely Phrases and Curious Domestic Sayings* (London: Collins, 2007), p. 14.

6. name and surname of person from whom purchased or received
7. business and place of abode of person from whom purchased or received.

Data concerning Bradshaw's purchase of the 1780/86? Beck piano are found in one of his stock books (Plates 133 and 133a).² Bradshaw's stock book entry for his purchase of the Beck square piano reads

1. left-hand page (slashes within the quotation delineate each column): 'Oct 29 11.30 / Square Piano by Beck for self / 1786 / 150' (the last column's pound-sign heading has been overwritten with a dollar sign: '\$')
2. right-hand page: 'W. F. Bradshaw / Adam Barber / 82 Murriverie Road North Bondi'.

At the top left-hand corner of the left-hand page, Bradshaw has written (in blue ink) '1973'. Paul Kenny, the eminent antiques importer, Bradshaw's close friend³ and colleague⁴ and the current custodian of Bradshaw's stock books, posits that the address '82 Murriverie Road' written in black ink at the top centre of the left-hand page was written by Bradshaw.⁵

The Beck piano entry is the last of three entries dated 29 October 1973. The first two entries detail the acquisition of: 1) a 1760 Chippendale tea table; and 2) two gilt chairs dating from 1850.

Bradshaw's stock book entry indicates that he purchased the 1780/86? Beck square piano on Monday, 29 October 1973 from Adam Barber at 82 Murriverie Road, North Bondi, Sydney (Plate 133a). It is not known how or when Barber acquired the piano.

Oddly, there is no mention of an Adam Barber in any of the Australian Electoral Rolls for 1968, 1972 or 1977⁶ (compulsory enrolment for federal elections existed from 1912). One assumes that: 1) Adam Barber was Australian;

2 I am indebted to Brian Barrow for providing me with a photographic copy of the first half—that is, the left-hand page—of Bradshaw's stock book entry detailing his purchase of the Beck square piano. I am also indebted to Paul Kenny for supplying me with a photographic copy of the adjacent page—that is, the right-hand page—upon which is written the continuation of Bradshaw's stock book entry detailing his purchase of the Beck piano.

3 'Paul Kenny's friendship with Bill Bradshaw goes back to the 1950s when Bradshaw was his mentor in Market Street and Kenny had a share in an antique business in Orange.' Lawson, 'The Other Man in Keating's Life'. See also 'Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance' in Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

4 In the 1970s Bradshaw and Kenny 'worked together on the furnishing of the restored Elizabeth Bay House'. Lawson, 'The Other Man in Keating's Life'.

5 Telephone conversation between the author and Paul Kenny, Wednesday, 7 August 2013.

6 See Ancestry.com, *Australia, Electoral Rolls, 1905–1980* (Provo, Ut.: Ancestry.com, 2010).

and 2) Adam Barber did not substitute either his middle name or another name for his Christian name (the Australian Electoral Rolls for 1968 and 1977 list no person with a middle name of Adam and a surname of Barber).⁷

1973
Nov

82 Murrivier Road
MURRIVERIE RD

Second-hand Dealers and
THIRD

ENTRY OF PURCHASES

Day of purchase or receipt, and hour of day	Description of old wares purchased or received	date	£	s.	d.
Oct 29 11-30	Shippable Tea Table	1760	150		
	2 Milk chairs	1850	300		
	Square Piano by Beck for self	1786	150		
Oct 31 2-30	Five piece desk in satin wood	1790	250		

Plate 133 The left-hand page of William Bradshaw’s handwritten entry in one of his stock books regarding acquisition of the 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano (detail).

Source: Paul Kenny—current custodian of Bradshaw’s stock books. Reproduced with permission of Paul Kenny. Photo by Paul Kenny.

Collectors Act, 1906

SCHEDULE

AND RECEIPTS

54 9197

Name and surname of person by or through whom purchased or received	Name and surname of person from whom purchased or received	Business and place of abode of person from whom purchased or received
W.F. Bradshaw	Adam Barber	82 Murrivier Road ^{Bondi} Bradshaw
	?	
	?	
	?	

Plate 133a The right-hand page of William Bradshaw’s handwritten stock book entry regarding acquisition of the 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano (detail).

Source: Paul Kenny—current custodian of Bradshaw’s stock books. Reproduced with permission of Paul Kenny. Photo by Paul Kenny.

⁷ See Electoral Rolls for 1968 and 1977 in *ibid.*

At first sight, Bradshaw's stock book entries dated 29 and 31 October 1973 appear to have been written at the same time. Did Bradshaw manufacture Adam Barber's name? It does seem unlikely. In order to possess a trading licence, the law required antiques dealers—if they were not *exclusively* antiques *importers*—to keep detailed accounts of purchases and sales. Government officers would regularly appear unannounced at Bradshaw's shop in order to inspect his records; on many an occasion these inspectors were anything but pleasant. The licensing sergeants would often visit the addresses listed in Bradshaw's stock books in order to substantiate the veracity of his data. Since Bradshaw was mortally afraid of authority, it is reasonable to assume that the details provided in his business records are true.⁸

Did Adam Barber mislead Bradshaw by giving a false name, and if so, why? Barber would not have needed to falsify his name unless he had acquired the Beck piano illicitly, or was not entitled to sell the instrument to Bradshaw. A fictitious name would have allowed Barber to reinvent the Beck's history.

A fabricated name would also have allowed Bradshaw (if he was aware that Barber's name was false) to invent a provenance. Such a scenario, however, would represent a departure from Bradshaw's character. Within the context of a telephone conversation held between the author and Paul Kenny on Tuesday, 2 July 2013, Kenny, Bradshaw's friend and colleague and a man blessed with an acute memory, remarked that Bradshaw, in relation to provenance details, might 'embellish a story, but he wouldn't invent; he was a truthful man'.

When Bradshaw acquired the piano from Barber, the owner of 82 Murrivierie Road was Charlotte Barnes, who had purchased the property one year earlier, on Wednesday, 18 October 1972. When Barnes acquired the Murrivierie Road property, she was living at 3/315 Military Road, Vaucluse, Sydney (in 1980, the Electoral Roll gives the same address for Charlotte, who is described as a 'designer').⁹ Charlotte may have regarded 82 Murrivierie Road as an investment property; she owned it for only 15 months, subsequently selling it on Friday, 18 January 1974 to Gianni Finelli and his wife, Patricia.¹⁰

Since Bradshaw's stock book entry indicates that he purchased the Beck piano from Adam Barber at 82 Murrivierie Road, it is reasonable to assume that Barber was renting the property to live in. Within the context of a telephone conversation held between the author and Paul Kenny on Wednesday, 7 August 2013, Kenny proposed that the reason Adam Barber sold the instrument to

8 I am indebted to Paul Kenny for this information.

9 Listing no. 304 in 'Subdivision of Vaucluse' in 'Electoral Roll for the Year 1980' in Ancestry.com, *Australia, Electoral Rolls, 1905–1980*, p. 2.

10 I am indebted to Phillip Barrow for this information.

Bradshaw (along with a 1760 Chippendale tea table and two 1850 gilt chairs)¹¹ may have been because he was moving out of 82 Murriverie Road; given that 82 Murriverie Road was sold only two and a half months after Bradshaw purchased the Beck piano from Barber, Kenny's speculation is logical.

Bradshaw's stock book entry dated 31 October 1973—that is, two days after he had purchased the Beck piano—indicates that he returned to 82 Murriverie Road, where he purchased the following antiques from Adam Barber (Plates 328e and 328f):

1. a 1790 satinwood fire-screen desk
2. a Viennese square piano dated 1800
3. an 1850 gilt couch
4. a 1790 mahogany table
5. a 1760 gilt armchair.

Ten days later, on Saturday, 10 November 1973, Bradshaw once again returned to 82 Murriverie Road; his stock book entry indicates that he made further purchases from Bobby Lee¹² and Adam Barber (Plate 328e). These purchases comprised

1. a 1790 Chippendale serving table
2. a William and Mary chest from ca 1685
3. a 1760 George II side table.

That within 13 days Bradshaw purchased 12 antiques from Adam Barber reinforces Kenny's speculation that Barber intended to move out of 82 Murriverie Road.

Bradshaw's three visits to Barber may be explained by the fact that, 'knowing Bill',¹³

1. the first set of acquisitions (on 29 October) went immediately into Bradshaw's shop window, and sold within a day or two
2. with money in hand, Bradshaw returned to 82 Murriverie Road (on 31 October) in order to purchase more stock, which sold quickly

¹¹ See Plate 133.

¹² The 1963 NSW Electoral Roll lists a Robert Leslie Lee living at '49/73 Anglesea Street, depot hand'. Listing no. 4316 in 'Subdivision of Bondi' in 'Electoral Roll for the Year 1963' in Ancestry.com, *Australia, Electoral Rolls, 1905–1980*, p. 72. Similarly, the 1980 NSW Electoral Roll lists Robert Leslie Lee living at the same address. Listing no. 5169 in 'Subdivision of Bondi', p. 23. Could this person be the 'Bobby Lee' mentioned in Bradshaw's stock book entry?

¹³ I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for the following hypothesis, which emerged within the context of a telephone conversation with the author, Wednesday, 14 August 2013.

3. once again, with money in hand, Bradshaw returned (on 10 November) in order to acquire more antiques from Adam Barber.

Within the context of this series of events, Bradshaw (conjecturally) sold a good deal of stock. These transactions may have enabled him to cover the outlay for the Beck piano—an instrument that he did not intend to sell, but had acquired for himself.

Apart from the details in Bradshaw's stock book relating to the 1780/86? Beck square piano, three differing provenance versions for the instrument exist. The proponent of each provenance version holds a deep personal conviction that the version is true. The three provenance versions are given below.

Provenance Version 1: George Bouchier Worgan's piano at a farm '30 miles out of Sydney'

Hearsay—derived from the doyen of the Sydney antiques scene, William Bradshaw, and subsequently recounted to the author by Stewart Symonds—tells us that at John Blackman's auction of 6 June 1838, the 1780/86? Beck piano was sold to the owners of a farm located '30 miles [48 kilometres] out of Sydney'. According to Bradshaw/Symonds, this information came from John Blackman's auction records.¹⁴

If Worgan's piano was sold on 6 June 1838 to the owners of a farm 48 kilometres from Sydney, the notion that such a distance from Sydney could be anywhere is not viable. In 1838, there was not much '30 miles out of Sydney', with the exception of a town that may have been connected with the nineteenth and twentieth-century life of Worgan's piano. This town is Windsor.

George Bouchier Worgan's Piano in Windsor

Hearsay derived from Bradshaw/Symonds proposes that in 1973, Bradshaw was either 'tipped off'¹⁵ or saw an advertisement concerning a 'spinet' for sale. In England and Australia during the twentieth century, some antiques dealers understood the term 'spinet' as being synonymous with small keyboard instruments. Moreover, the term spinet was 'often mistakenly used

14 Advertisements published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* reveal that the administratrix of John Blackman's estate was Sarah Blackman. See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 1846, Vol. 21, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

15 According to Stewart Symonds, Bradshaw had friends in Windsor who may have alerted Bradshaw to the instrument's availability.

by antique dealers to refer to square pianos'.¹⁶ The use of 'spinet' may have arisen as a response to the then unfamiliar shape and sound of square pianos.¹⁷ The 'spinet' was located in an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor,¹⁸ and was in fact a square piano made by Frederick Beck in 1780/86?

The instrument had been passed down through generations of the family who owned it—perhaps even since John Blackman's auction of 6 June 1838. The owners of the instrument were adamant that it had come to Australia with the First Fleet. Although there was no documentary evidence proving that the instrument was George Worgan's piano, the lady of the house recounted that the recurring mantra uttered by generations of mothers in the family to their children was: 'Don't bang on that piano; be careful with it, because it came out with the First Fleet.' Accordingly, for generations, members of the family had been allowed to play the instrument only under the strictest supervision.

The piano was housed in the laundry, and the owners wished to sell the instrument in order to finance the purchase of a new washing machine.

Times and ideas change. In 1973, antique pianos were not always regarded or treated with the reverence that is often accorded to them today. If the owners' attitude towards their Frederick Beck square piano was one of indifference (as the instrument's storage context suggests), the fact that they told Bradshaw that the piano was the First Fleet piano is paradoxical; the owners were aware of the instrument's historical importance, yet stored it in their laundry. Perhaps:

1) familiarity with the instrument had bred contempt; or 2) the laundry was the safest place for the instrument to be housed; or 3) space in their home was limited; or 4) the owners did not feel that the instrument was worthy of much respect because of its age.

The piano had fallen into a state of subtle disrepair. The owners may have been reticent to keep the instrument in good playing condition because of

1. financial constraints
2. the fact that they did not know of (or could not find) a restorer with the appropriate skills
3. their wish not to alter the fabric of the instrument through restoration for fear that information that could be of benefit to posterity might be lost

¹⁶ Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 16.

¹⁷ See W. F. Bradshaw, 'The Domestic Piano', in P. Cook (ed.), *The Australasian Antique Collector*, Vol. 3, No. 9 (July–December) (Randwick, NSW: John Hannan, Newspaper Typesetters, 1970), p. 74.

¹⁸ Attempts by the author to locate anyone in Windsor who remembers the presence or sale of the Beck piano have proved fruitless; the trail leading to relevant data appears to have gone cold. History may sometimes blot out a paragraph here and there, but rarely does it tear out the leaves of a whole volume, leaving only a coloured frontispiece remaining to tease us. See West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, pp. 846–7.

(this seems unlikely, however, given the state of the instrument and its storage context)

4. a belief that because the instrument was both antiquated and unable to meet the musical demands inherent in nineteenth and twentieth-century keyboard repertoire, the piano was not worth the expenditure associated with restoring it to playing order
5. indecision resulting from the frustration of not knowing quite what to do with the instrument.

William Bradshaw believed the instrument to be surgeon Worgan's piano, and purchased it immediately.

These details make up 'provenance version one'. Provenance version one contradicts 'provenance version two',¹⁹ 'provenance version three'²⁰ and data recorded in Bradshaw's stock book.²¹

When the current owner of the 1780/86? Beck piano, Stewart Symonds, first saw the instrument in early October 1986, he obtained the piano's provenance (conveyed in the form of provenance version one)²² from Bradshaw (the then owner of the instrument). Within the context of a conversation held between the author and Stewart Symonds on Sunday, 12 May 2013, Symonds recounted that Bradshaw had encouraged him to purchase the Frederick Beck piano not only by informing him of the instrument's provenance, but also by stating 'it should be in your collection' as the instrument is 'important to Australia'. When Symonds purchased the instrument from Bradshaw in mid-October 1986—that is, a week or two after first seeing it—Bradshaw reiterated provenance version one. Moreover, on each of the several occasions when Bradshaw took Symonds to dinner following Symonds' acquisition of the instrument, Bradshaw used the circumstances to reiterate provenance version one.²³

19 See 'Provenance Version Two: William Bradshaw Purchases George Bouchier Worgan's Piano in London', below.

20 See 'Provenance Version Three: William Bradshaw Purchases George Bouchier Worgan's Piano from a Vendor Who had Purchased the Instrument in London', below.

21 See 'William Bradshaw's Stock Book: the entry dated 29 October 1973', above.

22 The substance of provenance version one emerged consistently unchanged within the context of many intermittent conversations held between the author and Stewart Symonds between 2007 and 2014.

23 It was not until 2006 that signs of Bradshaw's encroaching dementia began to appear. Between the mid-1980s and the first five years of the twenty-first century, Bradshaw's recollections remained clear and unconfused. Within the context of a telephone conversation held between the author and Stewart Symonds on Sunday, 28 July 2013, Symonds remarked—in relation to the reliability of Bradshaw's memory between the mid-1980s and 2005—that Bradshaw 'was very sharp'. During the initial period of research for this study, conversations between the author and Bradshaw concerning the Beck piano were sadly hindered by Bradshaw's illness; verification of the facts surrounding Worgan's piano as Bradshaw understood them was, alas, not possible.

John Blackman in Windsor

John Blackman, the auctioneer who, according to Bradshaw/Symonds, sold the 1780/86? Beck piano to the owners of a farm 48 kilometres from Sydney, established his salesrooms at 5 King Street, Sydney,²⁴ on 29 March 1834.²⁵ On Saturday, 26 February 1831, an advertisement published in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* mentions ‘Mr Blackman’ in connection with Windsor. The advertisement reads:

To Let.

Royal Oak Inn, Windsor.

To be let, that old established inn, now in full trade, and situate in Baker-street, with a coach-house, stables, &c.—The premises are too well known to need further description. For terms of letting, and other information, apply to Mr. Blackman, Windsor Hotel, Windsor; or, Mr. Richard Wm. Cobcroft, Wilberforce. 23d February, 1831.²⁶

Was the advertisement’s ‘Mr Blackman’ the auctioneer John Blackman, and if so, did Blackman (whilst in Windsor) forge a link with the family to whom he sold the 1780/86? Beck piano seven years later at auction, on 6 June 1838?²⁷ After all,

1. according to Bradshaw/Symonds, the piano was purchased by the owners of a farm 48 kilometres from Sydney—that is, possibly Windsor
2. according to the advertisement published on 26 February 1831 in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, Blackman’s address (at least in late February 1831) was the Windsor Hotel, Windsor.

If the advertisement’s Mr Blackman is the auctioneer John Blackman, and if Blackman knew the family who purchased the Beck piano at his auction rooms on 6 June 1838, these suppositions (given their association with Windsor) viably unite with provenance version one.

Windsor, Floods and the Absence of Water Damage

When Governor Lachlan Macquarie arrived in New South Wales in 1810, he brought with him a letter of instruction from the Colonial Office outlining, amongst other things, the establishment of towns.

²⁴ See *The Sydney Herald*, 7 April 1834, p. 1.

²⁵ See *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 1 April 1834, p. 2.

²⁶ *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 26 February 1831, Vol. 29, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

²⁷ See ‘1838: John Blackman’, in Chapter 14, this volume.

The letter indicates that the basic purpose of towns will be civil rather than military; that people should be grouped together for their civil concerns and security; towns were to be accessible, near to a river or the coast; there was to be a military presence, but there was also to be a town hall and other public buildings; there was to be a church and a school, along with lands allotted to sustain them ...

In his zeal, Macquarie founded no less than five towns within as many weeks in December and January 1810–11, all within seven kilometers of each other. Windsor was to become the most important of these towns.²⁸

There had, in fact, been a small settlement there before Macquarie's time, called the Green Hills. A government granary had been built there, a town common had been set aside by Governor King, and a modest house built for the accommodation of the governor or other officials on 'this sweet delightful spot'.²⁹ Green Hills officially became known as Windsor in 1810.³⁰ On Thursday, 6 December 1810, Governor Macquarie dined with a group of friends at Green Hills, after which, as he writes:

I christened the new townships, drinking a bumper to the success of each. I gave the name of Windsor to the town intended to be erected in the district of the Green Hills, in continuation of the present village, from the similarity of this situation to that of the same name in England.³¹

Windsor had all the stated attributes explicit in Governor Macquarie's letter of instruction. It was situated on high ground on a navigable river ('as the river silted up, a prosperous river trade declined'³² and the 'commercial centre of the town shifted south towards the railway which was established in 1864'),³³ Windsor had areas set aside for church and community affairs, a graveyard, church site, rectory site and glebe; it had military barracks ('the first garrison had been stationed in Windsor since 1795'),³⁴ courthouse and gaol, as well as a house for occupation by the Governor on his visits.³⁵

Regulations were promulgated on 11 May 1811 for the orderly development of the town. No person was to build a house without

28 'Windsor', in *Historic Places of Australia* (Canberra: Historic Council of National Trusts, 1993), pp. 1–2.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 2. A watercolour drawing entitled *The Settlement on the Green Hills, Hawkesburgh River New South Wales*, 1809, attributed to George William Evans (1780–1852), is housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (Call no. PXD 388; Album ID 823548; Digital order no. a1313052).

30 M. Nichols, 'Windsor', in *Pictorial History Hawkesbury* (Alexandria, NSW: Kingsclear Books, 2004), p. 105.

31 Quoted in D. Parker, *Governor Macquarie: His Life, Times and Revolutionary Vision for Australia* (Warriewood, NSW: Woodslane Press, 2010), p. 115.

32 The main businesses of the town were related to agriculture. See *ibid.*, p. 108.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 108.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

35 See 'Windsor', in *Historic Places of Australia*, p. 2.

submitting a plan to the resident magistrate, and no town leases were to be granted without such a plan. The town allotments were not uniform in size, nor were the blocks arranged in regular squares.³⁶

If George Worgan's piano was sold at auction on 6 June 1838 to the owners of a farm 48 kilometres from Sydney (the farm being located near the newly established town of Windsor), the instrument, despite being at the time regarded as old-fashioned, would doubtless have aided the progress of the social aspirations of its new owners.

Given that Windsor and the area around it dedicated to farming are located in the Hawkesbury River flood zone, it is a miracle that Worgan's piano was not overwhelmed in the waters of one of the many extensive floods that beset the region. During the first half of the nineteenth century,

almost every farm established in the district ... was beside a river or a creek which flooded, sometimes disastrously. Countless settlers faced danger head-on ... when the river rose to extreme heights and many of the farmhouses were under water. A great many farms had no high land, and so whole families were forced to shelter on the roofs of their dwellings.³⁷

A report written in 1806 reveals the horrors endured by those seeking safety from the raging waters:

[T]orrents of rain pouring with unabating fury; and not a house ... to be seen, the roofs of one or two of the highest on the opposite side of the water being ... only visible ... many were devoted to undergo a night of horror the most inexpressible ... the dismal cries from distant quarters, the report of fire-arms dangerously charged in order to increase the noise of the explosion; the howling of dogs that had by swimming go[t] into trees, all concurred to shock the feelings of the few that were out of the reach, but were sorrowful spectators of the calamity they could not relieve.³⁸

Some sought refuge on the roof of their house. For example, during the floods of 1806, Hannah Dight and Margaret Catchpole had to climb onto the roof. Margaret later wrote: 'We had not binn thear [the loft] ... befor the first chimley went down and middell warl went. Then I expected the next chimley to goo and all the warles and then to be crushed to dead. The weater was bout five feet deep in the howes at the time.'³⁹

36 Ibid., p. 4.

37 Barkley-Jack, *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed*, p. 415.

38 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 415.

39 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 415.

Perhaps the home of the family who purchased Worgan's piano was situated on the 'higher grounds' to which, during the 1806 floods, for example, 'great numbers had been taken up and left in safety'.⁴⁰ Or perhaps when floods threatened, the owners of Worgan's piano had the foresight to remove the instrument from their flood-prone house to a place of known safety.

Regardless of how Worgan's piano managed to survive the recurring and calamitous flooding of the Hawkesbury River during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it appears that the 1780/86? Beck square piano, in the absence of any apparent water damage (if the instrument was sold at auction on 6 June 1838 to the owners of a farm in the Hawkesbury River flood zone, and if the instrument remained in the area until Bradshaw acquired it in 1973), miraculously defied the turbulent waters and remained unscathed.

Provenance Version Two: William Bradshaw purchases George Bouchier Worgan's piano in London

Things are seldom what they seem;
Skim milk masquerades as cream.⁴¹

The following provenance details first emerged within the context of a conversation held between the author and Brian Barrow⁴² on Saturday, 28 July 2012.⁴³

About 2006–07, Bradshaw informed Barrow 'in a hushed voice' that he had

1. purchased Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Beck square piano in London
2. scratched off the little round British Antique Dealers' Association sticker after he had purchased the instrument.

These details make up 'provenance version two'.

40 Ibid., p. 415.

41 W. S. Gilbert and A. Sullivan, *H.M.S. Pinafore* (London: First produced at the Opera Comique, 1878), Act II, 'Things are Seldom What They Seem' (Buttercup and Captain Corcoran).

42 Brian Barrow is an antiques restorer, fortepiano aficionado and owner of the Longman & Broderip square piano dated 1785/86? discussed in Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

43 The substance of provenance version two re-emerged within the context of two further conversations between the author and Brian Barrow between 2012 and 2013.

Provenance version two contradicts

1. data recorded in Bradshaw's stock book⁴⁴
2. provenance version one
3. provenance version three.⁴⁵

If provenance version two is *true* then Bradshaw appears to have had no qualms in telling Stewart Symonds, one of his closest friends, on several occasions⁴⁶ that he had purchased the Beck in an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor, and that the instrument was the First Fleet piano.⁴⁷ Such a disquieting inconsistency casts doubt upon the veracity of any provenance details attested to, and/or recounted by, Bradshaw.

Moreover, that Bradshaw would knowingly recount two contradictory provenances in relation to the same antique artefact appears to be inconsistent with his character. During the 1980s, Paul Kenny (the eminent antiques importer and Bradshaw's close friend)⁴⁸ regularly left Australia in order to purchase antiques. Kenny would meet Bradshaw in England, and, by combining resources, the two gentlemen would jointly ship new acquisitions to Australia. Within the context of a telephone conversation held between the author and Paul Kenny on Tuesday, 2 July 2013, Kenny remarked: 'As far as I know, Bill [that is, Bradshaw] didn't buy a Beck in London.'

Within the context of a telephone conversation held on Sunday, 28 July 2013 between the author and Brian Barrow's⁴⁹ brother Phillip, Phillip stated that, following inquiries he had made with relevant UK antiques dealers, he had found no anecdote or record concerning the sale of a Beck square piano.

There appears to be no evidence supporting the notion that Bradshaw purchased the 1780/86? Beck square piano in London. It is reasonable to conjecture that provenance version two is not viable.

44 See 'William Bradshaw's Stock Book: the entry dated 29 October 1973', above.

45 See 'Provenance Version Three: William Bradshaw purchases George Bouchier Worgan's Piano from a vendor who had purchased the instrument in London', below.

46 See 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano in Windsor', above.

47 See *ibid.*

48 See 'William Bradshaw's Stock Book: the entry dated 29 October 1973', above.

49 See Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

Provenance Version Three: William Bradshaw purchases George Bouchier Worgan's piano from a vendor who had purchased the instrument in London

What, never?

No, never!

What, *never*?

Hardly ever!⁵⁰

On Wednesday, 19 June 2013, the author held a telephone conversation with Brian Barrow. Within the context of this conversation, Barrow recalled that about 2006–07 Bradshaw informed him that he had

1. purchased Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Beck square piano in Australia *from someone who had purchased the instrument in London*
2. scratched off the little round British Antique Dealers' Association sticker after he had purchased the instrument.

These details comprise 'provenance version three'.⁵¹

Provenance version three contradicts provenance versions one and two.

Provenance version three may, however, be interpreted as conforming with data recorded in Bradshaw's stock book.⁵²

Provenance version three raises two significant questions: if the 1780/86? Beck square piano is the First Fleet piano, *when* and *why* was the instrument taken from Australia back to England—a sequence of events necessary in order for Bradshaw to purchase the Beck in *Australia* from someone who had *purchased the instrument in London*? Conclusive evidence for this sequence of events has not yet come to light.

As things stand, it seems unlikely that the First Fleet piano returned to England.

Provenance version three implies that the British Antique Dealers' Association sticker remained on the 1780/86? Beck square piano after its acquisition by the unidentified 'someone who had purchased the instrument in London'. Having acquired the instrument from this unnamed person, Bradshaw subsequently scratched off the sticker.

50 Gilbert and Sullivan, *H.M.S. Pinafore*, Act I, 'I Am the Captain of the Pinafore'.

51 The substance of provenance version three re-emerged within the context of one further conversation between the author and Brian Barrow in 2013.

52 See 'William Bradshaw's Stock Book: the entry dated 29 October 1973', above.

During the second half of the twentieth century, some antiques dealers would place a British Antique Dealers' Association sticker on an artefact for sale in order to increase that object's status and value.⁵³ Generally, antiques dealers rarely *removed* the sticker. That Bradshaw removed the British Antique Dealers' Association sticker from the 1780/86? Beck piano after he had acquired the instrument is, to quote Paul Kenny, both 'interesting' and 'peculiar'.⁵⁴

Why did Bradshaw remove the sticker? Perhaps he did so in order to create a false provenance trail; by removing evidence of the instrument's recent origins in London, Bradshaw could advocate provenance version one. Such a discomfiting proposition is—to say the least—extreme. Throughout his life, Bradshaw was commonly regarded as one of the most respected members of Australia's antique dealers' fraternity, and although he might 'embellish' a provenance story, 'he wouldn't invent; he was a truthful man'.⁵⁵ On the balance of probabilities, it seems unlikely that Bradshaw, who enjoyed (and doubtless sought to maintain) his reputation as a trustworthy and respected antiques dealer, would fabricate a provenance.

Substantial incompatibilities exist between provenance version three—that is, Bradshaw purchased the Beck piano in Australia from someone who had purchased the instrument in London—and provenance version one—that is, the Beck was purchased at an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor, and was the First Fleet piano.⁵⁶

Given the presence of these incompatibilities, and also the fact that Bradshaw, according to Brian Barrow, recounted provenance version three 'in a hushed voice' (an odd behaviour for Bradshaw), if provenance version three or one is *true*, doubt must be cast upon the veracity of any provenance details attested to, and/or provided by, Bradshaw.

If Paul Kenny's recollection that Bradshaw did not buy a Beck in London is correct,⁵⁷ and details in William Bradshaw's stock book entry concerning his purchase of the 1780/86? Beck piano on 29 October 1973⁵⁸ are accurate (and there is no reason or evidence suggesting that the records are anything other than true), provenance version three becomes viable.

53 I am indebted to Paul Kenny for this information. During the second half of the twentieth century, Australia's cultural cringe was a potent and pervasive force.

54 These remarks were made within the context of a telephone conversation between the author and Paul Kenny on Tuesday, 2 July 2013.

55 See 'Provenance Version Two: William Bradshaw purchases George Bouchier Worgan's piano in London', above.

56 See 'Provenance Version One: George Bouchier Worgan's piano at a farm "30 miles out of Sydney"', above.

57 See 'Provenance Version Two: William Bradshaw purchases George Bouchier Worgan's piano in London', above.

58 See 'William Bradshaw's Stock Book: the entry dated 29 October 1973', above.

Another Path of Investigation: Kenneth Muggleston's memories and George Worgan's piano in Windsor

On Sunday, 24 November 2013, the author received an email from the independent filmmaker Joel Daniel Robinson (b. 1975). Robinson, within the context of research for his documentary entitled *The Devil's Wilderness*,⁵⁹ had spoken with Kenneth Muggleston (b. 1930), an Australian-born British Oscar-winning set decorator⁶⁰ and production designer, whose illustrious career included movies such as *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962), *Doctor Zhivago* (1965), *The Taming of the Shrew* (1967), *Oliver!* (1968), *Waterloo* (1970) and *The Piano* (1993). Robinson's email includes remarks made by Muggleston that are pertinent not only to the First Fleet piano, but also to Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano. Muggleston's remarks seem to lend weight to those made by Bradshaw at the time he sold the 1780/86? Beck piano to Symonds—that is, the instrument was purchased at an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor, and was the First Fleet piano.

For many years (on and off), Bradshaw employed Muggleston as his 'gentleman's gentleman'. Not only did Muggleston shop, cook and clean for Bradshaw, but also, given that Bradshaw did not have a drivers' licence and Muggleston did, he was on occasion Bradshaw's chauffeur.⁶¹ It was Muggleston who, at the front door of Bradshaw's shop, would often extend the initial greeting to visitors.⁶²

Muggleston recalled to Robinson that Bradshaw had owned the First Fleet piano, and that the instrument had come from the Macarthur-Onslow family. The Macarthur-Onslows are direct descendants of John and Elizabeth Macarthur. Unfortunately, Muggleston could not remember exactly why he associated the Macarthur-Onslows with the piano. Muggleston had the strong impression that the instrument was Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Beck.

In 1974, Muggleston returned to Australia from Italy to accept a job as a drama designer at the then Australian Broadcasting Commission (now Corporation; ABC).⁶³ Muggleston recalled that within that context, he had worked with a Macarthur-Onslow. It is reasonable to conjecture that whilst employed by the ABC, Muggleston encountered Arthur Leslie 'Red' Harrison (1932–2008). The

59 A film inspired by and concerning colonial expansion across the Blue Mountains in New South Wales.

60 Kenneth Muggleston won an Oscar in 1969 in the category 'Best Set Decoration' for the film *Oliver!* (1968). This award was one of the film's six Oscars.

61 I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for this information.

62 See P. Keating, 'Eulogy: On the Death of Bill Bradshaw' (25 November 2009), p. 5.

63 See R. Jinman, 'What Oscar Did Next', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 March 2003. Kenneth Muggleston's ABC Television credits include *Timeless Land* (1980), *1915* (1982) and *GP* (1989–96).

moniker ‘Red’ was given to Harrison because of his florid complexion. Harrison was the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) radio correspondent in Sydney, and between 1981 and 1986, presenter of ABC Radio’s flagship current affairs program, *AM*. Apart from his journalistic prowess, Harrison possessed diverse skills, not the least of which was manifested by his proficiency as a classical pianist.⁶⁴ Harrison owned a baby grand piano and an upright piano.⁶⁵ Harrison’s second marriage, in 1971, was to the trained horticulturalist, technical and further education (TAFE) teacher and gardening columnist for Sydney’s *Sun Herald* newspaper, Pamela Jane Macarthur-Onslow (1936–2012). Harrison and Pamela lived at Macquarie Grove, Camden, a property adjoining the Camden Park estate established by John Macarthur in 1806.⁶⁶

It is reasonable to suppose that Harrison and/or Pamela spoke to Muggleston about the First Fleet piano.

The Macarthur-Onslow family owned a dairy farm 17 kilometres from Windsor, the Gilbulla Stud Farm, at Grose Wold (Gilbulla had the only pure-blood Jersey cows outside Jersey Island itself).⁶⁷

If Bradshaw purchased the First Fleet piano from the Macarthur-Onslows at Gilbulla, was he protecting the owners’ privacy (often wealthy/eminent people do not want it known that they are selling any of their possessions) by vaguely stating to Symonds that he had purchased the instrument at an ‘old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor’?

On Thursday, 5 December 2013, the author visited Sandra Ruth Macarthur-Onslow (b. 1936) at her home. Sandra lived at Gilbulla between ca 1939 and 1949 (she left Gilbulla 24 years before Bradshaw’s acquisition of the 1780/86? Beck square piano).

Conjecture aside, and given that a single fact can spoil a good argument,

1. Sandra Macarthur-Onslow recalled that during the period of her upbringing at Gilbulla Stud Farm (ca 1939–49), there had been no piano there (she also remarked that there was only one homestead on the property)

64 See I. Richardson, ‘Red Harrison—Newspaper Editor and Radio Star’, in *Obituary: A. L. ‘Red’ Harrison* (Richardson Media Limited, n.d.).

65 I am indebted to Susan Hayman—a descendant of Elizabeth Macarthur—for information regarding Harrison’s pianos, which emerged within the context of a telephone conversation with the author, Monday, 30 December 2013.

66 Camden Park House, completed in 1835 and located on the Camden Park estate, is the oldest private residence in Australia that is still owned and occupied by descendants of its original family; it remains a home, not a museum. ‘The word “park” was most used to describe forested land by the first settlers, who assumed that Australian landscapes were natural pastures.’ B. Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2011), pp. 14–15.

67 I am indebted to Sandra Macarthur-Onslow for this information.

2. Kenneth Muggleston clearly remembers that he never chauffeured Bradshaw 'as far out'⁶⁸ of Sydney as Windsor.

Perhaps during the 24 years between Sandra Macarthur-Onslow leaving Gilbulla in 1949 and Bradshaw's acquisition of the 1780/86? Beck square piano in 1973, descendants of Elizabeth Macarthur came to regard their First Fleet piano as being so old-fashioned that they relocated it from their ancestral seat at either Elizabeth Farm cottage or Camden Park to Gilbulla Stud Farm. Furthermore, and for the same reason, any one of Elizabeth Macarthur's descendants may have sold the instrument.

Within the context of a telephone conversation held between the author and Susan Hayman—a descendant of Elizabeth Macarthur—on Monday, 30 December 2013, Susan recalled that her father, James Arthur Macarthur-Onslow (1898–1959), was particularly annoyed when his mother Enid—wife of James William Macarthur-Onslow (1867–1946), the great-grandson of Elizabeth Macarthur—sold a piano that had been located at Camden Park House. The sale of this instrument took place during the early 1940s—a date reminiscent of the 1942 sale by the Mat(t)hews family, whose home was located in the vicinity of Parramatta, of Brian Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano to William Bradshaw.⁶⁹ Susan Hayman was unaware of the type or provenance of this piano. Apparently, Enid Macarthur-Onslow 'sold so many things'.⁷⁰

Paul Kenny's observation seems apposite: 'The Macarthur–Onslow connection with pianos has always been the stuff of myths and legends.'⁷¹

Notwithstanding Sandra Macarthur-Onslow's statements and Kenny's observation, Kenneth Muggleston's recollections (although comprising hearsay) appear elusively to relate to Bradshaw's assertions that

1. at John Blackman's auction of 6 June 1838, the 1780/86? Beck square piano was sold to the owners of a farm 48 kilometres from Sydney—that is, Windsor
2. he had purchased the 1780/86? Beck square piano from a family in an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor
3. the 1780/86? Beck square piano had been passed down through generations of the family who owned it

68 Email from Joel Robinson to the author, 29 November 2013, in which Robinson recounts some of the words uttered to him by Kenneth Muggleston within the context of a recent conversation.

69 See Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

70 Email from Rosemary Freeman—daughter of Susan Hayman—to the author, 5 January 2014.

71 Email from Paul Kenny to the author, 3 December 2013.

4. the owners of the instrument were adamant that it had come to Australia with the First Fleet.

Of one thing Muggleston seems certain: any who regard Brian Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano as the First Fleet piano⁷² 'are deluding themselves'.⁷³

It is logical to surmise that Muggleston was aware that Bradshaw had owned the First Fleet piano because he had spent time working for Bradshaw. Bradshaw may have shown him the instrument (Bradshaw owned the 1780/86? Beck square piano between 1973 and 1986). Moreover, it is reasonable to speculate that it was Bradshaw who informed Muggleston that the instrument was connected with the Macarthur-Onslow family.

On Thursday 23 January 2014, the author held a telephone conversation with Annette Rosemary Macarthur-Onslow (b. 1933)—sister of Pamela Harrison, the wife of Arthur Leslie 'Red' Harrison; when, approximately seven weeks before, the author had visited Sandra Macarthur-Onslow at her home, she mentioned that Annette knew much of the history of the Macarthur-Onslow family's furniture. Annette made no mention of Arthur Leslie 'Red' Harrison ever having owned either the First Fleet piano or a square piano. Furthermore, Annette (like Sandra) had no remembrance of there ever having been a piano at Gilbulla Stud Farm. Annette was not aware of the circumstances associated with Enid Macarthur-Onslow's selling (during the early 1940s) of a piano that had been located at Camden Park House.

During the mid-nineteenth century, the Macarthurs established Camden Park House as the repository of the family's archives.

Elizabeth Macarthur's journals and correspondence ... would establish the foundations of this archive. Her sons would improve on this most notably James [1798–1867] and William [1800–82] who saved all their personal papers—thirty boxes and 296 large volumes of which are now in the State Library of New South Wales.

... Later descendents ... would also continue the tradition of 'never throwing anything away', so that the Macarthur papers on the public record continue well into the 21st century.⁷⁴

Within the context of a telephone conversation held between the author and Joel Robinson on Friday, 24 January 2014, Robinson recalled that at some time

⁷² See Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

⁷³ Email from Joel Robinson to the author, 29 November 2013, in which Robinson recounts some of the words uttered to him by Kenneth Muggleston within the context of a recent conversation.

⁷⁴ J. Resture, *Australia—The Macarthurs. Part 2: To The Manor Born* (Last updated 1 March 2012).

during November 2013 he had spoken not only with the archivists of Camden Park House, but also with the current owner/occupants of that historic home, John Gregory Macarthur-Stanham and his wife Edwina.⁷⁵

The archivists informed Robinson that they had not located any evidence concerning the presence of the First Fleet piano (or of a square piano) at Camden Park House. Furthermore, John Macarthur-Stanham told Robinson that he had no knowledge of a square piano ever having been located at Camden Park House.

An oil painting by Thomas Watling (1762–ca 1814) entitled 'A Direct North General View of Sydney Cove'—the earliest oil painting of Sydney⁷⁶—functions as an analogy for connections (real or fantastical) between the First Fleet piano and the descendents of John and Elizabeth Macarthur. Just as the 'neat ... Georgian buildings of Sydney Town keep to a [luminous] harbour shoreline ... [encircled] by a dark forest wilderness',⁷⁷ so too the fate of the First Fleet piano is encircled by a dark wilderness comprising confusions of hearsay and the sometimes confounding complexities of Australian colonial history.

New Horizons: Stewart Symonds

If Bradshaw believed the 1780/86? Beck piano was the First Fleet piano,⁷⁸ it is not surprising that he purchased the instrument for inclusion in his personal collection, rather than as an antique for sale. His intention is revealed by his atypical purchase book entry: 'Square Piano by Beck *for self*' (emphasis added) (Plate 133). (Then again, the instrument's high-quality casework, elegant cabriole legs and unique campaign-furniture-inspired stand may also have given Bradshaw enough reason to acquire the piano for himself.)

Inexplicably, Bradshaw does not seem to have made much of a fuss over his ownership of what may have been the First Fleet piano. In a conversation held on Wednesday, 19 June 2013 between the author and Bradshaw's friend Brian Barrow,⁷⁹ Barrow revealed that he had 'met every piano' that Bradshaw owned, and had no memory of ever seeing the 1780/86? Beck instrument at Bradshaw's shop/home.

Within the context of a telephone conversation held between the author and Paul Kenny—a reliable source of much information concerning Bradshaw—on

75 John Macarthur-Stanham is the great-great-great-great-great grandson of John Macarthur.

76 T. Watling, *A Direct North General View of Sydney Cove* (1794): oil on canvas; 91 x 121 centimetres. This painting is currently housed at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.

77 R. Radford, 'Land and Landscape: The Colonial Encounter 1800-80', in *Australia* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2013), p. 92.

78 See 'Intersections', below.

79 See Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

Wednesday, 7 August 2013, Kenny (a man blessed with an alert mind and keen memory) recounted that on Monday, 13 August 1973, he had departed from Australia to live for a time in England. As a result, Kenny ‘missed’ Bradshaw’s purchase of the Beck piano, which, according to Bradshaw’s stock book, took place on Monday, 29 October 1973 (approximately two and a half months after Kenny’s departure). Consequently, Kenny knew little about the circumstances surrounding Bradshaw’s acquisition of the instrument.

The author first met William Bradshaw at the end of winter 1974—that is, 10 months after Bradshaw had acquired the Beck square piano from Adam Barber.⁸⁰ This initial encounter was followed by regular visits to Bradshaw’s shop/home over the course of the ensuing three years. During many of these visits, Bradshaw enthusiastically showed the author his extensive piano collection, which comprised an unbelievable number of instruments housed in the attic, rooms, hallways, shop and freestanding garage and workshop of his terrace house/shop at 96 Queen Street, Woollahra, Sydney. Like Brian Barrow, the author has no memory of ever seeing (within the context of these visits) the 1780/86? Beck square piano. Of course, this does not mean that Bradshaw did not have the Beck piano in his possession; Bradshaw could have stored the instrument out of sight and/or inaccessibly anywhere in his home.

The 1780/86? Beck piano emerged from hiding in early October 1986, when Stewart Symonds first saw the instrument ‘in passing’ during one of his almost weekly visits to William Bradshaw’s shop. At the time, Bradshaw informed Symonds of the instrument’s provenance.⁸¹ The instrument was housed in the large freestanding, uninsulated red-brick garage and workshop at the rear of Bradshaw’s shop/home. Over the years, grand pianos and square pianos had vied for space in this backyard structure; the building was filled with the many instruments owned by Bradshaw for which there was no room in his terrace house.⁸²

80 See ‘William Bradshaw’s Stock Book: the entry dated 29 October 1973’, above.

81 See ‘Provenance Version One: George Bouchier Worgan’s piano at a farm “30 miles out of Sydney”’, above.

82 In this building in 1973, the author was privileged to hear Ferruccio Busoni’s (1866–1924) astonishing ‘reproducing piano roll’ performance of Frédéric Chopin’s (1810–49) ‘Ballade No. 1 in G minor, Opus 23’, played on a Bechstein grand ‘reproducing piano’. Reproducing piano rolls are an early form of recording. They can be easily confused with the domestic pianola roll, as they look similar. Unlike the pianola roll, however, on the reproducing piano roll every subtlety and nuance of the recorded performance is captured. Such rolls began to appear during the early twentieth century. They effectively died out as a result of the Depression in the 1930s. Reproducing pianos have a unique pneumatic mechanism, specific only for playing reproducing piano rolls. Such instruments were rare even in their heyday (1905 – ca 1935). The instruments were produced by a handful of piano manufacturers. These manufacturers built pianos that could only play rolls exclusively designed for their instruments. The early twentieth century’s greatest pianists and composers recorded reproducing piano rolls—for example: Claude Debussy (1862–1918), Ignaz Friedman (1882–1948), George Gershwin (1898–1937), Leopold Godowsky (1870–1938), Edvard Grieg (1843–1907), Josef Hofmann (1876–1957), Josef Lhévinne (1874–1944), Gustav Mahler (1860–1911), Sergei Prokofiev (1891–1953), Sergei Rachmaninov (1873–1943), Maurice Ravel (1875–1937), Artur Schnabel (1882–1951), Alexander Scriabin (1872–1915) and Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971).

Bradshaw did not venture out of Australia in order to acquire antiques until Monday, 8 June 1970. On this trip, Bradshaw

1. travelled to England via America
2. stayed in San Francisco with the sister of Kevin Fahey, an eminent expert on early colonial furniture in New South Wales and Tasmania
3. arrived in the United Kingdom on Sunday, 14 June
4. returned to Australia on Friday, 31 July.⁸³

During the 1980s, Bradshaw regularly left Australia—sometimes three times a year—to acquire antiques.⁸⁴ In the 1980s, Bradshaw's first trip in each year usually took place ca March/April, at the end of the English winter. At this time of year, antiques buyers from England and the Continent tended not to venture out into the cold to buy. As a consequence, English antiques shops were well stocked because turnover was slow. This meant that often dealers would offer Bradshaw substantial discounts on his purchases.

About April 1986, Bradshaw returned from England with, amongst other things, an 1817 George Brysson (fl. 1824–30) square piano.⁸⁵ On Thursday, 15 May 1986, Stewart Symonds paid a deposit to purchase the Brysson instrument. On Tuesday, 14 October 1986, Symonds made the second and final payment. The total purchase price of the instrument was approximately A\$900. 'One could always "buy well" from Bill Bradshaw. This ability to magically procure the important and rare at a level that allowed ordinary collectors a chance was the essence of his reputation as a dealer.'⁸⁶ Bradshaw's 'magnet-like ability to attract objects and find missing objects ... [was] uncanny ... If he bought a decanter without a stopper, the stopper would come to him. If he bought five chairs, the sixth matching one would come to him.'⁸⁷

Approximately one month after his return from England—that is, ca May 1986—Bradshaw spent two weeks in the United States purchasing American antique furniture. He returned not only with many articles dating from 1800 to ca 1830, but also with a square piano made in New York in 1853 by Martins

83 I am indebted to Paul Kenny for this information; the data pertaining to travel dates were obtained from Bradshaw's passport. Paul Kenny was one of William Bradshaw's closest friends, and an importer of fine antiques. Following Bradshaw's death on Wednesday, 18 November 2009, Kenny moved Bradshaw's household/shop effects into his own warehouse, subsequently making these effects available to auctioneers for valuation. Kenny currently possesses Bradshaw's passport and business records.

84 I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for this information. Paul Kenny recalls that Bradshaw usually ventured overseas once a year (telephone conversation between the author and Paul Kenny, Tuesday, 2 July 2013.)

85 Serial number 462. George Brysson was both a piano maker and a piano dealer, whose premises were at 18 Bridgehouse Place, Newington, London. See Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, p. 64.

86 Oakman, 'Man of Antiques Lived on Fruit Cake'.

87 Lawson, 'The Other Man in Keating's Life'.

& Ouvrier. On Saturday, 14 June 1986, almost immediately after Bradshaw had returned from America, Stewart Symonds purchased the Martins & Ouvrier instrument.

In mid-October 1986, a week or two after first seeing the 1780/86? Beck piano, Symonds placed a deposit of A\$1000 to purchase the instrument from Bradshaw.

The receipt for Stewart Symonds' deposit reads: 'Received from ... Esq. the sum of \$1,000 deposit on a late-18th century square piano in mahogany on a stand ... With thanks, W. F. Bradshaw.'

Symonds subsequently made three further payments for the instrument—on

1. Monday, 17 November 1986
2. Thursday, 18 December 1986
3. Thursday, 26 March 1987.

The total purchase price of the instrument was A\$3800.⁸⁸ In 1986, this was a large amount of money to pay for a square piano. The price reflects not only the instrument's rarity and elegance, but also its heritage value.

An Instrument 'Drained'

Why did Bradshaw wait 13 years before selling the 1780/86? Beck piano? In fact, given the instrument's cultural significance, it is surprising that Bradshaw elected to sell it at all, rather than keeping the instrument as a part of his formidable personal piano collection.⁸⁹ Bradshaw, however, in his own enigmatic words, would only keep a piano or piece of antique furniture for himself until he had 'drained it'.⁹⁰

After Bradshaw had 'drained' an instrument, he was often reluctant to part with it. Bradshaw, however, had no room to store every instrument that he acquired, nor could he afford to keep every piano that he purchased. In such circumstances, his friend Stewart Symonds was usually given first offer to buy the drained instrument. Consequently, Symonds became one of Bradshaw's biggest clients.⁹¹

88 I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for information concerning both Bradshaw's travels in 1986 and Symonds' purchases prior to acquiring the 1780/86? Beck piano.

89 Apart from the instrument's proposed association with George Worgan, it was—and still is—the only piano located in Australia made by Frederick Beck, and is one of 32 extant Frederick Beck instruments. See 'Extant Pianos by Frederick Beck', in Chapter 2, this volume.

90 I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for this information.

91 I am further indebted to Stewart Symonds for this information.

It may be argued that Bradshaw's intention when purchasing the Beck piano on 29 October 1973 was to reduce his tax bill in the future. Bradshaw would have known that the eventual sale of such a culturally significant instrument would yield a considerable profit (Bradshaw purchased the instrument on 29 October 1973 for A\$150, and sold the piano in mid-1986 for A\$3800—a substantial return of A\$3650.)

In 1973, Bradshaw's stock book entry 'Square piano by Beck for self' indicates that he did not categorise the instrument as shop stock; the piano is described as Bradshaw's private property. A quiet sale of the instrument sometime after its acquisition (as it turned out, 13 years) would ensure that earnings from the sale were kept 'off the radar'. Since the piano was Bradshaw's private property, the instrument could not be regarded as a generator of taxable income derived from his business.

When Stewart Symonds purchased the 1780/86? Beck square piano from Bradshaw in mid-October 1986, payment was made by cheque. If Bradshaw had hoped to disguise his taxable earnings, a quiet sale for cash would have been more expedient, and yet Bradshaw made no request that cash be involved in the transaction. Furthermore, Bradshaw created a paper trail by providing Symonds with a receipt.

It could be conjectured that in 1973 Bradshaw did not acquire the Beck piano for himself⁹² as a tax dodge, but rather (perhaps) as a response to his belief not only that the instrument was the First Fleet piano, but also that such an important instrument would sit well in his personal collection. Until the Beck piano's eventual sale to Stewart Symonds 13 years later, in mid-October 1986, Bradshaw kept the instrument until he had 'drained it'.

Bradshaw is Caught Out?

Having informed Stewart Symonds of the 1780/86? Beck piano's provenance (in the form of provenance version one) when Symonds first saw the instrument in early October 1986, Bradshaw subsequently reiterated the piano's provenance

1. when Symonds purchased the instrument in mid-October 1986
2. on each of the several occasions when Bradshaw took Symonds to dinner following Symonds' acquisition of the instrument.⁹³

Within the context of a conversation held between the author and Stewart Symonds on Sunday, 12 May 2013, Symonds recounted that Bradshaw had encouraged him to purchase the 1780/86? Beck square piano not only by

⁹² See Plate 133.

⁹³ I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for information concerning Bradshaw's reiteration of the 1780/86? Beck square piano's provenance.

informing him of the instrument's Windsor-related provenance,⁹⁴ but also by stating: 'it should be in your collection', as the instrument is 'important to Australia'. Symonds also recounted that when he gave Bradshaw a deposit to purchase the Beck piano in mid-October 1986, Bradshaw asked him not to 'brag about it', and not to 'make a noise' about owning the instrument or in relation to the instrument's provenance.

Bradshaw's remark invites concern in relation to his motives for making such a request. Perhaps

1. Bradshaw had altered his view concerning the significance of the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip piano that Brian Barrow had purchased from him 17 years earlier⁹⁵ (Bradshaw told Barrow, on several occasions, that the instrument had once belonged to Elizabeth Macarthur and was most likely the First Fleet piano)⁹⁶
2. Bradshaw was not as certain as he appeared to be about the significance of the 1780/86? Beck square piano that he had just sold to Symonds.⁹⁷

In either case, Bradshaw's request suggests that he did not want to be 'caught out' one way or another. ('Noël Godin [b. 1945], the great Belgian *entarteur* or pie-thrower, observes that a great deal about a person's character is revealed in the first seconds after they've been hit by a pie.')⁹⁸ One could speculate that Bradshaw had—in response to provenance information associated with the Beck piano he had purchased on 29 October 1973⁹⁹—revised his opinion concerning the significance of the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip piano that he had sold to Brian Barrow four years before, in 1969. In other words, new and more recent information had resulted in the formation of new conclusions. (In the reassuring words of Marcus Aurelius: 'Remember that to change thy mind and to follow him that sets thee right, is to be none the less a free agent.')¹⁰⁰ It is also reasonable to speculate that the Beck piano's Windsor-related/First Fleet piano provenance is a fabrication.¹⁰¹

94 See 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano in Windsor', above.

95 See Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication. Bradshaw sold the Longman & Broderip instrument to Brian Barrow on 29 May 1969.

96 See *ibid.*

97 See 'Provenance Version One: George Bouchier Worgan's piano at a farm "30 miles out of Sydney"' and 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano in Windsor', above.

98 D. Marr, *Panic* (Collingwood, Vic.: Black Inc., 2013), p. 104.

99 See 'Provenance Version One: George Bouchier Worgan's piano at a farm "30 miles out of Sydney"' and 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano in Windsor', above.

100 Marcus Aurelius (121–80), quoted in Myers and Scanzoni, *What God has Joined Together*, p. 8.

101 See 'Provenance Version Three: William Bradshaw purchases George Bouchier Worgan's piano from a vendor who had purchased the instrument in London', above.

Intersections

The final section of an article written by Heather Clarke, entitled 'Australian Colonial Dance: Australia's First Piano', comprises '17 Responses to "Australia's First Piano"'.¹⁰² On Wednesday, 12 December 2012, 'Sandy' posted the following 'response':

Way back in the 70's I had a friend who worked in an antique shop in Woollahra, a very well-off Eastern suburb of Sydney.

He showed me a piano his boss thought was the First Fleet piano (all I have is a vague memory of a rectangular box).¹⁰³

According to Paul Kenny, Sandy's friend may have been John Reilly, a well-known amateur diver who lived in Randwick, Sydney. Reilly's business activities involved the supply and installation of security alarms, and it was within this professional context that he first met Bradshaw. Bradshaw affectionately referred to Reilly either as 'The Princess Kinkara' (because of Reilly's tea-making abilities) or as the 'Mermaid'.¹⁰⁴ The two men irrevocably fell out with one another after a Georgian teapot was thrown at Bradshaw. No damage was done except to the teapot, and thus the friendship was ended.¹⁰⁵

Sandy, however, recalls that the initials of her friend may have been 'KL, a name I vaguely remember',¹⁰⁶ thereby rendering Paul Kenny's proposal moot.

On Sunday, 19 May 2013, Sandy appended another response: 'The only other thing I can remember definitely is that the shop was on the Sydney side of Queen St & I vaguely remember we were upstairs, so it was at least 2-storeys,—as were all the other shops in the street.'¹⁰⁷

Using Sandy's comments as a basis for conjecture, the instrument in question may be Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano. This is because certain facts associated with the Beck instrument appear to conform with Sandy's recollections:

- 'Way back *in the 70's*' (emphasis added), William Bradshaw purchased the Beck piano, on 29 October 1973 (Plate 133); after acquiring the Beck, Bradshaw kept the instrument for 13 years

¹⁰² Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance'.

¹⁰³ 'Sandy Says: December 19, 2012 at 1:01 am', in *ibid*.

¹⁰⁴ See Keating, 'Eulogy', p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ I am indebted to Paul Kenny for information regarding Sandy, John Reilly, and the teapot incident (email from Paul Kenny to the author, 2 December 2013).

¹⁰⁶ Heather Clarke, 'Sandy Says: December 3, 2013 at 8:43 am' in '20 Responses to "Australia's First Piano"' in Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance'.

¹⁰⁷ 'Sandy Says: May 19, 2013 at 11:36 am' in '17 Responses to "Australia's First Piano"' in *ibid*.

- ‘an antique shop in Woollahra’ (emphasis added): William Bradshaw’s antiques shop was at 96 Queen Street, Woollahra
- ‘the shop was on the Sydney side of Queen St & I vaguely remember we were upstairs, so it was at least 2-storeys’: the description is consistent with the location and design of William Bradshaw’s antiques shop at 96 Queen Street, Woollahra
- ‘his boss’ (emphasis added): this may have been William Bradshaw
- ‘his boss thought [the piano] was *the First Fleet piano*’ (emphasis added): was the instrument the square piano by Beck that Bradshaw acquired for himself on 29 October 1973?¹⁰⁸ provenance version one—that is, the Beck was purchased at an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor, and was the First Fleet piano¹⁰⁹—or provenance version three¹¹⁰ may be relevant (provenance version three raises the questions: when and why was the First Fleet piano taken back to England)
- ‘all I have is a vague memory of a *rectangular box*’ (emphasis added): this is consistent with the shape of a square piano; the 1780/86? Beck is a square piano.

It is logical to propose that Sandy’s ‘First Fleet piano’ is Stewart Symonds’ 1780/86? Federick Beck square piano; Sandy’s recollections certainly seem to point in that direction. Attempts made by the author to contact Sandy have been unsuccessful. Unfortunately, as is so often the case when attempting to conclusively identify the First Fleet piano, provenance and hypothesis are largely based on hearsay.

Varney Monk

Within the context of the telephone conversation held between the author and Brian Barrow on Wednesday, 19 June 2013, Barrow proposed that the Beck piano may have been owned at one time by the Australian composer Varney Monk (née Peterson; 1892–1967), who had a collection of pianos. Barrow continued by informing the author that his speculation was based upon pronouncements published in Heather Clarke’s article ‘Australia’s First Piano’.¹¹¹

Clarke, in the section of her article devoted to ‘Responses to “Australia’s First Piano”’, posted a ‘response’ on Sunday, 10 February 2013. Citing Scott Carlin, currently the Manager of House Museums at the Tasmanian Museum and Art

108 See ‘William Bradshaw’s Stock Book: the entry dated 29 October 1973’, above.

109 See ‘Provenance Version One: George Bouchier Worgan’s piano at a farm “30 miles out of Sydney”’, above.

110 See ‘Provenance Version Three: William Bradshaw purchases George Bouchier Worgan’s piano from a vendor who had purchased the instrument in London’, above.

111 Clarke, ‘Australian Colonial Dance’.

Gallery, Hobart, as her source, Clarke wrote: 'In the 1960s Elizabeth Macarthur's piano was said to be owned by a Mrs Varney Monk ... This comment from Scott Carlin.'¹¹²

Clarke's/Carlin's description of the instrument as 'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano' tends to muddy the waters a little; it is unclear whether or not the instrument is the First Fleet piano or the instrument that Elizabeth Macarthur purchased at Thomas Laycock's estate auction on Thursday, 4 January 1810.¹¹³ Given that Clarke's/Carlin's comments appear in an article entitled 'Australia's First Piano', however, it is reasonable to assume that 'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano' refers to the First Fleet piano.

Clarke's/Carlin's comments do not contain information pertaining either to *who* had reported that 'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano was said to be owned by ... Varney Monk'¹¹⁴ or *why* 'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano was said to be owned by ... Varney Monk'.¹¹⁵

Within the context of a telephone conversation held between the author and Scott Carlin on Tuesday, 6 August 2013, Carlin revealed that the source of information from which his comment was derived was Lesley Harwin, a curator at the Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales who had been tasked with the custodianship of property in Parramatta associated with Elizabeth Macarthur.

When Brian Barrow's second version of events (that is, Bradshaw had acquired Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Beck square piano in Australia *from someone who had purchased the instrument in London*)¹¹⁶ is combined with his speculation based on Clarke's/Carlin's comments (that is, the individual who purchased the Beck piano in London may have been Varney Monk), the following proposition ensues.

112 'Heather Says: February 10, 2013 at 1:35 am', in *ibid*.

113 See 'Elizabeth Macarthur Purchases Thomas Laycock's Piano', in Chapter 13, this volume. See also 'Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip Square Piano: Elizabeth Macarthur's Second Piano?', in Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

114 'Heather Says: February 10, 2013 at 1:35 am' in Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance'.

115 *Ibid*.

116 See 'Provenance Version Three: William Bradshaw purchases George Bouchier Worgan's piano from a vendor who had purchased the instrument in London', above.

Varney Monk's Piano is Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck

This proposition is based on two assumptions:

1. Clarke's/Carlin's comment that '[i]n the 1960s Elizabeth Macarthur's piano was said to be owned by ... Varney Monk'¹¹⁷ is *true*
2. the Beck's provenance as communicated by Bradshaw to Stewart Symonds—that is, the Beck was purchased at an old house on the outskirts of Windsor, and was the First Fleet piano¹¹⁸—is *false* (thereby rendering feasible Barrow's second version of events,¹¹⁹ as well as his speculation regarding Varney Monk).

If these two assumptions are embraced, a connection between the 1780/86? Beck and Varney Monk may be proposed.

Varney Monk lived near Sirius Cove, Mosman, 'overlooking Sydney Harbour'.¹²⁰ She died, aged 75, on Tuesday, 7 February 1967.¹²¹ Bradshaw's stock book (Plate 133) reveals that he acquired the Beck piano on Monday, 29 October 1973, six years after Monk's death. Within the context of the telephone conversation held between the author and Brian Barrow on Wednesday, 19 June 2013, Barrow conjectured that the reason six years had elapsed between Monk's death in 1967 and Bradshaw's acquisition of the Beck piano in 1973 from Adam Barber may have been the protracted winding up of Monk's estate. No evidence can be found, however, pertaining to an extended time frame for the granting of probate in relation to Monk's estate.

On Saturday, 7 March 1970, three years after Varney Monk's death, her husband, the violinist Cyril Farnsworth Monk (1882–1970), died, aged 88.¹²² Probate on his estate was granted to Ian Maxim Monk (1915–78), Cyril and Varney's son, on Monday, 6 April 1970.¹²³

It is reasonable to propose that if Varney Monk was the individual who had purchased the Beck piano in London, the instrument may eventually, upon her

117 'Heather Says: February 10, 2013 at 1:35 am', in Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance'.

118 See 'Provenance Version One: George Bouchier Worgan's piano at a farm "30 miles out of Sydney"', above.

119 See 'Provenance Version Three: William Bradshaw purchases George Bouchier Worgan's piano from a vendor who had purchased the instrument in London', above.

120 *The Argus*, 14 December 1933, No. 27247, p. 4, Trove, National Library of Australia.

121 'Biographical Note', in *Papers of Varney Monk* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2002; last modified 13 November 2003), MS 2294.

122 See H. Bainton, 'Monk, Cyril Farnsworth (1882–1970)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1967], Vol. 10.

123 See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 March 1970, p. 33. No objections were made to the probate application of 17 March 1970. Electoral rolls for 1937 and 1943 describe Ian Maxim Monk as a 'medical student', and give his address as '37 Raglan Street, Mosman'. Ancestry.com, *Australia, Electoral Rolls, 1905–1980*.

death in 1967, have passed into the custodianship of her husband, Cyril. Upon Cyril's death in 1970, the instrument may subsequently have passed into the hands of Varney and Cyril's son, Ian.

Note that if the provenance of the Beck piano as communicated by Bradshaw to Stewart Symonds—that is, the Beck was purchased at an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor, and was the First Fleet piano¹²⁴—is *true*, the instrument cannot have been owned by Varney Monk. This is because that particular history of the 1780/86? Beck piano's ownership presents an unbroken line of progress from: 1) an unnamed family living in an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor; through 2) William Bradshaw; to 3) Stewart Symonds.

If Varney Monk was the individual who purchased the Beck piano in London, and if the 1780/86? Beck square piano is the First Fleet piano, several significant questions emerge:

1. *When* was the instrument taken from Australia back to England—an event necessary in order for Bradshaw to purchase the Beck in *Australia* from someone (Adam Barber?) who had *purchased the instrument in London*?
2. *Why* was the instrument taken from Australia back to England?
3. *When* did the piano pass into the hands of Adam Barber?
4. *Why* did the piano pass into the hands of Adam Barber?

No evidence has yet been found that supports the notion that the First Fleet piano was ever taken from Australia back to England.

Varney Monk in Windsor

Evidence suggests that in late 1934? or early 1935? Varney Monk spent several days in Windsor. On Friday, 4 January 1935, the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* published an article dealing with Windsor's influence on Varney Monk in relation to the genesis of her second opera, 'The Cedar Tree'. The newspaper article reveals that Monk 'spent many happy days at Windsor browsing round'.¹²⁵

If at any time Varney Monk owned the 1780/86? Beck square piano, there may (or may not) be a connection between her visit to Windsor and her (supposed) ownership of the instrument. Furthermore, if Varney Monk acquired the Beck as a result of her Windsor sojourn then perhaps certain elements of the Beck's provenance as recounted by Bradshaw to Symonds in late 1986—that is, the Beck was purchased at an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor, and

124 See 'Provenance Version One: George Bouchier Worgan's piano at a farm "30 miles out of Sydney"', above.

125 *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 4 January 1935, Vol. 47, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

was the First Fleet piano¹²⁶—may be *true*. Given that symptoms of Bradshaw’s encroaching dementia only began to appear during the last three years of his life—that is, from 2006¹²⁷—that he should confuse provenance details in late 1986 seems unlikely. Had Varney Monk purchased the Beck square piano at an old house on the outskirts of Windsor,¹²⁸ it seems odd, however, that no mention is made in the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* regarding her new acquisition.

Far from the Public Eye

The 1780/86? Beck square piano now sits in the entrance hallway of Stewart Symonds’ single-storey sandstone Georgian home in Ermington, Sydney, where it nestles against the bent-side of a Joseph Kirckman¹²⁹ grand piano dated 1809? (Plate 133b). That such a culturally significant square piano should stand next to this particular grand piano seems appropriate, for the Kirckman may be the sixth-earliest extant Joseph Kirckman grand piano.¹³⁰

Stewart Symonds’ 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano is the only extant late eighteenth-century English square piano with hinged legs whose case dimensions and fully chromatic five-octave keyboard compass reflect late eighteenth-century norms (from a late eighteenth-century perspective, the instrument’s size and compass render it a ‘piano’ in both the commonly encountered and the fullest senses). That the instrument has intricately decorated casework, cabriole legs and a unique stand designed to be quickly disassembled, packed away, transported and reassembled without using tools reinforces not only its distinctiveness and its campaign furniture aesthetic, but also its hypothetical appropriateness for participation in the First Fleet’s epic journey to Botany Bay—a journey presenting contexts within which the instrument’s portability was requisite.

By favouring this hypothesis, the author chooses not to avoid a certain amount of partisan emphasis.¹³¹ A willingness, however, to remain open-minded (especially

126 See ‘Provenance Version One: George Bouchier Worgan’s piano at a farm “30 miles out of Sydney”’, above.

127 I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for this information.

128 See ‘Provenance Version One: George Bouchier Worgan’s piano at a farm “30 miles out of Sydney”’, above.

129 The dates of Joseph Kirckman’s birth and death are unknown. Joseph Kirckman, sr, became a partner of the Kirckman firm in 1789. He was the firm’s director between 1794 and 1832. Joseph Kirckman, jr (ca 1790–1877), worked with his father on the firm’s last harpsichord in 1809. See F. J. Hirt, *Stringed Keyboard Instruments 1440–1880* (Boston: Boston Book & Art Shop, 1968), p. 446. See also D. H. Boalch, P. Williams and C. Mould, ‘Kirckman’, in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), Vol. 13, p. 624.

130 See Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

131 See Appendix B, Volume 2 of this publication.

in the absence of irrefutable evidence) reflects the author's hope that proof will emerge at some stage in the future that enables conclusive identification of the First Fleet piano to occur.

For early twenty-first-century lovers of musical art, experiencing the sonic and visual beauty of pianos made during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries may help to create fluency in practices 'that traditions of the spirit' value—for example, 'scrutiny of the past, open communication across the ages, a reluctance to judge by appearances, and the recognition that the dead ... speak' to us through the voices of their musical instruments, instruments that are inherently 'a kind of music'.¹³²

George Worgan's 1780/86? Beck square piano, with its unique design elements, aching beautiful sound and multifarious history, now sits encircled by a sprawling suburban Sydney, 'and further back still', encircled by 'the indifference of' most of our 'contemporaries ... and further back still', encircled by the care of a few individuals who seek consolation from the emptiness of mass consumerism in their private good taste.¹³³

The First Fleet piano, along with its instrumental contemporaries, is exaltation—after all, as music lovers know, there is 'a subtler drunkenness than comes of wine'.¹³⁴

In relation to the First Fleet piano, observations pertaining to Australian history published in 1897 by the American author and adventurer Mark Twain (1835–1910) are appropriate: the history of the First Fleet piano is 'always picturesque; indeed, it is ... curious and strange. It does not read like history, but like the most beautiful lies. And all of a fresh new sort, no mouldy old stale ones. It is full of surprises, and adventures, and incongruities, and contradictions, and incredibilities.'¹³⁵

132 P. Elie, *Reinventing Bach* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012), p. 415.

133 West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 27. See also A. West, *Australia Now: Inside the Lifestyles of the Rich & Tasteful* (North Melbourne: Pluto Press Australia, 2006), p. 15.

134 West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 776.

135 M. Twain, *Following the Equator: A Journey Around the World* (Hartford, Conn.: The American Publishing Company, 1898), Project Gutenberg eBook, No. 2895.h.html, (Last updated 18 October 2012), Chapter XVI.



Plate 133b George Worgan's Beck square piano nestling against the bent-side of a grand piano by Joseph Kirckman, dated 1809?.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Chapter 16

The History of George Bouchier Worgan's Piano: A speculative summary

- Between 1780? and 1786?, perhaps before Wednesday, 1 November 1786, George Bouchier Worgan purchased his square piano, either new or second-hand, from Frederick Beck (at Beck's workshop, 10 Broad Street, Soho, London).
- On Sunday, 13 May 1787, at three in the morning, the instrument departed from England for Botany Bay on board the flagship of the First Fleet, the *Sirius*.
- Eight and a half months later, at approximately seven in the evening of Saturday, 26 January 1788, the instrument arrived at Sydney Cove. It is not known exactly when the instrument was offloaded from the *Sirius*, but Worgan's square piano had been taken off by Saturday, 6 March 1790. Nor is it known where the instrument was housed for the three years between its arrival at Sydney Cove and early 1791.
- Between January and Monday, 7 March 1791, the piano was placed in John and Elizabeth Macarthur's new thatched wattle-and-daub hut at Sydney Cove. This hut may have been located up the hill to the west of the fledgling colony's parade ground (at what is now the corner of Bridge and George streets).¹
- George Worgan gave the instrument as a gift to Elizabeth Macarthur between January and ca Monday, 7 March 1791.
- In November 1793, the piano was placed in John and Elizabeth Macarthur's new cottage, Elizabeth Farm, at Parramatta.
- Between Sunday, 4 March and Monday, 5 March 1804, Worgan's piano escaped destruction by fire within the context of an uprising by Irish convicts.
- On Saturday, 26 January 1805, Worgan's piano once again escaped destruction—from a fire that broke out in the kitchen of Elizabeth Farm cottage.
- On Thursday, 4 January 1810, Elizabeth Macarthur may have sold Worgan's piano to David Bevan (auctioneer) as part-payment for the purchase of a piano from Thomas Laycock's estate. If Elizabeth Macarthur sold Worgan's

¹ This information is derived from a conversation between the author and Gary Crockett, Curator, Hyde Park Barracks Museum, Queens Square, Sydney, on 11 February 2010.

piano to Bevan on this date, the instrument remained in his possession until it was (presumably) sold approximately three months later, on Monday, 2 April 1810.

- On the other hand, Worgan's piano may have remained at Elizabeth Farm cottage, becoming one of two pianos in the possession of Elizabeth Macarthur.
- It is not known what became of Worgan's piano either during the five-year period between Thursday, 4 January 1810—when Elizabeth Macarthur bought a piano from Thomas Laycock's estate—and Saturday, 14 January 1815; or during the five-year period between Monday, 2 April 1810—when Worgan's piano may have been sold by the auctioneer David Bevan—and Saturday, 14 January 1815.
- Worgan's piano may have been sold at auction by David Bevan on Wednesday, 12 January 1814—within the context of this auction, the maker of the instrument and the vendor are unknown.
- On Saturday, 14 January 1815, the instrument was offered—according to the first of six advertisements—for sale by the lawyer and merchant George Chartres, at 68 George Street, Sydney.
- It is not known what became of Worgan's piano during the two years between George Chartres' sixth and final advertised attempt to sell the piano—on Saturday, 3 June 1815—and Thursday, 13 November 1817. The unsold piano may have remained in the possession of George Chartres.
- On Thursday, 13 November 1817—one month before George Chartres' departure from Sydney to England—Worgan's piano was offered for sale at auction—as part of Chartres' trade stock—by Simeon Lord at Chartres' residence—68 George Street, Sydney.
- It is not known whether the piano was sold at this auction. It is also not known what became of Worgan's piano during the 21 years between Simeon Lord's auctioning of George Chartres' trade stock—on Thursday, 13 November 1817—and Wednesday, 6 June 1838.
- On Wednesday, 6 June 1838, Worgan's piano was offered for sale at auction by John Blackman, at his 'Auction Mart' salesrooms at 5 King Street, Sydney. Hearsay suggests that the piano may have been purchased by the owners of a farm 48 kilometres from Sydney.

Provenance Continued: Alternative one

- During mid to late October? 1973, the eminent Sydney-based antiques dealer William Bradshaw was either 'tipped off' or saw an advertisement concerning a 'spinet' for sale. It transpired that the spinet was in fact a square piano made by Frederick Beck dated 1780/86?. The piano was located in an old house on the outskirts of Windsor—48 kilometres from Sydney.

The instrument had been in the owner's family since living memory—perhaps since John Blackman's auction held on 6 June 1838?. The owners were adamant that the instrument had come to Botany Bay with the First Fleet. Members of the family were allowed to play the instrument only under strict supervision, because 'it came out with the First Fleet'. The piano was housed in the laundry.

- William Bradshaw believed the instrument to be surgeon Worgan's piano, and purchased it on Monday, 29 October 1973, at 11.30 am (Plates 133 and 328e).
- The current owner, Stewart Symonds, purchased the 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano from William Bradshaw in mid-October 1986. Symonds saw it 'in passing' during one of his almost weekly visits to Bradshaw's shop at 96 Queen Street, Woollahra. The instrument was, at that time, housed in the large freestanding, uninsulated brick garage and workshop at the rear of Bradshaw's shop/home. Like Bradshaw, Symonds is convinced that the piano belonged to George Worgan.
- The instrument sits in the entrance hallway of Stewart Symonds' home, where it nestles against the bent-side of a Joseph Kirckman grand piano dated 1809?.

Provenance Continued: Alternative two

It is not known what became of Worgan's piano during the 135 years between Wednesday, 6 June 1838—when Worgan's piano was offered for sale at auction by John Blackman—and Monday, 29 October 1973.

- The instrument *may* have passed into the hands of the composer Varney Monk, who lived near Sirius Cove, Mosman, Sydney.
- Eventually, the instrument passed into the hands of Adam Barber, who lived at 82 Murrivierie Road, North Bondi, Sydney.
- On Monday, 29 October 1973, William Bradshaw purchased the Beck piano from Adam Barber.
- The current owner, Stewart Symonds, purchased the 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano from William Bradshaw in mid-October 1986.
- The instrument sits in the entrance hallway of Stewart Symonds' home, where it nestles against the bent-side of a Joseph Kirckman grand piano dated 1809?.

Provenance Continued: Alternative three

It is not known what became of Worgan's piano during the 148 years between Wednesday, 6 June 1838—when Worgan's piano was offered for sale at auction by John Blackman—and mid-October 1986.

- The instrument *may* have passed into the hands of the composer Varney Monk, who lived near Sirius Cove, Mosman, Sydney.
- At some stage, the instrument passed into the hands of Adam Barber, who lived at 82 Murriverie Road, North Bondi, Sydney.
- On Monday, 29 October 1973, William Bradshaw purchased the Beck piano from Adam Barber.
- The current owner, Stewart Symonds, purchased the 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano from William Bradshaw in mid-October 1986.
- The instrument sits in the entrance hallway of Stewart Symonds' home, where it nestles against the bent-side of a Joseph Kirckman grand piano dated 1809?.

From the foregoing pages, it may be conjectured that the Frederick Beck square piano of 1780/86?, currently in Stewart Symonds' possession, was brought to Botany Bay on board the flagship of the First Fleet, the *Sirius*, by surgeon George Bouchier Worgan. Even if it is later found that this particular piano did not arrive with the First Fleet, the existence in Australia of an instrument by Frederick Beck represents a unique part of the nation's heritage. That this particular piano may be one of only 32 extant Beck instruments,² and is the only extant late eighteenth-century fully chromatic five-octave compass square piano that has cabriole legs—hinged and incorporated into a campaign-furniture-inspired stand—further enhances its significance.³ Either way, the heritage value of the 1780/86? Beck square piano is both nationally and internationally inestimable.

2 See 'Extant Pianos by Frederick Beck', in Chapter 2, this volume.

3 If the instrument dates from 1780, it is one of only two extant Frederick Beck pianos from that year; similarly, if the instrument dates from 1786, it is one of only two extant Frederick Beck pianos from that particular year.

Bibliography

This bibliography combines the following types of references in one alphabetical listing:

1. sources referred to or quoted
2. sources for material of relevance
3. sources of particular value in the selection and tracing of material referred to, quoted or of relevance
4. music scores
5. CD recordings.

The majority of listed seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth-century English newspapers can be accessed via the Gale British Library newspapers online databases.

'1830: Convict Ship Arrivals—1830.' (n.d.). In *Convict Stockade: A Wiki Site for Australian Convict Researchers*. www.historyaustralia.org.au/twconvic/tiki-index.php?page=1830 (retrieved 30 May 2011).

'4. NSW Heritage Assessment Criteria.' (2001). In *NSW Heritage Manual 2: Assessing Heritage Significance*, p. 9. Sydney: NSW Heritage Office. www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/docs/assessingheritagesignificance.pdf (retrieved 1 August 2012).

Abbas, A. (2012). 'What is a Commode? Is it a Chest of Drawers or a Toilet?' In *About.com Furniture*. New York: The New York Times Company. furniture.about.com/od/furnitureterms/f/co92009des.htm (retrieved 21 September 2012).

Abbott, E. (1805). 'Letter to John Piper, 30 October 1805.' In *Piper Papers*, Vol. 1, A254, pp. 61–4. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

'Abstract.' (2012). In *Oxford Journals, The Musical Quarterly*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. mq.oxfordjournals.org/content/XXXII/3/411.abstract (retrieved 12 February 2012).

Adams, F. W. L. (1886). *Australian Essays*. Melbourne: Inglis.

Adams, M. (1793). *The New Royal System of Universal Geography. Containing a Complete, Full, Particular, and Accurate History and Description of All the Several Parts of the Whole World ... Including Every Interesting Discovery and Circumstance in the Narratives of Captain Cook's Voyages Round the*

World. Together with All the Recent Discoveries Made in the Pelew Islands, New Holland, New South Wales, Botany-Bay, Port-Jackson, Norfolk-Island ... Carefully Written and Compiled from the Late Journals of the Voyages and Travels of Captain Phillip, King, Ball, Hunter, White ... The Whole Forming a Complete, Authentic, Copious, and Real New Geographical Library. London: Alexander Hogg.

Adams, T. (2011). 'The Ongoing Joys of Family Research: Hangings, Divorce, Lunacy and Death by London Bus.' In *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 141, September 2011, p. 11. Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society.

Adeane, J. H. (ed.) (1897). *The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd. Recorded in Letters of a Hundred Years Ago: From 1776 to 1796. Edited by Jane H. Adeane.* 2nd edn. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Adkins, L. (2003). *Empires of the Plain: Henry Rawlinson and the Lost Languages of Babylon.* London: Harper Collins.

Adlam, D. (1981). 'The Anatomy of the Piano.' In D. Gill (ed.), *The Book of the Piano.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Adlam, D. (1988). 'History of the Piano: 4. England and France to 1800.' In *The New Grove Piano.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Adlung, J. (1961). *Musica Mechanica Organoedi, das ist: Gründlicher Unterricht von der Struktur, Gebrauch und Erhaltung der Orgeln, Clavicymbel, Clavichordien, und andere Instrumente, in zwei Theilen* [*Musica Mechanica Organoedi, that is: Thorough Teaching of the Structure, Use and Preservation of Organs, Harpsichords, Clavichords, and Other Instruments, in Two Parts*]. Facsimile edn. Kassel: Bärenreiter. [Originally published, Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1768.]

Affiches, annonces et avis divers [Various posters, advertisements and opinions], 25 August 1782. Paris: Jacques Guérin, rue de Foin, avec privilege du Roy.

Alison, A. (1790). *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste.* Dublin: P. Byrne, J. Moore, Grueber & M'Allister, W. Jones & R. White.

Allanbrook, W. J. (1994). 'Mozart's Tunes and the Comedy of Closure.' In J. M. Morris (ed.), *On Mozart.* New York: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press & Cambridge University Press.

Allars, K. G. (1966). 'Chartres, George (?-?).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online.* Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian

- National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/chartres-george-1891/text2179 (retrieved 8 October 2010). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 1. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Allen, J. (1856). *The History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity*. London and Liskeard: William & Frederick G. Cash & J. Philip. In *Cornwall Online Parish Clerks: Suggested Reading*. www.cornwall-opc.org/Par_new/l_m/liskeard.php (retrieved 20 and 21 August 2011).
- Allen, J. (1967). *The History of the Borough of Liskeard*. Revised and edited by William Paynter. Marazion and Penzance: Wordens of Cornwall Limited.
- Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* [*General Music Journal*]. (1798). Vol. 1, No. 9. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.
- Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* [*General Music Journal*]. (1802). Vol. 5, No. 12. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.
- Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* [*General Music Journal*]. (1819). Vol. 21, No. 34. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.
- Almonds for Parrots: Or, A Soft Answer to a Scurrilous Satyr, Call'd, St. James's Park. With a Word or Two in Praise of Condons*. (1708). London.
- 'A Magical Mystery Piano.' (n.d.). In 'Update October 28th.' In *Friends of Square Pianos*. www.friendsofsquarepianos.co.uk/ (retrieved 9 November 2013).
- Amistaadt, A. J. (2010). 'Making Oil Cloth.' In *eHow*. www.ehow.com/how_4577881_making-oil-cloth.html (retrieved 10 October 2010).
- Ancestry.com. (2010). *Australia, Electoral Rolls, 1905–1980*. Provo, Ut.: Ancestry.com. AncestryLibrary.com (retrieved 5 August 2013).
- Ancestry.com.au. search.ancestry.com.au/jexec?htx=View&r=5544&dbid=1623&iid=31280_194668-00096&fn=Charlotte+Sophia&ln=Worgan&st=d&src=&pid=4841826 (retrieved 24 August 2011).
- Ancestry.com.au. (n.d.). *Australia Death Index, 1787–1985*. Original data: Compiled from publicly available sources. search.ancestry.com.au/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=AusDeathIndex&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=0&msT=1&gss=angs-d&gsfn=John%20Parsons&gsln=Worgan&msbdy=1805&uidh=000&pcat=34&fh=5&h=4408936&recoff=7&requer=274882134016&ur=0 (retrieved 30 May 2011).
- Anderson, E. (2003–06). *John Grant: The Convict Harpsichordist*. www.elizabethanderson.org/grant.html (retrieved 23 November 2008).

- Anderson, K. (n.d.). 'About this Recording 8.570368—Scarlatti, D.: Keyboard Sonatas (Complete), Vol. 9.' In *Scarlatti, D.: Keyboard Sonatas (Complete). Volume 9*. www.naxos.com/mainsite/blurbs_reviews.asp?item_code=8.570368&catNum=570368&filetype>About%20this%20Recording&language=English (retrieved 20 December 2008).
- Anderson, R. D. (n.d.). 'Pohlman Square Piano ca 1780–1784.' In *Harpichord Photo*. harpichordphoto.org/anderson/ (retrieved 26 November 2013).
- 'An Early George III Square Piano by Frederick Beck, London 1773.' (n.d.). In *Pelham Galleries*. London. www.pelhamgalleries.com/DesktopDefault.aspx?tabid=6&tabindex=5&objectid=5874 (retrieved 21 February 2012).
- An Exercise against Lying: For the Use of the Charity Schools*. (1715). London: Joseph Downing.
- Angermüller, R. and Huber, A. (2000). *Der Hammerflügel von Anton Walter aus dem Besitz von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Befund—Dokumentation—Analyse [The Anton Walter Fortepiano in the Possession of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Findings, Documentation, Analysis]*. Salzburg: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg.
- Anglin, M. R. (2012). 'What is a Lap Joint.' In B. Harris (ed.), *WiseGeek: Clear Answers for Common Questions*. Sparks, Nev.: Conjecture Corporation, 2003–12. Last modified 17 June 2012. www.wisegeek.com/what-is-a-lap-joint.htm (retrieved 31 July 2012).
- 'Antique Instruments.' (n.d.). In *The Music Room Workshop: Makers & Restorers of Early Keyboard Instruments*. www.musicroomworkshop.co.uk/pohl74.html (retrieved 26 November 2013).
- 'Antique Instruments for Sale: Square Piano by Johannes Broadwood No 1676, London 1791.' (n.d.). In *The Music Room Workshop: Makers & Restorers of Early Keyboard Instruments*. www.musicroomworkshop.co.uk/bw1676.html (retrieved 26 November 2013).
- 'Antique Instruments for Sale. Square Piano by Longman & Broderip No 1846, London c.1788.' (n.d.). In *The Music Room Workshop. Makers & Restorers of Early Keyboard Instruments*. www.musicroomworkshop.co.uk/lb1846.html (retrieved 2 August 2012).
- A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark, with the New Buildings*. (1767). London: [?]. In *London and Environs Maps and Views*. Last updated 31 December 2011. mapco.net/london.htm (retrieved 22 September 2012).

- 'Art Dealer Charged with Picture Theft.' *Barrier Miner*, 26 April 1951, p. 3. nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48639503 (retrieved 27 October 2012).
- Antiques & Art in New South Wales*. (December 2009 – May 2010). Bondi Junction, NSW: JQ Pty Ltd. issuu.com/worldantiquesart/docs/aaa-nsw-dec-2009 (retrieved 12 August 2013).
- Antiques Reporter*. (n.d.). Armadale, Vic.: John Furphy Pty Ltd. www.antiquesreporter.com.au/index.cfm/lot/159133-du-bois-and-stodart-important-classical-carved-mahogany-piano-fo/ (retrieved 12 August 2013).
- Aplin, G. (ed.). (1988). *A Difficult Infant: Sydney before Macquarie*. Kensington, NSW: UNSW Press.
- 'Archives in Brief 105—French Migration and Settlement in NSW: French Convicts.' (n.d.). In *New South Wales Government State Records*. www.records.nsw.gov.au/state-archives/guides-and-finding-aids/archives-in-brief/archives-in-brief-105 (retrieved 28 May 2011).
- 'Argand Lamp.' (2012). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. Last modified 17 April 2012. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argand_lamp (retrieved 28 September 2012).
- Argent, M. (ed.). (1992). *Recollections R. J. S. Stevens: An Organist in Georgian London*. Illinois and London: Southern Illinois University Press & Macmillan.
- Arne, T. et al. (ca 1790). *Musicae Vocalis Deliciae being a Collection of Scarce & Celebrated Madrigals, Glees, Catches, Canzonets, Rounds & Canons, both Antient and Modern Composed by Arne, Atterbury, Brewer, Bird, Baildon, Berg, Battishill, Croft, Ford, Gregory, Hilton, Howard, Hayes, Long, Morley, Morington, Norris, Purcell, Rogers, Smith, Weelks, Webbe, & Other Eminent Masters; Most of which are Sung at the Noblemens Catch-Club, Anacreontic Society, and Je ne scai quoi Club. The Words Consistent with Female Delicacy*. London: T. Skellern.
- Arnold, J. (1810). 'Letter to His Brother, 18 March 1810.' A1849. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
- Arnold, S. (1780–85). *A Set of Progressive Lessons ... Opera XII*. London: Longman & Broderip.
- Arthur Young Papers*. Ad. MSS 35129. London: British Library.
- 'Articles and Facts: The Ships of the First Fleet.' (n.d.). In *Fellowship of the First Fleeters*. www.fellowshipfirstfleeters.org.au/datum.html (retrieved 18 November 2011).

- Ashton, J. (1885). *Old Times: A Picture of Social Life at the End of the Eighteenth Century Collected, and Illustrated from the Satirical and Other Sketches of the Day*. New York: Scribner & Welford. babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=loc.ark:/13960/t3rv17g9z (retrieved 4 June 2012).
- 'A Soldier's Letter.' (13 December 1794). In *Historical Records of New South Wales. Volume 2: Grose and Paterson, 1793–1795*. Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer.
- Astor, J. J. (14 March 1795). 'Letter to Shudi and Broadwood.' In W. Dale, *Tschudi the Harpsichord Maker*, p. 13. London: Constable & Company Ltd.
- Atkinson, A. (1988). 'Taking Possession: Sydney's First Householders.' In G. Aplin (ed.), *A Difficult Infant: Sydney before Macquarie*. Kensington, NSW: UNSW Press.
- Atkinson, A. and Aveling, M. (eds). (1987). *Australians: A Historical Library—Australians 1838*. Broadway, NSW: Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates.
- 'A Tribute to William Frederick Bradshaw (1922–2009).' (2009–10). In *Antiques & Art in New South Wales*. December 2009 – May 2010, p. 4. Bondi Junction, NSW: JQ Pty Ltd. issuu.com/worldantiquesart/docs/aaa-nsw-dec-2009 (retrieved 12 August 2013).
- Aurora*. [Philadelphia]. May[?] 1800.
- Austen, C. (1952 [1867]). *My Aunt Jane, A Memoir*. London: The Jane Austen Society.
- Austen, J. (1811). *Sense and Sensibility: A Novel. In Three Volumes. By A Lady*. London: T. Egerton.
- Austen, J. (1813). *Pride and Prejudice: A Novel. In Three Volumes. By The Author of 'Sense and Sensibility'*. London: T. Egerton.
- Austen, J. (2008 [1813]). *Pride and Prejudice*. Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin Books.
- Austen, J. (2009). *Jane Austen: The Complete Novels with More than Two Hundred Full Colour Illustrations by Hugh Thomson*. London: CRW Publishing, Collector's Library Editions in Colour.
- Australasian Chronicle*. 18 July 1839. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/4232819 (retrieved 21 August 2011).
- Australasian Chronicle*. 8 November 1839, Vol. 1, No. 29. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/4242468 (retrieved 12 July 2011).

- Australasian Chronicle*. 15 November 1839, Vol. 1, No. 31. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31726856 (retrieved 21 August 2011).
- Australasian Chronicle*. 13 December 1842. Vol. 14. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/4231865 (retrieved 28 November 2011).
- Australian Financial Review*. 26 February 1987.
- 'Australian Gold Rush & Timeline.' (2009). In *GoldRush*. Skwirk.com.au. www.goldrush.com.au/ (retrieved 4 December 2011).
- Australian Meteorology and Oceanographic Journal*. (2009). Vol. 58, June. Melbourne: Australian Bureau of Meteorology.
- Bach, C. P. E. (1949). *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen [Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments]*. Translated and edited by William J. Mitchell. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. [Originally published Berlin: Christian Friedrich Henning, 1753 (Part 1); and George Ludewig Winter, 1762 (Part 2).]
- Bach, C. P. E. (2007). *Sonata pour le Clavecin, Forte-Piano, Orgue ou Harpe qui représentent le Bataille de Bergen [Sonata for Harpsichord, Forte-Piano, Organ or Harp Depicting the Battle of Bergen]*. Facsimile edn. Courlay: Éditions J. M. Fuzeau. [Originally published Paris: Huberty, 1776.]
- Bacon, R. M. (1821). 'An Address to the Philharmonic Society on the Following Subjects: 1. On Musical Education. — 2. On the General State of Musical Taste and Knowledge in this Country. — 3. On the Study of Music in Score. — 4. On a Work Now in the Course of Publication, Entitled Vocal Sonatas, &c. and on a System of Education Connected with that Publication; to which is Prefixed a Proem, Explanatory of the Address. By T. D. Worgan, Professor of Music. London.' In *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, Vol. 3, No. 9, Art. XI, pp. 71–8. London: Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, books.google.com.au/books?id=s7YPAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA72&lpg=PA72&dq=Mackenzie+Bacon+Worgan&source=bl&ots=qsWZnL_2bT&sig=-cPGxz_4nW4zZ5lfGaYV8nfhUJg&hl=en&sa=X&ei=T-tNT4CGDYmSiQeDoOhc&ved=0CCEQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false (retrieved 29 February 2012).
- Bacon, R. M. (1823). 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan, Mus. D.' In *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, Vol. 5, Art. XXVI, pp. 113–34. London: Baldwin, Cradock & Joy. books.google.com/books?id=LbcPAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA115&lpg=PA115&dq=Worgan+Scarlatti&sou

rce=bl&ots=0Jjs3-vmHb&sig=FBlqcSVms92OLF2EtoNfprFXqOs&hl=en
&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=7&ct=result#PPA134,M1 (retrieved 20
December 2008).

Badura-Skoda, E. (2003). 'Silbermann, Gottfried (1683–1753).' In R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia*, pp. 356–7. New York: Routledge.

Badura-Skoda, E. (2004). 'The Piano Maker Adam Beyer, a German by Birth.' In *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 57, May. London: The Galpin Society.

Bailey, W. (1784?). *Bailey's British Directory; Or, Merchant's and Trader's Useful Companion, for the Year 1784, in Four Volumes. Containing Accurate Lists of the Bankers, Merchants, Manufacturers, and Principal Traders in the Metropolis, and Different Towns of Great Britain*. Vol. 1. London: Printed by J. Andrews.

Baines, A. (1966). *European and American Musical Instruments*. New York: The Viking Press.

Baines, A. (1983). *Storia degli strumenti musicali [History of Musical Instruments]*. Milano: Rizzoli.

Bainton, H. (1967). 'Monk, Cyril Farnsworth (1882–1970).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/monk-cyril-farnsworth-7625 (retrieved 24 June 2013). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 10. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]

Baird, F. E. and Kaufmann, W. (2008). *From Plato to Derrida*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Baird, P. F. (1969). 'Hebenstreit, Pantaleon (1667–1750).' In R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia*, p. 171. New York: Routledge.

Baird, P. F. (2003). 'Merlin, John Joseph (1735–1803).' In R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia*. 2nd edn, pp. 236–7. New York: Routledge.

Baker, Keith (ed.). (1987). *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bannan, N. (n.d.). 'Relationship with Simeon Lord.' In Bannan Family Australian Relatives. Unpublished ms.

'Baptism Record.' (n.d.). In *The Genealogist*. [www.thegenealogist.co.uk/nameindex/parish_full_record.php?id=1800816&eve ...](http://www.thegenealogist.co.uk/nameindex/parish_full_record.php?id=1800816&eve...) (retrieved 25 May 2011).

- Barber, D. W. (ed.). (1998). *Better than it Sounds*. Toronto: Sound And Vision.
- Barbour, J. M. (1951). *Tuning and Temperament: A Historical Survey*. East Lansing: Michigan State College Press.
- Barclay, R. (2004). *Preservation and Use of Historic Musical Instruments: Display Case or Concert Hall*. London: Earthscan.
- Barfoot, P. and Wilkes, J. (1790). *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce; Comprehending Lists of the Inhabitants of London, Westminster, and Borough of Southwark; and of All the Cities, Towns, and Principal Villages, in England and Wales; with the Mails, and Other Coaches, Stage-Waggons, Hoys, Packets, and Trading Vessels*. London: C. Stalker.
- Barfoot, P. and Wilkes, J. (1799). *Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce, and Manufacture, Comprehending Lists of the Inhabitants of London, Westminster, and Borough of Southwark; and of All the Cities, Towns, and Principal Villages, in England and Wales; with the Mails, and Other Coaches, Stage-Waggons, Hoys, Packets, and Trading Vessels ... Together with an Historical Detail of the Antiquities, Curiosities, Trade, Polity, and Manufactures of Each City, Town, and Village. The Whole Comprising a Fund of Useful and Important Information, Equally Interesting to the Nobleman, the Gentleman, and Man of Business*. London: Champanye & Whitrow.
- Barkley-Jack, J. (2009). *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed: A New Look at Australia's Third Mainland Settlement 1793–1802*. Dural, NSW: Rosenberg Publishing.
- Barli, O. (1983). *Le Façure Française du Piano [French Piano Manufacturing]*. Paris: La Flûte de Pan.
- Barnard Eldershaw, M. (1938). *Philip of Australia: An Account of the Settlement of Sydney Cove, 1788–92*. London: Harrup.
- Barnes, R. (2009). *An Unlikely Leader: The Life and Times of Captain John Hunter*. Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- Barnett, D. (1996). *The Structure of Industry in London 1775–1825*. PhD dissertation, University of Nottingham. etheses.nottingham.ac.uk/2617/1/307810.pdf (retrieved 20 February 2013).
- Barrier Miner*, 26 April 1951. Trove, National Library of Australia. nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48639503 (retrieved 27 October 2012).
- Barrington, G. (n.d. [ca 1795]). *A Voyage to Botany Bay with a Description of the Country, Manners, Customs, Religion, &c. of the Natives by the Celebrated George Barrington*. London: C. Lowndes.

- Barrington, G. (1985). *A Voyage to New South Wales*. Sydney: View Productions.
- Bartlett, C. (1988). Liner notes for *Geminiani: La Folia and Other Concertos and Sonatas*. CD: CDA66264. Hyperion.
- Barton, G. B. (2012). *History of New South Wales from the Records. Volume 1: Governor Phillip 1783–1789*. Sydney: Charles Potter. Project Gutenberg of Australia eBook, No. 1204171h. gutenberg.net.au/ebooks12/1204171h.html#note-157 (retrieved 17 April 2013). [Originally published 1889.]
- Barzun, J. (1975). *Classic, Romantic, and Modern*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Barzun, J. (2001). *From Dawn to Decadence: 500 Years of Western Cultural Life 1500 to the Present*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Bateson, C. (2004). *The Convict Ships 1787–1868*. Sydney: Library of Australian History.
- Batault, J.-C. (2004). 'Les premiers pianoforte français.' ['The French Pianoforte.']. In T. Steiner (ed.), *Keyboard Instruments—Flexibility of Sound and Expression. Proceedings of the Harmoniques International Congress, Lausanne 2002*, pp. 89–112. Bern: Peter Lang SA, Editions scientifique européennes.
- Battersby, W. (2010). 'Updated Biography of "the late Commander Gore".' In *Franklin Expedition News and Views*. Saturday, 6 November 2010. franklinexpedition.blogspot.com.au/2010/11/updated-biography-of-late-commander.html (retrieved 20 March 2012).
- Baty, P. (2011). 'Private Houses: Maids of Honour Row, Richmond.' In *Patrick Baty*. Last updated 26 January 2011. patrickbaty.co.uk/2011/01/26/maids-of-honour-row-richmond (retrieved 1 March 2012).
- Baumol, W. J. and Baumol, H. (1994). 'On the Economics of Musical Composition in Mozart's Vienna.' In J. M. Morris (ed.), *On Mozart*. New York: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press & Cambridge University Press.
- Baur, E.-G. (2007). *Rococo*. Köln: Taschen.
- Bauwens, P. (1988). 'Jean Joseph Merlin, né a Huy, inventeur genial a Londres (1735–1803).' ['John Joseph Merlin, born in Huy, important inventor in London (1735–1803).'] In *Annales du Cercle Hutois des Sciences et Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 13, pp. 9–26. Huy: Ville de Huy.
- Bavington, P., Bemann, L., Helenius, E., Millard, D., Simmonds, P. and Vogel, B. (1995). 'c. 2 Neubauer, Frederick (Friedrich).' In C. Mould (ed.), *Boalch 3 Clavichord Updates (B3CU) Amendments and Additions to Clavichord-Related*

- Information in the Third Edition of Donald Boalch's Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440–1840*, p. 138. www.bcs.nildram.co.uk/Boalch3CUv4.pdf (retrieved 16 July 2011).
- Bazzana, K. (2007). *Lost Genius: The Curious and Tragic Story of an Extraordinary Musical Prodigy*. New York: Carroll & Graf.
- Beaglehole, J. C. (ed.). (1955). *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery. Volume 1: The Voyage of the Endeavour, 1768–1771*. Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press.
- Beaglehole, J. C. (ed.). (1961). *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery. Volume 2: The Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure, 1772–1775*. Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press.
- Beard, G. (1986). *The National Trust Book of English Furniture*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.
- 'Beck, Arnold Frederick.' (2011–13). In *The Early Piano: Authentic Materials for Early Keyboard Instruments*. earlypiano.co.uk/2013/arnold-frederick-beck/ (retrieved 4 March 2013).
- 'Beck, Frederick.' In 'Westminster Ratebooks: Property Values of Westminster Electors, 1749–1818 – 1st January 1784 – 31st December 1784.' In *London Lives 1690–1800—Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*, Image 111 of 525. www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?id=westRatePerson18358&div=ratebook_183-18358#highlight (retrieved 4 March 2013).
- 'Beck Frederick, Piano Forte Maker Music (m)'. oocities.org/threesixesinarow/engmanu.htm (retrieved 22 February 2012).
- Becke, L. and Jeffrey, W. (1899). *The Naval Pioneers of Australia*. London: John Murray.
- Beedell, A. V. (1992). *The Decline of the English Musician 1788–1888: A Family of English Musicians in Ireland, England, Mauritius, and Australia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- 'Beethoven.' In *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, Vol. 25, 19 October 1827, p. 3. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496274 (retrieved 9 August 2013).
- Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer*. (NS), Vol. 7, No. 59, 15 February 1851. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/5434421 (retrieved 22 May 2011).

- Benson, C. (2007). 'Clavicytherium.' In I. Kipnis (ed.), *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Encyclopedia*, p. 81. New York: Routledge.
- Bent, E. (27 April 1810). 'Letter to His Mother.' Handwritten copy by Stewart Symonds. In Symonds' possession.
- Benton, R. (1961). 'The Early Piano in America.' In *Hinrichsen's Eleventh Music Book; Music Libraries and Instruments*, pp. 179–90. New York: Hinrichsen Edition.
- Benton, R. (1962). 'Hüllmandel's Article on the Clavecin in the *Encyclopédie méthodique*.' In *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 15, March. London: The Galpin Society.
- Berg, D. M. (2009). *The Correspondence of Christian Gottfried Krause: A Music Lover in the Age of Sensibility*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
- Berg, M. (2007). *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bermingham, A. (1986). *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Bermingham, A. and Brewer, J. (eds). (1997). *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text*. Milton Park, Oxon: Routledge.
- Best, G. (1971). *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851–1875*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Beurmann, A. E. (2007). *Das Buch vom Klavier: Die Sammlung Beurmann im Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg und auf Gut Hasselburg in Ostholstein* [The Book of Keyboard Instruments: The Beurmann Collection in the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Hamburg and the Hasselburg Estate in East Holstein]. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag.
- Bevan, C. (ed.). (1990). *Musical Instrument Collections in the British Isles*. Winchester: Piccolo Press.
- Biba, O. and Jones, D. W. (eds). (1996). 'From Artaria to Longman & Broderip: Mozart's Music on Sale in London.' In O. Biba and D. W. Jones (eds), *Studies in Music History Presented to H. C. Robbins Landon on His Seventieth Birthday*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Biba, O. and Jones, D. W. (eds). (1996). *Studies in Music History Presented to H. C. Robbins Landon on His Seventieth Birthday*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Bie, O. (1899). *A History of the Pianoforte and Pianoforte Players*. London: Dent.

- Bielefeldt, C. C. (1984). *The Wonders of the Piano*. Melville, NY: Belwin-Mills Publishing.
- Bierce, A. (1906). *The Devil's Dictionary*. London: Arthur F. Bird.
- Bingham, T. (ed.). (1985). *Patents for Inventions. Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Music and Musical Instruments A.D. 1694–1866*. Facsimile edn. London: Tony Bingham, The Sign of the Serpent. [Originally published London: George E. Eyre & William Spottiswoode, 1871.]
- 'Biographical Note.' (2002). In *Papers of Varney Monk*. MS 2294. Canberra: National Library of Australia. Last modified 13 November 2003. www.nla.gov.au/ms/findaids/2294.html (retrieved 21 June 2013).
- 'Biographical Note.' (2009). In J. Austen, *The Complete Novels: With More than Two Hundred Full Colour Illustrations by Hugh Thomson*. London: CRW Publishing.
- Biography of George Raper 1769–1796*. (n.d.). Canberra: National Library of Australia. pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/37307/20030822-0000/www.nla.gov.au/exhibitions/georgeraper/intro/intro-f.html (retrieved 28 April 2012).
- Birmingham, J. (2000). *Leviathan: The Unauthorised Biography of Sydney*. Milsons Point, NSW: Vintage.
- 'Birth Certificate of John Parsons Worgan.' (n.d.). Record #1910227. *Cornwall Online Parish Clerks Database*. www.cornwall-opc-database.org/search-database/more-info/?t=baptisms&id=1910227 (retrieved 29 May 2011).
- Black, J. (1985). *The British and the Grand Tour*. Beckenham, Kent: Croom Helm.
- Black, J. (2007). *Culture in Eighteenth-Century England: A Subject for Taste*. London: Hambledon Continuum.
- Blackburn, D. (1788). 'Letter to Richard Knight, 12 July 1788.' In *Discover Collections at Your State Library*. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Discover Collections. www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/terra_australis/letters/blackburn/index.html (retrieved 30 March 2011).
- Blackstone, W. (1765–69). 'Of Homicide.' In *Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England*. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Blackstone, W. (1765–69). *Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England*. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Blackstone, W. (1825). *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. Vol. 1. 16th edn. 4 vols. London: A. Strahan.

- Bladen, F. M. (ed.). (1893). *Historical Records of New South Wales. Volume II: Grose and Paterson 1793–1795*. Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer.
- Blainey, A. (2008). *I Am Melba*. Melbourne: Black Inc.
- Blainey, G. (1966). *The Tyranny of Distance*. Melbourne: Sun Books.
- Blainey, G. (2009). *A Shorter History of Australia*. North Sydney: Vintage Books.
- Blom, E. (1969). *The Romance of the Piano*. New York: Da Capo Press. [Originally published London: Foulis, 1928.]
- Blunt, W. (1986). *Slow on the Feather*. Salisbury: Michael Russell Publishing.
- Boalch, D. H. (1956). *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440 to 1840*. New York: Macmillan.
- Boalch, D. H. (1974). *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440 to 1840*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Boalch, D. H., Williams, P. and Mould, C. (2001). 'Kirkman.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 13, pp. 624–7. London: Macmillan.
- Boase, G. C. and Courtney, W. P. (1878). *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis: A Catalogue of the Writings, Both Manuscript and Printed, of Cornishmen, and of Works Relating to the County of Cornwall with Biographical Memoranda and Copious Literary References*. Vol. 2. London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer. archive.org/details/cu31924092493810 (retrieved 14 October 2012).
- Bodleian Library. (1771–85). *John Broadwood's Journal for the Period 1771–1785*. Ms Eng. misc b 107, Journal 1771–1785.
- Bohls, E. A. and Duncan, I. (eds). (2005). *Travel Writing 1730–1800: An Anthology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bolton, B. (2001). *Women, Nationalism and the Romantic Stage: Theatre and Politics in Britain, 1780–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bolton, T. (n.d.). *Six Waltzes, Composed and Adapted as Lessons for the Piano Forte, with Accompaniments for a Tambourine and Triangle (ad libitum); And Instructions for Performing on the Tambourine*. London: Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine.
- Bonds, M. E. (2008). 'Listening to Listeners.' In D. Mirka and K. Agawu (eds), *Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music*, pp. 34–52. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Bongrain, A. and Poirier, A. (eds). (1999). *Le Conservatoire de Paris: deux cents ans de pédagogie, 1795–1995* [*The Paris Conservatory: Two Hundred Years of Education, 1795–1995*]. Paris: Buchet/Chastel.
- Bonhams. (n.d.). 'Lot 31 Beck et Corrie.' London: Bonhams. www.bonhams.com/auctions/18044/lot/31/ (retrieved 12 December 2013).
- Bonyhady, T. (2005). 'Introduction.' In *National Treasures from Australia's Great Libraries*. Canberra: National Library of Australia.
- Book of Australian Facts*. (1992). Sydney: Reader's Digest (Australia) Proprietary Limited.
- Bösel, R. (ed.). (2009). *La Cultura del Fortepiano 1770–1830—Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Roma, 26–29 maggio 2004* [*The Culture of Fortepiano 1770–1830—Proceedings of the International Conference in Rome 26–29 May 2004*]. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni.
- Bösel, R. and Sala, M. (eds). (2004). *Muzio Clementi. Cosmopolita della musica* [*Muzio Clementi. Cosmopolitan musician*]. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni.
- Boswell, A. (1981). *Anabella Boswell's Journal: An Account of Early Port Macquarie (1830s and '40s)*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson.
- Boswell, A. A. C. D. (1908). *Early Recollections and Clearings, from an Old Journal or Some Recollections of My Early Days Written at Different Periods*. n.p.
- Botstein, L. (1998). 'The Consequences of Presumed Innocence: The Nineteenth-Century Reception of Joseph Haydn.' In W. D. Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies*, pp. 1–34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bowers, J. and Tick, J. (eds). (1987). *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Bowett, A. (1998). *Antique Collecting*, February. Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club.
- Bowett, A. (1998). 'Myths of English Furniture History: Cuban Mahogany.' In *Antique Collecting*, February. Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club.
- Bowles, C. (1775). *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, with the Borough of Southwark, Exhibiting the New Buildings to the Year 1775*. London: Carington Bowles. In *London and Environs Maps and Views*. Last updated 31 December 2011. mapco.net/london.htm (retrieved 22 September 2012).

- Boyle, P. (1793?). *The Fashionable Court Guide, or Town Visiting Directory, for the Year 1793, Considerably Enlarged, and Carefully Corrected. With the Addition of Near One Thousand Measured Hackney Coach Fares. Also the Respectable Hotels at the West-End of the Town.* London: P. Boyle and Hookham & Carpenter.
- Bozarth, G. S. and Debenham, M. (2009). 'Piano Wars: The Legal Machinations of London Pianoforte Makers, 1795–1806.' In J. P. Wainwright (ed.), *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, Vol. 42, pp. 45–108. Chippenham, Wiltshire: CPI Antony Rowe.
- Bradley, W. (1786–92). *A Voyage to New South Wales, December 1786–May 1792.* Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures Catalogue. acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?acmsID=412904&itemID=823591 (retrieved 31 March 2011).
- Bradley, W. (1969). *A Voyage to New South Wales: The Journal of Lieutenant William Bradley RN of HMS Sirius, 1786–1792, Reproduced in Facsimile from the Original Manuscript with a Portfolio of Charts.* Sydney: Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales & Ure Smith.
- Bradney-Smith, A. (2009). 'Famous Early Piano Maker Christopher Gauer (Gauer???): Response to a Query by Graham S. Gadd.' In *Ancestry.com, Message Boards*. boards.ancestry.com/surnames.gauer/60/mb.ashx (retrieved 18 July 2010).
- Bradshaw, W. (1970). 'The Domestic Piano.' In P. Cook (ed.), *The Australasian Antique Collector*, Vol. 3, No. 9, July–December, pp. 72–7. Randwick, NSW: John Hannan, Newspaper Typesetters.
- Brady, P. (ed.). (1991). *George Washington's Beautiful Nelly: The Letters of Eleanor Parke Custis Lewis to Elizabeth Bordley Gibson, 1794–1851.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Branch-Johnson, W. (1957). *The English Prison Hulks.* London: Christopher Johnson.
- Brauchli, B. (2005). *The Clavichord.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brawer, N. A. (2001). *British Campaign Furniture. Elegance under Canvas, 1740–1914.* New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- Bray Papers.* BRA1737/45. Truro: Cornwall Record Office.
- Bremner, R. (1765). *The Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany being a Gradation of Proper Lessons from the Beginner to the Tollerable Performer Chiefly Intended*

- to Save Masters the Trouble of Writing for their Pupils*. London: Robert Bremner. erato.uvt.nl/files/imglnks/usimg/0/0f/IMSLP30044-PMLP67789-Bremner_HarpsichordSpinitMisc.pdf (retrieved 18 June 2012).
- Brewer, F. C. (1892). *The Drama and Music in New South Wales*. Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer.
- Brewer, J. (1997). ‘“The most polite age and the most vicious”: Attitudes towards Culture as a Commodity, 1600–1800.’ In A. Bermingham and J. Brewer (eds), *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text*, pp. 341–61. Milton Park, Oxon: Routledge.
- Brewer, J. (1997). *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.
- Brewer, J. and Porter, R. (eds). (1993). *Consumption and the World of Goods*. London: Routledge.
- Brickell, C. (2008). *Mates & Lovers: A History of Gay New Zealand*. Auckland: Godwit.
- ‘Bridewell Royal Hospital: Minutes of the Court of Governors 26th June 1713 – 2nd August 1722.’ (3 August 1721). In *London Lives 1690–1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*. www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?.div=BBBRMG20204MG202040506 (retrieved 18 February 2013).
- Bridges, P. (1995). *Foundations of Identity: Building Early Sydney 1788–1822*. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger.
- Brief Remarks on English Manners, and an Attempt to Account for Some of Our Most Striking Peculiarities. In a Series of Letters to a Friend in France. By an Englishman*. (1816). London: John Booth.
- ‘Bright or Not?’ (2011). In *Whitechapel Ltd: Historical Guide to Hinges*. www.whitechapel-ltd.com/GHING.html (retrieved 14 November 2011).
- Brinsmead, E. (1969 [1879]). *The History of the Piano: With an Account of the Theory of Sound and also of the Music and Musical Instruments of the Ancients*. Reprint. Detroit: Singing Tree Press.
- ‘British Extracts.’ In *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, Vol. 25, 29 March 1827, p. 3. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2187934 (retrieved 9 August 2013).
- British Library. Oriental and India Office Collections. Clive MSS, G37, Box 15/1.
- British Library. Oriental and India Office Collections. Fowke MS E4, 462.

British Library. Oriental and India Office Collections. Ormathwaite MS D546/27.

Britton, A. (ed.). (1892). *Historical Records of New South Wales. Volume I, Part 2: Phillip, 1783–1792*. Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer. www.archive.org/stream/historicalrecord1pt2sidnuoft#page/n7/mode/2up (retrieved 28 July 2010).

Britton, J. (1826). 'Wiltshire Community History.' In *Wiltshire Council*. www.wiltshire.gov.uk/community/gettextimage.php?id=2591 (retrieved 17 February 2010). [Originally published as 'Beauties of Wiltshire.' In *Topographical Sketches of North Wiltshire*, London, 1826.]

Broadbent, J. (1995). *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta: A History and a Guide*. Glebe, NSW: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.

Broadbent, J. (1997). *The Australian Colonial House: Architecture and Society in New South Wales 1788–1842*. Sydney: Hordern House in association with the Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales and supported by the Friends of the Historic Houses Trust.

Broadbent, J. (2003). 'A Survey of Colonial Imports: Furniture.' In J. Broadbent, S. Rickard and M. Steven (eds), *India, China, Australia: Trade and Society 1788–1850*, pp. 96–119. Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.

Broadbent, J. and Hughes, J. (eds). (1992). *The Age of Macquarie*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press in association with Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.

Broadbent, J., Rickard, S. and Steven, M. (eds). (2003). *India, China, Australia: Trade and Society 1788–1850*. Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.

Broadwood, H. F. (1862). *Some Notes Made by J. S. Broadwood, 1838, with Observations and Elucidations by H. F. Broadwood*. London: W. A. Johnson.

Brock, J. F. (2006). *Australia's First Surveyor General and Governor, Alt and Phillip—The First Settlers of German Origin!* www.fig.net/pub/fig2006/papers/hs02_03_brock_0300.pdf (retrieved 25 May 2011).

Brockliss, L., Cardwell, J. and Moss, M. (2005). *Nelson's Surgeon: William Beatty, Naval Medicine, and the Battle of Trafalgar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brooke, A. and Brandon, D. (2005). *Bound for Botany Bay: British Convict Voyages to Australia*. Kew, Surrey: The National Archives.

Brooks, C. (1825–29). *Christiana Brooks Diary*. MS 1559. Canberra: National Library of Australia.

- Broughton, V. D. (ed.). (1887). *Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte: Being the Journals of Mrs Papendiek, Assistant Keeper of the Wardrobe and Reader to Her Majesty*. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley & Son.
- Broughton, W. G. (1829). *The Counsel and Pleasure of God in the Vicissitudes of States and Communities: A Sermon Preached in the Church of St James, Sydney, on Thursday November 12, 1829, being the Day Appointed for a General Thanksgiving to Almighty God in Acknowledgment of His Mercy in Putting an End to the Late Severe Drought and in Averting His Threatened Judgements from this Colony*. Sydney: Robert Howe.
- Brown, A. P. (1986). *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music: Sources and Style*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Brown, J. (attrib.). (ca 1825). *Anonymous Diary by a Servant of the Scott Family, 8 Aug. 1821 – Mar. 1824 (written after 1825), with Notes, 1832*. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures. Image 17 (No. a2852017). acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?acmsID=826100&itemID=874467 (retrieved 10 July 2011).
- Brown, J. (1893). *Marjorie Fleming: A Sketch being the Paper Entitled 'Pet Marjorie: A Story of Child Life Fifty Years Ago'*. Edinburgh: David Douglas.
- Brown, S. (2008). 'Agamemnon 1820: Convicts on the Transport Ship Agamemnon—1820.' In *Convict Stockade: A Wiki Site for Australian Convict Researchers*. www.historyaustralia.org.au/twconvic/Agamemnon+1820 (retrieved 28 May 2011).
- Bruijn, I. (2009). *Ship's Surgeons of the Dutch East India Company: Commerce and the Progress of Medicine in the Eighteenth Century*. Leiden: Leiden University Press.
- Bruni, A. B. (1984). *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur: État des Instruments de Musique Relevé chez les Émigrés et Condamnés Par A. Bruni. L'un des Délégués de la Convention*. [An Inventory of the Terror: State Record of Musical Instruments owned by Emigrants and the Condemned By A. Bruni. One of the Delegates of the Convention]. Facsimile edn. Genève: Minkoff. [Originally published Paris: Georges Chamerot, 1890.]
- Buchner, A. (1973). *Musical Instruments: An Illustrated History*. Translated by B. Vancura. London: Octopus.
- Bulwer, J. (1653). *Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd, or the Artificial Changeling. Historically Presented, in the Mad and Cruel Gallantry, Foolish Bravery, Ridiculous Beauty, Filthy Fineness, and Loathesome Loveliness of Most Nations, Fashioning & Altering their Bodies from the Mould Intended*

by Nature. With a Vindication of the Regular Beauty and Honesty of Nature, and an Appendix of the Pedigree of the English Gallant. 2nd edn. London: J. Hardesty.

Bumpus, T. F. (1883?). *London Churches Ancient and Modern*. Vol. 1. London: T. B. Bumpus. www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/thomas-francis-bumpus/london-churches-ancient--modern-volume-1-ala/page-11-london-churches-ancient--modern-volume-1-ala.shtml (retrieved 21 March 2011).

Burchell, J. (2004). 'The First Talents of Europe: British Music Printers and Publishers and Imported Instrumental Music in the Eighteenth Century.' In S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh (eds), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, pp. 93–113. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Burgess, A. (1983). *The Well-Tempered Revolution: A Consideration of the Piano's Social and Intellectual History*. New York: Harper Colophon.

'Burial Data of Mary Worgan.' (n.d.). Record #1612412. *Cornwall Online Parish Clerks Database*. cornwall-opc-database.org/search-database/more-info/?t=burials&id=1612412 (retrieved 29 May 2011).

Burnett, R. (2004). *Company of Pianos*. Goudhurst, Kent: Finchcocks Press.

Burney, C. (1782). *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period, to which is Prefixed, a Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients*. Volume 2. London: J. Robson & G. Robinson.

Burney, C. (1819). 'Harpsichord.' In A. Rees (ed.), *The Cyclopædia, or Universal Directory of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, Vol. 18, n.p. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

Burney, C. (1957 [1789]). *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period, to which is Prefixed, a Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients(1789)*. Edited by F. Mercer. New York: Dover Publications.

Burney, C. (1957 [1789]). *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period, to which is Prefixed, a Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients*. Vol. 2. Edited by F. Mercer. New York: Dover Publications.

Burney, C. (1969 [1771]). *Music, Men & Manners in France & Italy 1770: Being the Journal Written by Charles Burney, Mus.D., during a Tour through these Countries Undertaken to Collect Material for a General History of Music*. Edited by H. E. Poole. London: Folio Society.

Burney, C. (1969). *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces. Or, the Journal of a Tour through those Countries, Undertaken*

- to Collect Materials for a General History of Music ... The Second Edition, Corrected.* 2 vols. Facsimile edn. New York: Broude Brothers. [Originally published, London: T. Becket, J. Robson & G. Robinson, 1775.]
- Burney, C. (1974 [1771]). *Music, Men & Manners in France & Italy 1770: Being the Journal Written by Charles Burney, Mus.D., during a Tour through these Countries Undertaken to Collect Material for a General History of Music.* Edited by H. E. Poole. London: Eulenburg Books.
- Burney, C. (2005). *The Present State of Music in France and Italy: Or, the Journal of a Tour through those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for a General History of Music.* Facsimile edn. USA: Elibron Classics. [Originally published, London: T. Becket & Co., 1771.]
- Burrows, D. (ed.). (2008). *Handel's Will: Facsimiles and Commentary.* London: The Gerald Coke Handel Foundation.
- Busby, T. (1811). *A Complete Dictionary of Music: To which is Prefixed a Familiar Introduction to the First Principles of that Science, Third Edition, with Additions and Improvements.* London: B. McMillan. books.google.com.au/books?id=uwI6AAAAIAAJ&pg=PT3&lpg=PT3&dq=Thomas+Busby,+A+Complete+Dictionary+of+Music:+To+Which+is+Prefixed+a+Familiar+Introduction+to+the+First+Principles+of+that+Science&source=bl&ots=uEO9YXcWC4&sig=o8NxZraY10iEt2HC_--yPU2tpsQ&hl=en&ei=8m0ATOy6O8yLkAWN85SZDQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CAYQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false (retrieved 29 May 2010).
- Busby, T. (1825). *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes of Music and Musicians, Ancient and Modern.* London: Clementi, Collard & Co.
- Butler, R. (2007). *Printed Images in Colonial Australia, 1801–1901.* Canberra: National Gallery of Australia.
- Byrne, J. (2012). 'Cook's Tour.' In *Qantas. The Australian Way*, No. 223, January, pp. 70–6. Sydney: ACP Magazines.
- Byrne, P. J. (ed.). (2012). *Judge Advocate Ellis Bent: Letters and Diaries 1809–1811.* Annandale, NSW: Desert Pea Press/The Federation Press.
- 'c1791 Longman & Broderip Square Piano.' (2011–13). In *The Early Piano: Authentic Materials for Early Keyboard Instruments.* Dorchester, Dorset: Early Piano. earlypiano.co.uk/2013/c1791-longman-broderip-square-piano/ (retrieved 19 June 2013).
- Cable, K. J. (1967). 'Johnson, Richard (1753?–1827).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online.* Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian

- National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/johnson-richard-2275/text2921 (retrieved 25 July 2010). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 2. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Cain, P. J. and Hopkins, A. G. (2002). *British Imperialism, 1688–2000*. New York: Longmans.
- Caldwell, J. (1985). *English Keyboard Music before the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Dover Publications.
- Callam, R. (2005 [1789]). *The First Fleet ... by Them that were There: Volume Three Containing James Callam's Account of the First Fleet and Subsequent Visit to Norfolk and Lord Howe Islands*. Introduced and commentary by B. McDonald. Bondi, NSW: Australian History Promotions.
- Cama, N. and Hyde, P. (2011). 'Object of the Week: Upright Yacht-Style Piano.' In *Australian National Maritime Museum Blog*, 9 December. Sydney: Australian National Maritime Museum. anmm.wordpress.com/2011/12/09/object-of-the-week-14/ (retrieved 22 May 2013).
- Cameron, I. and Kingsley-Rowe, E. (eds). (1982). *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*. London: Wm Collins Sons & Co.
- Campbell, C. (1987). *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Campbell, C. (1993). 'Understanding Traditional and Modern Patterns of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century England: A Character-Action Approach.' In J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, pp. 40–57. London: Routledge.
- Campbell, R. (1747). *The London Tradesman. Being a Compendious View of all the Trades, Professions, Arts, both Liberal and Mechanic, Now Practised in the Cities of London and Westminster. Calculated for the Information of Parents, and Instruction of Youth in their Choice of Business*. London: T. Gardner.
- Campion, F. (1739). *Lettre de Monsieur l'Abbé Carbasus, à Monsieur de *** auteur du Temple de Goust sur la mode des instruments de musique, ouvrage curieux et interressant pour les amateurs de l'harmonie* [Letter from Mr Abbot Carbasus, to Mr ***, Author of the Temple of Goust: Fashion, Musical Instruments, Curious and Interesting, for Lovers of Harmony]. Paris: veuve Allouel.
- Cane, A. V. (1972). 'Everett, John (1816–1902).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian

- National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/everett-john-3892/text5347 (retrieved 25 November 2011). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 4. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Cannon, J. (1987). *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carew, D. (2007). *The Companion to the Mechanical Muse: The Piano, Pianism and Piano Music, c. 1760–1850*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Carew, D. (2007). *The Mechanical Muse: The Piano, Pianism and Piano Music, c. 1760–1850*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Carpenters' Company: Minute Books of Courts and Committees 3rd October 1699 – 5th September 1710.' (2 March 1702). In *London Lives 1690–1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*. www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?.div=GLCCMC251100071 (retrieved 18 February 2013).
- Carpenters' Company: Minute Books of Courts and Committees 3rd January 1721 – 3rd October 1727.' (7 February 1721). In *London Lives 1690–1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*. www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?.div=GLCCMC25104MC251040013 (retrieved 18 February 2013).
- Carter, P. (1987). *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Cary, J. (1795). *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent; viz. Kensington, Chelsea, Islington, Hackney, Walworth, Newington &c with an Alphabetical List of Upwards of 500 of the Most Principal Streets with References to their Situation*. (1795). London: John Cary. In *London and Environs Maps and Views*. Last updated 31 December 2011. mapco.net/london.htm (retrieved 22 September 2012).
- Casella, A. (1954). *Il Pianoforte*. Milan: Tumminelli & Co.
- Catalogue of Printed Music Published between 1487 and 1800 Now in the British Museum. Volume 2*. (n.d.). p. 121. www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/british-library-dept-of-printed-books/catalogue-of-printed-music-published-between-1487-and-1800-now-in-the-british-mu-tir-853/page-121-catalogue-of-printed-music-published-between-1487-and-1800-now-in-the-british-mu-tir-853.shtml (retrieved 7 May 2013).
- Cathcart, T. and Klein, D. (2009). *Heidegger and a Hippo Walk through those Pearly Gates: Using Philosophy (and Jokes!) to Explore Life, Death, the Afterlife, and Everything in Between*. New York: Viking.

- Certified Copy of George Bouchier Worgan's Death Certificate: 'Given at the General Register Office, Under the Seal of the Said Office, the 30th Day of December 2011.' Application no. 3723266-1. Certificate no. DYD174213.
- Chadenet, S. (2001). *French Furniture from Louis XIII to Art Deco*. Boston: Bulfinch Press, Little Brown & Company.
- Chanan, M. (1994). *Musica Practica: The Social Practice of Western Music from Gregorian Chant to Postmodernism*. London: Verso.
- Chancellor, J. (2010). 'Queen Street Eschews Antiques for Fashion.' In *BusinessDay*, 10 May 2010. www.businessday.com.au/business/queen-street-eschews-antiques-for-fashion-20100509-ulqf.html (retrieved 21 May 2013).
- Chapman, B. and Chapman, M. (2010). '1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th Marines: 1788 till 1791.' In *Australia's Redcoat Settlers*. Ancestry.com. freepages.history.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~garter1/royalmar.htm (retrieved 17 July 2010).
- Chapman, B. and Chapman, M. (2010). *A List of Marine Officers, Marines, Ships Crews and Officials, with Families. Who Arrived January 26, 1788, as Part of the Fleet. Arranged by Ship*. Ancestry.com. freepages.history.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~garter1/firstfleet.htm (retrieved 30 July 2013).
- 'Charles Bairnes.' In 'Old Bailey Proceedings: Accounts of Criminal Trials.' *London Lives 1690–1800—Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*. www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?id=t17830226-38-person448&div=t17830226-38#highlight (retrieved 4 March 2013).
- CHasR. (2008). Email dated 23 July 2008. In 'The Composer Beck.' *Chiff & Fipple*. forums.chiffandfipple.com/viewtopic.php?p=806139&sid=bd472f2183673d5d1c3d39b923c047de (retrieved 5 March 2013).
- Chassain, L. (1999). 'Le Conservatoire et la notion d'École française [The Conservatory and the notion of the French School].' In A. Bongrain and A. Poirier (eds), *Le Conservatoire de Paris: deux cents ans de pédagogie, 1795–1995 [The Paris Conservatory: two hundred years of education, 1795–1995]*. Paris: Buchet/Chastel.
- Chesterfield, P. D. (2004 [1746–71]). *Letters to His Son on the Fine Art of becoming a Man of the World and a Gentleman*. Last updated 14 February 2007. www.gutenberg.org/files/3361/3361-h/3361-h.htm#2H_4_0032 (retrieved 21 September 2012).

- Christian, P. G. (n.d.). 'The First Fleet Part 1.' In *Short Tales and Stories*. Woolloomooloo, NSW: Fellowship of First Fleeters. www.fellowshipfirstfleeters.org.au/storie5.html (retrieved 28 December 2011).
- Christensen, T. (2010). 'Thoroughbass as Music Theory.' In T. Christensen, R. Gjerdingen, G. Sanguinetti and R. Lutz, *Partimento and Continuo Playing in Theory and in Practice*, pp. 9–41. Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press.
- Christensen, T., Gjerdingen, R., Sanguinetti, G. and Lutz, R. (2010). *Partimento and Continuo Playing in Theory and in Practice*. Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press.
- Christie, J. (1786). *A Catalogue of all the Capital Musical Instruments, Extensive and Valuable Collection of Manuscript, and Other Music, by the Most Eminent Composers, Late the Property of John Stanley, Esq; M. B. dec. Consisting of a Fine-Ton'd Double-Key'd Harpsichord, by Kirckman; A Singular Full-Ton'd Ditto, Undoubted, by O. Rucker; A Piano Forte; A Clarichord; Several Capital Violins; Tenors; And a Variety of Musical Instruments, by Amati, and Other Eminent Makers; Three Remarkable Fine Busts of Milton, Shakespear, and Handel, Exquisitely Modell'd by Roubilliac, &c. &c. &c, which will be Sold by Auction, (by Order of the Executrix) by Mr. Christie, at His Great Room in Pall Mall, on Saturday the 24th of June, 1786. To be Viewed on Thursday and Friday Preceding the Sale, which will Begin at Twelve O'Clock. Catalogues May be Had as Above*. London: n.p. In *Eighteenth Century Collections Online: Gale Cengage Learning*. Canberra: National Library of Australia. find.galegroup.com/rp.nla.gov.au/ecco/retrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&scale=0.33&sort=Author&docLevel=FASCIMILE&prodId=ECCO&tabID=T001&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchType=BasicSearchForm&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28KE%2CNone%2C8%29Christie%3AAnd%3ALQE%3D%28BA%2CNone%2C60%292NEK+Or+0LRL+Or+2NEI+Or+0LRI+Or+2NEJ+Or+0LRK+Or+2NEM+Or+0LRN%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE_DOCUMENT&inPS=true&userGroupName=nla&docId=CW3306270115¤tPosition=43&workId=0013902200&relevancePageBatch=CW106270113&contentSet=ECCOArticles&callistoContentSet=ECCOArticles&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&reformatPage=N&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE_DOCUMENT&scale=0.33&pageIndex=4&orientation=&showLOI=&quickSearchTerm=&stwFuzzy=&doDirectDocNumSearch=false&searchId=R2 (retrieved 30 November 2013).
- 'Christie's Auction Results—The Collection of Professor Sir Albert Richardson, P.R.A.—Lot 128.' (n.d.). In 'Sale 1186 Lot 128'. www.christies.com/lotfinder/musical-instruments/a-george-iii-satinwood-crossbanded-circa-1775-5714688-details.aspx?intobjctid=5714688 (retrieved 9 November 2013).

- 'Christopher Ganer Square Pianoforte Circa 1775.' (n.d.). In *PalacePianos. Com.* [www.palacepianos.com/portal/early-square-pianoforte/18th-century-square-pianoforte/176-christopher-ganer-square-pianoforte-1775.html#](http://www.palacepianos.com/portal/early-square-pianoforte/18th-century-square-pianoforte/176-christopher-ganer-square-pianoforte-1775.html#.UUS4pK6d3aJ). UUS4pK6d3aJ (retrieved 17 March 2013).
- 'Cité de la musique, Paris, France—Musée de la musique—Collection Catalogue—Recherchez dans le catalogue—Facteur, auteur ou sujet—Piano carré/Frederick Beck, LONDRES/1775/E.1530.' (n.d.). In *MIMO Musical Instrument Museums Online*. www.mimo-international.com/ (retrieved 12 December 2012).
- 'Cité de la musique, Paris, France—Musée de la musique—Collection Catalogue—Recherchez dans le catalogue—Facteur, auteur ou sujet—Piano carré miniature/ Beck, Joseph/vers 1840/PARIS/E.1815.' (n.d.). In *MIMO Musical Instrument Museums Online*. www.mimo-international.com/ (retrieved 12 December 2012).
- Citron, M. J. (1980). 'Corona Schröter: Singer, Composer, Actress.' In *Music and Letters*, Vol. 61, No. 1, January. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Citron, M. J. (2003). *Gender and Musical Canon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- City of Westminster Coroners. (n.d.). 'Coroners' Inquests into Suspicious Deaths: 3rd January 1765 – 24th December 1765.' In *London Lives 1690–1800—Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*. www.londonlives.org/
- Clark, M. (1997). *A History of Australia*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press.
- Clark, P. (2000). *British Clubs and Societies 1580–1800*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Clark, R. (1787). *Journal Kept on the Friendship during a Voyage to Botany Bay and Norfolk Island; and on the Gorgon Returning to England*. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures. Vol. 1, 9 March 1787 – 31 December 1787; 7–9 December 1787, Item a262103. acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?acmsID=412905&itemID=823869 (retrieved 27 June 2010).
- Clark, R. (1788). *Journal Kept on the Friendship during a Voyage to Botany Bay and Norfolk Island; and on the Gorgon Returning to England*. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures Catalogue. acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?acmsID=412905&itemID=823869 (retrieved 27 and 30 March and 30 December 2011).
- Clark, R. (1790). *Journal Kept on the Friendship during a Voyage to Botany Bay and Norfolk Island*. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales Heritage

- Collection, Nelson Meers Foundation. 19–20 March 1790. sl.nsw.gov.au/cgi-bin/ebindshow.pl?doc+safe1_27/a262, a262154h.jpg (retrieved 6 December 2008).
- Clark, R. (1822). *An Account of the National Anthem Entitled God Save the King! With Authorities taken from Sion College Library, the Ancient Records of the Merchant Tailors' Company, the Old Cheque-Book of His Majesty's Chapel, &c. &c. Selected, Edited, and Arranged by Richard Clark, Gentleman of His Majesty's Chapels Royal, Deputy Vicar Choral of St. Paul's Cathedral, and of Westminster Abbey, and Secretary to the Glee Club.* London: W. Wright.
- Clarke, [?]. (1834). *The Georgian Era: Memoirs of the Most Eminent Persons, who have Flourished in Great Britain, from the Accession of George the First to the Demise of George the Fourth, in Four Volumes. Volume IV: Political and Rural Economists; Painters, Sculptors, Architects, and Engravers; Composers; Vocal, Instrumental, and Dramatic Performers.* London: Vizetelly, Branston & Co. play.google.com/books/reader?id=gPZFAQAAlAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&authuser=0&hl=en_GB&pg=GBS.PA315 (retrieved 8 October 2012).
- Clarke, C. (2006). 'The English Piano.' In M. Latcham (ed.), *Musique ancienne— instruments et imagination. Actes des Rencontres Internationales harmoniques, Lausanne 2004 [Old Musical Instruments and Imagination. Proceedings of the International Harmonics Meeting, Lausanne 2004]*, pp. 239–70. Berne: Peter Lang.
- Clarke, H. (2011). 'Australian Colonial Dance: Australia's First Piano.' In *The History of Music and Dance in Australia 1788–1840*. www.colonialdance.com.au/piano-of-the-first-fleet-29.html (retrieved 18 June 2012).
- Clarke, H. (2013). 'Australian Colonial Dance: François Girard, Dancing Master, Convict.' In *The History of Music and Dance in Australia 1788–1840*. www.colonialdance.com.au/francois-girard-dancing-master-convict-1608.html (retrieved 13 November 2013).
- Clarke, P. (1986). *A Colonial Woman: The Life and Times of Mary Braidwood Mowle, 1827–1857.* Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Clarke, P. (2010). 'Life Lines: 19th Century Women's Letters and Diaries.' In *Private Lives Revealed: Letters, Diaries, History*. Canberra: National Library of Australia. www.nla.gov.au/events/private/clarke.html#topcontainer (retrieved 6 November 2010).
- Clarke, P. and Spender, D. (eds). (1992). *Life Lines: Australian Women's Letters and Diaries, 1788–1840.* St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

- Clarke, R. (forthcoming). *Working the Forge. The Lives of William Dawes, Watkin Tench and George Worgan*. PhD dissertation, The Australian National University.
- Claviers mozartiens*. (2006). CD: LYR 2251. Lyrinx.
- Clemencic, R. (1968). *Old Musical Instruments*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Clifford, H. (2004). *Silver in London: The Parker and Wakelin Partnership 1760–76*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Clifford Smith, H. (1931). 'Buckingham Palace.' In *Country Life*.
- Clinkscale, M. N. (1995). 'Longman & Co (Longman & Broderip)'. In M. N. Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Clinkscale, M. N. (1995). *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Clinkscale, M. N. (1999). *Makers of the Piano. Volume 2: 1820–1860*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 'Clock Runs Out for Father of Sydney's Antique Trade.' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 November 2009. www.smh.com.au/national/clock-runs-out-for-father-of-sydneys-antique-trade-20091118-impr.html (retrieved 9 July 2011).
- Clode, D. (2008). *Voyages to the South Seas*. Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press.
- Closson, E. (1935). *La Facture des Instruments de Musique en Belgique [The Manufacture of Musical Instruments in Belgium]*. Huy: Degrae.
- Closson, E. (1944). *Histoire du piano [History of the Piano]*. Brussels: Editions universitaires, Les Presses de Belgique.
- Closson, E. (1947). *History of the Piano*. Translated by D. Ames. London: Paul Elek Publishers.
- Clugston, N. (2008). 'Hawkesbury River.' In *Dictionary of Sydney*. www.dictionaryofsydney.org/natural_feature/hawkesbury_river (retrieved 8 October 2012).
- Cobbe, A. (1983). *A Century of Keyboard Instruments, 1760–1860*. Yattendon, Berkshire: Alec Cobbe.
- Cobbe, A. (2000). *Composer Instruments: A Catalogue of the Cobbe Collection of Keyboard Instruments with Composer Associations*. Hatchlands, Surrey: The Cobbe Collection Trust in association with The National Trust.

- Cobley, J. (ed.). (1965). *Sydney Cove 1791–1792*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson.
- Cobley, J. (1967). 'Worgan, George Bouchier (1757–1838).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 2. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.
- Cobley, P. (2008). 'Communication and Verisimilitude in the Eighteenth Century.' In D. Mirka and K. Agawu (eds), *Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music*, pp. 13–33. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cockin, W. (1766). *A Rational and Practical Treatise of Arithmetic (in Two Parts). Containing All that is Necessary to be Known in this Art, to which is Added, in the Manner of Notes, the Reason and Demonstration of Every Rule and Operation, as they Occur, on Principles Purely Arithmetical, or Such as Will Easily be Comprehended by a Beginner*. London: W. Nicoll.
- Cohen, L. (1979). *Elizabeth Macquarie, Her Life and Times*. Sydney: Wentworth Books.
- Cohen, M. (1996). *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Routledge.
- Cole, M. (n.d.). 'Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker.' www.squarepianos.com/adam_beyer.htm (retrieved 30 December, 2009).
- Cole, M. (n.d.). 'Another Line of Investigation.' In *The Invention of the Square Piano: A Review of Some Claimed Early German Tafelklaviere*. www.squarepianos.com/origins.htm (retrieved 16 July 2011).
- Cole, M. (n.d.). 'Franz Ignatz Seuffert, 1764.' In *The Invention of the Square Piano: A Review of Some Claimed Early German Tafelklaviere*. www.squarepianos.com/origins.htm (retrieved 2 October 2012).
- Cole, M. (n.d.). 'Frederick Beck.' In *Square Pianos*. www.squarepianos.com (retrieved 14 February 2010).
- Cole, M. (n.d.). 'George Garcka.' In *Square Pianos*. www.squarepianos.com/zumpe.htm (retrieved 9 May 2010).
- Cole, M. (n.d.). 'John Broadwood.' In *Square Pianos*. www.squarepianos.com/broadwood.html (retrieved 17 March 2013).
- Cole, M. (n.d.). 'John Zumpe.' In *Square Pianos*. www.squarepianos.com (retrieved 16 February and 9 May 2010).
- Cole, M. (n.d.). 'John Zumpe Including Gabriel Buntebart, Sievers, the Schoene Brothers, and Meinke Meyer.' In *Square Pianos*. www.squarepianos.com/zumpe.htm (retrieved 3 January 2009).

- Cole, M. (n.d.). 'Makers.' In *Square Pianos*. www.squarepianos.com/longman.html (retrieved 20 April 2013)
- Cole, M. (n.d.). 'Maker's File: Adam Beyer.' In *Square Pianos*. www.squarepianos.com/beyer2.htm (retrieved 9 May 2010).
- Cole, M. (n.d.). 'Other Makers: Christopher Ganer.' In *Square Pianos*. www.squarepianos.com (retrieved 13 May 2010).
- Cole, M. (n.d.). 'Other Makers: James Ball.' In *Square Pianos*. www.squarepianos.com/zumpe.htm (retrieved 9 May 2010).
- Cole, M. (n.d.). 'Other Makers: John Geib.' In *Square Pianos*. squarepianos.com/othem%20makers.htm (retrieved 9 May 2010).
- Cole, M. (n.d.). 'Square Pianos (newly revised April 2012): A Brief History.' In *Square Pianos*. www.squarepianos.com/square.htm (retrieved 2 May 2012).
- Cole, M. (n.d.). *The Invention of the Square Piano: A Review of Some Claimed Early German Tafelklaviere*. www.squarepianos.com (retrieved 13 February 2010).
- Cole, M. (1995). 'Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker.' In *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 48, March. London: The Galpin Society.
- Cole, M. (1997). 'Tafelklaviere in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum: Some Preliminary Observations.' In *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 50, March. London: The Galpin Society.
- Cole, M. (1998). *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cole, M. (2000). 'The Twelve Apostles?' In *The Southeastern and Midwestern Historical Keyboard Society Journal*, Vol. 18.
- Cole, M. (2005). *Broadwood Square Pianos: Their Historical Context, and Technical Development Together with a New Biography of John Broadwood*. Cheltenham, UK: Tatchley Books.
- Cole, M. (2009). 'Some Thoughts on Adhesives.' In *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos*. www.squarepianotech.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/Michael-Cole-has-very-kindly-contributed-the-following-piece1.pdf (retrieved 7 March 2013).
- Cole, M. (2010). 'Longman & Broderip (Revised November 2010) with Information on Longman & Lukey, Broderip & Wilkinson, Muzio Clementi & Co., and Collard & Collard.' In *Square Pianos*. www.squarepianos.com/longman.htm (retrieved 5 August 2012).

- Cole, M. (2011). *Square Pianos: A Brief History*. www.squarepianos.com/square.htm (retrieved 19 October 2011).
- Cole, M. (2012). *Square Pianos: A Brief History*. Newly Revised April 2012. www.squarepianos.com/square.htm (retrieved 2 May 2012).
- Cole, M. (2012). 'Johannes Zumpe with Information on Gabriel Buntebart, Christopher Sievers, the Schoene Brothers, Meinke Meyer.' In *Square Pianos*. Last revised July 2012. www.squarepianos.com/zumpe.htm (retrieved 5 October 2012).
- Cole, M. (2013). 'Pianoforte & Pantalon.' In *Square Pianos*. Last modified 1 March 2013. www.squarepianos.com/_images/pantalon.html (retrieved 16 December 2013).
- Cole, M. (2013). 'Pianoforte and Pantalon.' In *Square Pianos*. www.squarepianos.com/pantalon.html (retrieved 7 March 2013).
- Cole, W. H. (1986). 'The Early Piano in Britain Reconsidered.' In *Early Music*, Vol. 14, No. 4, November, pp. 563–66. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 'Collection Musical Instruments: Square Pianoforte.' (n.d.). In *Carmentis: Online Museum Catalogue of the RMAH*. Brussels: Royal Museums of Art and History. carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=106503&viewType=detailView (retrieved 12 December 2012).
- Collins, D. (1804). *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales; From its First Settlement in January 1788 to August 1801; With Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country, to which are Added, Some Particulars of New Zealand; Compiled, by Permission, from the Mss. of Lieutenant-Governor King; And an Account of the Voyage Performed by Captain Flinders and Mr. Bass*. Vol. 1. London: A. Strahan for T. Cadell & W. Davies.
- 'Collins, David (1756–1810).' (1966). In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/collins-david-1912/text2269 (retrieved 27 June 2010). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 1. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Collins, D. (1975 [1798]). *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, &c. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country*. Edited by B. H. Fletcher. Sydney: A. H. & A. W. Reed.

- Collins, D. (2012 [1798]). *A Voyage to New South Wales with Governor Phillip 1787–1788*. Edited by J. Currey. Malvern, Vic.: The Banks Society.
- Collins, D. and King, P. G. (1798). *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Volume 1. With Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country. To which are Added, Some Particulars of New Zealand; Compiled, by Permission, from the Mss. of Lieutenant-Governor King*. London: T. Cadell, jr & W. Davies. Project Gutenberg eBook, No. 12565. www.gutenberg.org/files/12565/12565-h/12565-h.htm#section1 (retrieved 29 December 2008).
- Colt, C. F. and Miall, A. (1981). *The Early Piano*. London: Stainer & Bell.
- Combaluzier, F. (1957). 'Theodoric Pedrini, lazariste, missionnaire apostolique: Pékin 2 octobre 1727 [Theodoric Pedrini, Apostolic Lazariste Missionary: Peking 2 October 1727].' In *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft [New Journal of Mission Studies]*, Vol. 13, pp. 139–47. Schöneck, Switzerland: Bruder-Klausen-Seminar.
- Connell, R. W. and Irving, T. H. (1980). *Class Structure in Australian History: Documents, Narrative and Argument*. Melbourne: Longman Cheshire.
- Conquest, R. (2005). *The Dragons of Expectation: Reality and Delusion in the Course of History*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Constant, P. (1893). *Les Facteurs d'instruments de musique, les luthiers et la facture instrumentale [Makers of Musical Instruments, Luthiers and Instrument Making]*. Paris: E. Sagot.
- 'Convict Ships—A.' (n.d.). In *Free Settler or Felon?* www.jenwilletts.com/Convict%20Ships.htm (retrieved 28 May 2011).
- Conway, J. (1967). 'Macarthur, Elizabeth (1766–1850).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/macarthur-elizabeth-2387/text3147 (retrieved 3 July 2011). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 2. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Conway, J. (1967). 'Riley, Edward (1784–1825).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/riley-edward-2592/text3557 (retrieved 19 April 2012). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 2. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]

- Conway, L. (n.d.). 'The Advent of the Zumpe Square Pianoforte.' dspace.swem.wm.edu/bitstream/10288/642/1/Piano%20Paper.pdf (retrieved 1 March 2010).
- Cook, J. (1777). *A Voyage towards the South Pole, and Round the World: Performed in His Majesty's Ships the Resolution and Adventure, in the Years 1772, 1773, 1774 and 1775*. 2 vols. London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell.
- Cook, N. (1998). *Music: A Brief Insight*. New York: Sterling Publishing Co.
- Cook, P. (ed.). (1970). *The Australasian Antique Collector*, Vol. 3, No. 9, July–December. Randwick, NSW: John Hannan, Newspaper Typesetters.
- Cooper, J. L. and Powell, A. S. (eds). (2003). 'Sophie Charlotte, 1744–1818.' In *A Princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz as Queen of England*. Last modified 10 November 2003. people.virginia.edu/~jlc5f/charlotte/charlotte.html (retrieved 6 December 2011).
- 'Cornish People.' (n.d.). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cornish_people (retrieved 20 June 2012).
- Cornwall Council. (n.d.). 'Archdeaconry of Cornwall, Probate Court.' Reference no. AP/W/4081. Cornwall Council, Truro. [crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini7...ow.tcl7dsqDb=Catalog7dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=\(\(text\)='George%20Worgan](http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini7...ow.tcl7dsqDb=Catalog7dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=((text)='George%20Worgan) (retrieved 20 March 2011).
- Cornwall Council. (1822). 'Copy of Release, Liskeard, 21 June 1822.' In *X793 Pethybridge Collection*, ref. no. X793/205. Truro: Cornwall Council. [crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=8&dsqSearch=\(\(text\)='Worgan'](http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=8&dsqSearch=((text)='Worgan')) (retrieved 20 August 2011).
- Cornwall Family History Society. (n.d.). *Parish Births, Marriages, Deaths Records, Baptism Records*. Truro, Cornwall: Cornwall Family History Society. members.cornwallfhs.com/research/process.research_baptisms.php (retrieved 22 August 2011).
- Cornwall Record Office. (1811–). 'D/CS 1: Minute Book, Truro Central Schools, 1811 Onwards.' Cornwall Record Office, Truro.
- Cornwall Record Office. (1819). 'FS3/1017: Select Committee on Education of the Poor 1818.' In *British Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. 9, pp. 91–114.
- Cornwall Record Office. (1844). 'Administration Bond, Estate of G. B. Worgan, 6 June 1844.' Truro: Cornwall Record Office.

Corporation of London. (1768). *The Poll of the Livery of London for Four Citizens to Represent the Said City in Parliament, Taken at Guildhall, March 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 1768*. London: John Rivington.

Coulson, M. (n.d.) *Soft and Loud: Jane Austen and the Pianoforte*. The Jane Austen Society of Australia. www.jasa.net.au/l&t/piano.htm (retrieved 31 July 2011).

'Coun-ter-point.' (2012). In *TheFreeDictionary*. Huntingdon Valley, Pa: Farlex Inc. www.thefreedictionary.com/counterpoint (retrieved 13 September 2012).

Covell, R. (1967). *Australia's Music: Themes for a New Society*. Melbourne: Sun Books.

Cox, J. S. (1971). *Hair and Beauty Secrets of the 17th Century: With a 17th C. Conversation between a Periwig-Maker and a Gentleman Buying a Periwig*. Guernsey: Toucan Press.

Crafts. 26 August 1797.

Cramer, C. F. (1971 [1783–89]). 'Claviersonaten und freye Phantasien, nebst einigen Rondos fürs Fortepiano, für Kenner und Liebhaber, componirt von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Fünfte Sammlung.' ['Keyboard Sonatas and Free Fantasias, Together with Some Rondos for the Fortepiano, for Connoisseurs and Amateurs, Composed by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Fifth Collection.'] Review in *Magazin der Music* [*Magazine of Music*], Vol. 2, No. 2, 5 August 1786. Reprint. Hildesheim: George Olms.

Cramer, Y. (2000). 'Preview: This Beauteous, Wicked Place. Letters and Journals of John Grant, Gentleman Convict.' In *NLA News*, Vol. 10, No. 6, March. Canberra: National Library of Australia. www.nla.gov.au/pub/nlanews/2000/march00/grant.html (retrieved 23 November 2008).

Cramer, Y. (2000). *This Beauteous, Wicked Place: Letters and Journals of John Grant, Gentleman Convict*. Canberra: National Library of Australia.

Cranmer, M. (1980). 'Ball, James.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 2, p. 70. London: Macmillan.

Cranmer, M. (1980). 'Beck, Frederick.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 2, pp. 334–5. London: Macmillan.

Cranmer, M. (1980). 'Haxby, Thomas.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 7, p. 326. London: Macmillan.

- Cranmer, M. (1980). 'Zumpe, Johannes.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 20, p. 715. London: Macmillan.
- Cranmer, M. (2001). 'Pohlman, Johannes.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 21. London: Macmillan.
- Cranmer, M. (2001). 'Rolfe.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 21. London: Macmillan.
- Cranmer, M. (2007–13). 'Beck, Frederick.' In *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. www.oxfordmusiconline.com/public/ (retrieved 6 March 2013).
- Craw, H. A. (1964). *A Biography and Thematic Catalogue of the Works of J. L. Dussek (1760–1812)*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Southern California.
- Crewdson, R. (2008). 'An Exceptional Case.' In D. Burrows (ed.), *Handel's Will: Facsimiles and Commentary*, pp. 25–9. London: The Gerald Coke Handel Foundation.
- Cripe, H. (1974). *Thomas Jefferson and Music*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Crisp, D. (1995). 'The Piano in Australia, 1770 to 1900: Some Literary Sources.' In *Musicology Australia, 1995. Volume XVIII*, pp. 25–38. Canberra: Musicological Society of Australia.
- Crittenden, V. (1981). *The Voyage of the First Fleet 1787–1788: Taken from Contemporary Accounts*. Canberra: Mulini Press.
- Crocker, L. G. (ed.). (1969). *The Age of Enlightenment*. New York: Harper Torchbooks.
- Crombie, D. (1995). *Piano*. San Francisco: Miller Freeman Books.
- Cross, E. (2012). 'Early French Explorers and Australia.' In *Napoleon: Revolution to Empire*, p. 39. Melbourne: The Council of Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria.
- Cross, E. (2012). 'Terre Napoléon.' ['Napoleon Land.']. In *Napoleon: Revolution to Empire*. Melbourne: The Council of Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria.
- Cross, E. (2012). 'The Ancien Régime.' In *Napoleon: Revolution to Empire*, p. 49. Melbourne: The Council of Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria.
- Crotch, W. (n.d.). Manuscript lecture notes. MS Col/7/43. Norfolk Record Office.

- Crowley, F. (1980). *A Documentary History of Australia. Volume 1.* Sydney: Thomas Nelson Australia.
- Cudworth, C. (1980). 'Worgan: (2) John Worgan.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 20, p. 530. London: Macmillan.
- Cumes, J. W. C. (1979). *Their Chastity Was Not Too Rigid: Leisure Times in Early Australia.* Melbourne: Longman Cheshire/Reed.
- Cunningham, H. (1980). *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c. 1780 – c. 1880.* London: Croom Helm.
- Cunningham, P. (1827). *Two Years in New South Wales.* 2 vols. Vol. 1. London: Henry Colburn.
- Curnow, B. (2011). 'But Whose Bride was Jennifer Hollow?' In *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 141, September, p. 19. Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society.
- Currey, C. H. (1966). 'Bent, Ellis (1783–1815).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online.* Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bent-ellis-1772/text1985 (retrieved 19 February 2013). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 1. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Currie, J. (ed.). (2009). 'A First Fleet Surgeon at Sydney Cove—Extracts from George Worgan Letters and Diary.' In *Doryanthes. The Journal of History and Heritage for Southern Sydney: A Periodic Southern Sydney Journal of Art, Heritage and Natural History*, Vol. 2, No. 4, November, pp. 24–6. Engadine, NSW: Dharawal Publishers. www.doryanthes.info/DoryanthesNovember09.pdf (retrieved 20 March 2011).
- 'Cyma.' (2012). In *Encyclopædia Britannica Online.* Encyclopædia Britannica Inc. www.britannicom/search?query=cyma (retrieved 5 June 2012).
- Czerny, C. (n.d.). *Czerny's Grand Mosaic for the Piano Forte Founded on Bellini's Norma.* London: George Walker & Son.
- Dale, W. (1913). *Tschudi the Harpsichord Maker.* London: Constable & Company.
- Daley, P. (2012). *Canberra.* Sydney: UNSW Press.
- da Menezes, P. C. e. and Bandeira, J. (2007). *O Rio De Janeiro na Rota dos Mares do Sul [Rio de Janeiro on the South Seas Route].* Rio de Janeiro: Andrea Jakobsson Estúdio.

- Darton, W., jr (1817). *An Entire New Plan of the Cities of London & Westminster, & Borough of Southwark; the East & West India Docks, Regent's Park, New Bridges, &c. &c. with the Whole of the New Improvements of the Present Time*. London: W. Darton, jr. In *London and Environs Maps and Views*. Last updated 31 December 2011. mapco.net/london.htm (retrieved 22 September 2012).
- 'Dating Pianos.' (n.d.). In *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos*. www.squarepianotech.com/?page_id=571 (retrieved 2 August 2012)
- Davey, H. (2011). 'Wesley, Charles (1757–1834).' In *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885–1900*. Vol. 60. Last modified 31 January 2011. [en.wikisource.org/wiki/Wesley,_Charles_\(1757-1834\)_\(DNB00\)](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Wesley,_Charles_(1757-1834)_(DNB00)) (retrieved 11 February 2012).
- 'David Blackburn (1753–1795).' In *Discover Collections at Your State Library*. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Discover Collections. www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/terra_australis/letters/blackburn/index.html (retrieved 27 December 2008).
- Davidson, C. N. and Hatcher, J. (eds). (2002). *No More Separate Spheres! A Next Wave American Studies Reader*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Davison, G. (2000). *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Davison, G. (2007). 'The Panorama and the Printing Press.' In S. Hunt and G. Davison, *Sydney Views 1788–1888 from the Beat Knoblauch Collection*. Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.
- Dawes, W. (1800). 'Receipt Dated 8 March 1800.' *Records of the Royal Greenwich Observatory*, Series 14, Vol. 14, fo. 204. Cambridge: Cambridge University Library.
- Day, D. (2005). *Claiming a Continent: A New History of Australia*. Sydney: Harper Perennial.
- Deachman, C. (2011). 'Fortepiano: A Baroque Treasure.' In *UA/AU University Affairs Affaires universitaires*, 12 September 2011. www.universityaffairs.ca/fortepiano-a-baroque-treasure.aspx (retrieved 17 September 2012).
- Deacon, B. (1989). *Liskeard and its People in the 19th Century*. Redruth, Cornwall: Bernard Deacon.
- 'Dealer Not Guilty Alleged Theft of Pictures.' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 July 1951, p. 5. nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18217516 (retrieved 27 October 2012).

- 'Dealer's Alleged Theft of 18th Century Oil Painting.' *West Australian*, 25 April 1951, p. 1. nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48193834 (retrieved 27 October 2012).
- 'Death Certificate.' (n.d.). Registration no. 1862/000630. Sydney: NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages.
- 'Deaths—001.' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 October 1974. homepages.ihug.co.nz/~ashleigh/1870-1908/1974.October.19.Sydney.Morning.Herald.BMD.html (retrieved 22 May 2013).
- de Ayala, R. and Guéno, J.-P. (eds). (1999). *Illustrated Letters: Artists and Writers Correspond*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- Debenham, M. (2011). '131 Cheapside: The Longman Connection—Abstract.' In *Margaret Debenham Historical Musicology: New Articles*, Art. 1. www.debenham.org.uk/personal/MDresource.php#art1 (retrieved 5 August 2012).
- Debenham, M. (2013). 'London Directory Entries for Musical Instrument Makers in the Years 1763, 1793 and 1794, Identified by the Author from Mortimer's Universal Director, 1763; Wakefield's Directory, 1793, and Kent's Directory, 1794.' In M. Debenham, *Historical Musicology: New Articles*, 4 November 2013. www.debenham.org.uk/personal/MDresource.php (retrieved 21 January 2014).
- Debenham, M. and Cole, M. (2013). 'Pioneer Piano Makers in London, 1737–74: Newly Discovered Documentary Sources.' In *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, Vol. 44, No. 1, April, pp. 55–86. www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14723808.2012.761771#.UcAUMK6d3aI (retrieved 18 June 2013).
- de Botton, A. (2005). *Status Anxiety*. Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin Books.
- de Botton, A. (2007). *The Architecture of Happiness: The Secret Art of Furnishing Your Life*. London: Penguin Books.
- de Bricqueville, E. (1908). *Les vents d'instruments de musique au XVIIIe siècle [Musical Wind Instruments in the Eighteenth Century]*. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. books.google.com.au/books?id=JYWGT6EsAgQC&pg=PA3&lpg=PA3&dq=Eugène+de+Bricqueville+Les+Ventes+d'Instruments+d+e+Musique+au+XVIIIe+Siecle+1908&source=bl&ots=IDM04gwDcq&sig=VyMNyLJfpzLKO1JIE2TUaPvqk2s&hl=en&ei=neLIS-WTH9CHkAX_8-AC&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CBcQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false (retrieved 9 May 2010).

- Decker, T. (2005). 'Scarlattino, the Wonder of His Time: Domenico Scarlatti's Absent Presence in Eighteenth-Century England.' In W. D. Sutcliffe (ed.), *Eighteenth Century Music*, Vol. 2, pp. 273–98. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- de Kriфт, W. B. (1792). *Siege of Quebec, a Sonata for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte with Accompaniments for Violin, Violoncello & Tympano ad libitum*. London: J. Bland.
- de Labillardière, J. (1800). *Voyage in Search of La Pérouse, Performed by Order of the Constituent Assembly, during the Years 1791, 1792, 1793, and 1794*. London: John Stockdale.
- Demarest, M. (2009). 'Pierre Erard Thomas Welsh.' In *Chasing Down Emma: Resolving the Contradictions of, and Filling in the Gaps in, the Life and Work of Emma Hardinge Britten*. ehbritten.blogspot.com.au/2009/02/pierre-erard-thomas-welsh.html (retrieved 10 February 2012).
- de Place, A. (1986). *Le Piano-forte à Paris entre 1760 et 1822 [The Pianoforte in Paris between 1760 and 1822]*. Paris: Aux Amateurs de livres.
- de Pontécoulant, L. A. (1972). *Organographie*. Reprint. Amsterdam: Fritz Knuf.
- de Sancta Maria, T. (1565). *Libro Llamado el Arte de Tañer Fantasia [Book Entitled The Art of the Resounding Fantasia]*. Valladolid: Francisco Fernandez de Cordoua.
- de Silva, P. (2008). *The Fortepiano Writings of Streicher, Dieudonné, and the Schiedmayers: Two Manuals and a Notebook, Translated from the Original German, with Commentary*. Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Dessaix, R. (2010). *Arabesques: A Tale of Double Lives*. Sydney: Pan Macmillan Australia.
- de Val, D. (2002). 'The Ascent of Parnassus: Piano Music for the Home by Clementi and His Contemporaries.' In *Muzio Clementi: Studies and Prospects*, pp. 51–66. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni.
- de Vries, J. (2008). *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- de Vries, S. (2009). *Females on the Fatal Shore: Australia's Brave Pioneers*. Brisbane: Pirgos Press.
- Dibdin, C. (1775). *A Letter on Musical Education*. London.

- Dibdin, C. (1788). *The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin*. Sheffield: J. Gales.
- Dictionary of Australian Artists Online*. www.daa.org.au/.
- Diderot, D. (1955–70). *Correspondence*. Vol. 11. Edited by G. Roth and J. Varloot. 16 vols. Paris: Minuit.
- Diderot, D. and d'Alembert, J. le R. (1785). *Encyclopédie méthodique, ou par ordre de matières par une société de gens de lettres. Arts et métiers [Methodical Encyclopedia, or by Order of Materials by a Society of Men of Letters. Arts and Crafts]*. Paris: Braisson.
- Dieudonné, C. and Schiedmayer, J. L. (1824). *Kurze Anleitung zu einer richtigen Kenntnis und Behandlung der Forte-Pianos [Brief Manual on the Proper Use and Knowledge Concerning the Playing, Tuning, and Maintenance of Fortepianos]*. Stuttgart: G. Hasselbrink.
- Dill, J. G. (2006). *Myth, Fact, and Navigators' Secrets: Incredible Tales of the Sea and Sailors*. Guilford, Conn.: The Lyons Press.
- Dirksen, P. (ed.). (1992). *The Harpsichord and its Repertoire: Proceedings of the International Harpsichord Symposium Utrecht 1990*. Utrecht: STIMU Foundation for Historical Performance Practice.
- 'Discovery Projects Funding Outcomes.' In *Australian Government: Australian Research Council*. www.arc.gov.au/pdf/DP07/DP07_allorgs.pdf (retrieved 3 April 2013).
- di Stefano, G. P. (2008). 'The *Tangentenflügel* and Other Pianos with Non-Pivoting Hammers.' In *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 61, April, pp. 79–104, 242–4. London: The Galpin Society. padis.uniroma1.it/bitstream/10805/1692/2/Di%20Stefano,%20Tangentenflügel%20&%20other%20pianos.pdf (retrieved 23 February 2013).
- Dixon, R. (1986). *The Course of Empire: Neo-Classical Culture in New South Wales 1788–1860*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Doane, J. (1794?). *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794. To be Continued Annually. Containing the Names and Address of the Composers & Professors of Music, with a Number of Amateurs, Vocal and Instrumental*. London: R. H. Westly.
- Doderer, G. & van der Meer, J. H. (2005). *Portuguese String Keyboard Instruments of the 18th Century: Clavichords, Harpsichords, Fortepianos and Spinets*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

- Dolge, A. (1972). *Pianos and their Makers: A Comprehensive History of the Development of the Piano from the Monochord to the Concert Grand Player Piano*. Reprint. New York: Dover Publications. [Originally published, Covina, Calif.: Covina Publishing Co., 1911.]
- ‘Domestic Intelligence.’ *The Sydney Herald*, Vol. 8, 22 October 1838, p. 2. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12859991 (retrieved 22 May 2011).
- Dömötör, I. (2004). *Gentlewomen in the Bush: A Historical Interpretation of British Women’s Personal Narratives in Nineteenth-Century Rural Australia*. PhD dissertation, Monash University, Melbourne.
- Donahue, T. (ed.). (2011). *Essays in Honor of Christopher Hogwood: The Maestro’s Direction*. Lanham, Md: The Scarecrow Press.
- Donaldson, J. (1854). *Agricultural Biography: Containing a Notice of the Life and Writings of the British Authors on Agriculture, from the Earliest Date in 1480 to the Present Time*. London: Printed for the Author.
- Donington, R. (1980). ‘Crescendo.’ In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 5, p. 32. London: Macmillan.
- Douglas, L., Roberts, A. and Thompson, R. (1988). *Oral History: A Handbook*. North Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Dow, W. (1989). *Finchcocks Collection: Catalogue. The Richard Burnett Collection of Historical Keyboard Instruments*. Goudhurst, Kent: Finchcocks.
- Drabkin, W. (1980). ‘Consecutive Fifths, Consecutive Octaves.’ In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 4, pp. 666–7. London: Macmillan.
- ‘Drawing Room.’ (n.d.). In *Historic Houses Trust: Discover Elizabeth Farm*. www.hht.net.au/discover/highlights/guidebooks/elizabeth_farm/ (retrieved 14 April 2012).
- ‘Du Bois and Stodart Important Classical Carved Mahogany Piano Forte.’ (n.d.). In ‘The William F. Bradshaw Collection, 19th Century American Furniture and Decorative Arts—Shapiro Auctioneers.’ *Antiques Reporter*. Armadale, Vic.: John Furphy. www.antiquesreporter.com.au/index.cfm/lot/159133-du-bois-and-stodart-important-classical-carved-mahogany-piano-fo/ (retrieved 12 August 2013).

- du Boscq, J. (1753). *The Accomplish'd Woman. Written in French by M. Du Boscq, a Franciscan, Councillor and Preacher in Ordinary to the King in the Year MDCXXX. Translated by a Gentleman of Cambridge.* 2 vols. London: J. Watts & B. Dod.
- Duffy, C. J. (ed.). (1966). *Catholic Religious and Social Life in the Macquarie Era: As Portrayed in the Letters of Columbus Fitzpatrick.* Sydney: Catholic Press Newspaper Company.
- Duffy, M. (2003). *Man of Honour: John Macarthur—Duellist, Rebel, Founding Father.* Sydney: Macmillan Australia.
- Dunn, C. and McCreadie, M. (n.d.). 'The Founders of a Nation: Australia's First Fleet—1788.' In *The First Fleet*. www.australianhistoryresearch.info/the-first-fleet/ (retrieved 1 December 2011).
- Dunn, C. and McCreadie, M. (2006). 'Australia's First Fleet—1788.' In *IFHAA Shipping Pages: The Founders of a Nation*. Last modified 20 March 2006. www.historyaustralia.org.au/ifhaa/ships/1stfleet.htm (retrieved 14 November 2011).
- Durand, A. and Durand, R. (n.d.). 'Restored Instrument Archive: Square Piano by Longman & Broderip No 306, London 1796.' In *The Music Room Workshop: Makers & Restorers of Early Keyboard Instruments*. www.musicroomworkshop.co.uk/lb306.html (retrieved 20 April 2013).
- Dusseck, J. L. (1793). *The Sufferings of the Queen of France: A Musical Composition, Expressing the Feelings of the Unfortunate Marie Antoinette, during Her Imprisonment, Trial, &c. The Music, Adapted for the Piano Forte, or Harpsichord, Op. 23.* Edinburgh and Soho: Corri & Co.
- Dyer, C. (2009). *The French Explorers and Sydney 1788–1831.* St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press.
- Early Music*. Vol. 12, No. 4, November 1984. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Early Music*. Vol. 13, No. 1, February 1985. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Early Music*. Vol. 14, No. 4, November 1986. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Early Music*. Vol. 23, No. 4, November 1995. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Early Music*. Vol. 32, No. 1, February 2004. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Early Music*. Vol. 36, No. 3, August 2008. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Eastcott, R. (1793). *Sketches of the Origin, Progress and Effects of Music, with an Account of the Ancient Bards and Minstrels. Illustrated with Various Historical Facts, Interesting Anecdotes, & Poetical Quotations*. Bath: S. Hazard.
- Easty, J. (1787). *Pt Jn^o Easty Book: A Memorandum of the Transa of a Voiage from England to Botany Bay in the Scarborough Transport Gaptn Marshall Commander Kept by Me Your Humble Servan John Easty Marine wich Began 1787*. acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?acmsID=412912&itemID=823440 (retrieved 26 June 2010).
- Eco, U. (ed.). (2004). *On Beauty: A History of a Western Idea*. London: Secker & Warburg.
- Edgumbe, R. (1824). *Musical Reminiscences of an Old Amateur for Fifty Years, from 1773 to 1823*. London: W. Clarke.
- Edgeworth, M. (1798). *Practical Education; by Maria Edgeworth, Author of Letters for Literary Ladies, and the Parent's Assistant; and by Richard Lovell Edgeworth, F.R.S. and M.R.I.A.* 2 vols. London: J. Johnson.
- Edgeworth, M. (1811). *Essays on Practical Education; by Maria & R. L. Edgeworth. The Third Edition*. Vol. 2. London: J. Johnson & Co.
- Editors of The American Heritage Dictionaries. (2009). *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. 4th edn. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Edwards, A. M. (1783). 'Prologue.' In *The Enchantress—(Musical Entertainment)*. Dublin: Capel.
- Edwards, A. M. (1787). *Poems on Various Subjects*. Dublin: H. Colbert.
- Edwards, C. (n.d. [ca 1990?]). 'George Bouchier Worgan.' Unpublished text of a lecture given at Liskeard, Cornwall.
- Edwards, C. (1996). *Eighteenth-Century Furniture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Edwards, F. G. (1900). 'Worgan, John (DNB00).' In *Dictionary of National Biography 1885–1900*. Vol. 63. London: Elder Smith. [en.wikisource.org/wiki/Worgan,_John_\(DNB00\)](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Worgan,_John_(DNB00)) (retrieved 21 March 2011).
- Egan, J. (1999). *Buried Alive: Sydney 1788–1792. Eyewitness Accounts of the Making of a Nation*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Ehrlich, C. (1976). *The Piano: A History*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons.
- Ehrlich, C. (1990). *The Piano: A History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Eldershaw, M. B. (1938). *Philip of Australia: An Account of the Settlement of Sydney Cove, 1788–92*. London: Harrup.
- Elie, P. (2012). *Reinventing Bach*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.
- Eliot, G. (1994). *Middlemarch*. Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions. [Originally published Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1871–72.]
- Eliot, T. S. (1920). *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism*. London: Methuen.
- 'Elizabeth Farm.' (n.d.). In *Historic Houses Trust: Venues*. Historic Houses Trust. www.hht.net.au/venues/venues/elizabeth_farm (retrieved 5 July 2012).
- 'Elizabeth Farm: John and Elizabeth Macarthur.' (n.d.). In *Historic Houses Trust: Discover Elizabeth Farm*. www.hht.net.au/discover/highlights/guidebooks/elizabeth_farm (retrieved 4 March 2010).
- 'Elizabeth Macarthur 1767?–1850.' (n.d.). In *Christian History Research: South Land of the Holy Spirit*. Chapter 11: Pioneers. www.chr.org.au/fpbooks/SL/slhs11.html (retrieved 7 November 2010).
- Ellis, A. J. (1880). 'On the History of Musical Pitch.' In *Journal of the Society of Arts*, Vol. 28, 5 March, pp. 293–336. London: Bell & Daldy.
- Ellis, A. J. (1968). *Studies in the History of Music Pitch: Monographs by Alexander J. Ellis and Arthur Mendel*. Amsterdam: Frits Knuf. [Originally published London: Bell & Daldy, 1880.]
- Ellis Bent Correspondence*. MS 195. Canberra: National Library of Australia.
- Ellsworth, T. and Wollenberg, S. (eds). (2007). *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture: Instruments, Performers and Repertoire*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Elmes, J. (1831). 'Broad-St., Golden-Square.' In *A Topographical Dictionary of London and its Environs; Containing Descriptive and Critical Accounts of All the Public and Private Buildings, Offices, Docks, Squares, Streets, Lanes, Wards, Liberties, Charitable Institutions, Commercial, Charitable, Scholastic and Other Establishments, with Lists of their Officers, Patrons, Incumbents of Livings, &c. &c. &c. in the British Metropolis*, p. 88. London: Whittaker, Treacher & Arnot. books.google.com.au/books?id=tjEQAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA103&lpg=PA103&dq=Carnaby+Market+Golden+Square&source=bl&ots=9EwVvNHwxa&sig=AIlKhIq9ruRHhT0U2shbFcWneMc&hl=en&sa=X&ei=k6ZGT9yBIqjjiAfKg_GJDg&ved=0CDYQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=Broad-St.&f=false (retrieved 24 February 2012).

- Elmes, J. (1831). *A Topographical Dictionary of London and its Environs; Containing Descriptive and Critical Accounts of All the Public and Private Buildings, Offices, Docks, Squares, Streets, Lanes, Wards, Liberties, Charitable Institutions, Commercial, Charitable, Scholastic and Other Establishments, with Lists of their Officers, Patrons, Incumbents of Livings, &c. &c. &c. in the British Metropolis*. London: Whittaker, Treacher & Arnot. books.google.com.au/books?id=tjEQAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA103&lpg=PA103&dq=Carnaby+Market+Golden+Square&source=bl&ots=9EwVvNHwxa&sig=AIlKhIq9ruRHhT0U2shbFcWneMc&hl=en&sa=X&ei=k6ZGT9yBIqjiAfKg_GJDg&ved=0CDYQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=Broad-St.&f=false (retrieved 24 February 2012).
- Elsner, J. and Cardinal, R. (eds). (1994). *The Cultures of Collecting: From Elvis to Antiques—Why Do We Collect Things?* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Emerson, R. W. (2000–12 [1858]). 'The Adirondacs: A Journal. Dedicated to My Fellow-Travellers in August, 1858.' In *The Literature Network*. Jalic Inc. www.online-literature.com/emerson/mayday-and-other/2/ (retrieved 3 June 2012).
- 'Empfindsamer Stil.' ['Sensitive Style.']. (2011). In *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc. www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/186088/empfindsamer-Stil (retrieved 17 November 2011).
- 'Empire Style.' (2000–12). In *Infoplease*. London: Pearson Education. www.infoplease.com/ce6/society/A0817282.html (retrieved 14 June 2012).
- Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. (2011). Encyclopædia Britannica Inc. www.britannicom (retrieved 17 November 2011).
- Encyclopédie méthodique*. (1782–91). Paris: Panckoucke.
- 'England, Births & Christenings, 1538–1975, George William Worgan, 1800.' (2012). In *FamilySearch*. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/JWNQ-7FC (retrieved 26 May 2012).
- 'England, Births & Christenings, 1538–1975, Mary Worgan, 1801.' (2012). In *FamilySearch*. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/J3FS-N95 (retrieved 26 May 2012).
- 'English Square Piano ... Instrument by Frederick Beck, Outer Case Attributed to Christopher Fuhrloh.' (n.d.). In *Lady Lever Art Gallery: A Beautiful Building Housing One of the UK's Finest Collections of Fine and Decorative Art*. www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/picture-of-month/displaypicture.asp?venue=7&id=336 (retrieved 28 May 2012).

- 'Entablature.' (2012). In *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc. www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/188759/entablature (retrieved 5 June 2012).
- Érard, S. (1806–19). 'Ledger 1806–1819 (no d'inv. D.2009.1.75).' In *Centre Sébastien Érard*. www.sebastienerard.org/en/?m=registres&r=d2009175&p=429&z=4 (retrieved 21 May 2013).
- Erlich, C. (2002). *The Piano: A History*. 2nd rev. edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Essex, J. (1722). *The Young Ladies Conduct: Or, Rules for Education, under Several Heads: With Instructions upon Dress, Both Before and After Marriage. And Advice to Young Wives*. London: J. Brotherton.
- Euterpe: Or, Remarks on the Use and Abuse of Music, as a Part of Modern Education*. (ca 1778). London: J. Dodsley.
- 'Extracts from Liskeard Borough Court Rolls.' (n.d.). Liskeard Museum, Cornwall. www.museumsincornwall.org.uk/Liskeard-and-District-Museum/Cornwall-Museums/ (viewed 13 April 2011).
- 'Extracts from the Diary of a Dilettante, 7th.' (1828). In *The Harmonicon. 1828. Part the First, Containing Essays, Criticisms, Biography, Foreign Reports, and Miscellaneous Correspondence*. London: Samuel Leigh.
- Fahy, K. (1992). 'Furniture and Furniture-makers.' In J. Broadbent and J. Hughes (eds), *The Age of Macquarie*, pp. 117–32. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press in association with Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.
- Fallows, D. (1980). 'Diminuendo.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 5, p. 480. London: Macmillan.
- Falzon, J. and Cowling, S. (2010). 'Poverty of Ideas in Welfare Crackdown.' In *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 October, [Opinion], p. 13.
- Farquhar, G. (1792). 'The Recruiting Officer, a Comedy, by George Farquhar Esq. Adapted for Theatrical Representation as Performed at the Theatres-Royal, Drury-Lane and Covent-Garden. Regulated from the Prompt Books, by Permission of the Managers.' In *Bell's British Theatre Consisting of the Most Esteemed English Plays*. Vol. 13. London: John Bell. books.google.com/books?id=XjYWAAAAYAAJ&pg=RA3-PA7&dq=the+recruiting+officer&lr=&as_brr=1&ei=AVRhSfz3EIVKIQTr8_GFDA#v=onepage&q=the%20recruiting%20officer&f=false (retrieved 27 June 2010).
- Fastnedge, R. (1955). *English Furniture Styles from 1500 to 1830*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.

- Fétis, F.-J. (1831). 'Memoir of Erard.' In *The Harmonicon*. 11 vols. Vol. 9. London: Samuel Leigh.
- Fidlon, P. G. (1979). *The Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth: Surgeon, Lady Penrhyn 1787–1789*. Sydney: Australian Documents Library.
- Fidlon, P. G. and Ryan, R. J. (eds). (1981). *The Journal and Letters of Lt. Ralph Clark 1787–1792*. Sydney: Australian Documents Library in association with the Library of Australian History. adc.library.usyd.edu.au/data-2/clajour.pdf (retrieved 12 August 2013).
- Find My Past, Deaths 1796–2006*. Vol. 1A, p. 245. www.findmypast.co.uk/records/england-and-wales/details/D/18456151?rT=ALL&e=D&fY=1853&sn=Parsons&fns=Charlotte%20Sophia&snNXF=true&fnNXF=true&mnNXF=true&fnS=F&rg=5&sF=DT&rC=22&_zga_s=1 (retrieved 23 August 2011).
- Find My Past, Record Collections: Marriages—England & Wales 1837–2005: Marriages from Quarter Oct–Nov–Dec 1842*. Vol. 9. www.findmypast.co.uk/records/england-and-wales/details/M/19819028?e=M&fY=1837&tY=2005&iSnV=false&sn=Worgan&iFnsV=false&fns=Charlotte&fnS=F&rC=6&route=X (retrieved 23 August 2011).
- First Fleet Convicts Register—Convict Profile: Francis Carty*. (n.d.). Wollongong, NSW: University of Wollongong, Centre for Educational Development and Interactive Resources. firstfleet.thruhere.net/convict.php?id=120 (retrieved 12 August 2013).
- 'First Fleeter Gravesite Plaque Ceremonies—1976–2010.' (n.d.). In *Fellowship of the First Fleeters*. www.fellowshipfirstfleeters.org.au/graves.html (retrieved 21 August 2011).
- Fisher, H. A. L. (1935). *A History of Europe*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.
- Fiske, R. (1986). *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fitton, E. B. (1856). *New Zealand: Its Present Condition, Prospects and Resources; Being a Description of the Country and General Mode of Life among New Zealand Colonists, for the Information of Intending Emigrants*. London: Edward Stanford. books.google.com.au/books?id=i-pAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Edward+Brown+Fitton&source=bl&ots=miBRnpr5LZ&sig=GgHi7mEBAuyNlbtBpFHDg6zYo08&hl=en&ei=_5dLTJONPIa0vgPMydG7Cg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=8&ved=0CCoQ6AEwBw#v=onepage&q=piano&f=false (retrieved 25 July 2010).

- Fitzgerald, R. and Hearn, M. (1988). *Bligh, Macarthur and the Rum Rebellion*. Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press.
- Fitzgerald, S. (1999). *Sydney: A Story of a City*. Sydney: City of Sydney.
- Fitzpatrick, C. (1966). 'Reminiscences of Catholicism in the Early Days of the Colony: To the Editor of the Argus.' In C. J. Duffy (ed.), *Catholic Religious and Social Life in the Macquarie Era: As Portrayed in the Letters of Columbus Fitzpatrick*. Sydney: Catholic Press Newspaper Company.
- Fitzpatrick, J. C. (ed.). (1931–44). *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745–1799*. Charlottesville: George Washington Resources at the University of Virginia Library. etext.virginia.edu/washington/fitzpatrick/ (retrieved 16 May 2012).
- Flade, E. (1952). *Der Orgelbauer Gottfried Silbermann*. [*The Organ Builder Gottfried Silbermann*.] Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel.
- Fletcher, B. (1989). 'Sydney: A Southern Emporium.' In P. Statham (ed.), *The Origins of Australia's Capital Cities*, pp. 52–78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fletcher, B. H. (1992). 'Religion and Education.' In J. Broadbent and J. Hughes (eds), *The Age of Macquarie*, pp. 75–87. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press in association with Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.
- Flinders, M. (1806). 'Letter to His Mother-in-Law, 9 December 1806.' In *Matthew Flinders, Private letters. Volume 2: 1806–1810, Safe 1/56*. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
- Florida, R. (2003). *The Rise of the Creative Class*. North Melbourne: Pluto Press.
- 'Foreign Institutions and English Judgement.' (1826). In *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review. Volume 32*. London: Baldwin, Cradock & Joy.
- Forkel, J. N. (1781). *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahr 1782* [*Musical Almanac for Germany for the Year 1782*]. Leipzig: im Schwickertschen Verlag. www.archive.org/stream/MusikalischerAlmanachFrDeutschlandAufDasJahr1782/ForkelAlmanach1782Klein#page/n43/mode/2up (retrieved 16 November 2011).
- Forkel, J. N. (1962). *Allgemeine Litteratur der Musik oder Anleitung zur Kenntniss musikalischer Bücher* [*Guidebook to General Literature of Music or Musical Knowledge*]. Reprint. Hildesheim: Georg Olms. [Originally published Leipzig: Schwickert, 1792.]

- 'For Sale.' (n.d.). In *Andrew Lancaster Music Room Antiques*. www.squarepiano.net/forsalesquarepia.html (retrieved 29 December 2013).
- Fowell, N. (1788). 'Letter to his Family, 1786-1790, 12 July 1788.' In *Discover Collections at Your State Library*. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Discover Collections. www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/terra_australis/letters/fowell/index.html (retrieved 30 March 2011).
- Fowler, M. E. (2000). 'Mein, Susan (Sibbald).' In *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. Toronto: University of Toronto/Université Laval. www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=4595&terms=canada (retrieved 26 June 2012).
- Fowles, J. (1848). *Sydney in 1848: Illustrated by Copper-Plate Engravings of its Principal Streets, Public Buildings, Churches, Chapels, etc., from Drawings by Joseph Fowles*. Sydney: J. Fowles. Project Gutenberg of Australia eBook, No. 0600151h. gutenberg.net.au/ebooks06/0600151h.html (retrieved 20 April 2013).
- 'Francis Fowkes.' In *Discover Collections at Your State Library*. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Discover Collections. www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/terra_australis/charts_maps/fowkes/index.html (retrieved 27 December 2008).
- Franklin, M. J. (2012). *Claiming Kin in Calcutta: Jones Discovers the Indo-European Family of Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. fds.oup.com/www.oup.com/pdf/13/9780199532001_chapter1.pdf (retrieved 5 January 2012).
- Fraser, R. (1794). *General View of the County of Cornwall. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By Robert Fraser, A. M. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement*. London: C. Macrae.
- Freeland, J. M. (1976). 'Elizabeth Farm.' In *Historic Homesteads*. Canberra: Australian Council of National Trusts—Heritage Reprints.
- Freeman, B. (1999). 'What's in Your Coop?' In B. Freeman, S. Duke, R. Barlow Jordan, G. Malone and F. Caffey Sandin, *Eggstra Courage for the Chicken Hearted: More Heartfelt Stories to Encourage Confident Living*, pp. 165–9. Tulsa, Okla.: Honor Books.
- 'French Ship Caton (1779): Career (UK).' (n.d.). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/index.html?curid=14419600 (retrieved 25 June 2012).

- Frith, F. (n.d.). *Cornwall County Memories*. www.francisfrith.com/shop/books/1-84589-113-9 (retrieved 29 May 2011).
- Frost, A. (2011). *The First Fleet: The Real Story*. Collingwood, Vic.: Black Inc.
- 'Fruit-Wood.' (2009). In *The Free Dictionary*. Huntingdon Valley, Pa: Farlex Inc. Last updated 2009. www.thefreedictionary.com/fruitwood (retrieved 26 January 2012).
- 'Furniture Styles Thomas Sheraton: Design Books.' (n.d.). christianregency.com/Research/Regency-Finishes-%20Furniture/Thomas%20Sheraton%20Biography.pdf (retrieved 7 August 2011).
- Gábry, G. (1969). *Old Musical Instruments*. Translated by E. Rácz. Budapest: Corvina.
- Gadd, G. S. (2006). 'Famous Early Piano Maker Christopher Gauer (Gauer???)'. In *Ancestry.com: Message Boards*. boards.ancestry.com/surnames.gauer/60/mb.ashx (retrieved 18 July 2010).
- Gadd, G. S. (2006). *The British Art Piano and Piano Design: A Conversation with a Reader with Many Digressions*. Vol. 1. Middlesex: The Very Yellow Press.
- Gaillard, M. (n.d.). 'Door Hardware in the American Historic Record for Archaeological Purposes.' In *Writing*. www.jour.sc.edu/pages/jour564/Sp07/gaillard/doorhardware.html (retrieved 14 November 2011).
- Gaines, J. R. (1981). *The Lives of the Piano*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Gaines, J. R. (2005). *Evening in the Palace of Reason: Bach Meets Frederick the Great in the Age of Enlightenment*. London: Fourth Estate.
- Gall, J. (ed.). (1805). *Clavier-Stimmbuch, oder deutliche Anweisung wie jeder Musikfreund sein Clavier-Flügel, Fortepiano und Flügel-Fortepiano selbst stimmen, reparieren, und bestmöglichst gut erhalten könne*. [The Book of Keyboard Instrument Tuning, or Instructions for Friends of Music Concerning the Tuning, Repairing and Keeping in the Best Possible Condition Wing-shaped Keyboard Instruments, Square Fortepianos, and Wing-shaped Fortepianos.] Vienna: Carl Kupffer.
- Gall, J. (2011). 'Australia's Earliest Existing Printed Document.' In *Library of Dreams: Treasures from the National Library of Australia*, pp. 40–1. Canberra: National Library of Australia.
- Gall, J. (2011). *Library of Dreams: Treasures from the National Library of Australia*. Canberra: National Library of Australia.

- 'Gallery.' (n.d.). In *Lucy Coad Square Piano Conservation and Repair*. www.squarepiano.co.uk/gallery.html (retrieved 16 December 2013).
- 'Gallery.' (2011–13). In *The Early Piano: Authentic Materials for Early Keyboard Instruments*. Dorchester, Dorset: Early Piano. earlypiano.co.uk/2013/1778-adam-beyer-square-piano/ (retrieved 23 February 2013).
- Galliard, J. E. (trans. and attrib.) and Strunk, O. (ed.). (1946). 'François Raguenet: A Comparison between the French and Italian Music.' In *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 3, July, pp. 411–36. New York: G. Schirmer.
- Gammage, B. (2011). *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- 'Ganer, Christopher.' (2011–13). In *Materials for Early Keyboard Instruments*. Dorchester, Dorset: Early Piano. earlypiano.co.uk/2013/ganer-christopher/ (retrieved 16 March 2013).
- Garland, M., Ramsland, J. and Pammer, F. (2007). *The Swiss Swagman. Theodore Müller's Nineteen Years in Australia*. Melbourne: Brolga Publishing.
- Gascoigne, J. (1994). *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gay, P. (1966–69). *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*. 2 vols. New York: Knopf.
- Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*. No. 4755, 11 December 1756.
- Geminiani, F. (2009 [1751]). *The Art of Playing on the Violin Containing All the Rules Necessary to Attain to a Perfection on that Instrument, with Great Variety of Compositions, which will also be Very Useful to those who Study the Violoncello, Harpsichord &c ... Opera. IX*. Facsimile edn. London: Travis & Emery Music Bookshop.
- General Advertiser*. 31 March 1746.
- General Advertiser*. 1 February 1780.
- 'General Note.' (n.d.). In *Manuscripts, Oral History & Pictures*. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales. acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=442206 (retrieved 10 October 2011).
- General Register Office. (1838). 'Ref. March 1838 Quarter, Liskeard District.' Vol. 9, p. 117.
- 'George Astor.' (n.d.). www.dillonmusic.com/historic_fifes/astor_fifes.htm (retrieved 8 May 2010).

- 'George Bouchier Worgan (1757–1838).' (n.d.). In *Discover Collections at Your State Library*. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Discover Collections. www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/terra_australis/journals/worgan/index.html (retrieved 28 February 2012).
- 'Georgian London Addresses and Locations: Merchants—Music.' (n.d.). www.georgianindex.net/London/l_merchants.html (retrieved 9 May 2010).
- Geraghty, R. C. R. (2006). *A Change in Circumstance: Individual Responses to Colonial Life*. PhD dissertation, The University of Sydney. ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/2123/2190/3/GeraghtyRebeccapdf (retrieved 13 April 2012).
- Gergis, J., Brohan, P. and Allan, R. (2010). 'The Weather of the First Fleet Voyage to Botany Bay, 1787–1788.' In *Weather*, Vol. 65, No. 12, December, pp. 315–19. Melbourne: Royal Meteorological Society & Crown.
- Gergis, J., Garden, D. and Fenby, C. (2010). 'The Influence of Climate on the First European Settlement of Australia: A Comparison of Weather Journals, Documentary Data and Paleoclimate Records 1788–1793.' In *Environmental History*, pp. 1–23. envhis.oxfordjournals.org/ (retrieved 7 July 2010).
- Gergis, J., Karoly, D. J. and Allan, R. J. (2009). 'A Climate Reconstruction of Sydney Cove, New South Wales, Using Weather Journal and Documentary Data, 1788–1791.' In *Australian Meteorology and Oceanographic Journal*, Vol. 58, June, pp. 83–98. Melbourne: Australian Bureau of Meteorology.
- Germann, S. (2002). 'Central Germany—The Undecorated Saxon Tradition.' In H. Schott (ed.), *The Historical Harpsichord*, Vol. 4, p. 74. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press.
- Germann, S. (2002). 'Germany—Northern Germany Keyboards and Keywells.' In H. Schott (ed.), *The Historical Harpsichord*, Vol. 4. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press.
- Germann, S. (2002). 'Germany—Southern Germany Black and White Negative Contrasts.' In H. Schott (ed.), *The Historical Harpsichord*, Vol. 4. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press.
- Germann, S. (2002). 'Masterpieces of Furniture.' In H. Schott (ed.), *The Historical Harpsichord*, Vol. 4, p. 90. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press.
- Germann, S. (2002). 'Stands: The Jacendale Anomaly.' In H. Schott (ed.), *The Historical Harpsichord*, Vol. 4, pp. 84–90. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press.
- Germann, S. (2002). 'Veneers and Marquetry.' In H. Schott (ed.), *The Historical Harpsichord*, Vol. 4, pp. 81–4. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press.

- Gessell, P. (2012). 'Artful Blogger: On July 25, You, Too, Can Hear the 1777 Piano that was Once 'Fit for a Queen.' In *Ottawa Magazine*, 15 February. www.ottawamagazine.com/culture/artful-blogger/2011/07/21/a-piano-fit-for-a-queen/ (retrieved 21 February 2012).
- Gétreau, F. (2001). 'The Conservation of Acoustical Specifications: A Long Ignorance in Public Collections of Ancient Instruments.' In *Proceedings of the 17th International Congress on Acoustics*. Rome. hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/06/14/58/PDF/The_Conservation_of_acoustical_specifications.pdf (retrieved 4 March 2010).
- Gilbert, W. S. and Sullivan, A. (1878). *H.M.S. Pinafore*. London: First produced at the Opera Comique.
- Gill, D. (ed.). (1981). *The Book of the Piano*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Gillard, B. (2005). *Cornwall and Scilly Urban Survey: Liskeard—Historic Characterisation for Regeneration HES Report Number 2005R049*. Truro, Cornwall: Historic Environment Service, Cornwall County Council.
- Gillen, M. (1989). *The Founders of Australia: A Biographical Dictionary of the First Fleet*. Sydney: Library of Australian History.
- Gjerdingen, R. O. (2007). *Music in the Galant Style*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Glaeser, E. (2011). *Triumph of the City*. London: Macmillan.
- 'Glee (Music).' (2012). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. Last modified 21 September 2012. [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Glee_\(music\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Glee_(music)) (retrieved 11 October 2012).
- Godfrey, W. H. and Marcham, W. McB. (eds). (1952). 'The Foundling Hospital and Doughty Estates: XCIV—Millman Street.' In *Survey of London. Volume 24: The Parish of St Pancras. Part 4: King's Cross Neighbourhood*, pp. 25–55. www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=65561 (retrieved 8 October 2012).
- Godley, C. (1951). *Letters from Early New Zealand, 1850–1853*. Edited by J. R. Godley. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs.
- Godt, I. (2010). *Marianna Martines: A Woman Composer in the Vienna of Mozart and Haydn*. Edited by J. A. Rice. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.
- Golby, J. M. and Purdue, A. W. (1984). *The Civilisation of the Crowd: Popular Culture in England, 1750–1900*. London: Batsford Academic and Educational.

- Goldsmith, M. L. (1947). *Soho Square*. London: Sampson Low, Marston.
- Gontar, C. (2000–04). 'Empire Style, 1800–1815.' In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art. www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/empr/hd_empr.htm (retrieved 14 June 2012).
- Good, E. M. (1982). *Giraffes, Black Dragons, and Other Pianos: A Technological History from Cristofori to the Modern Concert Grand*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Good, E. M. (2001). *Giraffes, Black Dragons, and Other Pianos: A Technological History from Cristofori to the Modern Concert Grand*. 2nd rev. edn. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Goodway, M. and Odell, J. S. (1987). 'The Metallurgy of 17th and 18th-Century Music Wire.' In H. Schott (ed.), *The Historical Harpsichord*, Vol. 2. Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press.
- Goodwin, C. (ed.). (2009). *FoMRHI Quarterly*, No. 113, August. Albury, UK: Fellowship of Makers and Researchers of Historical Instruments Quarterly.
- Goold, M. (2008). *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*. London: Corvo Books.
- Gore, A. (1837). *Ann Gore Letters*. MS 1677. Canberra: National Library of Australia.
- Gott, T. and Huguenaud, K. (2012). 'Introduction.' In *Napoleon: Revolution to Empire*, pp. 1–5. Melbourne: The Council of Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria.
- Gotwals, V. (trans.). (1968). *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits. A Translation with Introduction and Notes by Vernon Gotwals of the Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn by G. A. Griesinger and the Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn by A. C. Dies*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Gramit, D. (2002). *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1848*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gray, A. J. (1966). 'Brewer, Henry (1739–1796).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/brewer-henry-1825/text2095 (retrieved 29 May 2010). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 1. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Gray, T. and Mason, W. (1855). *The Correspondence of Thomas Gray and William Mason with Letters to the Rev. James Brown, D. D. Master of Pembroke College*. Edited by J. Mitford. 2nd edn. London: Richard Bentley.

- Green, G. (2004). 'History of Piano Tuning.' In *UK Piano Page*. www.uk-piano.org/history/piano-tuner-history.html (retrieved 24 December 2008).
- Green, T. (2009). *Inquisition: The Reign of Fear*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books.
- Greenfield, J. (2003). 'Behrent, John (fl. 1775).' In R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia*, p. 48. New York: Routledge.
- Greenhalgh, M. (1979). Liner notes for *Henry Purcell: King Arthur or the British Worthy*. Vinyl disc: HM 252/53. Harmonia Mundi France.
- Greenspan, R. E. (n.d.). 'Urology.' In *Collect Medical Antiques*. collectmedicalantiques.com/gallery/urology (retrieved 11 February 2012).
- Gregory, M. J. (1984–2008). 'Settlement of Australia. The First Fleet. 1787–1788.' In *Ahoy—Mac's Web Log: Naval, Maritime, Australian History and More*. Garden Island, NSW: The Naval Historical Society of Australia. www.ahoy.tk-jk.net/macslog/ConvictShips.html (retrieved 9 December 2008).
- Griffin, G. (ed.). (2003). *Annabella of Lake Innes Port Macquarie*. Port Macquarie, NSW: Port Macquarie Historical Society.
- Grist, P. (2011). 'The First Fleet Journal of Arthur Bowes Smythe.' In *Library of Dreams: Treasures from the National Library of Australia*, p. 30. Canberra: National Library of Australia.
- Grizzard, F. E. (2002). *George Washington: A Biographical Companion*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO.
- Groce, N. (1991). *Musical Instrument Makers of New York: A Directory of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Urban Craftsmen*. Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press.
- Groom, L. (2009). *First Fleet Artist: George Raper's Birds & Plants of Australia. Recently Discovered First Fleet Masterpieces*. Canberra: National Library of Australia.
- Grover, D. S. (1976). *The Piano: Its Story from Zither to Grand*. London: Hale.
- Guest, H. (2007). *Empire, Barbarism and Civilisation: James Cook, William Hodges and the Return to the Pacific*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 'Guildhall, St Andrew Holborn: Register of Baptisms 1761–1770.' (n.d.). P69/AND2/A/01/Ms 6667/11. In *Ancestry.com.au*. search.ancestry.com.au/iexec?htx=View&r=5544&dbid=1624&iid=31281_A100921-

00007&fn=Charlotte%20Sophia&ln=Worgan&st=r&pid=5026697&ppvhash=5b7ba1096326263ac03cac514faa44a7000039b50c42ae8b (retrieved 24 August 2011).

Guinness Book of Musical Facts and Figures. (1976). London: Guinness PLC.

Günther, M. (2006). *Der frühe Tafelklavierbau im Gebiet des Mains und mittleren Rheins zwischen 1760 und 1790: Geschichte und Bauweise des Tafelklaviers* [Early Square Piano Construction in the Main and Rhine Areas about 1760–1790: History and Architecture of the Square Piano]. Edited by B. E. Hans Schmuhl and M. Lustig. Augsburg and Michaelstein.

Gustafson, B. (1987). 'The Music of Madame Brillon: A Unified Manuscript Collection from Benjamin Franklin's Circle.' In *Notes*, Second Series, Vol. 43, No. 3, March, pp. 522–43. Middleton, Wis.: Music Library Association. www.jstor.org/pss/898197 (retrieved 23 May 2010).

Gutman, R. W. (2001). *Mozart: A Cultural Biography*. London: Pimlico.

Gwynn, D. (2007). *The Renatus Harris Organ at St Botolph Aldgate*. Worksop, Nottinghamshire: Ratcliff & Roper.

Gyger, A. (1999). *Civilising the Colonies: Pioneering Opera in Australia*. Sydney: Pellinor.

H, J. C. (1819). 'Einige Worte über die musikalische Bildung jetziger Zeit [Some Words about the Musical Education of the Present Time].' In *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* [General Music Journal], Vol. 21, No. 34. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

'H5300 Square Pianoforte, Longman & Broderip, London, 1782–1798.' (n.d.). In *Powerhouse Museum Collection Search 2.53*. Sydney: Powerhouse Museum. www.powerhousemuseum.com/collection/database/?irn=242869 (retrieved 20 April 2013).

Haase, G. and Krickeberg, D. (1981). *Tasteninstrumente des Museums: Keilklaviere. Clavichorde. Hammerklaviere* [Keyboard Instruments of the Museum: Wedge Pianos. Clavichords. Pianofortes]. Berlin: Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung.

Hackett, D. (n.d.). '(2) An Early London Square Piano Made for Longman, Lukey & Co. c. 1774.' In *Restoration Diaries*. www.friendsofsquarepianos.co.uk/square-piano-history/ (retrieved 8 December 2012).

Hackett, D. (n.d.). '(3) Christopher Ganer, Square Piano c. 1795.' In *Restoration Diaries*. www.friendsofsquarepianos.co.uk/square-piano-history/ (retrieved 8 December 2012).

- Hackett, D. (n.d.). 'Restoration Diary for Longman Lukey & Co Square Piano: November 2010–April 2012.' In *Restoration Diaries*. www.friendsofsquarepianos.co.uk (retrieved 8 December 2012).
- Hackett, D. (n.d.). 'The Square Piano in England 1766–1866.' In *Square Piano History*. Friends of Square Pianos. www.friendsofsquarepianos.co.uk/square-piano-history/ (retrieved 8 December 2012).
- 'Hackney Carriage.' (2013). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. Last modified 28 February 2013. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hackney_carriage (retrieved 1 March 2013).
- Hafner, K. (2009). *A Romance on Three Legs: Glenn Gould's Obsessive Quest for the Perfect Piano*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Haine, M. (1985). *Les Facteurs d'instruments de musique à Paris au XIXe siècle: Des artisans face à l'industrialisation [Makers of Musical Instruments in Paris in the Nineteenth Century: Artisans Confront Industrialisation]*. Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles.
- Hainsworth, D. R. (1967). 'Lord, Simeon (1771–1840).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lord-simeon-2371/text3115 (retrieved 5 December 2008). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 2. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Hainsworth, D. R. (1981). *The Sydney Traders: Simeon Lord and His Contemporaries, 1788–1821*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press.
- Hall, J. (1996). *The Re-Fashioning of Fashionable Society: Opera-Going and Sociability in Britain, 1821–1861*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Hall, M. (2014). '2. George William Worgan (1800–1862).' In *Random Genealogy*. randomfh.blogspot.com.au/2014/08/children-of-george-worgan.html (retrieved 29 May 2015).
- Hall, M. (2014). '5. John Parsons Worgan (1805–?).' In *Random Genealogy*. randomfh.blogspot.com.au/2014/08/children-of-george-worgan.html (retrieved 29 May 2015).
- Hall, M. (2014). '6. poss. Charlotte Elizabeth Worgan (1815–1864)' in *Random Genealogy* (Friday, 8 August 2014) (retrieved 29 May 2015).
- Hammond, F. (2007). 'Ottoboni, Pietro (1667–1740).' In I. Kipnis (ed.), *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Encyclopedia*, p. 354. New York: Routledge.

Handel Reference Database 1764. ichriss.ccarh.org/HRD/1764.htm (retrieved 8 October 2012).

Hanks, S. E. (1969). 'Pantaleon's Pantalon: An 18th Century Musical Fashion.' In *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 2, April, pp. 215–28. New York: G. Schirmer.

'Hanover Square Gardens: A History of the Locality.' (n.d.). London: City of Westminster. [Information on signage located at Hanover Square, London.]

Hanson, A. M. (2009). *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harding, R. E. M. (1933). *The Piano-Forte: Its History Traced to the Great Exhibition of 1851*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harding, R. E. M. (1978). *The Piano-Forte: Its History Traced to the Great Exhibition of 1851*. 2nd edn. Old Woking, Surrey: The Gresham Press.

Hardy, J. (1980). *Lord Leverhulme*. Exhibition catalogue. London: The Royal Academy.

Harley, J. (1994). *British Harpsichord Music. Volume 2: History*. Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press.

Harris, E. T. (2008). 'Handel and His Will.' In D. Burrows (ed.), *Handel's Will: Facsimiles and Commentary*, pp. 9–24. London: The Gerald Coke Handel Foundation.

Harris, E. T. (2014). *George Frideric Handel: A Life with Friends*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Harrison, C. and Wood, P. (eds). (2003). *Art in Theory 1900–2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

Harrison, C., Wood, P. and Gaiger, J. (eds). (1998). *Art in Theory 1815–1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

Hart, D. (2011). *Fred Williams: Infinite Horizons*. Canberra: National Gallery of Australia.

Hawkesworth, J. (1773). *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and Successively Performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Carteret, Captain Wallis, and Captain Cook, in the Dolphin, the Swallow, and the Endeavour: Drawn up from the Journals which were Kept by the Several Commanders, and from the Papers of Joseph Banks, Esq; By John Hawkesworth, LL.D. In*

- Three Volumes. Illustrated with Cuts, and a Great Variety of Charts and Maps Relative to Countries Now First Discovered, or Hitherto but Imperfectly Known.* London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell.
- Hawkins, J. (1776). *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music.* London: T. Payne & Son.
- Hawkins, J. (2012). 'Transported to the Colonies: A Look at High Society in Van Diemen's Land through the Decorative Arts.' In *World of Antiques & Art*, No. 82, February–August, pp. 66–71. Sydney: André Jaku.
- Hayes, W. (1757). *Catches, Glees & Canons for Three, Four, and Five Voices.* Oxford: Printed for the Author.
- Hayes, W. (1765). *A Supplement to the Catches, Glees, and Canons Lately Published by Dr. Hayes.* Oxford: Printed for the Author.
- Haynes, B. (2002). *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of 'A'.* Lanham, Md, and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press.
- Haynes, B. (2007). *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-First Century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hayward, C. H. (1970). *Antique or Fake? The Making of Old Furniture.* London: Evans Brothers.
- Hertz, D. (2003). *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Heaton, B. (n.d.). 'Histori Piano.' In *LCD Music Entertainment*, p. 70. www.lcd88musicent.co.cc/2010/02/histori-piano.html (retrieved 8 May 2010).
- Heaton, B. (2011). '1774.' In *A History of the Piano, 1157–2011.* The UK Piano Pages, 1996–2012. www.piano-tuners.org/history/history_1.html (retrieved 4 March 2013).
- 'Hebe (Mythology).' (2012). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia.* Last modified 25 August 2012. [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hebe_\(mythology\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hebe_(mythology)) (retrieved 10 October 2012).
- 'Heinrich Hertz.' (n.d.). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia.* en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinrich_Rudolf_Hertz (retrieved 23 June 2012).
- Hellwig, F. (1979). 'Restoration and Conservation of Historical Musical Instruments.' In C. Ford (ed.), *Making Musical Instruments.* New York: Pantheon Books.

- Hellwig, F. (1985). *Atlas der Profile an Tasteninstrumenten vom 16. bis zum Frühen 19. Jahrhundert* [Atlas of the Profiles of Keyboard Instruments from the 16th to the Early 19th Century]. Frankfurt am Main: E. Bochinsky.
- Henderson, G. and Stanbury, M. (1988). *Sirius Past and Present*. Sydney: Collins.
- Henkel, H. (1992). 'Remarks on the Use of the Sixteen-Foot in Historical Harpsichord Building.' In P. Dirksen (ed.), *The Harpsichord and its Repertoire: Proceedings of the International Harpsichord Symposium Utrecht 1990*, pp. 9–20. Utrecht: STIMU Foundation for Historical Performance Practice.
- Henkel, H. (2000). *Lexicon Deutscher Klavierbauer* [Lexicon of German Piano Makers]. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Erwin Bochinsky.
- Henty, W. (2010). *Diary of a voyage to V. D. L. 26 Aug. 1836 – 6 Jan. 1837*. eprints.utas.edu.au/10943/2/henty.pdf (retrieved 7 June 2015).
- Hepplewhite, A. & Co. (1788). *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide; Or Repository of Designs for Every Article of Household Furniture, in the Newest and Most Approved Taste: Displaying a Great Variety of Patterns ... in the Plainest and Most Enriched Styles; With a Scale to Each, and an Explanation in Letter Press*. London: I. & J. Taylor.
- Herrup, C. B. (1999). *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 'Hertz.' (n.d.). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hertz (retrieved 23 June 2012).
- Hess, A. G. (1953). 'The Transition from Harpsichord to Piano.' In *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 6, July. London: The Galpin Society.
- Hetherington, J. (1995). *Melba: A Biography*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Heyde, H. (1976). *Historische Musikinstrumente im Bachhaus Eisenach* [Historic Musical Instruments in the Bach House in Eisenach]. Eisenach: Bachhaus.
- Hibbert, C. (2003). *The House of Medici: Its Rise and Fall*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Higginson, A. H. (1937). *Peter Beckford Esquire. Sportsman, Traveller, Man of Letters. A Biography*. London: Collins.

- Highfill, P. H., Burnim, K. A. and Langhans, E. A. (eds). (ca 1973–ca 1993). *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Highfill, P. H., Burnim, K. A. and Langhans, E. A. (eds). (1984). *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*. Vol. 10. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Hildebrandt, D. (1988). *Piano Forte: A Social History of the Piano*. New York: George Braziller.
- Hill, A. J. (1974). 'Macarthur, Sir Edward (1789–1872).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/macarthur-sir-edward-4059/text6465 (retrieved 5 February 2012). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 5. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Hill, D. (2008). *1788: The Brutal Truth of the First Fleet; The Biggest Single Overseas Migration the World Had Ever Seen*. Sydney: William Heinemann.
- Hill, W. (26 July 1790). 'Letter to Jonathan Watham Esqr. of Bond Court, Walbrook, London. Dated Sydney Cove, Port Jackson, 26 July 1790.' MLMSS 6821. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
- Hiller, J. A. (1768). *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend* [Weekly News and Notes on Music]. Vol. 3. Leipzig: Im Verlag der Zeitungs Expedition.
- Hiller, J. A. (ed.). (1770). *Musikalische Nachrichten und Anmerkungen auf das Jahr 1770. Erster Theil* [Musical News and Notes for the Year 1770. First Part]. Leipzig: Im Verlag der Zeitungs Expedition. books.google.com.au/books?id=vRdDAAAACAAJ&pg=RA1-PA103&lpg=RA1-PA103&dq=Musikalische+Nachrichten+und+Anmerkungen&source=bl&ots=yxx5iR-QBL&sig=tSadDyctm0mw5kVL98wFb3EDklQ&hl=en&sa=X&ei=b34pUZPWBoWXiAea9oG4AQ&ved=0CFsQ6AEwBw (retrieved 24 February 2013).
- Hill-Reid, W. S. (1957). *John Grant's Journey: A Convict's Story 1803–11*. London: Heinemann.
- Himmelheber, G. (1989). *Biedermeier 1815–1835: Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, Decorative Arts, Fashion*. Munich: Prestel-Verlag.
- 'Hindmarsh, Sir John (1785–1860).' (1966). In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian

National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hindmarsh-sir-john-1315/text2809 (retrieved 3 June 2012). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 1. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]

Hine, J. D. (1966). 'Bradley, William (1757?–1833).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bradley-william-1820/text2085 (retrieved 19 December 2008). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 1. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]

Hipkins, A. J. (1975). *A Description and History of the Piano-Forte and of the Older Keyboard Stringed Instruments*. 3rd edn. Detroit: Detroit Reprints in Music. [Originally published London: Novello, Ewer, 1896.]

Hirst, J. (2008). *Freedom on the Fatal Shore: Australia's First Colony*. Melbourne: Black Inc.

Hirt, F. J. (1955). *Meisterwerke des Klavierbaus*. Olten: Graf.

Hirt, F. J. (1968). *Stringed Keyboard Instruments 1440–1880*. Boston: Boston Book and Art Shop.

Historical Records of New South Wales. (1892–1901). Series 1, Vol. 1 (1788–96), Part 2. Sydney: Government Printer.

Historical Records of Australia. (1914–25). Series 1. Canberra: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament.

Historic Houses Trust: Discover Elizabeth Farm. www.hht.net.au/discover/highlights/guidebooks/elizabeth_farm (retrieved 4 March 2010).

'Historic Sites.' (1992). In *Book of Australian Facts*, pp. 292–5. Sydney: Reader's Digest Australia.

HMS Rose Foundation. (1996–98). *The Great Cabin*. Wellfleet, Mass.: HMS Rose Foundation. www.tallshiprose.org/info/tour/virtualtour/greatcabin.html (retrieved 14 December 2008).

'HMS Sirius 1788.' (2010). In *Convict Stockade: A Wiki Site for Australian Convict Researchers*. Ozgenie Research. Last modified 10 March 2010. www.historyaustralia.org.au/twconvic/HMS+Sirius+1788 (retrieved 5 July 2012).

Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser. No. 414, 9 April 1824. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/123336 (retrieved 21 May 2013).

- Hobbs, H. (1914). *The Piano in India; How to Keep it in Order. Practical Information on Repairing, Tuning, Packing and Treatment of Pianofortes in Tropical Climates*. Calcutta: Spink & Co.
- Hogwood, C. (1976). Liner notes for *Johann Christian Bach: Four Sonatas & Two Duets*, Op. 18. Vinyl disc: DSLO 516. L'Oiseau-Lyre/Decca.
- Hogwood, C. (1979). *The Pianoforte Past: Queen Street Galleries*. [Exhibition catalogue.] Sydney: Musica Viva.
- Hogwood, C. (1983). 'A Note on the Frontispiece: A Concert in Cambridge.' In C. Hogwood and R. Lockett (eds), *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hogwood, C. (1995). *Handel*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Hogwood, C. (2005). *Handel: Water Music and Music for the Royal Fireworks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hogwood, C. and Lockett, R. (eds). (1983). *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hollis, H. R. (1973). *Pianos in the Smithsonian Institution: Smithsonian Studies in History and Technology No. 27*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Hollis, H. R. (1975). *The Piano: A Pictorial Account of its Ancestry and Development*. Newton Abbot: David & Charles.
- Holmes, G. (1982). *Augustan England: Professions, State and Society, 1680–1730*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Holt, J. (1838). *Memoirs of Joseph Holt: General of the Irish Rebels, 1798*. 2 vols. London: Henry Colburn.
- Holy Bible, New Living Translation*. (2007). 2nd edn. Carol Stream, Ill.: Tyndale House Publishers.
- Hony, V. (2012). 'Deep Down Under in the Cook's Kitchen.' In *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 143, March, pp. 15–17. Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society.
- Hook, J. (ca 1785). *Guida di musica: Being a Complete Book of Instructions for Beginners on the Harpsichord or Piano Forte ... to which is Added Twenty-Four Progressive Lessons ...* Op. 37. London: J. Preston.

- Hoorn, J. (2007). *Australian Pastoral: The Making of a White Landscape*. Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Arts Centre Press.
- Hoover, C. A. (n.d.). 'History of the Instrument: North America to 1860.' In *Pianoforte*, pp. 20–1. Granada: Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios. www.conservatorioangelbarrios.com (retrieved 3 October 2012).
- Hoover, C. A. (2001). 'Pianos for Sale.' In J. Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano*, pp. 32–6. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene.
- Hoover, C. A. (2001). 'The Workshop.' In J. Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene.
- Hoover, C. A., Rucker, P. and Good, E. M. (2001). *Piano 300: Celebrating Three Centuries of People and Pianos. Compiled from the Exhibition Produced by the National Museum of American History at the Smithsonian International Gallery March 9, 2000 – October 21, 2001*. Washington, DC: The National Museum of American History, Behring Center, Smithsonian Institution & NAMM-International Music Products Association.
- Hopfner, R. (2004). Liner notes for *Claviorganum*. CD: 20 004. Acanthus International Records.
- Hopkins, E. (1989). *Birmingham: The First Manufacturing Town in the World, 1760–1840*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Horwood, R. (1792–99). *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining. Showing Every House*. London: R. Horwood. www.oldlondonmaps.com/horwoodpages/horwood10502.html (retrieved 24 February 2012).
- Hoskins, I. (2009). *Sydney Harbour: A History*. Sydney: UNSW Press.
- Howard, J. (1777). *The State of Prisons in England and Wales: With Preliminary Observations, and an Account of Some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals*. Warrington, UK: William Eyres.
- Howard, P. (2003). *Gluck: An Eighteenth-Century Portrait in Letters and Documents*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hubbard, F. (1992). *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Hudson, W. J. (1993). 'Casey, Richard Gavin Gardiner (1890–1976).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/casey-richard-

- gavin-gardiner-9706/text17135 (retrieved 9 July 2010). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 13. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Hudspeth, W. H. (1948). *The Theatre Royal, A Brief History*. Hobart: The Mercury Press.
- Hughes, J. N. (1984). *John Macarthur and the Wool Industry*. Glebe, NSW: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.
- Hughes, J. N. (1984). *The Journal and Letters of Elizabeth Macarthur 1789–1798*. Glebe, NSW: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.
- Hughes, J. N. (1984). *The Macarthurs: A Brief Family History*. Glebe, NSW: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.
- Hughes, R. (2003). *The Fatal Shore*. London: Vintage.
- Hughson, D. (1817). 'Walk 15th.' In *Walks through London, Including Westminster and the Borough of Southwark with the Surrounding Suburbs; Describing Everything Worthy of Observation in the Public Buildings, Places of Entertainment, Exhibitions, Commercial and Literary Institutions, &c. Forming a Complete Guide to the British Metropolis, in Two Volumes*. London: W. Clarke. In *London and Environs Maps and Views*. Last updated 31 December 2011. mapco.net/london.htm (retrieved 22 September 2012).
- Huguenaud, K. (2012). 'Pierre-Philippe Thomire: Bronzier.' In *Napoleon: Revolution to Empire*, p. 248. Melbourne: The Council of Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria.
- Humphries, C. and Smith, W. C. (1954). *Music Publishing in the British Isles from the Beginning until the Middle of the Nineteenth Century: A Dictionary of Engravers, Printers, Publishers and Music Sellers, with a Historical Introduction*. London: Cassell.
- Hunt, D. (n.d.). *International Register of Surviving Grand Pianos Manufactured by John Broadwood and Sons 1787–1837*. homepage.ntlworld.com/david.hunt7/Broadwood.html (retrieved 27 September 2009).
- Hunt, D. (2009). 'Instrument History/Research: Longman & Broderip Squares.' In *Early Piano—Fortepiano Information Site*. Last updated December 2009. homepage.ntlworld.com/david.hunt7/#anchor82632 (retrieved 20 April 2013).
- Hunt, D. (2013). *Girt: The Unauthorised History of Australia*. Collingwood, Vic.: Black Inc.

- Hunt, S. (2007). 'First Impressions.' In S. Hunt and G. Davison, *Sydney Views 1788–1888 from the Beat Knoblauch Collection*. Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.
- Hunt, S. (2007). 'The Collector and the Collection.' In S. Hunt and G. Davison, *Sydney Views 1788–1888 from the Beat Knoblauch Collection*. Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.
- Hunt, S. and Davison, G. (2007). *Sydney Views 1788–1888 from the Beat Knoblauch Collection*. Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.
- Hunter, J. (1793). *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, with the Discoveries which Have Been Made in New South Wales and in the Southern Ocean Since the Publication of Phillip's Voyage, Compiled from the Official Papers; Including the Journals of Governors Phillip and King, and of Lieut. Ball; And the Voyages from the First Sailing of the Sirius in 1787, to the Return of that Ship's Company to England in 1792*. London: John Stockdale.
- Hunter, J. (1968). *An Historical Journal, 1787–1792*. Edited by J. Bach. Sydney: Angus & Robertson.
- Hunter, J. (1968 [1793]). *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, with the Discoveries which Have Been Made in New South Wales and in the Southern Ocean Since the Publication of Phillip's Voyage, Compiled from the Official Papers; Including the Journals of Governors Phillip and King, and of Lieut. Ball; And the Voyages from the First Sailing of the Sirius in 1787, to the Return of that Ship's Company to England in 1792*. Edited by J. Bach. Sydney: Angus & Robertson. [Originally published London: John Stockdale.]
- Hunter, J. (2005 [1793]). *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, by John Hunter*. Project Gutenberg eBook, No. 15662. www.gutenberg.org/files/15662/15662-h/15662-h.htm (retrieved 9 December 2008). [Originally published London: John Stockdale.]
- Hunter, J. (2006). *The First Fleet Journal of John Hunter: October 1786–August 1788*. Edited by J. Currey. Malvern, Vic.: The Banks Society.
- Hyde, D. (1998). *New-Found Voices: Women in Nineteenth-Century English Music*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- 'IGI Individual Record: Southwest Pacific: George William Worgan.' (2008). In *Family Search International Genealogical Index v.5.0*. The Church of

- Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. www.familysearch.org/Eng/Search/IGI/individual_record.asp?recid=100270699015&lds=1®ion=16®ionfriendly=Southwest+Pacific&frompage=99 (retrieved 26 May 2012).
- Illiano, R. and Sala, L. (eds). (2010). *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution*. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni.
- Illiano, R., Sala, L. and Sala, M. (eds). (2002). *Muzio Clementi: Studies and Prospects*. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni.
- Illustrated London News*. 21 December 1844.
- 'Images of England, Number 382226.' (n.d.). In *English Heritage National Monuments Record*. www.imagesofengland.org.uk/details/default.aspx?id=382226 (retrieved 22 August 2011).
- Ingram, T. (1987). 'An Eccentric Magpie Bites the Dust.' In *The Australian Financial Review Sydney*, 26 February 1987.
- 'Insolvency Business.' *The Australasian Chronicle*, Vol. 4, No. 577, 18 July 1839, p. 3. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/4232819 (retrieved 21 August 2011).
- 'Insolvency Business.' *Sydney Morning Herald*, Vol. 16, 20 July 1843, p. 2. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12420946 (retrieved 22 May 2011).
- 'Insolvency Proceedings Friday.' *Sydney Morning Herald*, Vol. 16, 15 July 1843, p. 2. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12418782 (retrieved 26 May 2012).
- Intelligenz-Blatt zur Allgemeinen Musikalischen Zeitung*. [*Intelligence-Sheet to the General Music Journal*]. [Leipzig]. No. XVII, November 1811.
- Irvine, N. (1988). *The Sirius Letters: The Complete Letters of Newton Fowell, Midshipman and Lieutenant Aboard the Sirius Flagship of the First Fleet on its Voyage to New South Wales*. Sydney: Fairfax Library.
- Irving, D. (2005). 'Early Music Performance in Australia: Cultural and Historical Perspectives.' In *Aesthetics and Experience in Music Performance*, pp. 55–62. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press.
- Irving, H. (2009). 'Haydn and the Consequences of Presumed Effeminacy.' In I. Biddle and K. Gibson (eds), *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, pp. 95–112. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.

- Isacoff, S. (2011). *A Natural History of the Piano: The Instrument, the Musicians—From Mozart to Modern Jazz and Everything in Between*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Jackson, J. H. and Pelkey, S. C. (eds). (2005). *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Jago, R. (1984). *Some Notes on the Windsor Academy*. Unpublished.
- James, C. (2007). *Cultural Amnesia: Notes in the Margin of My Time*. London: Picador.
- James, L. (2006). *The Middle Class: A History*. London: Little, Brown.
- James, P. B. (1933). *Early Keyboard Instruments: From their Beginnings to the Year 1820*. London: Peter Davies.
- James, P. B. (1970). *Early Keyboard Instruments: From their Beginnings to the Year 1820*. London: The Tabard Press.
- Jenkins, J. (1998). *Mozart and the English Connection*. London: Cygnus Arts.
- Jensen, E. (2009). 'Clock Runs Out for Father of Sydney's Antique Trade.' In *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 November 2009. Trove, National Library of Australia. www.smh.com.au/national/clock-runs-out-for-father-of-sydneys-antique-trade-20091118-impr.html (retrieved 9 and 12 July 2011).
- Jinman, R. (2003). 'What Oscar Did Next.' In *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 March 2003. www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/03/14/1047583697734.html (retrieved 29 November 2013).
- John Broadwood & Sons*. www.ukpiano.org/broadwood/serial_numbers.html#Grands (retrieved 27 September 2009).
- 'John Broadwood and Sons, London, 1786.' (n.d.). In *Period Piano Company*. www.periodpiano.com/square_pianos/Broadwood-square-piano-1786.html (retrieved 26 November 2013).
- Johnson, J. E. (1980). 'Cimarosa, Domenico.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 4, pp. 398–403. London: Macmillan.
- Jokiharju, O. (2010). 'Reflections of Instrumental Chamber-Music Making in Sheet Music Related to the Gluck-Calzabigi Operatic "Reform".' In R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 391–408. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni.
- Jones, J. (2010). *Robert Dowling: Tasmanian Son of Empire*. Canberra: National Gallery of Australia.

- Jones, J. P. (2011 [5 October 1785]). 'Letter to Thomas Jefferson.' In *Australia in the 18th Century*. Potts Point, NSW: Hordern House. www.hordern.com/hh/pdf/catalogues/Australia18thCenturyHordernHouseRareBooks.pdf (retrieved 20 May 2012).
- Jones, P. W. (1980). 'Battishill, Jonathan.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 2, pp. 293–4. London: Macmillan.
- Jones, P. W., Williams, P. and Mould, C. (2001). 'Longman & Broderip.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 15. London: Macmillan.
- Jones, W. (1781). *Physiological Disquisitions; Or, Discourses on the Natural Philosophy of the Elements*. London: J. Rivington & Sons, G. Robinson, D. Prince, Merrills, W. Keymer, Drummond & W. Watson.
- Jones, W. (1784). *A Treatise on the Art of Music; In which the Elements of Harmony and Air are Practically Considered, and Illustrated by an Hundred and Fifty Examples in Notes Many of them Taken from the Best Authors: The Whole being Intended as a Course of Lectures, Preparatory to the Practice of Thorough-Bass and Musical Composition*. Colchester: W. Keymer.
- Jones, W. (1848). *The Works of the Right Reverend George Horne, D. D. Late Lord Bishop of Norwich; To which are Prefixed Memoirs of His Life, Studies, and Writings by William Jones, M.A., F.R.S. One of His Lordship's Chaplains, and Long His Most Intimate and Confidential Friend*. New York: Onderdonk & Co.
- Jordan, R. (2002). *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.
- Jordan, R. (2012). 'Music and Civil Society in New South Wales, 1788–1809.' In *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 98, No. 2, December 2012, pp. 193–210. search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=060857840144157;res=IELHSS (retrieved 10 December 2013).
- Jorgensen, O. H. (1991). *Tuning: Containing the Perfection of Eighteenth-Century Temperament, the Lost Art of Nineteenth-Century Temperament and the Science of Equal Temperament, Complete with Instructions for Aural and Electronic Tuning*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
- Junghanns, H. (1984). *Der Piano- und Flügelbau [The Piano- and Grand pianos]*. Frankfurt am Main: E. Bochinsky/Das Musik Instrument.
- Jupp, J. (ed.). (2001). *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Juramie, G. (1947). *Histoire du Piano*. Paris: Editions Prisma.

- Kaplan, S. L. (1996). *The Bakers of Paris and the Bread Question 1700–1775*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Karskens, G. (2010). *The Colony: A History of Early Sydney*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Kassler, M. (2004). *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall 1710–1818. Compiled by Michael Kassler from Lists Prepared for William Hawes, D. W. Krummel and Alan Tyson and from Other Sources*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Kassler, M. (2011). 'Chronology of the Business Begun by James Longman.' In M. Kassler (ed.), *The Music Trade in Georgian England*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
- Kassler, M. (ed.). (2011). *The Music Trade in Georgian England*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
- Kaul, S. (2000). *Poems of Nation, Anthems of Empire: English Verse in the Long Eighteenth Century*. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia.
- Kean, K. (2003). 'Hammer.' In R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia*, pp. 161–3. New York: Routledge.
- Keating, P. (2009). 'Eulogy: On the Death of Bill Bradshaw.' 25 November. www.keating.org.au/persistent/catalogue_files/products/20091125eulogybillbradshaw.pdf (retrieved 21 May 2013).
- Keller, G. (1707). *A Compleat Method for Attaining to Play a Thorough Bass upon Either Organ, Harpsichord, or Theorbo-Lute, by the Late Famous Mr. Godfrey Keller. With a Variety of Proper Lessons and Fugues ... and a Scale for Tuning the Harpsichord or Spinet, All Taken from His Own Copies which He Did Design to Print*. London: John Cullen.
- Keller, T. (2012). *Every Good Endeavor: Connecting Your Work to God's Work*. New York: Dutton.
- Keneally, T. (2006). *A Commonwealth of Thieves: The Sydney Experiment*. Sydney: Random House Australia.
- Keneally, T. (2007). *A Commonwealth of Thieves: The Improbable Birth of Australia*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Keneally, T. (2009). *Australians: Origins to Eureka. Volume 1*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

- Kennedy, N. (2009). 'Elizabeth Macarthur (1766–1850): The First Educated Lady to Set Foot in Australia.' In *Brand Lady.com: Empowering Women the World Over*. www.brandlady.com/Women%20Past/article_2559_Elizabeth-Macarthur.html (retrieved 4 March 2010).
- Kenyon, N. (2011). 'Bach for All.' In *The Guardian*, 12 March. www.guardian.co.uk/music/2011/mar/12/js-bach-music-nicholas-kenyon (retrieved 30 November 2011).
- Kern, E. J. (1980). *Harpichord Design and Construction*. New York: van Nostrand Reinhold Company.
- Kerr, J. (1985). 'The Architecture of Scientific Sydney.' In *Sydney Architecture: The Observatory*. www.sydneyarchitecture.com/ROC/ROC008.htm (retrieved 3 January 2012).
- Kettlewell, J. (1700). *A Companion for the Penitent: And for Persons Troubled in Mind. Consisting an Office for the Penitent, to Carry on their Reconciliation with God. And a Tryal or Judgment of the Soul, for Discovering the Safety of their Spiritual Estate. And an Office for Persons Troubled in Mind, to Settle Them in Peace and Comfort*. London: Robert Kettlewell.
- Kibby, B. (2011). 'Square Piano Legs & Stands.' In *UK Piano Page: Piano Discussion Forums*. Piano History Centre. www.piano-tuners.org/piano-forums/viewtopic.php?f=2&t=9454 (retrieved 2 August 2012).
- Kidd, R. (1980). 'Koczwara, Frantisek.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 10, p. 136. London: Macmillan.
- Kidson, F. (2010). *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers: London, Provincial, Scottish, and Irish. From Queen Elizabeth's Reign to George the Fourth's, with Select Bibliographical Lists of Musical Works Printed and Published within that Period*. La Vergne, Tenn.: n.p. [Originally published London: W. E. Hill & Sons, 1900.]
- King, A. D. (1995). *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- King, H. (1980). *Elizabeth Macarthur and Her World*. Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- King, J. (1982). *The First Fleet: The Convict Voyage that Founded Australia 1781–88*. South Melbourne: Macmillan Australia.
- King, P. G. (1980). *The Journal of Philip Gidley King: Lieutenant, R. N. 1787–1790*. Edited by P. G. Fidlon and R. J. Ryan. Sydney: Australian Documents Library.

- Kipnis, I. (ed.). (2007). *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Routledge.
- Kirkpatrick, R. (1977). *Domenico Scarlatti*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Klima, S., Bowers, G. and Grant, K. S. (eds). (1988). *The Memoirs of Dr Charles Burney 1726–1796*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Knape, W. and Charters, M. R. (1980). '(4) Carl Friedrich Abel.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 1, pp. 11–14. London: Macmillan.
- Knight, R. J. B. and Frost, A. (eds). (1983). *The Journal of Daniel Paine 1794–1797*. Sydney: Library of Australian History in association with the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.
- Koch, H. C. (1964). *Musikalisches Lexikon [Musical Lexicon]*. Hildesheim: George Olms. [Originally published Frankfurt am Main: August Hermann beim Jüngern, 1802.]
- Koda, H. and Bolton, A. (2007). *Dangerous Liaisons: Fashion and Furniture in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Kok, R.-M. (2010). 'Family and Gender in Imaginative Children's Music.' In R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 269–77. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni.
- Koster, J. (1993). 'Foreign Influences in French Eighteenth-Century Piano Making.' In *Early Keyboard Journal*, Vol. 11, pp. 7–38. Athens, Ga: The Southeastern Historical Keyboard Society and University of Georgia School of Music.
- Koster, J. (1994). *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Kottick, E. L. (2003). *A History of the Harpsichord*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Kottick, E. L. and Lucktenberg, G. (eds). (1997). *Early Keyboard Instruments in European Museums*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Kotzwara, F. (1996 [ca 1788]). *The Battle of Prague: A Favourite Sonata for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin, Violoncello (etc.)*. St Albans, UK: Corda Music Publications.

- Kriwaczek, R. (2006). *An Incomplete History of the Art of Funerary Violin*. London: Duckworth Overlook.
- Krummel, D. W. and Sadie, S. (eds). (1990). *Music Printing and Publishing*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Kuykendall, E. (2012). 'The Peters' Pianoforte: A Rare John Broadwood & Son 6-Octave Piano Brought to Life.' In *Tudor Place Times*, Spring, pp. 4–6. Washington, DC: Tudor Place Foundation. www.tudorplace.org/Documents/Press%20Newsletters%20+%20Eblasts/TPTimes-2012-2.pdf (retrieved 10 March 2013).
- 'Ladye Park or Our Lady in the Park Liskeard—Cornwall.' (2001). Last updated 2 May 2009. www.penzancecatholicchurch.org/ladyepark/ (retrieved 21 August 2011).
- Lamburn, E. (1938). *A Short History of a Great House—Collard & Collard*. London: Private Printing.
- Landes, D. (1969). *The Unbound Prometheus: Technology and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Landon, H. C. R. and Jones, D. W. (1988). *Haydn: His Life and Music*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Land Tax Register 1798*. Inv. no. AD 103/228. Truro: Cornwall Record Office.
- Lang, J. (n.d.). *Botany Bay, True Tales of Early Australia, XIII: Music A Terror*. gutenberg.net.au/ebooks06/0607441.txt (retrieved 18 January 2009).
- Langford, P. (1989). *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727–1783*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Langford, P. (2000). *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character, 1650–1850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Langwill, L. G. and Waterhouse, W. (eds). (1993). *The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors*. London: T. Bingham.
- Latcham, M. (1995). 'Vanitas: On Preserving and Restoring Old Instruments.' In *Early Music*, Vol. 23, No. 4, November. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Latcham, M. (2000). 'The Stringing, Scaling and Pitch of Hammerflügel Built in the South German and Viennese Traditions, 1780–1820.' In *Musikwissenschaftliche Schriften [Music Science]*, Vol. 34. Munich and Salzburg: Musikverlag Katzbichler.
- Latcham, M. (ed.). (2006). *Musique ancienne—instruments et imagination. Actes des Rencontres Internationales harmoniques, Lausanne 2004 [Old Musical Instruments and Imagination. Proceedings of the International Harmonics Meeting, Lausanne 2004]*. Berne: Peter Lang.
- Latcham, M. (2006). 'The Apotheosis of Merlin.' In M. Latcham (ed.), *Musique ancienne—instruments et imagination. Actes des Rencontres Internationales harmoniques, Lausanne 2004 [Old Musical Instruments and Imagination. Proceedings of the International Harmonics Meeting, Lausanne 2004]*. Berne: Peter Lang.
- Latcham, M. (2007). 'Cut-Off Bar.' In I. Kipnis (ed.), *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Encyclopedia*, p. 112. New York: Routledge.
- Latcham, M. (2008). 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties.' In *Early Music*, Vol. 36, No. 3, August. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Latcham, M. (2010). 'In the Shadow of the Enlightenment; Stringed Keyboard Instruments in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* and its Derivatives.' In *Musique, Images, Instruments: Revue française d'organologie et iconographie musicale: Le pianoforte en France 1780–1820 [Music, Images, Instruments: Review of French Organology and Musical Iconography: The Pianoforte in France 1780–1820]*, Vol. 11, pp. 3–63. Paris: CNRS éditions. exchange.irpmf-cnrs.fr/site/MII-11_Latcham.pdf (retrieved 21 June 2012).
- Laurence, A. (2004). *The Broadwood Barless Piano: A History*. Skipton, Yorkshire: Pioneer Press.
- Laurence, A. (2010). *Five London Piano Makers*. London: Alastair Laurence in association with Keyword Press.
- L'Avant-coureur. Feuille Hebdomadaire, Où sont annoncés les objets particuliers des Sciences & des Arts, le cours les nouveautés des Spectacles, & les Livres nouveaux en tout genre [The Forerunner. Weekly Leaf, Where are Advertised Special Objects of Science & Arts, the Price of New Entertainment, & New Books of All Kinds]*. (6 April 1761). Paris: M. Lambert.
- L'Avant-coureur. Feuille Hebdomadaire, Où sont annoncés les objets particuliers des Sciences & des Arts, le cours les nouveautés des Spectacles, & les Livres*

- nouveaux en tout genre* [*The Forerunner. Weekly Leaf, Where are Advertised Special Objects of Science & Arts, the Price of New Entertainment, & New Books of All Kinds*]. (25 February 1771). Paris: M. Lambert.
- Lawrence, C. (2001). *Swooning: A Classical Music Guide to Life, Love, Lust and Other Follies*. Sydney: Knopf.
- Lawrence, V. B. (1988). *Strong on Music: Resonances 1836–1850*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lawson, V. (1991). 'The Other Man in Keating's Life.' In *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 March 1991. www.antiquerepairs.com.au/antique-repairs-articles/1991/3/23/the-other-man-in-keatings-life/ (retrieved 21 May 2013).
- 'Laycock, Thomas (1756?–1809).' (1967). In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/laycock-thomas-2339/text3049 (retrieved 18 July 2010). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 2. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Lea-Scarlett, E. J. (1971). 'Music, Choir and Organ.' In P. O'Farrell (ed.), *St. Mary's Cathedral Sydney, 1821–1971*, pp. 157–76. Sydney: Devonshire Press for St Mary's Cathedral.
- Ledbetter, D. (1990). *Continuo Playing According to Handel: His Figured Bass Exercises*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lee, I. (1906). *The Coming of the British to Australia 1788–1829*. London: Longmans, Green & Co. Project Gutenberg eBook, No. 0900091h. gutenberg.net.au/ebooks09/0900091h.html (retrieved 27 June 2010).
- Lee, S. (ed.). (1895). *Dictionary of National Biography*. New York: Macmillan & Co.
- Le Huray, P. and Day, J. (eds). (1988). *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lemme, K. F. W. (1802). *Anweisung und Regeln zu einer zweckmäßigen Behandlung englischer und deutscher Pianofortes und Klaviere nebst einem Verzeichnisse der be idem Verfasser vorgefertigten Sorten von Pianofortes und Klavieren* [*Instructions and Rules for the Appropriate Treatment of English and German Pianofortes and Keyboard Instruments Together with a Directory of the Makers of Prefabricated Varieties of Pianofortes and Pianos*]. Braunschweig: n.p.

- Leppert, R. (1987). 'Music, Domestic Life and Cultural Chauvinism: Images of British Subjects at Home in India.' In R. Leppert and S. McClary (eds), *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception*, pp. 63–104. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leppert, R. (1988). *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leppert, R. (1997). 'Social Order and the Domestic Consumption of Music: The Politics of Sound in the Policing of Gender Construction in Eighteenth-Century England.' In A. Bermingham and J. Brewer (eds), *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text*, pp. 514–34. Milton Park, Oxon: Routledge.
- Leppert, R. and McClary, S. (eds). (1987). *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 'Letter from Governor Phillip to Joseph Banks, 26 July 1790.' In *Sir Joseph Banks Electronic Archive*. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales. Series 37.12.
- 'Letter Written by a Convict Woman, 14 November 1788.' (1893). In F. M. Bladen (ed.), *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Vol. 2. Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer.
- Levitin, D. J. (2008). *This is Your Brain on Music: Understanding a Human Obsession*. London: Atlantic Books.
- Lhotsky, J. (1835). *A Journey from Sydney to the Australian Alps, Undertaken in the Months of January, February, and March, 1834: Being an Account of the Geographical & Natural Relation of the Country Traversed, its Aborigines, &c. Together with Some General Information Respecting the Colony of New South Wales*. Sydney: n.p.
- Libin, L. (n.d.). Liner notes for *Childhood Memories: Music for Younger Pianists*. CD: 80590-2. New World Records. www.newworldrecords.org/linernotes/80590.pdf (retrieved 4 August 2012).
- Libin, L. (1985). *Keynotes: Two Centuries of Piano Design*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Libin, L. (2009). 'Early Piano Culture in America.' In R. Bösel (ed.), *La Cultura del Fortepiano 1770–1830—Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Roma*,

- 26–29 maggio 2004 [*The Culture of Fortepiano 1770–1830: Proceedings of the International Conference in Rome 26–29 May 2004*], pp. 379–87. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni.
- Lightwood, J. (1937). *Samuel Wesley, Musician: The Story of His Life*. London: Epworth Press.
- Lindley, M. (1980). 'Pitch.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 14, pp. 779–86. London: Macmillan.
- 'Listing Text.' (n.d.). In *British Listed Buildings, History in Structure: Daniel's Cottage, Attached Walls and Earth Closet, Liskeard*. www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-382225-daniel-s-cottage-attached-walls-and-eart (retrieved 22 August 2011).
- 'Local Court—Strathalbyn. Tuesday, February 9.' (1869). *The South Australian Advertiser*, Vol. 11, No. 3225, 15 February 1869, p. 3. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31986650 (retrieved 29 November 2011).
- Loesser, A. (1954). *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Loesser, A. (1990). *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History*. New York: Dover Publications.
- London Evening Post*. 29 February – 3 March.
- 'Longman & Broderip c. 1792.' (n.d.). In 'Pianos for Sale.' *Friends of Square Pianos*. www.friendsofsquarepianos.co.uk/pianos-for-sale/longman-broderip-c-1792/ (retrieved 22 May 2013).
- 'Longman & Broderip.' (n.d.). In *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos*. www.squarepianotech.com/?page_id=571 (retrieved 2 August 2012).
- Lorente, A. (1672). *El porqué de la música: en que se contiene los quatro artes de ella, canto llano, canto de organo, contrapunto y composición: y en cada uno de ellos nuevas reglas, razon abreviada, en utiles preceptos, aun en las cosas mas dificiles, tocantes a la harmonia musica: numerosos exemplos con clara inteligencia, en estilo breve, que al maestro deleytan, y al discipulo ensenan, cuya direccionse verá sucintamente anorada antes del prologo* [*The Precepts of Music*]. Alcalá de Henares: Nicolás de Xamares.
- '"Lost" 16th Century Portrait Located: Dealer Charged.' *The Advertiser*, 25 April 1951. nla.gov.au/nla.news-article45704473 (retrieved 27 October 2012).

- Lott, M. S. (2010). 'Changing Audiences, Changing Styles: String Chamber Music and the Middle Class.' In R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 175–239. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni.
- Lovell, T. (1997). 'Subjective Powers? Consumption, the Reading Public, and Domestic Woman in Early Eighteenth-Century England.' In A. Bermingham and J. Brewer (eds), *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text*, pp. 23–41. Milton Park, Oxon: Routledge.
- Lowinsky, E. E. (1965). *Taste, Style, and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Music*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.
- 'Lugard Lieutenant.' (2015). In *Free Settler or Felon?*. www.jenwilletts.com/searchaction.php?page=2&surname=lugard&ship=&firstname= (retrieved 29 May 2015).
- Lynravn, N. S. (1966). 'Grant, John (1776–)'. In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/grant-john-2118/text2677 (retrieved 29 September 2010). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 1. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- McAfee, R. J. (1981). 'Dawes' Meteorological Journal.' In *Bureau of Meteorology Historical Note No. 2*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- Macaonghus, J. (2011). 'A Global Family.' In *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 141, September, pp. 26–8. Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society.
- Macarthur, E. (7 March 1791). 'Letter to Bridget Kingdon.' In *Macarthur Papers 10*, A2906, Mfm CY940. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
- Macarthur, E. (18 November 1791). 'Letter to Her Mother.' In *Macarthur Papers 12*. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
- Macarthur, E. (1794). 'Letter to Bridget Kingdon, 23 August 1794.' In *Macarthur Papers 12*. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
- Macarthur, E. (1804). 'Letter to John Piper, 15 April 1804.' In *Piper Papers*, A256, Vol. 3, pp. 419–30. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
- Macarthur, E. (1809). 'Letter to Garnham Blaxcell, 20 May 1809.' In *Macarthur Papers 10*. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

- Macarthur, E. (1984). *The Journal and Letters of Elizabeth Macarthur, 1789–1798*. Introduced and transcribed by J. N. Hughes. Glebe, NSW: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.
- Macarthur, J. (1810). 'Letter to Elizabeth Macarthur, 3 August 1810.' In *Macarthur Papers 2*. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
- Macarthur-Onslow, S. (1973). *Some Early Records of the Macarthurs of Camden*. Adelaide: Rigby Limited in association with John Currey, O'Neil.
- Macarthur Papers*. A2909. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
- McCarthy, P. (2006). 'The Drumming Out Air (Rogues March).' In *The Yorkshire Corps of Drums & Guild of Army Drummers*. Updated 3 July 2011. www.yorkshirecorpsofdrums.com/rogues.html (retrieved 13 July 2011).
- Macaulay, A. (1982). *A Check-List of the Plucked and Hammered Stringed Instruments in the Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments*. Edinburgh: Reid School of Music.
- McCulloch, D. (1996). *Frantisek Kotzwara Op. 23 The Battle of Prague: A Favourite Sonata for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin, Violoncello (etc.)*. Edited by Ian Gammie with an Introduction by Derek McCulloch. St Albans, UK: Corda Music Publications.
- McDonald, J. (2000). 'From Gallipoli to Homebush Bay.' In *Federation: Australian Arts and Society 1901–2001*, pp. 10–15. Canberra: National Gallery of Australia.
- McDonald, P. R. (2005). 'Campaign Furniture—And a "New" Acquisition for Old Government House.' In *Reflections: The National Trust Quarterly. The National Trust's Diamond Anniversary Issue: A Celebration of People, Places and Campaigns, May–July*. www.oldgovernmenthouse.com.au/uploads/PDFs/Reflections/Reflections_May-Jul_05.pdf (retrieved 18 July 2011).
- McDonnell, D. (2011). 'Nautical Treasures.' In *Ocean*, No. 38, July–August. Pyrmont, NSW: Ocean Media.
- McGairl, P. (n.d.) 'Worgan.' hemingways-studio.org/dictionary/Entries/S30570.htm (retrieved 29 May 2010).
- McGairl, P. (2001). 'Worgan: (3) John Worgan.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 27, p. 566. London: Macmillan.

- McGairl, P. (2001). 'Worgan: (7) George Worgan.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 27, p. 567. London: Macmillan.
- McGeary, T. (1992). "'Warbling Eunuchs": Opera, Gender, and Sexuality on the London Stage, 1705–1742.' In *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research*, 2nd series, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 1–22. Denver: University of Denver, Department of English.
- Macgibbon, J. (2007). *Piano in the Parlour: When the Piano was New Zealand's Home Entertainment Centre*. Wellington: Ngaio Press.
- McGuanne, J. P. (1901). 'The Humours and Pastimes of Early Sydney.' In *The Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. 1. Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society.
- McGuire, P. (1948). *The Australian Theatre: An Abstract and Brief Chronicle in Twelve Parts*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Macintyre, S. (2010). *A Concise History of Australia*. 3rd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mackness, G. (1937). *Admiral Arthur Phillip: Founder of New South Wales, 1738–1814*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson.
- Mackness, G. (1954). *Some Letters of Rev. Richard Johnson, B. A. First Chaplain of New South Wales*. Sydney: D. S. Ford. www.chr.org.au/fpbooks/otherarticles/letters%20by%20Rev%20Richard%20Johnson%20Part%20I.pdf (retrieved 1 January 2013).
- McKendrick, N., Brewer, J. and Plumb, J. H. (eds). (1982). *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Mackenzie, J. G. (1984–2008). 'Settlement of Australia. The First Fleet. 1787–1788.' In *Ahoy—Mac's Web Log: Naval, Maritime, Australian History and More*. Garden Island, NSW: The Naval Historical Society of Australia. www.ahoy.tk-jk.net/macslog/ConvictShips.html (retrieved 9 December 2008).
- Mackerras, C. (1967). 'Wallace, William Vincent (1812–1865).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wallace-william-vincent-2769/text3935 (retrieved 8 July 2010; 4 June 2012). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 2. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- McKinlay, B. (1988). *Sweet & Simple Pleasures: Australian Entertainment in Colonial Times*. Melbourne: Collins Dove.

- Macquarie, L. (1979). *Lachlan Macquarie Governor of New South Wales, Journals of His Tours in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land 1818–1822*. Sydney: Library of Australian History in association with the Library Council of New South Wales.
- McQueen, H. (2004). *A New Britannia*. St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press.
- Macquoid, P. and Edwards, R. (1954). *The Dictionary of English Furniture*. 3 vols. London: Barra Books.
- MacSween, N. (2012). 'Short Biography of James Henry Houston.' In *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos*. www.squarepianotech.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/11Short-Biography-of-James-Henry-Houston.pdf (retrieved 29 December 2014).
- Mactaggart, P. and Mactaggart, A. (eds). (1986). *Musical Instruments in the 1851 Exhibition: A Transcription of the Entries of Musical Interest from the Official Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of Art and Industry of All Nations, with Additional Material from Contemporary Sources*. Welwyn, UK: Mac & Me Ltd.
- McVeigh, S. (1989). *The Violinist in London's Concert Life, 1759–1784. Felice Giardini and His Contemporaries*. New York: Garland.
- McVeigh, S. (1993). *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McVeigh, S. (2001). 'Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London.' In R. Strohm (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, pp. 139–76. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers.
- McVeigh, S. (2004). 'Introduction.' In S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh (eds), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- McVeigh, S. (2010). 'Industrial and Consumer Revolutions in Instrumental Music: Markets, Efficiency, Demand.' In R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 3–35. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni.
- Maffei, S. (1711). 'Nuova invenzione di un gravicembalo col piano e forte [New Invention of a Harpsichord with Soft and Loud].' In *Giornale di Litterati d'Italia [Litterati Newspaper of Italy]*, Vol. 5, pp. 144–59. Venice.
- Mainstone, M. (2006 [1976]). 'Roubiliac's Handel.' In *V&A Masterpieces*. Rev. London: Victoria and Albert Museum. www.vam.ac.uk/collections/sculpture/stories/Roubiliac's_Handel/index.html (retrieved 16 February 2010).

- 'Making One of Canada's Oldest Pianos Playable.' (n.d.). In *Columns: The Link—Culture Corner*. Radio Canada International. www.rcinet.ca/english/column/the-link---culture-corner/15-42_2011-08-01-making-one-of-canada-s-oldest-pianos-playable/ (retrieved 22 February 2012).
- Mann, D. D. (1811). *Present Picture of New South Wales*. London: J. Booth.
- Manze, A. (1999–2007). Liner notes for *Geminiani: Concerti Grossi VII–XII (After Corelli, Op. 5)*. CD: HMX 2907262. Harmonia Mundi France.
- Marcuse, S. (1975). *Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Markides, K. C. (2005). *Gifts of the Desert: The Forgotten Path of Christian Spirituality*. New York: Doubleday.
- Marr, D. (2013). *Panic*. Collingwood, Vic.: Black Inc.
- 'Marriage Certificate of George Bouchier Worgan and Mary Lawry.' Record #604016. *Cornwall Online Parish Clerks Database*. www.cornwall-opc-database.org/search-database/more-info/?t=marriages&id=604016 (retrieved 29 May 2011).
- 'Marriage Record No. 515.' St Marylebone Church, Westminster.
- Martens, C. (1833–35). *Journal of a Voyage on Board H. M. S. Hyacinth Commenced May 19 1833*. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures. acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=423637 (retrieved 8 July 2011).
- Martin, M. (2008). 'Camperdown Cemetery.' In *Society of Australian Genealogists' Primary Records Collection Guide*, 2008. www.sag.org.au/downloads/CamperdownCemetery.pdf (retrieved 17 September 2012).
- Martin, M. (2012). 'The Directory, 1795–99.' In *Napoleon: Revolution to Empire*, p. 79. Melbourne: The Council of Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria.
- Mason, W. (1775). *The Poems of Gray. To which are Prefixed Memoirs of His Life and Writings by William Mason*. York: A. Ward.
- Massachusetts Gazette*. Thursday, 7 March 1771. Boston: Richard Draper.
- Mattheson, J. (1713). *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestra [The newly founded Orchestra]*. Hamburg: Benjamin Schiller.
- Mattheson, J. (1739). *Der vollkommene Capellmeister [The Perfect Chapelmaster]*. Hamburg: Christian Herold.

- Matthews, B. (1988). *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain: A History, 1738–1988*. London: The Royal Society of Musicians.
- Maunder, R. (1989). 'The Earliest English Square Piano?' In *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 42, August, pp. 77–84. London: The Galpin Society.
- Mayers, L. (transcriber). (2012). 'You Will Find a Towel Very Useful ...' In *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 143, March, p. 33. Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society.
- Meier, E. (2011). *The Wood Database: By Woodworkers, for Woodworkers*. Last updated March 2011. www.wood-database.com/ (retrieved 26 January 2012).
- Meier, E. and Earis, S. (2011). 'Olive.' In *The Wood Database: By Woodworkers, for Woodworkers*. Last updated March 2011. www.wood-database.com/lumber-identification/hardwoods/olive/ (retrieved 26 January 2012).
- 'Memoir of Johann Peter Salomon.' (1830). In *The Harmonicon*. 11 vols. Vol. 8. London: Samuel Leigh.
- 'Memoir of Muzio Clementi.' (1831). In *The Harmonicon*, Vol. 9, August. London: Samuel Leigh.
- Menneer, R. (2007). 'George Worgan.' In *Post-Mediaeval Hedges in Cornwall (1580–1840)*. Cornish Hedges Library. www.cornishhedges.co.uk/PDF/post-med.pdf (retrieved 22 March 2011).
- Merrick, A. (1810). 'Remarks on the Rev. C. J. Smyth's Letter on Systems of Tuning Musical Instruments, Vol. XXXV, p. 448.' In *The Philosophical Magazine*, Vol. 36, July–December, pp. 165–7. London: Richard Taylor & Company.
- Middleton, L. M. (1895). 'Parsons, William (1746?–1817).' In S. Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 43. New York: Macmillan & Co. [en.wikisource.org/wiki/Parsons,_William_\(1746%3F-1817\)_\(DNB00\)](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Parsons,_William_(1746%3F-1817)_(DNB00)) (retrieved 24 August 2011).
- Milton, D. (2006). 'Charles Wesley's Son was a Polygamist.' In *Christian Marriage: Preaching and Teaching Biblical Marriage*. www.christianmarriage.com/home/index.php?name=News&file=article&sid=112 (retrieved 11 February 2012).
- Milton, J. (1674). *Paradise Lost. A Poem in Twelve Books. The Author John Milton. The Second Edition. Revised and Augmented by the Same Author*. London: S. Simmons. www.dartmouth.edu/~milton/reading_room/pl/book_12/index.shtml (retrieved 22 August 2010).

- Mirka, D. and Agawu, K. (eds). (2008). *Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 'Miss Rennie.' (2011). In *Design & Art Australia Online*. www.daaao.org.au/bio/miss-rennie/ (retrieved 13 September 2011).
- Mizler, L. (1736–54). *Neu eröffnete Musikalische Bibliothek, oder Gründliche Nachricht nebst unparthenischemurtheil von alten und neuen musikalischen Schriften und Büchern [Newly Founded Musical Library]*. 4 vols. Leipzig: Im Mizlerischen Bücher Verlag.
- Mobbs, K. and Wainwright, D. (1984). 'Stops and Other Special Effects on the Early Pianos.' In *Early Music*, Vol. 12, No. 4, November, pp. 471–6. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 'Molding (Decorative).' (2012). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. Last modified 17 September 2012. [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Molding_\(decorative\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Molding_(decorative)) (retrieved 21 September 2012).
- Mole, P. G. (2009). *The English Spinnet with particular reference to The Schools of Keene and Hitchcock*. PhD dissertation, The University of Edinburgh.
- Monosoff, S. (1980). 'Pizzicato.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 14, p. 799. London: Macmillan.
- Montagu, J. (ca 1779). *The World of Baroque & Classical Musical Instruments*. Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles.
- Montanari, G. (1991). 'Bartolomeo Cristofori: A List and Historical Survey of His Instruments.' In *Early Music*, Vol. 19, No. 3, August, pp. 383–96. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Monthly Magazine*. Vol. 9, October 1796.
- More, H. (1788). *Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great to General Society*. London: T. Cadell.
- More, H. (1799). *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education. With a View of the Principles and Conduct Prevalent among Women of Rank and Fortune. Second edition, corrected*. 2 vols. London: T. Cadell, jr, & W. Davies.
- Morley, J. (1999). *Furniture: The Western Tradition—History, Style, Design*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Morning Post*. 17 March 1788.
- Moroney, D. (2000). *Bach: An Extraordinary Life*. London: The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music.

- Morris, I. (2010). *Why the West Rules—For Now: The Patterns of History, and What they Reveal about the Future*. London: Profile Books.
- Morris, J. M. (ed.). (1994). *On Mozart*. New York: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press & Cambridge University Press.
- Morrow, M. S. (1989). *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution*. New York: Pendragon Press.
- Morse, F. C. (1902). *Furniture of the Olden Time*. New York: Macmillan.
- Moses, H. (dir.). (2006). *Who the #\$% is Jackson Pollock?* Film. Produced by D. Hewitt, S. Hewitt and M. Lynne. Starring T. Horton. Distributed by Warner Bros.
- Mortimer, T. (1763). *The Universal Director; Or, the Nobleman and Gentleman's True Guide to the Masters and Professors of the Liberal and Polite Arts and Sciences; And of the Mechanic Arts, Manufactures, and Trades, Established in London and Westminster, and their Environs*. London: J. Coote. [Canberra: National Library of Australia. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Gale Cengage Learning.] find.galegroup.com/rp.nla.gov.au/ecco/retrieve.do?sort=Author&inPS=true&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nla&tabID=T001&bookId=0091700200&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchId=R1&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&contentSet=ECCOArticles&showLOI=&docId=CW3300250108&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=CW100250108&relevancePageBatch=CW100250108&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE_DOCUMENT&callistoContentSet=ECLL&docPage=article&hilite=y (retrieved 16 May 2012).
- Mould, C. (1971). 'The Tabel Harpsichord.' In E. M. Ripin (ed.), *Keyboard Instruments*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Mould, C. (1974). 'The Broadwood Books.' In *The English Harpsichord Magazine*, Vol. 1. London: The British Harpsichord Society. www.harpsichord.org.uk/EH/Vol1/No1/Broadwood.pdf (retrieved 22 February 2012).
- Mould, C. (ed.). (1995). *Boalch 3 Clavichord Updates (B3CU): Amendments and Additions to Clavichord-Related Information in the Third Edition of Donald Boalch's Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440–1840*. www.bcs.nildram.co.uk/Boalch3CUv4.pdf (retrieved 16 July 2011).
- Moule, T. (1837). *Environs of London*. London: George Virtue & Co. In *London and Environs Maps and Views*. Last updated 31 December 2011. mapco.net/london.htm (retrieved 22 September 2012).

- Mozart, L. (1975). *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* [A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing]. Translated by E. Knocker. 2nd edn. London: Oxford University Press. [Originally published Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1756.]
- 'Mr. Clementi.' (1820). In *Quarterly Musical Magazine & Review*, Vol. 2, No. 17. London: Baldwin, Cradock & Joy.
- Mullan, J. (1988). *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Müller, W. (1972). *Auf den Spuren von Gottfried Silbermann* [In the Footsteps of Gottfried Silbermann]. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt.
- Murray, V. (1998). *An Elegant Madness: High Society in Regency England*. London: Penguin Books.
- Murray, V. (1998). *High Society: A Social History of the Regency Period 1788–1830*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books.
- 'Music/Songs at Sea.' (2008). In *Sailing Navies 1650–1850: Topics Related to Naval History and Literature*. forum.sailingnavies.com/viewtopic.php?p=7481&sid=8d2db0da8030301b1602354a83089fcf (retrieved 26 November 2008).
- Music Trades Review*. 15 December 1890.
- Musidor. (1773). 'A Censure of the Present Taste in Music.' In *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature, for the Year 1772*, pp. 183–4. London: J. Dodsley. books.google.fr/books?id=yKcaZzMYRUsC&printsec=frontcover&hl=fr&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=mechanical%20art&f=false (retrieved 5 March 2012).
- Muthesius, H. (1979 [1908–11]). *The English House*. London: Crosby Lockwood Staples.
- Myers, D. G. and Scanzoni, L. D. (2005). *What God has Joined Together? A Christian Case for Gay Marriage*. New York: Harper San Francisco.
- Nagel, J. (1988). *The Nagel Journal: A Diary of the Life of Jacob Nagel, Sailor, from the Year 1775 to 1841*. Edited by J. C. Dann. New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- 'Sydney, NSW.' (n.d.). *Whereis*. www.whereis.com/nsw/sydney#session=MTY= (retrieved 18 November 2012).

- Nares, J. (1760). *Il Principio or a Regular Introduction to Playing on the Harpsichord or Organ*. London: Welcker.
- Nasillo, G. (2000). Liner notes for *Sonatas Pour le Violoncello a Basso Continuo Par Monsieur Geminiani*. CD: SY 00182. Symphonia.
- Neuls-Bates, C. (ed.). (1996). *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- New, M. and de Voogd, P. J. (eds). (2004). 'The 1773 Edition of Letters from Yorick to Eliza: A Facsimile.' In *The Shandean*, Vol. 15. Utrecht: Faculty of Arts, Utrecht University.
- 'New South Wales, Australia, Unassisted Immigrant Passenger Lists, 1826–1922, Original Data: Inward Passenger Lists.' Series 13278, Reels 399–560, 2001–122, 2751. Kingswood, NSW: State Records Authority of New South Wales.
- New South Wales Government Gazette, Number 54*. Friday, 30 June 1843. gazette.slv.vic.gov.au/images/1843/N/general/54.pdf (retrieved 26 May 2012).
- New South Wales Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages*. No. 64, Vol. 32C.
- 'Newton Fowell (1768–1790).' In *Discover Collections at Your State Library*. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Discover Collections. www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/terra_australis/letters/fowell/index.html (retrieved 27 December 2008).
- Nex, J. (2004). 'Culliford and Company: Keyboard Instrument Makers in Georgian London.' In C. H. Bates (ed.), *Early Keyboard Journal*, pp. 7–48. Georgia: The Southeastern and Midwestern Historical Keyboard Societies.
- Nex, J. (2010). 'Women in the Musical Instrument Trade in London, 1750–1810.' In R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 329–59. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni.
- Nex, J. (2011). 'Longman & Broderip.' In M. Kassler (ed.), *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, pp. 9–94. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
- Nex, J. and Whitehead, L. (2000). 'A Copy of Ferdinand Weber's Account Book.' In J. P. Wainwright (ed.), *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, Vol. 33, pp. 89–150. Chippenham, Wiltshire: CPI Antony Rowe.
- Nex, J. and Whitehead, L. (2005). 'Musical Instrument Making in Georgian London, 1753–1809: Evidence from the Proceedings of the Old Bailey and the Middlesex Sessions of the Peace.' In *Eighteenth Century Music*, Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Nicholas, S. and Shergold, P. R. (2001). 'Non-British Convicts.' In J. Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nichols, M. (2004). 'Windsor.' In *Pictorial History Hawkesbury*. Alexandria, NSW: Kingsclear Books.
- Nicolson, N. (1991). *The World of Jane Austen*. London: Weidenfield & Nicolson.
- Noorthouck, J. (1773). 'Aldgate Ward with its Divisions into Precincts and Parishes According to a New Survey.' In *A New History of London, Including Westminster and Southwark, to which is Added, a General Survey of the Whole; Describing the Public Buildings, Late Improvements, &c. Illustrated with Copper-Plates*. London: R. Baldwin. In *London and Environs Maps and Views*. Last updated 31 December 2011. mapco.net/london.htm (retrieved 22 September 2012).
- Noorthouck, J. (1773). *A Plan of the City and Liberties of London; Shewing the Extent of the Dreadful Conflagration in the Year 1666*. London: R. Baldwin. In *London and Environs Maps and Views*. Last updated 31 December 2011. mapco.net/london.htm (retrieved 22 September 2012).
- Norton, R. (1995). *The Beautiful Soul: Aesthetic Morality in the Eighteenth Century*. Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press.
- Norton, R. (ed.). (2004). 'Almonds for Parrots, 1708.' In *Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century England: A Sourcebook*. Last updated 15 June 2008. www.rictornorton.co.uk/eighteen/almonds.htm (retrieved 8 April 2012).
- Nuti, G. (2007). *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo: Style in Keyboard Accompaniment in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Oakman, W. (2009). 'Man of Antiques Lived on Fruit Cake.' In *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 December. www.smh.com.au/national/obituaries/man-of-antiques-lived-on-fruit-cake-20091130-k14n.html (retrieved 11 July 2011).
- 'Object H4052 Ship Model, HMS Sirius Armed Storeship and Flagship of First Fleet, 1:24 Scale, Timber/Brass, Made by Geoffrey Ingleton RAN, for Sesqui-Centenary of Arrival of First Fleet, Sydney, NSW, 1937–8, History Notes.' (n.d.). In *Objects from the Collection of the Powerhouse Museum*. Sydney: Powerhouse Museum. www.powerhousemuseum.com/collection/database/?irn=238337 (retrieved 9 March 2009).
- Ocean*. No. 38, July–August 2011. Pyrmont, NSW: Ocean Media.

- O'Farrell, P. (1969). *Documents in Australian Catholic History: 1788–1883*. Sydney: G. Chapman.
- O'Farrell, P. (1977). *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia: A History*. West Melbourne: Thomas Nelson.
- Ogasapian, J. (2004). *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era: American History through Music*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
- 'Ogee.' (n.d.). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ogee (retrieved 5 June 2012).
- Ogeil, J. (2006). *Domenico Scarlatti: A Contribution to Our Understanding of His Sonatas through Performance and Research*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Newcastle. embedit.in/2MYXd6Tdis (retrieved 4 October 2011).
- O'Leary, C. (2011). 'Restoration Reports.' In *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos*. www.squarepianotech.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/1795-Broadwood-Restoration-OLeary.pdf (retrieved 3 December 2012).
- Oliphant, T. (1835). *A Brief Account of the Madrigal Society, from its Institution in 1741, up to the Present Period*. London: Calkin & Budd.
- Olleson, P. (2003). *Samuel Wesley: The Man and His Music*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press.
- O'Loughlin, N. (2001). 'Astor.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 2. London: Macmillan.
- Oracle*. 14 July 1797.
- Ord-Hume, A. W. J. G. (1994). 'Beck, Frederick (fl. 1756–1798).' In R. Palmieri (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Keyboard Instruments. Volume 1: The Piano*, p. 43. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Ord-Hume, A. W. J. G. (2003). 'Beck, Frederick (fl. 1756–1798).' In R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia*, pp. 44–5. New York: Routledge.
- Ord-Hume, A. W. J. G. (2003). 'Becker, John Conrad.' In R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia*, p. 42. New York: Routledge.
- Ord-Hume, A. W. J. G. and de Hen, F. (2003). 'Combination Pianos.' In R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia*, pp. 91–2. New York: Routledge.
- 'Other Disbursements of Mr. William King Continued.' In 'St Botolph Aldgate Parish: Miscellaneous Parish Account Books 1st May 1770

– 12th February 1802.' *London Lives 1690–1800—Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*. www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=GLBAAO10101AO101010201 (retrieved 21 November 2012).

Paganelli, S. (1970). *Musical Instruments from the Renaissance to the 19th Century*. London and New York: Hamlyn.

Page, W. (ed.). (1911). 'Industries: Musical Instruments.' In *A History of the County of Middlesex. Volume 2: General; Ashford, East Bedfont with Hatton, Feltham, Hampton with Hampton Wick, Hanworth, Laleham, Littleton*, pp. 180–93. www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=22173 (retrieved 7 February 2010).

Palmer, R. (ed.). (1979). *Australian Collectors of Mechanical Musical Instruments (Established 1971), 1979: First Annual Publication*.

Palmer, S. (2002). *The Soanes at Home: Domestic Life at Lincoln's Inn Fields*. London: The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.

Palmieri, R. (1989). *Piano Information Guide: An Aid to Research*. New York: Garland Publishing.

Palmieri, R. (ed.). (1994). *Encyclopedia of Keyboard Instruments. Volume 1: The Piano*. New York: Garland Publishing.

Palmieri, R. (ed.). (2003). *Piano: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Routledge.

Papendiek, C. L. H. (1887). *Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte: Being the Journals of Mrs Papendiek, Assistant Keeper of the Wardrobe and Reader to Her Majesty. Edited by Her Grand-Daughter, Mrs Vernon Delves Broughton*. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley & Son.

Papers of John Grant. MS 737 and mfm M462. Canberra: National Library of Australia. nla.gov.au/nla.ms-ms737 (retrieved 23 November 2008).

Parakilas, J. (2001). 'Austen and the Domestic Life of the Piano.' In J. Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano*, pp. 75–80. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene.

Parakilas, J. (2001). 'Clementi: Virtuoso and Businessman.' In J. Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano*, pp. 65–75. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene.

Parakilas, J. (2001). 'Introduction.' In J. Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene.

- Parakilas, J. (ed.). (2001). *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene.
- Parakilas, J. (2001). 'The Piano Tuner.' In J. Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano*, pp. 157–8. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene.
- 'Parish Records Collection 1538–2005 Baptism.' www.findmypast.co.uk/parishRecordSearchResult.action?pf=1&event=B&rfnbr=950821039 (retrieved 20 March 2011).
- Parker, D. (2009). *Arthur Phillip: Australia's First Governor*. Warriewood, NSW: Woodslane Press.
- Parker, D. (2010). *Governor Macquarie: His Life, Times and Revolutionary Vision for Australia*. Warriewood, NSW: Woodslane Press.
- Parker, M. A. (1795). *A Voyage Round the World in the Gorgon Man of War, Captain John Parker, Performed and Written by His Widow; for the Advantage of a Numerous Family*. London: John Nichols.
- Parkinson, R. (n.d.). 'Instrument 3.' In *St Mary's Catholic Cathedral Sydney*. www.ohta.org.au/conf/Sydney/STMARYSCATHEDRAL.html (retrieved 4 August 2011).
- Parsonage, A. (2011). 'Shipsape & Bristol Fashion.' In *Qantas. The Australian Way*, No. 221, November, pp. 159–64. Sydney: ACP Magazines.
- Parsons, G. (1988). 'The Commercialism of Honour: Early Australian Capitalism 1788–1809.' In G. Aplin (ed.), *A Difficult Infant: Sydney before Macquarie*, pp. 102–19. Kensington, NSW: UNSW Press.
- Parsons, V. (1967). 'Nepean, Evan (1752–1822).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/nepean-ewan-2504 (retrieved 30 April 2013). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 2. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Pasquali, N. (n.d. [1743–57?]). *The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord; Illustrated with Examples in Notes; To which is Added, an Approved Method of Tuning this Instrument*. Edinburgh: Robert Bremner.
- Patten, V. (n.d.). *Chawton House Library and Early Women's Writing—Women Writers: Frances Burney (1752–1840)*. www.chawton.org/library/biographies/burney_f.html (retrieved 28 October 2011).
- Paxman, J. (2011). *Empire: What Ruling the World did to the British*. London: Penguin Books.

Paynter, W. H. (1966). *The Parish Church of St. Martin Liskeard*. Liskeard, UK: Parochial Church Council.

'PCC Abstracts of Wills: Wills Proved at Prerogative Court of Canterbury.' (31 August 1790). In *London Lives 1690–1800—Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*. www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=wills_1790_1799_2531749_375729&terms=Worgan#highlight (retrieved 23 November 2012).

'PCC Abstracts of Wills: Wills Proved at Prerogative Court of Canterbury.' (5 February 1742). In *London Lives 1690–1800—Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*. www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=wills_1740_1749_2531270_541417&terms=Worgan#highlight (retrieved 23 February 2013).

'PCC Abstracts of Wills: Wills Proved at Prerogative Court of Canterbury.' (18 July 1743). In *London Lives 1690–1800—Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*. www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?id=persNamewills_1740_1749_2531282_543027&div=wills_1740_1749_2531282_543027#highlight (retrieved 18 February 2013).

'PCC Abstracts of Wills: Wills Proved at Prerogative Court of Canterbury.' (17 March 1797). In *London Lives 1690–1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*. www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?id=persNamewills_1790_1799_2531842_347952&div=wills_1790_1799_2531842_347952#highlight (retrieved 18 February 2013).

'PCC Abstracts of Wills: Wills Proved at Prerogative Court of Canterbury.' (28 September 1809). In *London Lives 1690–1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*. www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=wills_1800_1810_2532057_374711&terms=Worgan#highlight (retrieved 23 February 2013).

Peacock, L. (1785). *The Adventures of the Six Princesses of Babylon, in their Travels to the Temple of Virtue: An Allegory*. London: T. Bensley.

Pearce, C. W. (1907?). *Notes on Old London City Churches. Their Organs, Organists & Musical Associations*, pp. 79–82. London: Vincent Music Company.

Pearn, J. (1998). 'Surgeon's Mate Lowes of H. M. S. *Sirius*.' In *Health and History*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 65–71. www.jstor.org/stable/40111320 (retrieved 27 May 2011).

Pearson, J. (1999). *Women's Reading in Britain, 1750–1835: A Dangerous Recreation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Pelkey, S. C. (2005). 'Music, Memory, and the People in Selected British Periodicals of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries.' In J. H. Jackson and S. C. Pelkey (eds), *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines*, pp. 61–83. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Pembroke, M. (2013). *Arthur Phillip: Sailor, Mercenary, Governor, Spy*. Melbourne: Hardie Grant.
- Penglase, B. (1989). '1788: That Illiterate "freight of misery"?' In *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 75, Part 2. Sydney: History House.
- Perrem, M. (n.d.) 'Articles and Facts: The Ships of the First Fleet.' In *First Fleet Datum*. Woolloomooloo, NSW: Fellowship of First Fleeters. www.geocities.com/fellowship_of_first_fleeters/datum.html (retrieved 19 December 2008).
- Perry, P. J. (n.d.). *Bass Recorder Solos No. 7: Traditional Melodies of the British Isles, with Variations*. www.pjperry.freeuk.com/music.htm; www.pjperry.freeuk.com/BRS07.pdf (retrieved 15 July 2011).
- Peterson, M. J. (1978). *The Medical Profession in Mid-Victorian London*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pfeiffer, W. (1978). *The Piano Hammer: A Detailed Investigation into an Important Facet of Piano Manufacturing with 91 Figures and 4 Graphs*. Translated by J. Engelhardt. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Das Musikinstrument.
- Phillip, A. (26 July 1790). 'Letter to Joseph Banks.' In *Sir Joseph Banks Electronic Archive*, Series 37.12. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales.
- Phillip, A. (1790). *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay; With an Account of the Establishment of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*. Piccadilly: John Stockdale.
- Phillip, A. (1914–25). 'Despatch to Lord Sydney. Despatch No. 4, Wednesday 9 July 1788.' In *Historical Records of Australia*, Series 1, Vol. 1, 1788–1796. Canberra: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament.
- Phillip, A. (1919). 'Despatch to Lord Sydney. Thursday 15 May 1788.' In G. H. Swinburne, *A Source Book of Australian History*. London: G. Bell & Sons. Project Gutenberg of Australia eBook, No. 00094. gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00094.html (retrieved 17 April 2013).
- Phillip, A. (1982). *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay*. Facsimile edn. Richmond, UK: Hutchinson. [Originally published Piccadilly: John Stockdale, 1790.]

- 'Piano; Rectangular Piano.' (2014). In *Royal Ontario Museum*. Toronto. images.rom.on.ca/public/index.php?function=browse&action=result&filter=aa_cat&catid=59&areaid=9&sid=&ccid= (retrieved 23 September 2014).
- 'Pianos, Square—(4346) Square Pianoforte: Longman & Broderip, London, c. 1785.' (n.d.). In *The Collection: List of Instruments in the Collection, University of Edinburgh*. www.mimo-db.eu/MIMO/infodoc/ged/view.aspx?eid=OAI_IMAGE_PROJECTS_LIB_ED_AC_UK_10683_15111 (retrieved 20 April 2013)
- Pichler, C. (1914 [1844]). *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben [Memoirs of My Life]*. 2 vols. Edited by E. K. Blümml. Munich: Müller.
- Pierre, C. (ed.). (1900). *Conservatoire de Musique et de Déclamation [Conservatory of Music and Declamation]*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Pierre, C. (1976). *Les Facteurs d'instruments de Musique. [Makers of Musical Instruments]*. Reprint. Genève: Minkoff.
- Piggott, P. (1979). *The Innocent Diversion: A Study of Music in the Life and Writings of Jane Austen*. London: Douglas Cleverdon.
- Pigot, J. (1830). 'Liskeard, Cornwall.' In *Pigot & Co.'s National Commercial Directory*. London: J. Pigot & Co.
- Pigot, J. (1830). *Pigot & Co.'s National Commercial Directory*. London: J. Pigot & Co.
- Pilkington, C. V. (1957). 'A Collection of English 18th Century Harpsichord Music.' In *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 83rd session, 16 May 1957.
- 'Pizzicato.' (2013). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. Last modified 28 July 2013. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pizzicato (retrieved 22 August 2013).
- Plantinga, L. (1977). *Clementi: His Life and Music*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Plantinga, L. (2010). 'Music, Machines, and the Middle Class.' In R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 37–50. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni.
- Pleasants, V. (1985). 'The Early Piano in Britain (c1760–1800).' In *Early Music*, Vol. 13, No. 1, February, pp. 39–44. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Plenderleith, H. J. and Werner, A. E. A. (1971). *The Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art: Treatment, Repair and Restoration*. London: Oxford University Press.

- Plumb, J. H. (1973). *The Commercialisation of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century England*. Reading: Department of History, University of Reading.
- Pocock, S. (2011). 'A Voyage with the Sick and Dying.' In *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 142, December, pp. 34–5. Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society.
- Pocock, S. (2011). 'History Abounds in Society's New Home: Archives and Research to Follow Long Line of Doctors.' In *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 142, December, pp. 27–9. Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society.
- 'Poetic Justice.' (n.d.). In *Angelfire*. www.angelfire.com/nj3/poeticjustice/ (retrieved 1 December 2011).
- Pole, C. M. (2006 [1803]). 'No. 26. The Examination of Mr. George Bouchier Worgan, Surgeon in His Majesty's Navy, and Late Surgeon's Mate of His Majesty's Hospital Ship *Le Caton*; Taken upon Oath, 8th November 1803.' In *The Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry. Naval Hospital at East Stonehouse. Le Caton Hospital Ship. Ordered to be Printed 11th July 1804*. London: House of Commons Papers, Reports of Commissioners, 1803–1804, pp. 630–1. *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online*. ProQuest Information and Learning Company. parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk/rp.nla.gov.au/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=hcpp&id=1803-000493&source=&pagenum=87&resultNum=&entries=&queryId=&backto=FULLREC&fromSearchHistory=&searchWithin=Worgan&showall=&enlarge=&gotoFirstHit=&SEARCHSTRING=Worgan&fulltexthits=18 (retrieved 25 June 2012).
- Pole, C. M. (2006 [1803]). *The Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry. Naval Hospital at East Stonehouse. Le Caton Hospital Ship. Ordered to be Printed 11th July 1804*. House of Commons Papers, Reports of Commissioners, 1803–1804. *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online*. ProQuest Information and Learning Company. parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk/rp.nla.gov.au/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=hcpp&id=1803-000493&source=&pagenum=87&resultNum=&entries=&queryId=&backto=FULLREC&fromSearchHistory=&searchWithin=Worgan&showall=&enlarge=&gotoFirstHit=&SEARCHSTRING=Worgan&fulltexthits=18 (retrieved 25 June 2012).
- Poletti, P. (n.d.). 'Bleyer's Text.' In *Construction and Restoration of Historical Pianos*. www.polettipiano.com/Pages/bleyerengpaul.html (retrieved 19 February 2013).
- 'Police Incidents.' *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, Vol. 38, 9 April 1840, p. 2. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694674 (retrieved 22 May 2011).

- Pollard, H. F. (2003). *Orchestral and Keyboard Instruments*. Caringbah, NSW: MBE Business Service Centre.
- Pollard, S. (1963). 'Factory Discipline in the Industrial Revolution.' In *The Economic History Review*, (NS), Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 254–71. Oxford: Blackwell on behalf of the Economic History Society.
- Pollens, S. (1984). 'The Pianos of Bartolomeo Cristofori.' In *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, Vol. 10, pp. 32–68. Shreveport, La: American Musical Instrument Society.
- Pollens, S. (1995). *The Early Pianoforte*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pope, J. (2011). 'Making Sense of the Militia's Movements.' In *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 141, September, p. 16. Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society.
- Porter, R. (1983). *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Allen Lane.
- Porter, R. (1993). 'Consumption: Disease of the Consumer Society?' In J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, pp. 58–81. London: Routledge.
- Porter, R. (1997). *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present*. London: Harper Collins.
- Porter, R. (2001). *Bodies Politic: Disease, Death and Doctors in Britain, 1650–1900*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Potter, D. (2005). 'Music by the "Celebrated Mozart": A Philadelphia Publishing Tradition, 1794–1861.' In J. H. Jackson and S. C. Pelkey (eds), *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines*, pp. 84–98. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Potter, J. (1762). *Observations on the Present State of Music and Musicians. With General Rules for Studying Music, in a New, Easy, and Familiar Manner; In Order to Promote the Further Cultivation and Improvement of this Difficult Science. The Whole Illustrated with Many Useful and Entertaining Remarks, Intended for the Service of its Practitioners in General. With the Characters of Some of the Most Eminent Masters of Music. To which is Added, a Scheme for Erecting and Supporting a Musical Academy in this Kingdom*. London: C. Henderson.
- Pouloupoulos, P. (2011). *The Guittar in the British Isles, 1750–1810*. PhD dissertation, The University of Edinburgh. hdl.handle.net/1842/5776;Pouloupoulos2011.pdf (retrieved 1 November 2013).

- Poulopoulos, P. (2012). 'The Influence of Germans on the Development of "This Favourite Instrument the Guittar" in England.' In *Soundboard. The Journal of the Guitar Foundation of America*, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 62–75. www.publications.guitarfoundation.org/sb384/files/assets/basic-html/page71.html (retrieved 1 November 2013).
- Pownall, E. (1988). *Australian Pioneer Women*. Ringwood, Vic.: Viking O'Neil.
- Pratt, J. (1816). *The Rev. Richard Cecil, M. A. Late Rector of Bisley, and Vicar of Chobham, Surrey: And Minister of St. John's-Chapel, Bedford-Row, London; With a Memoir of His Life. Arranged and Revised, with a View of the Author's Character Vol. III*. London: L. B. Seeley, & Baldwin, Cradock & Joy. [google.com/books?id=cXcAAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA536&lpg=PA536&dq=Richard+Cecil+Dr+Worgan&source=bl&ots=7RovQcPVjC&sig=PWrs8j-dj6KKqJtkoy2ubpt3wxs&hl=en&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=7&ct=result](http://books.google.com/books?id=cXcAAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA536&lpg=PA536&dq=Richard+Cecil+Dr+Worgan&source=bl&ots=7RovQcPVjC&sig=PWrs8j-dj6KKqJtkoy2ubpt3wxs&hl=en&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=7&ct=result) (retrieved 20 December 2008).
- Privilegierte Hamburgische Anzeigen [Privileged Hamburg Ads]*. 2 September 1754.
- Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*. 83rd session, 16 May 1957.
- Proceedings of the Society, December 11, 1905*. ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/adpdata/PSAS_2002/pdf/vol_040/40_043_052.pdf (retrieved 31 December 2008).
- Proudfoot, H. (1971). 'Phillip: Discovery and Cultivation of the Government Domain.' In H. Proudfoot, *Old Government House: The Building and its Landscape*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson.
- Proudfoot, H. (1971). *Old Government House: The Building and its Landscape*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson.
- Proudfoot, H. (1988). 'Fixing the Settlement upon a Savage Shore: Planning and Building.' In G. Aplin (ed.), *A Difficult Infant: Sydney before Macquarie*. Kensington, NSW: UNSW Press.
- Public Record Office, The National Archives. (1786). 'Admiralty, Minute, Wednesday 1 November 1786, Admiralty 3/102, and to Navy Board, Wednesday 1 November 1786, A/2816.' London: Public Record Office, The National Archives.
- Public Record Office, The National Archives. (1786). 'George Teer to Navy Board, Thursday 7 December 1786.' London: Public Record Office, The National Archives.
- Pybus, C. (2006). *Black Founders: The Unknown Story of Australia's First Black Settlers*. Sydney: UNSW Press.

- 'Quadrille.' (n.d.). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quadrille (retrieved 20 May 2012).
- Quantz, J. J. (1966). *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* [On Playing the Flute.] Translated and edited by E. R. Reilly. London: Faber & Faber. [Originally published Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voß, 1752.]
- Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*. (1818–28). London: Baldwin, Cradock & Joy.
- Quarterly Musical Magazine & Review*. (1820). Vol. 2, No. 17. London: Baldwin, Cradock & Joy.
- Radford, R. (2013). 'Land and Landscape: The Colonial Encounter 1800–80.' In *Australia*, pp. 90–145. London: Royal Academy of Arts.
- Radic, T. (2002). 'The Lost Chord of Australian Culture: Researching Australian Music History.' In J. Southcott and R. Smith (eds), *A Community of Researchers: Proceedings of the XXIInd Annual Conference*, pp. 6–14. Melbourne: Australian Association for Research in Music Education.
- Raguenet, F. (1702). *Paralèle des italiens et des françois, en ce qui regarde la musique et les opera* [Comparison of the Music and Opera of Italy and France]. Paris; English translation, London, 1709.
- Ralph, B. (2004). 'This Beauteous, Wicked Disc.' [Review of *The Convict Harpsichordist*.] In *Early Music*, Vol. 32, No. 1, February, pp. 169–71. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rathbone, A. (ed.). (1899). *Letters from Lady Jane Coke to Her Friend Mrs. Eyre at Derby 1747–1758*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. archive.org/details/letterstoherfrie00cokeuoft (retrieved 13 May 2012).
- Ray, A. J. (2005). 'Wertheim, Hugo (1854–1919).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wertheim-hugo-13244/text6415 (retrieved 8 July 2010). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Supplementary vol. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Raynor, H. (1972). *A Social History of Music*. London: Barrie & Jenkins.
- Reed, C. (2012). 'Dancing School: Minuet in Progress and an Aide-Mémoire on Quadrilles.' In *Harvard Magazine: Commencement 2012*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Magazine. harvardmagazine.com/2010/03/dancing-school (retrieved 20 May 2012).

- Rees, A. (ed.). (1819). *The Cyclopædia, or Universal Directory of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*. 39 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.
- Rees, N. (2007). *All Gong and No Dinner: 1001 Homely Phrases and Curious Domestic Sayings*. London: Collins.
- Rees, S. (2006). *The Floating Brothel*. Sydney: Hachette Australia.
- Reil, J. C. (1803). *Rhapsodien über die Anwendung der psychischen Kurmethode auf Geisteszerrüttungen* [*Rhapsodies on the Application of Psychological Methods of Cure to Disorganised Spirits*]. Halle: in der Curtschen Buchhandlung.
- Reil, J. C. (1818). *Rhapsodien über die Anwendung der psychischen Kurmethode auf Geisteszerrüttungen* [*Rhapsodies on the Application of Psychological Methods of Cure to Disorganised Spirits*]. 2nd edn. Halle: in der Curtschen Buchhandlung.
- Reilly, R. (1992). *Josiah Wedgwood 1730–1795*. London: Macmillan.
- Reinhart, K. A. (2011). 'Flatback Hinges.' In *Types of Antique Desk Hinges*. www.ehow.com/about_6675934_types-antique-desk-hinges.html (retrieved 14 November 2011).
- 'Reports of Vessels Arrived (or Shipping Reports).' Series 1291, Reels 1263–85, 2851. Kingswood, NSW: State Records Authority of New South Wales.
- 'Research Area.' (n.d.). In *Parish Births, Marriages, Death Records: Baptism Records*. Truro, Cornwall: Cornwall Family History Society. members.cornwallfhs.com/research/process.research_baptisms.php (retrieved 22 August 2011).
- 'Restored Instrument Archive: Square Piano by Johannes Pohlman, London 1774.' (n.d.). In *The Music Room Workshop. Makers & Restorers of Early Keyboard Instruments*. www.musicroomworkshop.co.uk/pohl74.html (retrieved 26 November 2013).
- 'Restored Instrument Archive: Square Piano by John Bland, London c.1790.' (n.d.). In *The Music Room Workshop: Makers & Restorers of Early Keyboard Instruments*. www.musicroomworkshop.co.uk/bland.html (retrieved 26 November 2013).
- 'Restored Instrument Archive: Square Piano by Longman & Broderip, London c. 1782.' (n.d.). In *The Music Room Workshop. Makers & Restorers of Early Keyboard Instruments*. www.musicroomworkshop.co.uk/lb76.html (retrieved 20 April 2013).

- 'Restored Instrument Archive: Square Piano by Longman & Broderip No 306, London 1796.' (n.d.). In *The Music Room Workshop.Makers & Restorers of Early Keyboard Instruments*. www.musicroomworkshop.co.uk/lb306.html (retrieved 20 April 2013).
- Resture, J. (2012). *Australia—The Macarthurs. Part 2: To The Manor Born*. Last updated 1 March 2012. www.janesoecania.com/australia_dynasties_themacarthurs1/index1.htm (retrieved 25 January 2014).
- 'Reverend Richard Johnson (1753–1827).' In *Discover Collections at Your State Library*. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Discover Collections. www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/terra_australis/letters/johnson/index.html (retrieved 27 December 2008).
- 'Review of New Musical Publications.' (1800). In *The Monthly Magazine; Or, British Register, Vol. IX ... Part I. For 1800. From January to July, Inclusive. No. 57. No. 3 of Vol. 9, April 1, 1800*. London: R. Phillips.
- Ribeiro, A. (ed.). (1991). *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney. Volume 1: 1751–1784*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Rice, J. A. (n.d.). 'A Dispute Involving the Musico Giovanni Manzoli and Mozart's Ascanio in Alba.' home.rconnect.com/~lydiar/sitebuildercontent/sitebuilderfiles/Manzoli.pdf (retrieved 2 July 2011).
- Rice, J. A. (2003). *Empress Marie Therese and Music at the Viennese Court 1792–1807*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Richards, A. (2001). *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Richardson, I. (n.d.). 'Red Harrison—Newspaper Editor and Radio Star.' In *Obituary: A. L. 'Red' Harrison*. Richardson Media Limited. www.richardsonmedia.co.uk/red_harrison_obit.html (retrieved 4 December 2013).
- Richardson, P. (1964). 'Military Music in the Colony of New South Wales, 1788–1850.' In *Musicology*, No. 1, pp. 5–9.
- Rickard, S. (2003). 'Lifelines from Calcutta.' In J. Broadbent, S. Rickard and M. Steven (eds), *India, China, Australia: Trade and Society 1788–1850*, pp. 65–93. Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.
- Riding, J. (n.d.). *'The Purest Benevolence': Handel & the Foundling Hospital*. London: Handel House Trust Limited.
- Riding, J. (ed.). (2001). *Handel House Museum Companion*. London: Handel House Trust Limited.

- Riding, J. (2001). 'Handel's London.' In J. Riding (ed.), *Handel House Museum Companion*, pp. 36–47. London: Handel House Trust Limited.
- Riding, J. (2010). *Mid-Georgian Britain 1740–69*. Oxford: Shire Living Histories.
- Riedl, P. A. (1993). 'The Desire Within.' In A. M. Mascheroni (ed.), *Kandinsky*, pp. 3–5. London: Park Lane.
- Riegl, A. (1992). *Stilfragen. Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* [*Problems of Style*]. Translated by E. Kain. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Originally published Berlin: G. Siemens, 1893.]
- Riley, M. (2004). *Musical Listening in the German Enlightenment: Attention, Wonder and Astonishment*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Riley, N. (ed.). (1989). *World Furniture*. London: Spring Books.
- Rimbault, E. F. (1860). *The Pianoforte, its Origins, Progress & Construction: With Some Account of Instruments of the Same Class which Preceded it viz. the Clavichord, the Virginal, the Spinet, the Harpsichord, etc.* London: Robert Cocks & Co.
- Rindlisbacher, O. (1972). *Das Klavier in der Schweiz* [*The Piano in Switzerland*]. Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag.
- Ripin, E. M. (ed.). (1971). *Keyboard Instruments*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ripin, E. M. (1980). 'Grand Pianoforte.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 7, p. 635. London: Macmillan.
- Ripin, E. M. (1981). 'Haydn and the Keyboard Instruments of His Time.' In *Haydn Studies: Proceedings of the International Haydn Conference, Washington, 1975*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Ritchie, J. (ed.). (1971). *The Evidence to the Bigge Reports: New South Wales under Governor Macquarie. Volume 1: The Oral Evidence*. 2 vols. Melbourne: Heinemann.
- Ritchie, L. (2008). *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England: Social Harmony in Literature and Performance*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Robbins, T. (1971). *Another Roadside Attraction*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Robbins Landon, H. C. and Jones, D. W. (eds). (1988). *Haydn: His Life and Music*. London: Thames & Hudson.

- Robertson, G. (2008). *Crimes against Humanity: The Struggle for Global Justice*. Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin Australia.
- Robins, B. (ed.). (1998). *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752–1828)*. Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press.
- Robins, B. (2004). 'The Catch and Glee in Eighteenth-Century Provincial England.' In S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh (eds), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, pp. 141–60. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Robins, B. (2006). *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth Century England*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Robinson, K. S. (2012). *2312*. London: Orbit.
- Rocque, J. (1746). *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark: With the Contiguous Buildings*. London: John Pine & John Tinney. In *Harvard Map Collection*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University. pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/7847111 (retrieved 12 March 2013).
- Rocque, J. (2013). *Rocque's Map of Georgian London, 1746*. Oxford: Old House. [Originally published London: John Pine & John Tinney, 1746.]
- Rodger, N. A. M. (1986). *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press.
- Rodger, N. A. M. (2004). *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649–1815*. London: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Rogers, J. E. T. (1902). *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England. Volume 7: 1703–1793*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Rogers, T. (2000). 'Australia's First Piano, Clavierübung: Memorable Moments in Music No. 2.' In *Bikwill: The Home of Quiet Enthusiasms*, No. 20, July. www.bikwil.com/Vintage20/Australia's-First-Piano.html (retrieved 7 November 2009).
- 'Roguski, Bronislaw Szczepan.' *The London Gazette*, 3 May 1960, p. 3135. www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/42024/pages/3135/page.pdf (retrieved 27 January 2014).
- Rohr, D. (2001). *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, M. and Law, D. (1995). *A Handbook of Historical Stringing Practice for Keyboard Instruments*. Lewes, East Sussex: Rose.

- Rosen, S. (2007). *Australia's Oldest House: Surgeon John Harris and Experiment Farm Cottage*. Sydney: Halstead Press.
- Rosenblum, S. P. (1991). *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music: Their Principles and Applications*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Roubo, A. J. (1769–74). *L'Art du menuisier [The Art of Carpentry]*. 3 vols. Paris: Académie Royale des Sciences, L'imprimerie de L. F. Delatour.
- Rouquet, J. A. (1755). *L'état des Arts, en Angleterre [The State of the Arts in England]*. Paris: Jombert.
- Rousseau, J.-J. (1827). *Oeuvre completes de J.-J. Rousseau [Complete Works of J.-J. Rousseau]*. Vol. 15. Paris: Werdet et Lequien.
- Rowland, D. (1995). *A History of Pianoforte Pedalling*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rowland, D. (ed.). (1998). *The Cambridge Companion to the Piano*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rowland, D. (1998). 'The Piano to c.1770.' In *The Cambridge Companion to the Piano*, pp. 7–21. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rowland, D. (2001). *Early Keyboard Instruments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rowland, D. (2004). 'Clementi's Early Business Career: New Documents.' In R. Bösel and M. Sala (eds), *Muzio Clementi. Cosmopolita della musica [Muzio Clementi. Cosmopolitan musician]*. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni.
- Rowland, D. (2010). 'Clementi & Co. in International Markets.' In R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution*. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni.
- Roxburgh, R. (1974). *Early Colonial Houses of New South Wales*. Sydney: Ure Smith.
- Roxburgh, R. and Baglin, D. (1978). *Colonial Farm Buildings of New South Wales*. Sydney: Ure Smith.
- Royal Cornwall Gazette*. 31 May 1806.
- Royal Cornwall Gazette*. 8 July 1820.
- Rueger, C. (1985). *Musical Instruments and their Decoration*. Translated by R. Schneeman. Cincinnati: Seven Hills.

- Ruiter-Feenstra, P. (2011). *Bach & the Art of Improvisation*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: CHI Press.
- Rule, J. (1971). *The Labouring Miner in Cornwall, c1740 to 1870*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Warwick.
- Rushforth, G. McN. (1919). 'Magister Gregorius de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae: A New Description of Rome in the Twelfth Century.' In *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 9, pp. 14–58. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.
- Rushton, P. (ed.). (1994). *European Musical Instruments in Liverpool Museum*. Merseyside: National Museum and Galleries on Merseyside.
- Rushworth, G. D. (1988). *Historic Organs of New South Wales: The Instruments, their Makers and Players, 1791–1940*. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger.
- Russell, G. (2011). *The Playbill and its People: Australia's Earliest Printed Document*. Canberra: National Library of Australia.
- Russell, R. (1957). *Catalogue of the Benton Fletcher Collection at Fenton House, Hampstead*. London: Fenton House.
- Russell, R. (1973). *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Sachs, B. and Ife, B. (eds). (1981). *Anthology of Early Keyboard Methods*. Cambridge: Gamut.
- Sachs, C. (1923). *Das Klavier [The Piano]*. Berlin: Verlag Julius Bard.
- Sachs, C. (1940). *The History of Musical Instruments*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Sachs, C. (1964). *Real-Lexicon der Musikinstrumente [Lexicon of Musical Instruments]*. Reprint. New York: Dover Publications. [Originally published Berlin: Julius Bard, 1913.]
- Sachs, H. (2010). *The Ninth: Beethoven and the World in 1824*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Sadie, J. A. (1987). 'Musiciennes of the Ancien Régime.' In J. Bowers and J. Tick (eds), *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, pp. 191–223. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Sadie, S. (ed.). (1980). *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. London: Macmillan.

- Sadie, S. (ed.). (2001). *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. London: Macmillan.
- Sahlqvist, L. (2013). 'Clementi & Co 1798–1830: Piano Manufacture in London.' In *The Pianos of Muzio Clementi. 'The Clementi Page.'* Friends of Square Pianos. www.friendsofsquarepianos.co.uk/the-clementi-page/ (retrieved 11 August 2013).
- Sainsbury, J. S. (1825). *Dictionary of Musicians, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time: Comprising the Most Important Biographical Contents of the Works of Gerber, Choron, and Fayolle, Count Orloff, Dr. Burney, Sir John Hawkins, &c. &c. Together with Upwards of a Hundred Original Memoirs of the Most Eminent Living Musicians; And a Summary of the History of Music*. Vol. 1. London: Sainsbury & Co.
- Sainsbury, J. S. (1827). *Dictionary of Musicians, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time: Comprising the Most Important Biographical Contents of the Works of Gerber, Choron, and Fayolle, Count Orloff, Dr. Burney, Sir John Hawkins, &c. &c. Together with Upwards of a Hundred Original Memoirs of the Most Eminent Living Musicians; And a Summary of the History of Music, Second Edition*. Vol. 2. London: Sainsbury & Co.
- 'St Botolph Aldgate Parish: Minutes of Parish Vestries 19th May 1690 – 22nd May 1771.' In *London Lives 1690–1800—Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*. [www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=GLBAMV11300MV113000409](http://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=GLBAMV11300MV113000409;); [www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=GLBAMV11300MV113000411](http://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=GLBAMV11300MV113000411;); www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=GLBAMV11300MV113000412 (retrieved 23 November 2012).
- 'St Botolph Aldgate Parish: Miscellaneous Parish Account Books 1st May 1770 – 12th February 1802.' In *London Lives 1690–1800—Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*. www.londonlives.org/search.jsp?form=keyword&divs_fulltext=Worgan&divs_div0Type=&fromMonth=&fromYear=1754&toMonth=&toYear=1800&submit.x=29&submit.y=6&submit=Search (retrieved 21 November 2012).
- 'Sale 6414 Lot 277.' (n.d.). In *Christie's The Art People*. www.christies.com/lotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=3702460 (retrieved 4 January 2015).
- Salwey, N. (2004). 'Women Pianists in Late Eighteen-Century London.' In S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh (eds), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, pp. 273–90. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Sanborn, V. (2010). 'Doctors and Medical Care in the Regency Era.' In *UK/Irish History @ Suite 101*. vic-sanborn.suite101.com?medical-care-in-the-regency-era-a242950 (retrieved 9 December 2011).

- Sansom, I. (1984). *The Conservation of Elizabeth Farm*. Glebe, NSW: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.
- Sarah Douglas Enterprises Pty Ltd. (2006). 'View from Richmond Hill.' In *Old London Maps*. www.oldlondonmaps.com/viewspages/0183.html (retrieved 5 March 2012).
- 'Saturday, April 04 2009 Monthly Interiors Auction.' In *The Canterbury Auction Galleries*. www.yasni.info/ext.php?url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.thecanterburyauctiongalleries.com%2Fcatalogue%2F19%3Fpage%3D22&name=Frederick+Beck&showads=1&lc=en-gb&lg=en&rg=gb&rip=au (retrieved 22 March 2014).
- Savary des Bruslons, J. (1741). *Dictionnaire universel de commerce: contenant tout ce qui concerne le commerce qui se fait dans les quatre parties du monde, par terre, par mer, de proche en proche, & par des voyages de long cours, tant en gros qu'en détail. L'explication de tous les termes qui ont rapport au négoce ... les édits, déclarations, ordonnances, arrests, et reglemens donnés en matière de commerce* [*Universal Dictionary of Trade*]. Paris: Chez la Veuve Estienne.
- Savary des Bruslons, P.-L. (1759–66). *Dictionnaire universel de commerce, D'Historie Naturelle, & des Arts & Métiers ... contenant tout ce qui concerne ... le commerce qui se fait dans les quatre parties du monde, par terre, par mer, de proche en proche, & par des voyages de long cours, tant en gros qu'en détail ... Les Chambres D'Assurances* [*Universal Dictionary of Trade, of Natural History, and Arts & Crafts*]. 5 vols. Copenhagen: Claude Philibert.
- Scarlatti, D. (1771). *Libro de xii sonatas modernas para clavicordio ... Libro ii* [*Book of 12 Modern Harpsichord Sonatas ... Book II*]. Edited by J. Worgan. London: Wm Owen.
- Schama, S. (2001). *A History of Britain: The British Wars 1603–1776*. London: BBC.
- Schama, S. (2002). *A History of Britain: The Fate of Empire 1776–2000*. London: BBC.
- Scherer, F. M. (2004). *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes: The Economics of Music Composition in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Schickele, P. (2000). 'Foreword: If You Can't Think of Something Nice to Say, Come Sit Next to Me.' In N. Slonimsky, *Lexicon of Musical Invective: Critical Assaults on Composers Since Beethoven's Time*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

- Schneider, M. (1980). *Studien zu den Klavierschulen im deutschsprachigen Raum von 1885 bis 1900* [Studies on the Piano Schools in German-Speaking Countries from 1885 to 1900]. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Vienna.
- Schneider, M. (2004). Liner notes for *Francesco Geminiani: Der Zauberwald*. CD: 67081. Capriccio/Deutschlandfunk WDR 3.
- Scholes, P. (1948). *The Great Dr. Burney*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Scholes, P. A. and Shaw, W. (1980). 'Burney, Charles.' In S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 3, pp. 488–92. London: Macmillan.
- Schort, H. (1985). 'From Harpsichord to Pianoforte: A Chronology and Commentary.' In *Early Music*, Vol. 13, No. 1, February, pp. 28–38. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schott, H. (ed.). (1987). *The Historical Harpsichord*. Vol. 2. Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press.
- Schott, H. (1998). *Catalogue of Musical Instruments in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Part I: Keyboard Instruments*. London: V & A Publications.
- Schott, H. (ed.). (2002). *The Historical Harpsichord*. Vol. 4. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press.
- Scott, H. (1824). 'Letter to His Mother, August 1824.' In *Scott Papers*, A2264. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
- Scott, R. (1822). 'Letter to His Mother, 14 May 1822.' In *Scott Papers*, A2263. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
- 'Second Fleet (Australia).' (n.d.). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Fleet_\(Australia\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Fleet_(Australia)) (retrieved 11 December 2008).
- Selwyn, S. H. (1809–67). *Reminiscences 1809–67*. Auckland: Auckland War Memorial Museum Library.
- Serle, G. (1973). *From Deserts the Prophets Come: The Creative Spirit in Australia 1788–1972*. Melbourne: Heinemann.
- Shanahan, A. (2010). 'Full-Face Burka Lifts the Veil on Western Feminists' Insecurities.' *The Weekend Australian*, 26–27 June.
- 'Shellac.' (n.d.). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shellac (retrieved 19 November 2012).

- Shepherd, J. (1987). 'Music and Male Hegemony.' In R. Leppert and S. McClary (eds), *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception*, pp. 151–72. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shepherd, T. (1836). *Lectures on Landscape Gardening in Australia*. Sydney: William McGarvie.
- Sheppard, F. H. W. (ed.). (1970). 'King Street and Floral Street Area: Rose Street.' In *Survey of London. Volume 36: Covent Garden*. British History Online. www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=46110#n7 (retrieved 19 September 2013).
- Sheraton, T. (1803). *The Cabinet Dictionary*. 2 vols. London: W. Smith.
- Shevaloff, J. (1970). *The Keyboard Music of Domenico Scarlatti: A Re-Evaluation of the Present State of Knowledge in the Light of the Sources*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Brandeis University, Boston.
- Shield, W. (1800). *An Introduction to Harmony*. London: G. G. & J. Robinson.
- 'Shipping Intelligence Arrivals.' In *The Sydney Herald*, Vol. 8, 6 August 1838, p. 2. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12860864 (retrieved 22 May 2011).
- 'Shipping List. Arrived.' In *Southern Cross and New Zealand Guardian*, Vol. 4, No. 389, 21 March 1851, p. 2. paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=DSC18510321.2.3&e=-----10-1---0- (retrieved 4 August 2011).
- 'Shipping News.' (1859). *The South Australian Advertiser*, Vol. 1, No. 182, 8 February 1859, p. 2. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/4457 (retrieved 28 November 2011).
- Shoemaker, R. B. (1998). *Gender in English Society, 1650–1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* London: Longman.
- 'Short Chronicle of Events May 23 1792.' In *The Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer*, [Edinburgh], Vol. 9, 4 July 1792, p. vi. books.google.com.au/books?id=QtCRAAAAYAAJ&q=Sirius#v=snippet&q=Sirius&f=false (retrieved 2 July 2012).
- Sillard, P. A. (1901). *The Life and Letters of John Martin. With Sketches of Thomas Devin Reilly, Father John Kenyon, and Other 'Young Irelanders'*. Dublin: James Duffy & Co.
- Simon, C. (1905). *English Furniture Designers of the Eighteenth Century*. London: A. H. Bullen.

- 'Simpson, James and John.' (n.d.). www.ricercare.com/research/library/dictionary/s_contents.html (retrieved 9 May 2010).
- Sitsky, L. (2005). *Australian Piano Music of the Twentieth Century*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Skinner, G. (2008). 'Worgan, George.' In *Dictionary of Sydney*. www.dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/worgan_george (retrieved 8 October 2012).
- Skinner, G. (2011). *Towards a General History of Australian Musical Composition: First National Music 1788–c.1860*. PhD dissertation, The University of Sydney. ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/2123/7264/1/ga-skinner-2011-thesis.pdf (retrieved 22 May 2011).
- Skinner, G. (2015). 'Hinckesman, Maria T.' In 'A biographical register of Australian colonial musical personnel–H.' In *Austral Harmony*. The University of Sydney. sydney.edu.au/paradisec/australharmony/register-H.php (retrieved 29 May 2015).
- Skinner, G. (2015). 'Tuohy, Miss.' In 'A biographical register of Australian colonial musical personnel–T.' In *Austral Harmony*. The University of Sydney. sydney.edu.au/paradisec/australharmony/register-T.php (retrieved 29 May 2015).
- Skowroneck, M. (2003). *Harpsichord Construction: A Craftsman's Workshop Experience and Insight*. Bergkirchen, Germany: Edition Bochinsky.
- Skowroneck, T. (2010). *Beethoven the Pianist*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Slater, J. (1819). *A Description of Sydney, Parramatta, Newcastle &c. Settlements in New South Wales, with Some Account of the Manners and Employment of the Convicts in a Letter from John Slater to His Wife in Nottingham, Published for the Benefit of His Wife and Four Children*. Bridlesmith Gate: Sutton & Son.
- Slonimsky, N. (2000). *Lexicon of Musical Invective: Critical Assaults on Composers Since Beethoven's Time*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- 'Sloop-of-War.' (n.d.). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brig-sloop (retrieved 12 July 2011).
- Smee, S. (2011). 'Fred Williams and Company.' In D. Hart, *Fred Williams: Infinite Horizons*. Canberra: National Gallery of Australia.
- Smith, A. (1998 [1776]). *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations: A Selected Edition*. Edited by K. Sutherland. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Smith, B. and Wheeler, A. (eds). (1988). *The Art of the First Fleet and Other Early Australian Drawings*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press in association with the Australian Academy of the Humanities and the British Museum (Natural History).
- Smith, C. (ca 1830). *Smith's New Map of London*. London: Charles Smith. In *London and Environs Maps and Views*. Last updated 31 December 2011. mapco.net/london.htm (retrieved 22 September 2012).
- Smith, F. M. (1892). *A Noble Art: Three Lectures on the Evolution and Construction of the Piano*. New York: Devinne Press.
- Smith, H. C. (1931). *The Complete History of Buckingham Palace: Its Furniture, Decoration, & History*. London: Country Life.
- Smith, R. (1966 [1749]). *Harmonics, or the Philosophy of Musical Sounds*. Reprint. New York: Da Capo Press.
- Smith, S. (1820). 'ART. III. Statistical Annals of the United States of America by Adam Seybert. 4to. Philadelphia, 1818.' In *The Edinburgh Review: Or Critical Journal—for Jan. 1820 ... May 1820*. Vol. 33. Edinburgh and London: Archibald Constable & Company and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown. books.google.com.au/books?id=JT8vacE6zqQC&pg=PA69&lpg=PA69&dq=Sydney+Smith+Review+of+Seybert's+Annals+of+the+United+States&source=bl&ots=TZbGQsOk0v&sig=31PegaOY4ZYNfd_BPuUVTVlOVJk&hl=en&ei=Bq1mTvWjKu34mAXE4YGTCg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CDgQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q&f=false (retrieved 7 September 2011).
- Smith, S. E. and Harris, B. (ed.). (2010). 'What is an Oilcloth?' In *WiseGeek: Clear Answers for Common Questions*. Sparks, Nev.: Conjecture Corporation. www.wisegeek.com/what-is-an-oilcloth.htm (retrieved 10 October 2010).
- Smith, W. C. and Humphries, C. (1968). *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the Years 1721–1766*. London: The Bibliographical Society.
- Smyth, A. B. (1787–89). 'Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth, 1787 Mar. 22 – 1789 Aug. 8.' In *Bowes Smyth, Arthur, 1750–1790*. Canberra: National Library of Australia, Digital Collections, Manuscripts. nla.gov.au/nla.ms-ms4568 (retrieved 3 December 2008).
- Smyth, A. B. (1790). *A Journal of a Voyage from Portsmouth to New South Wales and China in the Lady Penrhyn, Merchantman William Cropton Sever, Commander. By Arthur Bowes Smyth, Surgeon—1787–1788–1789*. Sydney: State Library

- of New South Wales, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures. acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?acmsID=412747&itemID=823394 (retrieved 4 July 2011).
- Snodin, M. (ed.). (1984). *Rococo: Art and Design in Hogarth's England*. Exhibition Catalogue. London: Victoria and Albert Museum.
- Solie, R. (ed.). (1993). *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Sorrenson, R. (1997). 'The State's Demand for Accurate Astronomical and Navigational Instruments in Eighteenth-Century Britain.' In A. Bermingham and J. Brewer (eds), *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text*, pp. 263–71. Milton Park, Oxon: Routledge.
- 'South Audley Street.' (1767). In *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark, with the New Buildings*. (London: ?). In *London and Environs Maps and Views*. Last updated 31 December 2011. mapco.net/london.htm (retrieved 22 September 2012)
- Southern Cross and New Zealand Guardian*. 21 March 1851. paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=DSC18510321.2.3&e=-----10--1----0-- (retrieved 4 August 2011).
- Southey, R. (1829). *Sir Thomas More: Or, Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society*. 2 vols. Vol. 1. London: John Murray. books.google.com.au/books?id=SB5BAAAIAAJ&pg=PR1&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false (retrieved 21 November 2011).
- Southey, R., Maddison, M. and Hughes, D. (2009). *The Ingenious Mr Avison: Making Music and Money in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Tyne Bridge Publishing.
- Southworth, J. G. (1941). *Vauxhall Gardens: A Chapter in the Social History of England*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Spain, E. (1774–1802). *Reminiscences, 1774–1802*. Ms. C266. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales.
- Spillane, D. (1969). *History of the American Pianoforte: Its Technical Development, and the Trade*. Reprint. New York: Da Capo Press. [Originally published New York: D. Spillane, 1890.]
- 'Square Piano.' (n.d.). In *V&A: Search the Collections*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum. collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O58886/square-piano-longman-broderip/ (retrieved 20 April 2013).

- 'Square Piano by Collard & Collard, 1835–1838.' (n.d.). In *Powerhouse Museum Collection Search 2.53*. Sydney: Powerhouse Museum. www.powerhousemuseum.com/collection/database/?irn=11552 (retrieved 22 February 2013).
- 'Square Piano, Ganer, London, 1785. [2007.3455], Ganer, Christopher.' (n.d.). In *Museum & Collections*. London: Royal Academy of Music. apollo.ram.ac.uk/emuweb/pages/ram/display.php?irn=15834 (retrieved 26 November 2013).
- 'Square Piano by Longman & Broderip Serial Number 435.' (n.d.). In *Antique Keyboard Instruments*. antiquekeyboard.com/unrestoredsquare.html (retrieved 8 December 2014).
- 'Square Piano (Portable Model Accession Number: 89.4.2849.' (n.d.). In *The Metropolitan Museum of Art—Collections*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. [www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/180017279?rpp=20&pg=1&ft=square+piano+\(portable+model\)&pos=1](http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/180017279?rpp=20&pg=1&ft=square+piano+(portable+model)&pos=1) (retrieved 10 March 2013).
- 'Square Piano (Zumpe & Buntebart, London, 1770).' (2005). In Edinburgh University Collection of Historical Musical Instruments. www.music.ed.ac.uk/euchmi/uck/uckd4489.html (retrieved 17 February 2010).
- Stainer, J. (1891). *Catalogue of English Song Books Forming a Portion of the Library of Sir John Stainer*. London: Novello, Ewer & Co.
- Star*. 27 July 1797.
- Starbuck, N. (2009). *Constructing the 'Perfect' Voyage: Nicolas Baudin at Port Jackson, 1802*. PhD dissertation, University of Adelaide. digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/bitstream/2440/60141/1/02whole.pdf (retrieved 2 January 2012).
- Statham, P. (ed.). (1989). *The Origins of Australia's Capital Cities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Steel, D. (1782). 'Surgeons: With the Year of their First Warrants, by which they are Intitled to Half-Pay.' In *Steel's Original and Correct List of the Royal Navy, Improved: To which are Added their Stations, and a List of the Ships Lost or Destroyed Since the Commencement of the War, with their Commanders. Likewise a List of the Enemies Ships Taken or Destroyed Since the Commencement of the War. And an Alphabetical List of the Navy-Agents. Corrected to April 30, 1782*. London: D. Steel. play.google.com/books/reader?id=8uYNAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&authuser=0&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA81 (retrieved 26 June 2012).

- Steele, C. and Richards, M. (eds). (2006). *Bound for Botany Bay: What Books Did the First Fleeters Read and Where are They Now?* Canberra: The Australian National University in association with the Friends of the ANU Library.
- Steiner, T. (ed.). (2004). *Keyboard Instruments—Flexibility of Sound and Expression. Proceedings of the Harmoniques International Congress, Lausanne 2002*. Bern: Peter Lang SA.
- Steven [Gawker Help]. (2013). 'The History of the Katzenklavier, or Cat Piano.' In *Observation Deck*. New York: Gawker Media. observationdeck.io9.com/the-history-of-the-katzenklavier-or-cat-piano-450419201 (retrieved 25 June 2013).
- Steven, M. (1967). 'Palmer, John (1760–1833).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/palmer-john-2533/text3437 (retrieved 19 April 2012). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 2. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Steven, M. (2003). 'Eastern Trade.' In J. Broadbent, S. Rickard and M. Steven (eds), *India, China, Australia: Trade and Society 1788–1850*. Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.
- Stevens, R. J. S. (1792). *Eight Glees for Four and Five Voices ... Opera 3*. London: Broderip & Wilkinson.
- Stewart-MacDonald, R. H. (2010). 'Clementi, the Market Place and the Cultivation of a British Identity during the Industrial Revolution.' In R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 471–510. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni.
- Strange, T. (n.d.). 'Dating Pianos.' In *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos*. www.squarepianotech.com/?page_id=571 (retrieved 30 December 2014).
- Strange, T. (n.d.). 'Reading the Historical Record from an Early Broadwood Grand Piano.' In *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos*. www.squarepianotech.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Reading-the-Historical-Record.pdf (retrieved 28 January 2014).
- Strange, T. (n.d.). 'Re-Leathering Your Square Piano Hammers and Action Parts.' In *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos*. www.squarepianotech.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/Tanning-and-Hammer-Recovering.pdf (retrieved 18 April 2012).

- Strange, T. (2008). 'Restoration of a Longman & Broderip Square Piano: Diary Written by Tom Strange.' In *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos*. www.squarepianotech.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/Restoration-of-a-Longman-Broderip-1785-B1.pdf (retrieved 31 July 2012).
- Strange, T. (2010). 'Restoration Report for a 1784 Broadwood Square Piano, #229.' In *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos*. www.squarepianotech.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/1784-Broadwood-Square-Restoration-report1.pdf (retrieved 9 March 2013).
- Strange, T. (2011). 'Bringing Back a 1790 Longman and Broderip Piano.' In *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos*. www.squarepianotech.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/Bringing-back-a-1790-Longman-and-Broderip-piano1.pdf (retrieved 3 August 2012).
- Strange, T. (2012). 'A New Initiative to Produce Hammer Covering Leather.' In *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos*. Last updated 16 April 2012. www.squarepianotech.com/?page_id=238 (retrieved 18 April 2012).
- Strange, T. (2012). 'Short Biography of P. G. Dackweiler.' In *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos*, 3 December. www.squarepianotech.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Paul-Guillaume-Dackweiler-1.51.pdf (retrieved 1 November 2013).
- Strange, T. (2012). 'Wire.' In *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos*. Last updated 16 April 2012. www.squarepianotech.com/?page_id=238 (retrieved 18 April 2012).
- Streeter, C. (1971). 'Marquetry Furniture by a Brilliant London Master.' In *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, (NS), Vol. 29, No. 10, Part 1, June. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Streicher, A. (1979 [1801]). *Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Fortepiano, welche von Nannette Streicher, geboren Stein in Wien gefertigt worden 1801* [Brief Remarks on Playing, Tuning and Maintaining the Fortepianos of Nannette Streicher, born Stein in Vienna in 1801]. The Hague: Lelieveld.
- Strohm, R. (1985). *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Strohm, R. (ed.). (2001). *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers.
- 'Student Paper on 19th-Century Medicine.' (n.d.). www-personal.umd.umich.edu/~jonsmith/19cmed.html (retrieved 9 December 2011).
- 'Electoral Roll for the Year 1958.' In *Australia, Electoral Rolls, 1905–1980*, p. 75. AncestryLibrary.com (retrieved 16 August 2013).
- Sullivan, A. and Gilbert, W. S. (2000 [1898]). *The Mikado; Or, The Town of Titipu*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.
- Sumner, W. L. (1966). *The Pianoforte*. London: Macdonald & Co.
- Supplement to The South Australian Register*. Wednesday, 21 September 1853, Vol. 17, No. 2189. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/48548478 (retrieved 29 November 2011).
- Sutcliffe, W. D. (ed.). (1998). *Haydn Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sutcliffe, W. D. (1998). 'Preface.' In W. D. Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies*, pp. vii–xii. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sutcliffe, W. D. (1998). 'The Haydn Piano Trio: Textual Facts and Textural Principles.' In W. D. Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies*, pp. 246–90. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sutcliffe, W. D. (ed.). (2005). *Eighteenth Century Music*. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Swan, A. (1981). 'Enlightenment's Gift to the Age of Romance: How the Piano Came to Be.' In J. R. Gaines (ed.), *The Lives of the Piano*, pp. 41–73. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Swan, K. (2003–12). 'What are Dovetails?' In *WiseGeek: Clear Answers for Common Questions*. Sparks, Nev.: Conjecture Corporation. www.wisegeek.com/what-are-dovetails.htm (retrieved 31 July 2012).
- Swan, R. A. (1973). *To Botany Bay ... If Policy Warrants the Measure: A Re-Appraisal of the Reasons for the Decision by the British Government in 1786 to Establish a Settlement at Botany Bay in New South Wales on the Eastern Coast of New Holland*. Canberra: Roebuck Society.
- Swinburne, G. H. (1919). *A Source Book of Australian History*. London: G. Bell & Sons. Project Gutenberg of Australia eBook, No. 00094. gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00094.html (retrieved 17 April 2013).

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 10 July 1803, Vol. 1. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/5725; trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/5726 (retrieved 10 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 17 July 1803. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/625676 (retrieved 14 April 2012).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 24 July 1803. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/5736 (retrieved 10 December 2013).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 11 March 1804, Vol. 2. newspapers.nla.gov.au (retrieved 5 November 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 27 January 1805, Vol. 2. newspapers.nla.gov.au (retrieved 5 November 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 31 December 1809, Vol. 7. newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/6592 (retrieved 7 October 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 31 March 1810. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/6623 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 20 October 1810, Vol. 8. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/628106 (retrieved 24 June 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 9 May 1812. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/6900 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 16 May 1812. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/6905 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 23 May 1812. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/6910 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 30 October 1813, Vol. 11. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/628792 (retrieved 24 June 2011).

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 8 January 1814, Vol. 12. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/7124 (retrieved 10 June 2012).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 14 January 1815, Vol. 13, No. 580. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/629038 (retrieved 1 October 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 4 February 1815, Vol. 13, No. 583. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/7252 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 15 April 1815, Vol. 13, No. 593. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/7274 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 13 May 1815, Vol. 13, No. 598. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/7286 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 20 May 1815, Vol. 13, No. 599. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/7288 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 3 June 1815, Vol. 13, No. 601. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/7291 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 14 December 1816, Vol. 14. newspapers.nla.gov.au (retrieved 5 October 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 8 November 1817, Vol. 15, No. 729. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/493558 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 31 January 1818, Vol. 16. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2177724 (retrieved 23 June 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 12 September 1818, Vol. 16. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2178194 (retrieved 31 December 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 23 January 1819, Vol. 17. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/494230 (retrieved 9 December 2010).

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 22 May 1819, Vol. 17. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/494080 (retrieved 9 December 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 28 October 1820, Vol. 21. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/494723 (retrieved 27 May 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 5 April 1822, Vol. 20. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2180921 (retrieved 24 June 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 4 September 1823, Vol. 18. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/494342 (retrieved 22 February 2013).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 23 October 1823, Vol. 21. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/494435 (retrieved 19 April 2013).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 1 July 1824, Vol. 22. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/494878 (retrieved 22 February 2013).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 17 March 1825, Vol. 23. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2183832 (retrieved 24 June 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 21 April 1825, Vol. 23. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2183945 (retrieved 28 May 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 28 April 1825, Vol. 23. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2183967 (retrieved 22 February 2013).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 9 June 1825, Vol. 23. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2184103 (retrieved 9 August 2013).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 10 November 1825, Vol. 23. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/495426 (retrieved 27 May 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 1 March 1826, Vol. 23. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2185331 (retrieved 22 February 2013).

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 29 April 1826, Vol. 24. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2185740 (retrieved 22 February 2013).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 13 September 1826, Vol. 24. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496146 (retrieved 28 May 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 29 March 1827, Vol. 25. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2187934 (retrieved 9 August 2013).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 19 October 1827, Vol. 25. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496274 (retrieved 9 August 2013).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 14 January 1828, Vol. 26. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496488 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 18 January 1828, Vol. 26. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496496 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 7 April 1828, Vol. 26. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496646 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 9 April 1828, Vol. 26. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496650 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 11 April 1828, Vol. 26. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496656 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 16 April 1828, Vol. 26. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496665 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 18 April 1828, Vol. 26. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496669 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 21 April 1828, Vol. 26. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496673 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 29 August 1828, Vol. 26. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496911 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 10 September 1828, Vol. 26. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496931 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 12 September 1828, Vol. 26. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496935 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 17 September 1828, Vol. 26. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page//496943 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 24 September 1828, Vol. 26. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496955 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 26 September 1828, Vol. 26. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/496959 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 3 January 1829, Vol. 27. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/497143 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 8 January 1829, Vol. 27. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/497151 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 10 January 1829, Vol. 27. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/497155 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 17 January 1829, Vol. 27. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/497167 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 20 January 1829, Vol. 27. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/497171 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 10 March 1829, Vol. 27. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/497254 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 19 September 1829, Vol. 27. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/497820 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 3 April 1830, Vol. 28. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/498705 (retrieved 25 May 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 1 June 1830, Vol. 28. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/498975 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 2 December 1830, Vol. 28. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/499637 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 9 December 1830, Vol. 28. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/499662 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 11 December 1830, Vol. 28. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/499669 (retrieved 24 October 2014).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 14 December 1830, Vol. 28. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/499678 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 18 December 1830, Vol. 28. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/499694 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 21 December 1830, Vol. 28. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/499702 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 23 December 1830, Vol. 28. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/499710 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 30 December 1830, Vol. 28. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/499733 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 4 January 1831, Vol. 29. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/498186 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 6 January 1831, Vol. 29. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/498200 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 8 January 1831, Vol. 29. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/498215 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 11 January 1831, Vol. 29. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/498228 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 13 January 1831, Vol. 29. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/498240 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 20 January 1831, Vol. 29. newspapers.nla.gov.au (retrieved 1 October 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 26 February 1831, Vol. 29. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2199288 (retrieved 6 August 2013).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 22 March 1831, Vol. 29. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/498594 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 24 March 1831, Vol. 29. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/498606 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 14 April 1832, Vol. 30. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/499909 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 14 June 1832, Vol. 30. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/500014 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 16 June 1832, Vol. 30. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/500018 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 19 June 1832, Vol. 30. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/500022 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 21 June 1832, Vol. 30. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/500026 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 5 January 1833, Vol. 31. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/497414 (retrieved 28 July 2011)
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 10 January 1833, Vol. 31. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/497398 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 12 January 1833, Vol. 31. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/497406 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 17 January 1833, Vol. 31. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/497423 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 19 January 1833, Vol. 31. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/497431 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 26 January 1833, Vol. 31. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/497457 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 1 April 1834, Vol. 32. newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/500702 (retrieved 6 November 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 3 April 1834, Vol. 32. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/500713 (retrieved 6 November 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 5 April 1834, Vol. 32. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/500717 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 8 April 1834, Vol. 32. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/500730 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 10 April 1834, Vol. 32. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/500738 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 12 April 1834, Vol. 32. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/500745 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 15 April 1834, Vol. 32. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/500763 (retrieved 3 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 7 June 1834, Vol. 32. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/500973 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 6 September 1834, Vol. 32. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501284 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 9 September 1834, Vol. 32. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501295 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 11 September 1834, Vol. 32. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501306 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 13 September 1834, Vol. 32. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501313 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 13 November 1834, Vol. 32. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501544 (retrieved 23 June 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 28 March 1835, Vol. 33. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2197704 (retrieved 23 June 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 9 July 1835, Vol. 33. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2199073 (retrieved 27 December 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 24 September 1835, Vol. 33. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501319 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 1 October 1835, Vol. 33. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501343 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 3 October 1835, Vol. 33.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501352
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 6 October 1835, Vol. 33.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501363
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 8 October 1835, Vol. 33.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501370
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 12 December 1835, Vol. 33.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501609
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 15 December 1835, Vol. 33.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501616
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 17 December 1835, Vol. 33.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501624
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 19 December 1835, Vol. 33.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501634
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 22 December 1835, Vol. 33.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501642
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 24 December 1835, Vol. 33.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501650
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 29 December 1835, Vol. 33.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501668
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 31 December 1835, Vol. 33.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501681
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 5 January 1836, Vol. 34.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501714
(retrieved 28 July 2011)

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 7 January 1836, Vol. 34. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501722 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 8 March 1836, Vol. 34. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501928 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 12 March 1836, Vol. 34. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501947 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 19 March 1836, Vol. 34. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501976 (retrieved 20 April 2013).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 22 March 1836, Vol. 34. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501982 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 24 March 1836, Vol. 34. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501991 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 31 March 1836, Vol. 34. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/502014 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 2 April 1836, Vol. 34. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/502022 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 5 April 1836, Vol. 34. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/502029 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 28 June 1836, Vol. 34. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/502319 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 3 November 1836, Vol. 34. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/502794 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 15 November 1836, Vol. 34. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/502834 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 22 November 1836, Vol. 34.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/502861
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 24 November 1836, Vol. 34.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/502870
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 26 November 1836, Vol. 34.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/502878
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 29 November 1836, Vol. 34.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/502887
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 27 December 1836, Vol. 34.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/502988
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 31 December 1836, Vol. 34.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/503004
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 10 January 1837, Vol. 35.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501731
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 12 January 1837, Vol. 35.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/501740
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 16 September 1837, Vol. 35.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/502669
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 21 September 1837, Vol. 35.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/502685
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 23 September 1837, Vol. 35.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/502693
(retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 28 September 1837, Vol. 35.
Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/502709
(retrieved 28 July 2011).

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 22 March 1838, Vol. 36. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/693306 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 24 March 1838, Vol. 36. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/693313 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 3 April 1838, Vol. 36. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/693347 (retrieved 28 February 2012).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 10 May 1838, Vol. 36. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/693469 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 12 May 1838, Vol. 36. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/693478 (retrieved 5 October 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 15 May 1838, Vol. 36. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/693485 (retrieved 5 October 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 26 May 1838, Vol. 36. newspapers.nla.gov.au (retrieved 5 October 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 5 June 1838, Vol. 36. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/693562 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 20 October 1838, Vol. 36. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694034 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 23 October 1838, Vol. 36. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694041 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 27 October 1838, Vol. 36. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694057 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 26 January 1839, Vol. 37. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/693106 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 29 January 1839, Vol. 37. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/693114 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 31 January 1839, Vol. 37. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/693121 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 2 February 1839, Vol. 37. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/693129 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 5 February 1839, Vol. 37. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/693136 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 26 March 1839, Vol. 37. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/693309 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 2 April 1839, Vol. 37. newspapers.nla.gov.au (retrieved 10 October 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 31 December 1839, Vol. 37. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694300 (retrieved 10 October 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 2 January 1840, Vol. 38. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694305 (retrieved 10 October 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 16 January 1840, Vol. 38. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694356 (retrieved 10 October 2010).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 18 January 1840, Vol. 38. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694363 (retrieved 22 May 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 11 April 1840, Vol. 38. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694682 (retrieved 22 May 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 19 May 1840, Vol. 38. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694835 (retrieved 22 May 2011).

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 21 May 1840, Vol. 38. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694843 (retrieved 22 May 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 23 May 1840, Vol. 38. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694852 (retrieved 22 May 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 25 May 1840, Vol. 38. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12859236 (retrieved 21 May 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 30 May 1840, Vol. 38. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694877 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 11 June 1840, Vol. 38. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694925 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 27 June 1840, Vol. 38. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694990 (retrieved 21 May 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 30 June 1840, Vol. 38. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694998 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 5 September 1840, Vol. 38. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/695245 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 10 July 1841, Vol. 39. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/694929 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 24 August 1841, Vol. 39. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/695082 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 26 August 1841, Vol. 39. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/695090 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 25 January 1842, Vol. 40. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/695640 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 27 January 1842, Vol. 40. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/695644 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*. 29 January 1842, Vol. 40. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/695648 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- Sydney Monitor and Commercial Advertiser*. 27 September 1839, Vol. 14. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/4536830 (retrieved 12 July 2011).
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 1 October 1842. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12420869 (retrieved 22 May 2011).
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 21 April 1845, Vol. 19. nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12878915 (retrieved 28 July 2012).
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 20 December 1845, Vol. 20. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12884219 (retrieved 21 May 2011).
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 23 December 1845, (NS), Vol. 2. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/37154810 (retrieved 22 May 2011).
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 16 June 1846, Vol. 21. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12884219 (retrieved 21 May 2011).
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 30 October 1846, Vol. 21. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12893925 (retrieved 6 August 2013).
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 3 January 1850, Vol. 27. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1511226 (retrieved 26 May 2012).
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 16 February 1850, Vol. 27. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1511424 (retrieved 3 July 2011).
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 7 June 1850, Vol. 27. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12918537 (retrieved 21 May 2011).
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 19 February 1851, Vol. 30. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1510620 (retrieved 21 May 2011).

- Sydney Morning Herald*. 21 April 1851, Vol. 30. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12926458 (retrieved 22 May 2011).
- Sydney Morning Herald*. (1880). *Map of Sydney*. Melbourne: Gordon & Gotch. nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm3424 (retrieved 18 November 2012).
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 20 January 1939. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/17552500 (retrieved 2 June 2013).
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 19 February 1947. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1004418 (retrieved 22 May 2013).
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 17 March 1970.
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 15 March 2003. www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/03/14/1047583697734.html (retrieved 29 November 2013).
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 18 October 2010.
- Sydney Morning Herald*. 3 September 2011.
- 'Sydney "Sailors' Last Hope".' *Townsville Daily Bulletin*. 29 August 1945, p. 3. nla.gov.au/nla.news-article62857142 (retrieved 27 October 2012).
- Symonds, S. (n.d.). *Catalogue of the Stewart Symonds Keyboard Instrument Collection*. Handwritten ms. Sydney. In the possession of Stewart Symonds; photographic copy held by the author.
- 'Tafelklavier Fredericus Beck (Friedrich A. Becker) London, ca. 1770 Sammlung Michael Günther, Schloss Homburg a.M., Inv. Nr. 8.' (n.d.). In *Clavier am Main Tasteninstrumente der Sammlung Michael Günther* [*Clavier am Main: The Keyboard Collection of Michael Günther*]. www.clavier-am-main.de/sammlung/sammlung.html (retrieved 7 September 2012).
- Tagliavini, L. F. (1991). 'Giovanni Ferrini and His Harpsichord "a penne e a martelletti".' In *Early Music*, Vol. 19, No. 3, August, pp. 398–408. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tague, I. H. (2002). *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690–1760*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press.
- 'T & G Mutual Life Assurance Society.' (2013). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. Last modified 17 June 2013. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/T_%26_G_Mutual_Life_Assurance_Society (retrieved 13 August 2013).
- Temperley, N. (ed.). (1985). 'General Introduction.' In *The London Pianoforte School*. 20 vols. New York: Garland Publishing.

- Temperley, N. (2007). 'Foreword.' In T. Ellsworth and S. Wollenberg (eds), *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture: Instruments, Performers and Repertoire*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Tench, W. (1789). *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay; With an Account of New South Wales, its Productions, Inhabitants, &c, to which is Subjoined, a List of the Civil and Military Establishments at Port Jackson*. London: J. Debrett.
- Tench, W. (1793). *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, in New South Wales, Including an Accurate Description of the Colony; Of the Natives; And of its Natural Productions*. London: G. Nicol & J. Sewell.
- Tench, W. (1961). *Sydney's First Four Years: Being a Reprint of a Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay and a Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson ... with an Introduction and Annotations by L. F. Fitzhardinge*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson in association with the Royal Australian Historical Society.
- Tench, W. (1979). *Sydney's First Four Years: Being a Reprint of a Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay and a Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, with an Introduction by L. F. Fitzhardinge*. Sydney: Library of Australian History.
- Tench, W. (1996 [1798]). 'A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson.' In *1788: Comprising a Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay and a Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson*. Edited and introduced by T. Flannery. Melbourne: Text Publishing.
- Tench, W. (1996 [1798]). 'Transactions of the Colony until the Close of the Year 1789.' In *1788: Comprising a Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay and a Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson*. Edited and introduced by T. Flannery. Melbourne: Text Publishing.
- Terry, C. S. (2009). *John Christian Bach*. Facsimile edn. London: Travis & Emery Music Bookshop. [Originally published Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929.]
- 'The Aftermath of the Wrecking.' (2009). In *HMS Sirius. Flagship of the First Fleet: A World of Maritime Archeology*. Norfolk Island: Norfolk Island Museum. www.hmssirius.com.au/flagship-of-the-first-fleet/shipwrecked (retrieved 2 July 2012).
- The A to Z of Georgian London*. (1982). Lympne Castle, Kent: Published for London Topographical Society by Harry Margary in association with Guildhall Library.

The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature, for the Year 1772. (1773). London: J. Dodsley.

The Argus. 14 December 1933, No. 27247. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/11720638 (retrieved 21 June 2013).

The Australasian Chronicle. 22 June 1841. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31732097 (retrieved 9 May 2013).

The Australasian Chronicle. 23 August 1842. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31736958 (retrieved 21 May 2011).

The Australasian Chronicle. 13 December 1842, Vol. 4, p. 2. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/4231865 (retrieved 28 November 2011).

The Australian. 28 October 1824, No. 3. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/37071959 (retrieved 24 June 2011).

The Australian. 18 April 1827, No. 188. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/4249159 (retrieved 21 May 2013).

The Australian. 11 October 1838, (NS), Vol. 5. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2550981 (retrieved 12 July 2011).

The Australian. 16 October 1838, (NS), Vol. 5. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36860151 (retrieved 22 May 2011).

The Australian. 20 November 1838, (NS), Vol. 5. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36861745 (retrieved 12 July 2011).

The Australian. 19 January 1839, (NS), Vol. 6. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/4298709 (retrieved 12 July 2011).

The Australian. 17 June 1841, Vol. 8, No. 968. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36853057 (retrieved 9 May 2013).

The Australian. 29 May 1845, (NS), Vol. 2. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/37154717 (retrieved 29 May 2015).

The Australian. 16 September 1845, (NS), Vol. 2. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/37158075 (retrieved 21 May 2011).

The Australian. 14 August 1847, (NS), Vol. 4. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/37132328. (retrieved 21 May 2011).

- 'The Balloon Ascents of Vincenzo Lunardi in Great Britain.' (1994–2012). In *Fiddlers Green Paper Models*. www.fiddlersgreen.net/models/aircraft/Balloon-Lunardi.html (retrieved 10 April 2012).
- The Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer*. [Edinburgh]. 16 May 1792, Vol. 9. books.google.com.au/books?id=QtcRAAAAYAAJ&q=Sirius#v=snippet&q=Sirius&f=false (retrieved 2 July 2012).
- The Bury and Norwich Post: Or, Suffolk and Norfolk Telegraph, Essex, Cambridge, & Ely Intelligencer*. 27 April 1831, No. 2548.
- The Cessnock Eagle and South Maitland Recorder*. 8 November 1946. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/100027476 (retrieved 2 June 2013).
- The Colonist; Or, Journal of Politics, Commerce, Agriculture, Literature, Science, and Religion, for the Colony of New South Wales*. 21 March 1838, Vol. 4. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/4245926 (retrieved 28 February 2012).
- The Colonist; Or, Journal of Politics, Commerce, Agriculture, Literature, Science, and Religion, for the Colony of New South Wales*. 2 March 1839, Vol. 5, No. 279. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/4246324 (retrieved 21 August 2011).
- The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*. (2007). 6th edn. New York: Columbia University Press.
- The Cornwall Family History Society*. September 2011, No. 141. Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society.
- The Cornwall Family History Society*. December 2011, No. 142. Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society.
- The Cornwall Family History Society*. March 2012, No. 143. Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society.
- The Courier*. 27 February 1830, Vol. 3. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4210097 (retrieved 30 May 2011).
- The Daily Advertiser*. 26 March 1772, No. 12872.
- The Daily Advertiser*. 18 January 1774, No. 13440.
- The Daily Advertiser*. 10 May 1776, No. 14163.
- The Daily Advertiser*. 13 January 1777, No. 14375.

The Daily Advertiser. 25 August 1777, No. 14587.

The Daily Advertiser. 14 November 1777, No. 14637.

The Daily Advertiser. 25 September 1778, No. 14898. In *London Lives 1690–1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*. www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=LMSMPS50685PS506850067 (retrieved 23 November 2012).

The Daily Advertiser. 26 September 1778, No. 14898. In 'Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers—Justices' Working Documents', in *London Lives 1690–1800*.

The Daily Advertiser. 12 December 1796, No. 21226.

The Derby Mercury. 13 November 1800, No. 3582.

The Derby Mercury. 24 March 1808, No. 3957.

'The Directory of the Development of the American Piano Chronological Summary 1775–2007.' (2011). *Bluebook of Pianos*. www.bluebookofpianos.com/chronicals.html (retrieved 3 June 2012).

The Eton College Register, 1753–1790. (1921). Eton: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co. www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/eton-college/the-eton-college-register-1753-1790-hci.shtml (retrieved 12 November 2012).

The Economic History Review. (1963). Vol. 16, No. 2, December. Oxford: Blackwell on behalf of the Economic History Society.

The Edinburgh Review: Or Critical Journal. (1820). Vol. 33, January 1820 – May 1820. Edinburgh and London: Archibald Constable & Company, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown. books.google.com.au/books?id=JT8vacE6zqQC&pg=PA69&lpg=PA69&dq=Sydney+Smith+Review+of+Seybert's+Annals+of+the+United+States&source=bl&ots=TZbGQsOk0v&sig=3lPegaOY4ZYNfd_BPuUVTvlOVJk&hl=en&ei=Bq1mTvWjKu34mAXE4YGT Cg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CDgQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q&f=false (retrieved 7 September 2011).

The Empire. 13 February 1851, Vol. 1, No. 26. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/5984685 (retrieved 12 July 2011).

The Empire. 24 October 1863, No. 3754. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/5691656 (retrieved 22 February 2013).

The European Magazine, and London Review: Containing the Literature, History, Politics, Arts, Manners & Amusements of the Age. (1796). Vol. 30, July–December. London: J. Sewell.

- The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*. 23 January 1778, No. 15271.
- The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*. 19 April 1779, No. 15657.
- The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*. 21 June 1784, No. 17324.
- The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*. 28 April 1787, No. 18216.
- The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*. 19 February 1791, No. 19408.
- The General Evening Post*. 8 January 1774, No. 6281.
- The Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Chronicle. For the Year 1790*. Vol. 60, Part 2. London: John Nichols.
- The Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Chronicle. For the Year 1809*. Vol. 79, Part 1. London: John Nichols & Son.
- The Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Chronicle. For the Year 1816*. Vol. 76. London: John Nichols & Son.
- The Georgian Era: Memoirs of the Most Eminent Persons, Who have Flourished in Great Britain, from the Accession of George the First to the Demise of George the Fourth, in Four Volumes. Volume IV: Political and Rural Economists; Painters, Sculptors, Architects, and Engravers; Composers; Vocal, Instrumental, and Dramatic Performers*. (1834). London: Vizetelly, Branston & Co. www.archive.org/stream/georgianeramemioi04londonduoft (retrieved 10 December 2008).
- The Guardian*. 12 March 2011.
- The Hampshire Chronicle*. 20 November 1786, No. 740.
- The Harmonicon*. 1828. *Part the First, Containing Essays, Criticisms, Biography, Foreign Reports, and Miscellaneous Correspondence*. (1828). London: Samuel Leigh.
- The Harmonicon*. (1830). 11 vols. Vol. 8. London: Samuel Leigh.
- The Harmonicon*. (1831). Vol. 9, August. London: Samuel Leigh.
- The Hobart Town Gazette*. 11 August 1827, Vol. 12. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/680034 (retrieved 9 August 2013).
- The Literature Network*. (2000–12). Jalic Inc. www.online-literature.com/emerson/mayday-and-other/2/ (retrieved 3 June 2012).
- The London Chronicle for 1757. Volume 1: From January 1, to June 30*. (1757). London: J. Wilke.

The London Chronicle: Or Universal Evening Post. 29–31 May 1760, No. 535.

The London Gazette. 13 May 1755. www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/9476/pages/13 (retrieved 27 February 2013).

The London Gazette. 3 July 1764. www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/10432/pages/3 (retrieved 27 February 2013).

The London Gazette. 14 October 1797. www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/14056/pages/990 (retrieved 27 February 2013).

The London Gazette, 3 May 1960. www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/42024/pages/3135/page.pdf (retrieved 27 January 2014).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin. (1971). (NS), Vol. 29, No. 10, Part 1, June. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Monitor. 22 September 1826, No. 19. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31757853 (retrieved 29 November 2012).

The Monthly Magazine; Or, British Register, Vol. IX ... Part I. For 1800. From January to July, Inclusive. No. 57. No. 3 of Vol. 9, April 1, 1800. (1800). London: R. Phillips. books.google.com.au/books?id=P1AoAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA296&lpg=PA296&dq=Bolton+pianoforte&source=bl&ots=6AEFYl7lv6&sig=qphImVd6opuSAr21FThiBoEnEWg&hl=en&ei=GOtCTqvHCOfvMAWMqrnTCQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=10&ved=0CFIQ6AEwCQ#v=onepage&q=Bolton%20pianoforte&f=false (retrieved 11 August 2011).

The Morning Chronicle. 15 December 1791.

The Morning Chronicle. 21 April 1796, No. 8277.

The Morning Chronicle. 5 May 1797, No. 8600.

The Morning Chronicle. 18 July 1797.

The Morning Chronicle. 9 July 1800, No. 9713.

The Morning Chronicle. 27 April 1804, No. 10901.

The Morning Chronicle. 25 June 1845, Vol. 2. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/4243956 (retrieved 21 May 2011).

The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser. 15 March 1779, No. 3063.

The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser. 29 January 1780, No. 3338.

The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser. 28 April 1780, No. 3415.

- The Morning Herald*. 30 June 1788, No. 2399.
- The Morning Herald*. 15 February 1793, No. 4343.
- The Morning Herald*. 18 July 1793, No. 4476.
- The Morning Herald*. 2 September 1799.
- The Morning Post*. 21 November 1808, No. 11799.
- The Morning Post*. 21 June 1809, No. 11980.
- The Morning Post*. 29 July 1812, No. 12951.
- The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*. 24 February 1779, No. 1985.
- The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*. 10 February 1780, No. 2286.
- The Morning Post and Fashionable World*. 13 July 1795, No. 7316.
- The Morning Post and Fashionable World*. 13 April 1796, No. 7525.
- The NIV Study Bible, New International Version*. (1985). Grand Rapids, MI: The Zondervan Corporation.
- The Observer*. 12 August 1798, No. 347.
- The Oracle and Daily Advertiser*. 1 December 1798, No. 21843.
- The Oracle and Daily Advertiser*. 15 May 1800, No. 22287.
- The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*. 13 December 1786.
- The Philosophical Magazine*. (1810). London: Richard Taylor & Company.
- 'The Pianos at the Mews (from David's Autobiography).' (2013). In 'David Watkin: Oscar-Winning Cinematographer', in *Watkin*. UK: The David Watkin Society. davidwatkin.co.uk/pianos-at-the-mews-from-clara/ (retrieved 11 December 2013).
- The Public Advertiser*. 23 August 1763, No. 8981.
- The Public Advertiser*. 27 March 1764.
- The Public Advertiser*. 21 January 1765.
- The Public Advertiser*. 27 September 1765, No. 9643.
- The Public Advertiser*. 2 May 1766, No. 9826.
- The Public Advertiser*. 1 February 1768, No. 10376.

'The Regency Style.' (1997–2008). In *Restorations Network*. The Restorations Network. www.restorations.net/regency/regency.htm (retrieved 14 June 2011).

The Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry. Naval Hospital at East Stonehouse. Le Caton Hospital Ship. Ordered to be Printed 11th July 1804. House of Commons Papers; Reports of Commissioners, 1803–04.

'The Sixth Berwick 1781–1786—Storeship/Troopship.' (n.d.). In *HMS Berwick*. www.twogreens.co.uk/navy/SHIPS/BERWICK.htm (retrieved 9 December 2008).

The South Australian Advertiser. 15 February 1869. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31986650 (retrieved 29 November 2011).

The Star. 5 July 1800, No. 3628.

The Sydney Herald. 16 May 1831, Vol. 1, No. 5. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527231 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

The Sydney Herald. 20 February 1832, Vol. 2. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527409 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

The Sydney Herald. 2 April 1832, Vol. 2, No. 51. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527431 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

The Sydney Herald. 9 April 1832, Vol. 2, No. 52. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527435 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

The Sydney Herald. 16 April 1832, Vol. 2, No. 53. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527439 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

The Sydney Herald. 23 April 1832, Vol. 2, No. 54. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527443 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

The Sydney Herald. 11 June 1832, Vol. 2, No. 65. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527489 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

The Sydney Herald. 14 June 1832, Vol. 2, No. 66. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527493 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

The Sydney Herald. 15 June 1832, Vol. 2.

The Sydney Herald. 18 June 1832, Vol. 2, No. 67. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527497 (retrieved 28 July 2011).

- The Sydney Herald*. 21 June 1832, Vol. 2, No. 68. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527501 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 25 June 1832, Vol. 2, No. 69. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527505 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 28 June 1832, Vol. 2, No. 70. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527509 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 24 December 1832, Vol. 2, No. 121. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527741 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 27 December 1832, Vol. 2. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527745 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 3 June 1833, Vol. 3, No. 167. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527945 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 6 June 1833, Vol. 3, No. 168. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1527953 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 15 July 1833, Vol. 3, No. 179. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1528011 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 18 July 1833, Vol. 3, No. 180. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1528017 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 29 August 1833, Vol. 3, No. 192. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1528073 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 5 September 1833, Vol. 3, No. 194. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1528083 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 26 September 1833, Vol. 3, No. 200. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1528115 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 30 September 1833, Vol. 3, No. 201. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1528123 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 3 October 1833, Vol. 3, No. 202. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1528129 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 3 April 1834, Vol. 4, No. 254. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1528390 (retrieved 6 November 2010).

- The Sydney Herald*. 7 April 1834, Vol. 4, No. 255. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1528394 (retrieved 6 November 2010).
- The Sydney Herald*. 10 April 1834, Vol. 4, No. 256. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1528398 (retrieved 28 July 2010).
- The Sydney Herald*. 14 April 1834, Vol. 4, No. 257. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1528402 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 24 April 1834, Vol. 4, No. 260. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1528416 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 19 October 1835, Vol. 5. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1529088 (retrieved 27 December 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 4 February 1836, Vol. 6. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12853811 (retrieved 23 June 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 12 January 1837, Vol. 7. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12858348 (retrieved 23 June 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 8 August 1838, Vol. 8. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/title/37
- The Sydney Herald*. 19 October 1838, Vol. 8. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12861172 (retrieved 23 June 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 18 February 1839, Vol. 9, No. 796. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1525465 (retrieved 21 May 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 20 February 1839, Vol. 9. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1525471 (retrieved 21 May 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 8 May 1839, Vol. 9, No. 830. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1525601 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 27 May 1839, Vol. 9, No. 838. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1525633 (retrieved 28 July 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 20 September 1839, Vol. 9. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1525868 (retrieved 21 May 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 29 November 1839, Vol. 9. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12860881 (retrieved 22 May 2011).

- The Sydney Herald*. 10 April 1840, Vol. 10, No. 975. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1526255 (retrieved 21 May 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 25 May 1840, Vol. 10. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12859236 (retrieved 21 May 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 29 June 1840, Vol. 10, No. 1007. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1524005 (retrieved 21 May 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 9 July 1842, Vol. 14. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12876069 (retrieved 21 May 2011).
- The Sydney Herald*. 2 November 1861, Vol. 44. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13059732 (retrieved 21 May 2011).
- The Sydney Monitor*. 25 April 1829, Vol. 4. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/4244971 (retrieved 12 July 2011).
- The Times*. 21 December 1786.
- The Times*. 30 October 1787.
- The Times*. 23 February 1788.
- The Times*. 7 February 1793.
- The Times*. 6 May 1793, No. 2603.
- The Times*. 28 February 1795, No. 950228.
- The Times*. 23 July 1795.
- The Times*. 19 February 1796.
- The Times*. 13 February 1797.
- The Times*. 13 November 1798, No. 4331.
- The Times*. 26 November 1798.
- The Times*. 15 July 1815, No. 9574.
- 'The Trouble with John: A Biographical Snapshot.' (2006). In *Elizabeth Farm Museum: A Regular Posting of News and Updates for Museum Staff and Volunteers*, May 2006. Elizabeth Farm, NSW: Public Program. troublewithjohn.blogspot.com/ (retrieved 25 November 2008).

The University of Edinburgh. (n.d.). Russell Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments, St Cecilia's Hall, Niddrey Street, Edinburgh, EH1 1JL. Catalogue no. P2-ZJ1768.35. www.music.ed.ac.uk/russell/instruments/p2jz176835/stringing.html (retrieved 1 March 2010).

The Whitehall Evening Post. 14–16 August 1794, No. 7449.

'The William F. Bradshaw Collection, 19th Century American Furniture and Decorative Arts—Shapiro Auctioneers.' (n.d.). In *Antiques Reporter*. Armadale, Vic.: John Furphy Pty Ltd.

The World. 17 February 1791, No. 1289.

The World. 14 April 1791, No. 1337.

The World. 24 May 1791, No. 1371.

The World. 12 March 1792, No. 1622.

The World. 22 January 1794, No. 2206.

Thomas, J. H. (1987). 'Portsmouth and the First Fleet 1786–1787.' In *The Portsmouth Papers*, No. 50, April. Portsmouth: Portsmouth City Council.

Thompson, E. P. (1978). 'Eighteenth Century English Society: Class Struggle without Class.' In *Social History*, Vol. 3, No. 2, May. London: Taylor & Francis.

Thompson, S. (2006). 'Statement of Significance: HMS *Sirius* Anchor and Canon c.1780–1790.' In *Objects through Time*. Sydney: Migration Heritage Centre New South Wales at the Powerhouse Museum. www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/objectsthroughtime/anchor/ (retrieved 9 December 2008).

Thomson, A. (August–December 1831). *Journal of a Voyage to Australia*. Doc. 2801. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

Thomson, H. (ed.). (1987). *Catherine Helen Spence*. Brisbane: University of Queensland Press.

Thon, C. F. G. (1817). *Ueber Klavierinstrumente: deren Ankauf, Behandlung und Stimmung* [Concerning Keyboard Instruments: Their Purchase, Treatment and Tuning]. Sondershausen: Bernhard Friedrich Voight.

Thorpe, O. (1967). 'Murphy, Francis (1795–1858).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/murphy-francis-2493/text3359 (retrieved 22 May 2011). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 2. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]

- Tillyard, S. (1999). *Aristocrats: The Illustrated Companion to the Television Series*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- 'To All Harpsichord Performers.' *London Evening Post*, 29 February – 3 March 1772, No. 6889.
- Tom Hodgkinson's Ancestors*. hodgers.com/media/temporary/hodgers_tree.pdf (retrieved 21 March 2011).
- Tomlinson, C. (ed.). (1854). *Cyclopædia of the Useful Arts, Mechanical and Chemical, Manufactures, Mining, and Engineering*. Vol. 2. London: James S. Virtue. www.archive.org/details/cyclopdiaofuse02tomlrch (retrieved 24 December 2011).
- 'Tonality.' (n.d.). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tonality (retrieved 16 January 2013).
- Treseder, S. (2011). 'Marriage Certificates Explained: What is the Difference between a Church Marriage Certificate and a GRO Marriage Certificate?' In *The Cornwall Family History Society*, No. 141, September, p. 29. Truro, Cornwall: The Cornwall Family History Society.
- 'Trials for Adultery.' In *The London Chronicle*, 5–7 October 1779, No. 3567.
- True Briton*. 20 July 1797.
- Trustler, J. (1790). *The London Adviser and Guide: Containing Every Instruction and Information Useful and Necessary to Persons Living in London and Coming to Reside There; In Order to Enable them to Enjoy Security and Tranquility, and Conduct their Domestic Affairs with Prudence and Economy. Together with an Abstract of all those Laws which Regard their Protection against the Frauds, Impositions, Insults and Accidents to which they are There Liable ... Useful also to Foreigners. Note, this Work Treats Fully of Every Thing on the Above Subjects that Can be Thought of*. 2nd edn. London: Literary-Press.
- 'Tuning Fork.' (n.d.). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tuning_fork (retrieved 3 February 2012).
- Turnbull, W. (1806). *The Naval Surgeon; Comprising the Entire Duties of Professional Men at Sea. To which are Subjoined, a System of Naval Surgery, and a Compendious Pharmacopoeia. The Whole Illustrated by Plates*. London: Richard Phillips & B. McMillan.
- Twain, M. (1898). *Following the Equator: A Journey Around the World*. Hartford, Conn.: The American Publishing Company. Project Gutenberg eBook. No. 2895-h. Last updated 18 October 2012. www.gutenberg.org/files/2895/2895-h/2895-h.htm (retrieved 30 July 2013).

Tylecote, M. (1957). *The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Tyler, J. (2009). 'Inventory ... Beck, Frederick ca 1738–ca 1798.' In 'English Guittar Makers in 18th Century Britain: A Directory.' In C. Goodwin (ed.), *FoMRHI Quarterly*, No. 113, August, pp. 11–18. Albury, Guildford: Fellowship of Makers and Researchers of Historical Instruments Quarterly.

'Unclaimed Letters—August 31 1853.' *Supplement to The South Australian Register*, 21 September 1853, Vol. 17, No. 2189, p. 2S. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/48548478 (retrieved 29 November 2011).

Unger-Hamilton, C. (1981). *Keyboard Instruments: The Instruments, the Music & the Musicians*. Minneapolis: Control Data Publishing.

'Update (2) December 12th.' (n.d.). In *Friends of Square Pianos*. www.friendsofsquarepianos.co.uk/ (retrieved 15 December 2013).

'Upright Pianoforte by John Benham, 1830–1840.' (n.d.) In *Powerhouse Museum Collection Search 2.53*. Sydney: Powerhouse Museum. www.powerhousemuseum.com/collection/database/?irn=251609&search=john+b+enham&imags=&c=&s= (retrieved 27 December 2011).

Urban, S. (1790). 'Obituary of Considerable Persons; With Biographical Anecdotes.' In *The Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Chronicle. For the Year MDCCXC*, Vol. LX, Part 2. London: John Nichols. books.google.com.au/books?id=d65JAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA770&lpg=PA770&dq=Dr+John+Worgan+children&source=bl&ots=qi_ReLD3md&sig=gB0U-uv50Lkg9NNrIoCoIfFv1EI&hl=en&ei=-1XhTeHoHYeOuQOKvpShBw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CCMQ6AEwA#v=onepage&q=Worgan&f=false (retrieved 29 May 2011).

Urban, S. (1809). *The Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Chronicle. For the Year 1809*. Vol. 79, Part 1. London: John Nichols & Son. books.google.com.au/books?id=toPXggtAD34C&pg=PA40&lpg=PA40&dq=Foot's+minuet&source=bl&ots=g6hvo6XTTS&sig=yAC9SBN4PtaifTuKvXyfpfmdlZ8&hl=en&ei=eOZUTM7QEYGougPP8KH0CQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=6&ved=0CCoQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=Foot's%20Minuet&f=false (retrieved 6 November 2010).

Urban, S. (1845). 'Obituary.' In *The Gentleman's Magazine*, (NS), Vol. 23, March, p. 316. London: John Bower Nicols & Son. books.google.com.au/books?id=OanPAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA316&lpg=PA316&dq=P.+W.+Mayow&source=bl&ots=kirljeInDM&sig=jO2GpRjv4_q2U5fQ1fCs5-OZgyA&hl=en&ei=RGFPT

- qaCFYXliALXzLChAQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=6&ved=0CDwQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=P.%20W.%20Mayow&f=false (retrieved 20 August 2011).
- Ustinov, P. (1998). *Dear Me*. London: Arrow Books.
- van Barthold, K. and Buckton, D. (1975). *The Story of the Piano*. London: BBC.
- van Blankenburg, Q. (1739). *Elementa musica, of nieuw licht tot het welverstann van de musiec en de bas continuo* [*Elements of Music, or New Light On Understanding Music and Basso Continuo*]. 's-Gravenhage: Laurens Berkoske.
- 'Van Diemen's Land News.' *The Sydney Herald*, 5 February 1838, Vol. 8, p. 3. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/1526983 (retrieved 6 July 2012).
- van Epenhuysen Rose, M. (2009). 'Un clavecin piano et forte, d'une harmonie ronde et moëlleuse [Aesthetic Features of the Early French Piano].' In *Musique, Images, Instruments No. 11. Revue française d'organologie et d'iconographie musicale. Le pianoforte en France 1780–1820* [*Music, Images, Instruments No. 11. Review of French Organology and Musical Iconography: The Pianoforte in France 1780–1820*], pp. 163–79. Paris: Laboratoire d'organologie et d'iconographie of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- van Manen, M. (1991). *The Tact of Teaching: The Meaning of Pedagogical Thoughtfulness*. London, Ontario: The Althouse Press.
- van Oort, B. (1993). *The English Classical Piano Style and its Influence on Haydn and Beethoven*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY.
- van Til, M. (2007). *George Frideric Handel: A Music Lover's Guide to His Life, His Faith & the Development of Messiah & His Other Oratorios*. Youngstown, NY: WordPower Publishing.
- Various Composers. (1756). *Apollo's Cabinet: Or the Muse's Delight. An Accurate Collection of English and Italian Songs, Cantatas and Duets, Set to Music for the Harpsichord, Violin, German-Flute, &c. with Instructions for the Voice, Violin, Harpsichord or Spinet, German-Flute, Common-Flute, Hautboy, French-Horn, Basson, and Bass-Violin. Also, a Compleat Musical Dictionary, and Several Hundred English, Irish and Scots Songs, without the Music*. Vol. 1. Liverpool: John Sadler.
- Vass, L. and Molnár, M. (2006). *Handmade Shoes for Men*. Potsdam: H. F. Ullmann.
- Veblen, T. (1994 [1899]). *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. London: Penguin.

- Velea, L. (n.d.). 'Arthur Schopenhauer.' In *Authors.Citapedia.com*. authors.citapedia.com/by.php?p=2&a=Arthur+Schopenhauer (retrieved 25 February 2013)
- Vernon, F. V. (1792). *Voyages and Travels of a Sea Officer*. Dublin: Wm M'Kenzie.
- Vickery, A. (1998). *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*. New Haven, Conn., & London: Yale University Press.
- Vickery, A. (2009). *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England*. New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press.
- 'Viotor, Harman Bernard.' (2011–13). In *The Early Piano: Authentic Materials for Early Keyboard Instruments*. Dorchester, Dorset: Early Piano. earlypiano.co.uk/2013/viotor-harman-bernard/ (retrieved 23 February 2013).
- 'Vincenzo Lunardi.' (2012). In *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vincenzo_Lunardi (retrieved 25 January 2012).
- von der Wagon Brecht, H. (ed.). (n.d. [2008?]). *Quotable Arthur Schopenhauer: Kernels of Wisdom and Insights*. Morrisville, NC: Lulu Enterprises.
- von Dittersdorf, K. D. (1798). 'Über die Grenzen des Komischen und des Heroischen in der Musik [Beyond the Boundaries of the Comic and the Heroic in Music].' In *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung [General Music Journal]*. Leipzig.
- von Schönfeld, J. F. (1976). *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag [Yearbook of Music from Vienna and Prague]*. Facsimile edn. Munich: Emil Katzbichler. [Originally published Vienna: Im von Schönfeldischen Verlag, 1796.]
- Wagner, R. (1986). *Symbols that Stand for Themselves*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wainwright, D. (1975). *The Piano Makers*. London: Hutchinson & Co.
- Wainwright, D. (1982). *Broadwood by Appointment: A History*. London: Quiller Press.
- Waltzman, M. S. (2003). *Early Keyboard Instruments: The Benton Fletcher Collection at Fenton House*. London: The National Trust.
- Wakefield, R. (1789). *Wakefield's Merchant and Tradesman's General Directory for London, Westminster, Borough of Southwark, and Twenty-Two Miles Circular from St. Paul's, for the Year 1790. Containing an Accurate List of the*

- Names and Places of Abode of the Merchants, Manufacturers, and Principle Tradesmen, Alphabetically Arranged, with the Numbers as they are Affixed to their Houses, Agreeable to the Late Acts of Parliament.* London: J. Mackenzie.
- Wakefield, R. (1793?). *Wakefield's Merchant and Tradesman's General Directory for London, Westminster, Borough of Southwark, and Twenty-Two Miles Circular from St. Paul's, for the Year 1794. Containing an Accurate List of the Names and Places of Abode of the Merchants, Manufacturers, and Principle Tradesmen, Alphabetically Arranged, with the Numbers as they are Affixed to their Houses, Agreeable to the Late Acts of Parliament.* London: T. Davison.
- Walker, G. (2011). 'William Southwell and His Upright Square Piano.' In *The Early Piano*. earlypiano.co.uk/william-southwell/ (retrieved 18 September 2012).
- Walker, G. (2011–13). 'Beck, Arnold Frederick.' In *The Early Piano*. earlypiano.co.uk/2013/arnold-frederick-beck/ (retrieved 23 February 2013).
- Wallace, R. K. (1986). *Emily Bronte and Beethoven: Romantic Equilibrium in Fiction and Music*. Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press.
- Waller, M. and Bradbury, D. (2000). *Fusion Interiors: The International Design of Andrew Martin*. New York: Watson-Guption Publications.
- Walls, P. (2003). *History, Imagination and the Performance of Music*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Walpole, H. (1785). *Essay on Modern Gardening*. Strawberry-Hill: T. Kirgate. www.gardensite.com/history_theory/library_online_ebooks/walpole_history_gardening/thomas_whateley_horace_walpole (retrieved 27 August 2011).
- Walsh, D. (1967). *The Admiral's Wife*. Melbourne: Hawthorn Press.
- Wannan, B. (1972). *Early Colonial Scandals: The Turbulent Times of Samuel Marsden*. Melbourne: Lansdowne Press.
- Ward-Jackson, P. (1984). *English Furniture Designs of the Eighteenth Century*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum.
- Warren, T. (ed.). (n.d. [1782?]). *A Collection of Catches Canons and Gleees for Three, Four, Five, Six and Nine Voices Never before Published. Selected by Thomas Warren*. London: Longman & Broderip.
- Warren, T. (ed.). (n.d. [1772?]). *A Tenth Collection of Catches, Canons and Gleees for Three, Four, Five and Six Voices*. London: Longman & Broderip.

- Warren, T. (ed.). (n.d.). *A Twenty Sixth Collection of Catches, Canons and Glee's for Three, Four and Five Voices Most Humbly Inscribed to the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Catch Club at the Thatch'd House Tavern, St. James's by their Much Obliged and Devoted Servant Thomas Warren*. London: Longman & Broderip.
- Washington, G. (12 October 1761). 'Letter to John Didsbury.' In J. C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745–1799*, Vol. 2, p. 370. 39 vols. Charlottesville: George Washington Resources at the University of Virginia Library. etext.virginia.edu/washington/fitzpatrick/ (retrieved 16 May 2012).
- Waterhouse, H. (1788). 'Letter to William Waterhouse, 11 July 1788.' In *Discover Collections at Your State Library*, p. 1. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Discover Collections. www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/terra_australis/letters/waterhouse/index.html (retrieved 30 March 2011).
- Waterhouse, H. (1806). 'Letter Received by Banks from Henry Waterhouse, 10 June 1806.' In *Papers of Sir Joseph Banks*, Series 23.42, Frame no. CY 3008/164. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Online Collections. image.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks/80164.jpg (retrieved 27 December 2008).
- Watson, J. R. (2012). *Clinkscale Online: A Comprehensive Database of Early Pianos, 1700–1860*. www.earlypianos.org/ (retrieved 7 December 2012).
- Watson, J. R. (2013). *Changing Keys: Keyboard Instruments for America 1700–1830*. Williamsburg, Va: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
- Weather*. (2010). Vol. 65, No. 12, December. Melbourne: Royal Meteorological Society & Crown.
- 'Weather & Climate.' (1992). In *Book of Australian Facts*, pp. 232–7. Sydney: Reader's Digest Australia.
- Webby, E. (1992). 'Pipes and Odes: Literature and Music.' In J. Broadbent and J. Hughes (eds), *The Age of Macquarie*, pp. 88–100. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press in association with Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.
- Weber, W. (1992). *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Weber, W. (1997). 'Did People Listen in the 18th Century?' In *Early Music*, Vol. 25, No. 4, November, pp. 678–92. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Weber, W. (2004). 'Music Culture and the Capital City: The Epoch of the *Beau Monde* in London, 1700–1870.' In S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh (eds), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, pp. 71–89. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Weber, W. and Burrows, D. (2005). 'Henry Purcell and *The Universal Journal*: The Building of Musical Canon in the 1720s.' In J. H. Jackson and S. C. Pelkey (eds), *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines*, pp. 181–99. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Webster, J. (1998). 'Haydn's Symphonies between *Sturm und Drang* and "Classical Style": Art and Entertainment.' In W. D. Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies*, pp. 218–45. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weckerlin, J.-B. (1890). 'Etat des instruments de musique enlevés du dépôt nationale, Rue Bergère, pour être transférés au Conservatoire, établi aux Menus, ainsi que ceux qui ont été delivres ailleurs par ordre du Comité d'instruction publique et du ministère (1795).' ['State Listed Musical Instruments Stored in the National Warehouse, Bergère Street, to be Transferred to the Conservatorium, as well as Those to be Delivered Elsewhere by Order of the Committee of Public Instruction and the Ministry (1795).] In *Nouveau Musiciana* [*New Musiciana*], pp. 145–69. Paris: Garnier Frères.
- 'Wedgwood Medallion Made from Dark Grey Clay from Sydney Cove, 1789.' (n.d.). In *Search Our Collections*. Canberra: National Museum Australia. www.nma.gov.au/collections-search/display?irn=73354 (retrieved 9 July 2011).
- Wehking, C. M. (1983). *Music and the Pursuit of Happiness in the Eighteenth Century*. Minneapolis: University Gallery, University of Minnesota.
- Wells, E. (1978). *The Royal College of Music Museum of Instruments: Guide to the Collection*. London: Royal College of Music.
- Welsh, F. (2004). *Australia: A New History of the Great Southern Land*. Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press.
- Wendeborn, G. F. A. (1791). *A View of England towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century*. By Fred. Aug. Wendeborn, LL. D. Translated from the Original German, by the Author Himself. In *Two Volumes*. Dublin: P. Wogan, P. Byrne, J. Moore, J. Jones, A. Grueber, W. Jones, R. White & J. Rice.
- Werkmeister, A. (1698). *Erweiterte und Verbesserte Orgel-Probe* [*Advanced and Improved Organ-Practice*]. Quedlinburg: Theodori Philippi Calvisii.
- West, A. (2006). *Australia Now: Inside the Lifestyles of the Rich & Tasteful*. North Melbourne: Pluto Press.

- West, J. (1899). *Cathedral Organists, Past and Present: A Record of the Succession of Organists of the Cathedrals, Chapels Royal, and Principal Collegiate Churches of the United Kingdom, from about the Period of the Reformation until the Present Day: With Biographical Notes, Extracts from the Charter Books, Anecdotes, &c.* London: Novello & Co.
- West, R. (2001 [1941]). *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: A Journey through Yugoslavia.* Edinburgh: Canongate Classics.
- West Briton.* 8 June 1838.
- Wheelock, G. A. (1992). *Haydn's Ingenious Jesting with Art: Contexts of Musical Wit and Humor.* New York: Schirmer Books.
- White, J. (1790). *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales with Sixty-Five Plates of Non Descript Animals, Birds, Lizards, Serpents, Curious Cones of Trees and Other Natural Productions.* London: J. Debrett.
- White, J. (1962 [1790]). *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales.* Sydney: Angus & Robertson.
- White, O. H. (1927). 'The Letters of William Collins.' In *Review of English Studies*, Vol. os-III, No. 9, January, pp. 12–21. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Whitehead, L. and Nex, J. (n.d.). *Sun insurance policies 1710–79, A to D.* London: The Galpin Society. www.galpinsociety.org/galpinextras/GS_Whitehead&Nex_A_to_D.pdf (retrieved 27 December 2014).
- Whitley, G. P. (1967). 'Lhotsky, John (1795–1866).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lhotsky-john-2357/text3085 (retrieved 28 February 2012). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 2. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Wier, A. E. (1940). *The Piano: Its History, Makers, Players and Music.* London: Longmans, Green & Co.
- Wilkes, J. (1793?). *Directory to the Nobility, Gentry, and Families of Distinction, in London, Westminster, &c. being a Supplement to the British Directory of Trade, Commerce, and Manufacture, for 1793. Together with the Alterations, Corrections, and Additional Names, in the List of Merchants, Manufactures, Brokers, and Traders.* London: J. Wilkes. find.galegroup.com/rp.nla.gov.au/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nla&tabID=T001&docId=CB126422780&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticle&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE (retrieved 4 March 2013).

- Williams, J.-P. (2002). *The Piano: An Inspirational Guide to the Piano and its Place in History*. London: Quarto Publishing.
- Williams, K. (2013). 'In Defence of Beauty.' In *The Monthly*, No. 94, October, pp. 11–12.
- Williams, R. and Lloyd, M. (1999). *The Australian Room: Antiques and Collectibles from 1788*. Melbourne: Lothian Books.
- Williamson, T. (1810). *East India Vade-Mecum; Or; Complete Guide to Gentlemen Intended for the Civil, Military, or Naval Service of the Hon. East India Company*. 2 vols. London: Black, Parry & Kingsbury. www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/dcd/williamson.htm (retrieved 16 July 2010).
- Wilson, J. (ed.). (1959). *Roger North on Music Being a Selection from His Essays Written during the Years c. 1695–1728*. Transcribed and edited by J. Wilson. London: Novello & Company.
- Wilson, T. (1759). *The Knowledge and Practice of Christianity Made Easy to the Meanest Capacities: Or, an Essay Towards an Instruction for the Indians*. London: B. Dod.
- 'Wiltshire Community History.' (n.d.). Wiltshire Council. www.wiltshire.gov.uk/community/getimage.php?id=651 (retrieved 17 February 2010).
- 'Windsor.' (1993). In *Historic Places of Australia*. Canberra: Historic Council of National Trusts.
- Windsor and Richmond Gazette*. 4 January 1935, Vol. 47. Trove, National Library of Australia. trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/85798423 (retrieved 9 August 2013).
- Winternitz, E. (1966). *Musical Instruments of the Western World*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Winternitz, E. (1979). *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Wolff, K. (1958). 'Johann Samuel Schroeter.' In *Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 44, p. 341.
- Wollenberg, S. (2002). *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wollenberg, S. and McVeigh, S. (eds). (2004). *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

- Woodfield, I. (n.d.). *The Calcutta Piano Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [fds.oup.com/www.oup.co.uk/pdf/0-19-816730-X.pdf](https://www.oup.com/pdf/0-19-816730-X.pdf) (retrieved 5 January 2013).
- Woodfield, I. (2003). *Salomon and the Burneys: Private Patronage and a Public Career*. Aldershot, UK: The Royal Musical Association.
- Woodfield, I. (2005). *Music of the Raj: A Social and Economic History of Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Indian Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Woodward, J. (1770). *A Kind Caution to Profane Swearers*. London: John Rivington.
- Worbs, H. C. (1992). Liner notes for *Geminiani: Concerti Grossi*. CD: SK 48043. Sony Classical.
- 'Worgan.' (n.d.). In *Insolvency Index, New South Wales State Records*, File no. 00786. Sydney: NSW State Records Office. srwww.records.nsw.gov.au/indexsearch/searchhits_nocopy.aspx?table=Insolvency+Index&ID=10&query=Worgan&frm=0 (retrieved 25 May 2011).
- Worgan Family Records*. www.bikwil.com/Vintage40/Worgan-Family.html
- Worgan, G. B. (1788). 'Letter and Journal, June 1788.' C830, FM4/67. Sydney: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
- Worgan, G. B. (1811). *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall, Drawn Up and Published by Order of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement*. London: B. McMillan. Internet Archive, www.archive.org/stream/generalviewagri00worggoog#page/n0/mode/2up (retrieved 29 May and 1 October 2011).
- Worgan, G. B. (1978 [1788]). *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon*. Sydney: The William Dixon Foundation. Project Gutenberg of Australia eBook, No. 0400181. gutenberg.net.au/ebooks04/0400181.txt (retrieved 27 June 2010).
- Worgan, G. B. (1978 [1788]). *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon by George B. Worgan, Surgeon of the Sirius*. The William Dixon Foundation, No. 16. Sydney: Library Council of New South Wales in association with Library of Australian History.
- Worgan, J. (n.d.). *Pieces for the Harp ... by Dr. Worgan*. London: W. Owen.
- Worgan, J. (ca 1745). *Blest as the Immortal Gods is He. Set to Musick by Mr. Worgan*. London: J. Simpson.

- Worgan, J. (1748). 'The Shepherd's Wedding. Set by Mr. Worgan.' In *The Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle*, Vol. 18, p. 420. London: Edw. Cave.
- Worgan, J. (1748–69). *The Fair Thief. Set by Mr. Worgan; And Sung by Mr. Lowe at Vaux-Hall*. London: Robert Thompson.
- Worgan, J. (1751). *The Agreeable Choice. A Collection of Songs Sung by Miss Burchell, Miss Stevenson, and Mr. Lowe at Vaux-Hall-Gardens; Set by Mr. Worgan*. London: I. Walsh.
- Worgan, J. (1752). *A Collection of New Songs and Ballads Sung by Miss Burchell, Mr. Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan*. London: J. Johnson.
- Worgan, J. (1753). *A Collection of New Songs and Ballads Particularly the Favourite Dialogue (No Never) Sung by Mr. Lowe & Miss Stephenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan*. London: J. Johnson.
- Worgan, J. (1754). *A Collection of New Songs and Ballads Sung by Miss Burchell, Mr. Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan*. London: J. Johnson.
- Worgan, J. (1755). *A Trio for Three Voices. With Instruments. Sung by Miss Burchell, Miss Stevenson, and Mr. Lowe in Vaux Hall Gardens*. London: Printed for the Author.
- Worgan, J. (1755). *The New Ballads Sung by Mr. Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan Book the 4th*. London: Jn. Johnson.
- Worgan, J. (1756). *The New Ballads Sung by Mr. Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan Book the 5th*. London: Jn. Johnson.
- Worgan, J. (1757). *The New Ballads Sung by Mr. Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan Book the 6th*. London: Jn. Johnson.
- Worgan, J. (1758). *The Songs and Ballads Sung by Mr. Lowe and Miss Stevenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. John Worgan Book the VII*. London: John Johnson.
- Worgan, J. (1759). *The Songs and Ballads Sung by Mr. Lowe and Miss Stevenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan. Book the VIII*. London: John Johnson.
- Worgan, J. (1760). *A Collection of the New Songs Sung at Vaux Hall by Mrs. Vincent & Mr. Lowe. Set to Music by Mr. Worgan Book the IX*. London: John Johnson.

- Worgan, J. (1760). 'A Martial Song. A Song on the Taking of Montreal. Sung by Mr. Lowe; Set by Mr. Worgan.' In *The London Magazine: Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, 1760, Vol. 29, p. 660. London: R. Baldwin.
- Worgan, J. (1761). *A Collection of the New Songs Sung at Vaux Hall by Mrs. Vincent & Mr. Lowe Set to Music by Mr. Worgan Book the X*. London: J. Johnson.
- Worgan, J. (1762). 'Jockey & Jenny. A Favourite Dialogue.' In Various Composers, *Clio and Euterpe or British Harmony: A Collection of Celebrated Songs and Cantatas by the Most Approv'd Masters*, pp. 148–9. London: Henry Roberts.
- Worgan, J. (1764). *Hannah: An Oratorio Written by Mr. Smart; The Musick Composed by Mr. Worgan; As Perform'd at the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market*. London: J. & R. Tonson.
- Worgan, J. (ca 1767–70). *Dearest Kitty, Kind and Fair. Set to Music by Mr. Worgan*. London: H. Fought.
- Worgan, J. (1769). *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord*. London: Mrs Johnson.
- Worgan, J. (1770). *The New Ballads Sung this Summer at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan. Book the 11th*. London: Mrs Johnson.
- Worgan, J. (1771). *A Collection of the Favourite Songs Now Singing in Vauxhall Gardens, by Mrs. Weichsell, Miss Jameson, Miss Cowper, and Mr. Vernon. Set by Mr. Worgan*. London: Mrs Johnson.
- Worgan, J. (1771). *A Collection of the Favourite Songs Sung this Summer in Vaux Hall Gardens by Mrs. Weichsell, Miss Jameson, Miss Cowper, & Mr. Vernon. Set by Mr. Worgan. Book the 13th*. London: Mrs. Johnson.
- Worgan, J. (n.d. [1772?]). 'As Colin One Ev'ning Walk'd Out to the Grove.' In *A Tenth Collection of Catches, Canons and Gleees for Three, Four, Five and Six Voices*. London: Longman & Broderip.
- Worgan, J. (n.d. [1772?]). 'As Joan Lamenting Her Good Man.' In *A Tenth Collection of Catches, Canons and Gleees for Three, Four, Five and Six Voices*. London: Longman & Broderip.
- Worgan, J. (n.d. [1772?]). 'Come Hither My Merry Boys All in a Ring.' In *A Tenth Collection of Catches, Canons and Gleees for Three, Four, Five and Six Voices*. London: Longman & Broderip.
- Worgan, J. (n.d. [1772?]). 'Come Hither My Pretty Maid.' In *A Tenth Collection of Catches, Canons and Gleees for Three, Four, Five and Six Voices*. London: Longman & Broderip.

- Worgan, J. (n.d. [1772?]). 'Tom Cobler Mending of a Shoe.' In *A Tenth Collection of Catches, Canons and Glee's for Three, Four, Five and Six Voices*. London: Longman & Broderip.
- Worgan, J. (ca 1775). *The Little Coquette*. London: R. Falkener.
- Worgan, J. (n.d. [1776?]). 'Prithee is Not Miss Chloe's a Comical Case.' In *A Collection of Catches Canons and Glee's for Three, Four, Five, Six and Nine Voices Never before Published Selected by Thomas Warren*. London: Longman & Broderip.
- Worgan, J. (1780). *Pieces for the Harpsichord, Composed Purposely for Forming the Hands of Young Pupils to that Instrument, with the Help of a Proper Instructor*. London: W. Owen.
- Worgan, J. (1785). *A New Concerto for the Harpsichord, with the Parts of Accompanyment, Consisting of Two Violins and a Violon-Cello Composed by Dr. Worgan Purposely for the Practice and Improvement of His Pupils, and Others Who are Attaining a Command of that Instrumt.* London: Published by the Author.
- Worgan, J. (1789?). *Six Canzonets for Two and Three Voices. Composed Purposely for Dilettanti*. London: Longman & Broderip.
- Worgan, J. (1797?). *Port and Sherry, or, Britons be Wise and Merry. A Favorite New Song. Written and Composed by J Worgan*. London: Longman & Broderip.
- Worgan, M. (1740). *The Dying Nightingale. Set to Musick by Miss Worgan*. Shelfmark H 1994 b (89). London: British Library.
- 'Worgan: Membership No. A381.' In *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain. The Catalogue: RSM Members 1800–1849*. www.royalsocietyofmusicians.co.uk/members-1849.html (retrieved 24 August 2011).
- Worgan, T. D. (1829). *The Musical Reformer, Comprising, an Apology for Intellectual Music; The Musical Utopia; The Penultimate; And Some Account of a Musical Composition, in Forty-Five Parts*. London: S. Maunder.
- Yarwood, A. T. (1967). 'Marsden, Samuel (1765–1838).' In *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/marsden-samuel-2433/text3237 (retrieved 10 November 2010). [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 2. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.]
- Yonge, C. D. (ed.). (1890). *Letters of Horace Walpole*. 2 vols. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

- Yorke, T. (2009). *Georgian & Regency Houses Explained*. Newbury, Berkshire: Countryside Books.
- Young, P. M. (1965). *The Concert Tradition: From the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Young, P. M. (1967). *A History of British Music*. London: Ernest Benn.
- Young, T. (1800). 'Outlines of Experiments and Inquiries Respecting Sound and Light: XVI. Of the Temperament of Musical Intervals.' In *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 90, Part 1, pp. 106–50. London: W. Bulmer & Co.
- Youngson, A. J. (1979). *The Scientific Revolution in Victorian Medicine*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Zilberquit, M. (1987). *The Book of the Piano—An Illustrated History*. Neptune, NJ: Paganiniana Publications.
- Zimmermann, J. G. (1784). *Über die Einsamkeit [On Solitude]*. Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich.
- Zimmermann, J. G. (1806 [1791]). *Solitude Considered, with Respect to its Influence upon the Mind and the Heart. Written Originally in German by M. Zimmermann, Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty, at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier*. New-London, Conn.: Cady & Eells. Internet Archive, American Libraries, University of California Libraries. www.archive.org/details/considersolitude00zimmrich (retrieved 7 December 2008).
- Zohn, S. (2008). *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre, and Meaning in Telemann's Instrumental Works*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 'Zustand der Musik in England, besonders in London.' ['State of Music in England, Especially in London.'] (1802). In *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung [General Music Journal]*, Vol. 5, No. 12. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

THE FIRST FLEET PIANO

A Musician's View

Volume Two
Appendices

THE FIRST FLEET PIANO
A Musician's View

Volume Two
Appendices

GEOFFREY LANCASTER



Australian
National
University

P R E S S



Published by ANU Press
The Australian National University
Acton ACT 2601, Australia
Email: anupress@anu.edu.au
This title is also available online at <http://press.anu.edu.au>

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

Creator: Lancaster, Geoffrey, 1954-, author.

Title: The first fleet piano : a musician's view. Volume 2, Appendices /
Geoffrey Richard Lancaster.

ISBN: 9781925022483 (paperback) 9781925022490 (ebook)

Subjects: Piano--Australia--History.
Music, Influence of--Australia--History.
Music--Social aspects--Australia.

Dewey Number: 786.20994

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Cover based on an original design by Gosia Wlodarczak. Cover design by Nic Welbourn.

Layout by ANU Press

Printed by Griffin Press

This edition © 2015 ANU Press

Contents

List of Plates	xv
Appendix A	1
The First Piano to be Brought to Australia? George Bouchier Worgan's square piano by Frederick Beck (London, 1780/86?): Description and measurements	1
Nameboard	1
Serial Number	6
Case	7
Length	7
Width	8
Height	8
Average Dimensions of Frederick Beck's Square Pianos	8
Moulding	12
Inside of the Case	13
Width	13
Height	14
Cheeks	17
Case Corners	17
Interior Framing	17
Soundboard	19
Ribs	19
Condition	22
Bridge	24
Height	29
Condition	29
Nut	30
Hitch-Pin Block	31
Wrest-Plank	33
Bottom Boards	33
Internal Scribe Lines	37
Main Lid	38

Length	38
Width	38
Thickness	38
Moulding	38
Lid-Stick	38
Lid-Stick Fastening Hole	38
Lid-Stick Screw	38
Lid Sections	41
Main Lid	41
Keywell Flap	41
Lockboard	41
Treble-End Front Lid Flap	41
Moulding	42
Music Desk	46
Stand	47
Glue	56
Metalware	57
Keywell Lid Flap	57
Lockboard	57
Lock	57
Wrest-Pins	57
Note Names	60
Hand-Levers	61
Damper Raising	61
Decoration	62
Main Lid (All Flaps Closed)	62
Simplified Form of Tunbridgeware Inlay	63
Keywell Cheeks	63
Back (Spine) of the Instrument	67
Action	69
Hammers	69
Hammerhead Cores	69
Hammerhead Covering	70
Hammer Shanks	72
Jacks	79
Dampers	80

Damper Lever Push-Up Rods	86
Damper Pads	86
Damper Lever Springs	90
Mutation Stops	95
Nag's Head Swell	95
Nag's Head Swell Pedal	100
Nag's Head Swell Pedal Hinge-Point Stretcher	102
Lid Rebate	102
Harp Stop (Also Called a Buff Stop)	103
Harp Stop Pedal	107
Mutation Stop Hand-Lever and Pedal: Summary	108
Keyboard	108
Compass	108
Keyframe	109
Condition	112
Key Levers	112
Undercutting	114
'Cranked' Key Levers	119
Key Plates	119
Naturals	120
Key Fronts	120
Key Front Moulded Cornice	120
Sharps	123
Key Plate Score Lines	124
Key Plate Wearing	125
Worn Naturals	126
Worn Sharps	127
Implications	128
Stringing	130
Bass	130
Tenor	131
Treble	131
Speaking String Lengths	132
String-Gauge Marks	133
Listing Cloth	135
History of Restoration	135

Strings	135
Damper Lever Push-Up Rods	135
Keys	136
Action Frame	136
Appendix B.	137
A Rival First Fleet Piano?	137
A Tale of Two Pianos.	141
Hypothetical Provenance 1: If the instrument is the First Fleet piano.	141
Hypothetical Provenance 2: If the instrument is Elizabeth Macarthur’s second piano	143
Sources of Information.	144
Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance.	155
The Mat(t)hews Connection	163
A Piano Disrespected	163
A Taxing Proposition	165
A Date of Manufacture: Bradshaw’s estimation and what evidence suggests—the keyboard compass, the serial number and the nameboard inscription	166
Keyboard Compass	167
Serial Number	168
Nameboard	169
The Piano in the Laundry	171
Close Proximity and Dr Worgan’s Tenuous Connections with Longman & Broderip	172
1) 7 Millman Street	175
2) 40 Rathbone Place	176
3) Richmond	177
A Plain Instrument.	187
The Trestle Stand	187
Brian Barrow’s Longman & Broderip Square Piano: Elizabeth Macarthur’s second piano?	193
The Enticement of Touch	195
Keyboard Compass	196
An ‘Elegant’ Piano	197

Was Elizabeth Macarthur's 'New' Piano an Instrument in Upright Form?	200
The Allure, for Elizabeth Macarthur, of Laycock's Longman & Broderip(?) Piano: Summary	203
Remaining Questions	203
The Plot Thickens	205
1) Varney Monk's Piano is Not Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip	207
2) Varney Monk's Piano is Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck	208
3) Bradshaw Owns Elizabeth Macarthur's Piano	209
4) Bradshaw Knows the Location of Elizabeth Macarthur's Piano	210
The Interplay of Equals.	211
Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip Square Piano 1785/86?	211
Stewart Symonds' Frederick Beck Square Piano 1780/86?	212
Through a Glass Darkly	212
Proposition 1	212
Proposition 2.	212
Proposition 3.	212
Proposition 4.	213
A Moment in Time.	213
The First Fleet Piano: Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip or Stewart Symonds' Frederick Beck? Summary of hearsay, inaccuracies, conjecture and unsubstantiated claims.	214
The First Piano to be Brought to Australia or Elizabeth Macarthur's Second Piano? Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?, serial number 604): Description	217
Nameboard	217
Serial Number	221
Case	221
Moulding	221
Interior Framing	222
Soundboard	225
Ribs	225

Bridge	228
Condition	229
Nut	230
Hitch-Pin Block	230
Wrest-Plank	231
Bottom Boards	232
Main Lid	232
Moulding	232
Lid-Stick	233
Lid-Stick Fastening Hole	233
Lid-Stick Screw	233
Lid Sections	234
Main Lid	234
Keywell Flap	234
Lockboard	234
Treble-End Front Lid Flap	234
Moulding	234
Music Desk	237
Stand	238
Glue	239
Metalware	239
Wrest-Pins	239
Hand-Levers	240
Damper Raising	240
Decoration	242
Main Lid (All Flaps Closed)	242
Keywell Cheeks	242
Back (Spine) of the Instrument	242
Action	243
Dampers	243
Mutation Stops	244
Harp Stop (Also Called a Buff Stop)	244
Keyboard	244
Keyframe	246
Condition	246

Key Levers	249
Undercutting	249
‘Cranked’ Key Levers	249
Key Plates	252
Naturals	252
Key Fronts	252
Sharps	256
Key Plate Score Lines.	258
Stringing	258
History of Restoration	258
Hammers	258
Appendix C	261
Echoes of Possibility: Did George Bouchier Worgan	
Purchase a Square Piano by John Broadwood in 1783?	261
‘Mr Worgan’ is Dr John Worgan	261
‘Mr Worgan’ is One of Dr John Worgan’s Professional	
Musician Sons.	262
‘Mr Worgan’ is George Bouchier	262
The Surname ‘Worgan’ in Eighteenth-Century London . . .	265
Why Did ‘Mr Worgan’ Buy a Broadwood Square Piano? . .	266
1. Mutations	266
2. Broadwood’s Emerging Reputation for Fine	
Craftsmanship	267
3. Broadwood’s 1783 Patent	269
Extant 1783 Broadwood Square Pianos	269
Dr Turner’s 1783 Broadwood Square Piano.	270
Stewart Symonds’ 1783 Broadwood Square Piano . . .	272
Conclusion	272
Appendix D	275
A Perplexing Comment.	275
Appendix E.	277
Thirty-One Makers in London from Whom George Bouchier	
Worgan may have Purchased a Square Piano in 1780/86 . . .	277
Appendix F.	295
David Steel’s Salary Scale for Surgeons and Surgeon’s	
Mates (1782)	295

Appendix G	297
Selected Publications/Sources Containing ‘Foot’s Minuet’, ca 1750–1835	297
Appendix H	299
Piano Makers and Dealers in London during the 1820s and 1830s	299
Appendix I	309
An Anecdote Concerning the Parianware Sculpture of Hebe Once Owned by William Bradshaw	309
Appendix J	313
Grand Piano by Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, Serial Number 526)	313
Appendix K	327
The First Harpsichord Brought to Australia: An apocryphal tale	327
Appendix L	335
Gallery	335
Selected Square Pianos by Frederick Beck	335
ca 1772–73 (Longman, Lukey & Co., reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck)	335
1773	337
1774	338
1776	339
1777	341
1778	344
1780/86?	345
1782	346
1782/87?, Serial Number 5008	347
1783	357
1785	358
1786	359
ca 1790 (estimate) (‘Tangent Action’ Square Piano). . .	360
ca 1790?, Serial Number 2505	364
Square Piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (London, late 1766/67?)	366

Appendix M	381
Tangent Action Square Piano by Frederick Beck (London, ca 1790): Measurements	381
Case	381
Length	381
Width	381
Height	381
Soundboard	382
Action	382
Hammers	382
Hammerhead Covering	382
Keyboard	382
Compass	382
Key Plates	382
Naturals	382
Sharps	382
Stringing	383
Speaking String Lengths.	383
Appendix N	385
Advertisements Published in British Newspapers between 1777 and 1831 for the Sale of Second-Hand Frederick Beck Pianos	385
1777	386
1779	386
1780	386
1784	386
1787	386
1788	387
1791	387
1793	387
1794	387
1795	387
1796	387
1797	388
1798	388
1799	388

1800	388
1804	388
1808	388
1809	388
1812	388
1815	389
1831	389
An Advertisement Published by Christie's in 1786 Regarding the Sale of a Frederick Beck Piano	389
Appendix O	391
Advertisements Published in British Newspapers between 1774 and 1820 for the Sale of Second-Hand Pianos Made during the Late Eighteenth Century by Eminent London Piano Makers	391
1774–1800 (Inclusive)	392
1801–1810 (Inclusive)	394
1811–1820 (Inclusive)	394
Appendix P	397
Makers of the Piano, Harpsichord, Organ and Musical Instruments, and Music Sellers Listed in <i>The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce</i> (1790)	397
Piano Makers	397
Harpsichord Makers	398
Organ Makers	398
Musical Instrument Makers	399
Music Sellers	400
Appendix Q	401
Glossary	401
Index	439

List of Plates

Plate 134	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard.	3
Plate 135	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—‘Fredericus’.	3
Plate 136	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—‘Beck’.	4
Plate 137	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—‘Londini’.	4
Plate 138	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—‘Fecit’.	4
Plate 139	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—‘1780’.	5
Plate 140	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—‘No. 4 and 10’.	5
Plate 141	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—‘Broad Street’.	5
Plate 142	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—‘Soho’.	6
Plate 143	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): numbers ‘I’, ‘II’ and ‘III’ written in chalk on the underside of the keyframe back touch rail.	7
Plate 144	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): step-half-round-and-step moulding.	12
Plate 145	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): flat-surfaced wooden block at the bass end inside the case.	13
Plate 146	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the wooden block at the bass end inside the case ends slightly short of the hitch-pin block.	14
Plate 147	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the moulding on the soundboard extends from the treble side of the keywell, across the front inside edge, and along the entire treble end.	15

Plate 148	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the spine and hitch-pin block at the bass end.	15
Plate 149	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the spine and hitch-pin block at the bass end (detail).	16
Plate 150	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the hinged lockboard lying against the main lid's front keyboard flap, which is folded back.	16
Plate 151	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the hinged lockboard standing vertically when the main lid's front keyboard flap is folded back.	17
Plate 152	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass-end cheek—the running step-half-round-and-step mould around the inside of the case continues along the upper top inside edge of the cheeks.	18
Plate 153	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the bass-end case corner, at the back—lap dovetails are visible.	18
Plate 154	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): hole in the belly rail.	19
Plate 155	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): soundboard—the grain runs parallel to the spine.	20
Plate 156	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): soundboard ribs are visible through the hole in the belly rail.	20
Plate 157	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the large main soundboard rib, as seen through the hole in the belly rail.	21
Plate 158	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the main soundboard rib appears to be supported underneath by a thick wooden bar.	21
Plate 159	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): a small rib runs near the treble end of the bridge.	21
Plate 160	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the soundboard is quite sunken in various places.	22

Plate 161	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): crudely repaired soundboard cracks.	23
Plate 162	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): crudely repaired soundboard crack (detail).	23
Plate 163	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): crudely repaired soundboard crack (detail).	24
Plate 164	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): J-form bridge, with the curve at the treble end.	25
Plate 165	Clavichord in the Saxon style (ca 1770). Copy by Joris Potvlieghe (2007): serpentine bridge, with a curve at both the treble and the bass ends.	25
Plate 166	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bridge—truncated wedge-shaped cross-section.	26
Plate 167	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bridge—leaning towards the keyboard.	26
Plate 168	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bridge—undercut at the bass end.	27
Plate 169	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bridge—undercut at the bass end (detail).	27
Plate 170	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bridge—undercut at the bass end (detail).	28
Plate 171	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bridge—undercut at the bass end (detail).	28
Plate 172	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): repaired crack in the curve of the bridge.	29
Plate 173	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): repaired crack in the curve of the bridge (detail).	30
Plate 174	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the nut, at the bass end.	31

Plate 175	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the hitch-pin block anchored to the spine (detail).	32
Plate 176	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—the hitch-pin block anchored to the spine (detail).	32
Plate 177	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end—the hitch-pin block anchored to the spine (detail).	33
Plate 178	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bottom boards—four lower-layer planks are laid parallel to the spine.	35
Plate 179	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): lower-layer bottom boards (detail)—the direction of the grain can be seen through the spaces between the upper-layer planks.	35
Plate 180	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): double-thickness bottom boards—the upper-layer planks are laid parallel with the strings of the instrument.	36
Plate 181	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble-end back corner—the replacement upper-layer section, with four reinforcing screws.	36
Plate 182	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the top of the replacement section does not sit flush with the top of the surrounding upper-layer planks—this ensures that the removal of the keyframe is not impeded by a protruding top surface.	37
Plate 183	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): scribe lines at the treble end on the inside of the spine, between the bottom boards and the underneath of the hitch-pin block (detail).	37
Plate 184	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass-end front corner—the moulding that runs along the front and sides of the main lid (detail).	39
Plate 185	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the spine side of the main lid sits flush with the top of the spine.	39
Plate 186	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): square lid-stick fastening hole.	40

Plate 187	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): lid-stick screw—witness marks reveal the arc of rotation of the lid-stick.	40
Plate 188	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the lid is split into three parts by a longitudinal cut over the nameboard (extending the length of the instrument) and a short lateral cut over the right-hand cheek.	42
Plate 189	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the lid is split into three parts (detail).	42
Plate 190	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the spine at the bass end—one of the two three-screw butt hinges connecting the main lid with the spine.	43
Plate 191	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the keywell flap, hinged to the main lid with four brass butt hinges.	43
Plate 192	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the lockboard, hinged to the inside of the keywell lid flap with two two-screw brass butt hinges (viewed from the spine side of the instrument).	43
Plate 193	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the lockboard, hinged to the inside of the keywell lid flap with two two-screw brass butt hinges.	44
Plate 194	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the lockboard standing vertically, functioning as a support for a book of music.	44
Plate 195	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble-end front lid flap (closed).	45
Plate 196	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble-end front lid flap (open).	45
Plate 197	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble-end front lid flap (closed).	46
Plate 198	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the wooden ledge fitted near the edge of the inside face of the hinged lockboard, for holding a music book or music sheets in place.	47
Plate 199	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): four square-tapered cabriole legs.	48

Plate 200	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end—the legs are joined at the top by a bar, the ends of which are curved into the legs.	48
Plate 201	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end of the instrument—stretcher let into the lower part of each leg.	49
Plate 202	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end of the instrument—stretcher let into the lower part of each leg.	49
Plate 203	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): detachable lower stretcher, running the length of the case, which holds apart the pair of legs at each end of the instrument.	50
Plate 204	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end of the instrument—the protruding dovetail at the end of the detachable lower stretcher has sunk into a socket that has increased in depth because of wear.	50
Plate 205	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—iron three-screw butt hinge attaching the top of the rear leg to the bottom of the case.	52
Plate 206	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): top front of the 'frame'—detachable stretcher running between the top of each front leg.	52
Plate 207	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—slot in the top of the front leg for the detachable front stretcher.	53
Plate 208	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—the detachable front stretcher tapers off into the curve of the front leg.	53
Plate 209	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—brass swivel hook on the back of the detachable front stretcher.	54
Plate 210	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—brass swivel hook and catch (in situ).	54

Plate 211	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—square brass catch (for the swivel hook) protruding from underneath the case.	55
Plate 212	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the front stretcher creates the illusion that the instrument, legs and detachable front stretcher are one article.	55
Plate 213	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—legs folded underneath.	56
Plate 214	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): wrest-pins.	58
Plate 215	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): wrest-pins—the two wrest-pins for the last bass note (on the right) are adjacent to each other (as a continuation of the two treble-side rows).	58
Plate 216	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the wrest-pins project out of the soundboard 35 millimetres (detail).	59
Plate 217	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the wrest-pins taper from the round into a fine oblong head.	59
Plate 218	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): pitch names, handwritten in ink on the soundboard, near each wrest-pin.	60
Plate 219	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): pitch names, handwritten in ink on the soundboard, near each wrest-pin (detail).	61
Plate 220	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): outside of the main lid—a simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay running parallel with the edge.	62
Plate 221	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): outside of the front of the case—a simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay running parallel with the edge.	63
Plate 222	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): a simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay (detail).	64

Plate 223	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end—the simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay is repeated along the bottom of the bar that goes between the top of both legs. The ends of the bar (and the inlay) curve into the legs.	64
Plate 224	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay runs along the bottom edge of the front detachable stretcher.	65
Plate 225	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument, front leg—the simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay follows the curved inside of the leg, down to the leg termination.	65
Plate 226	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the leading edge of the case (directly underneath the key fronts) is decorated with the simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay.	66
Plate 227	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass-end keywell cheek—veneer and inlay pattern.	66
Plate 228	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble-end keywell cheek—veneer and inlay pattern (detail).	67
Plate 229	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): unveneered spine.	68
Plate 230	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): five lapped dovetail joints at the bass corner of the spine—the top joint is impressed with the stamp 'I'.	68
Plate 231	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—flattened, semicircular wooden hammerhead cores for the first four notes (detail).	71
Plate 232	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the wooden hammerhead cores are slightly and consecutively graduated in size—the largest are at the bass end (detail).	71
Plate 233	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—hammer shanks for the first five notes (detail).	73

Plate 234	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): each hammer shank is hinged to the wooden hammer rail by a thin strip of leather (detail).	74
Plate 235	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end—leather hinges for the top two hammer shanks (detail).	74
Plate 236	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): wooden hammer rail (detail).	75
Plate 237	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the bass end of the wooden hammer rail, viewed from the keyboard side (detail).	75
Plate 238	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): two vertical stiff brass wires support the wooden hammer rail.	76
Plate 239	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the treble-end vertical stiff brass wire that supports the wooden hammer rail (detail).	76
Plate 240	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the bass end of the hammer rail, viewed from above.	77
Plate 241	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the bass-end supporting wire passes between the specially shaped sides of two key levers (detail).	77
Plate 242	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): hammer shank guide-pins (detail).	78
Plate 243	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—the hammer shank guide-pins and the hammer rest rail (covered with a thin strip of woven white cloth) for the first 10 notes (detail).	78
Plate 244	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): hammer rest rail, covered with a thin strip of woven white cloth (detail).	79
Plate 245	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): a jack—note the leather-covered ‘old man’s head’.	81
Plate 246	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): jacks (detail).	81
Plate 247	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): mahogany damper levers.	82

Plate 248	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): mahogany damper levers (detail).	82
Plate 249	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—first wooden damper lever; vellum hinge (detail).	83
Plate 250	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—the back end of the damper levers rest on a horizontally protruding ledge, comprising the top face of a triangular cross-section batten, which is glued to a hinged wooden rail fitted into a cut-out at the top of the spine.	83
Plate 251	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): spine-side view—the hinged wooden rail begins near the bass-end lid hinge (in this image, near the left-hand side of the hinge on the right) and extends towards the treble end of the spine, ending about five-eighths of the way along the length of the instrument.	84
Plate 252	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): spine-side view—when the dampers are in their rest position, the top and back faces of the hinged wooden rail sit flush with the top edge and back of the spine.	84
Plate 253	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): spine-side view—as the hinged wooden rail swivels backwards, all dampers are raised simultaneously.	85
Plate 254	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the bass end of the hinged wooden rail, swivelled backwards to a much greater degree than would be necessary for the normal raising of dampers within the context of playing.	85
Plate 255	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the padded section at the back end of a key lever.	87
Plate 256	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): a damper lever push-up rod incorporating its punched circular leather head component.	88

- Plate 257 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) 88
(London, 1780/86?): each damper lever push-up rod passes vertically through a hole at the front of the hitch-pin block (vertical motion at the back of the key lever causes the damper lever push-up rod to rise or fall)—note that the original wooden rod has been replaced with a brass rod.
- Plate 258 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) 89
(London, 1780/86?): bass end—first five damper levers. There is a thick pad of soft white cloth at the proximal end of each damper lever.
- Plate 259 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) 89
(London, 1780/86?): the top five notes are un-damped.
- Plate 260 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) 90
(London, 1780/86?): the top five notes are un-damped.
- Plate 261 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) 91
(London, 1780/86?): viewed from the bass end—each damper lever is fitted with a thin brass wire spring (detail).
- Plate 262 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) 92
(London, 1780/86?): damper lever springs (detail).
- Plate 263 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) 92
(London, 1780/86?): the back ends of the two bottom damper lever springs are just visible (as two ‘dots’) in the back (and near the top face) of the hinged wooden rail (detail).
- Plate 264 Square piano by John Betts(?) (1755–1823), possibly 93
Longman & Broderip or James Henry Housten (London, late 1770s–90s?): baleen damper lever springs, in the manner of Zumpe (detail).
- Plate 265 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) 94
(London, 1780/86?): rectangular slot cut into the inside bass end of the case, associated with a (missing) wooden damper cover rail.
- Plate 266 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) 94
(London, 1780/86?): small wooden block, upon which was fastened—with a small metal ‘L’-shaped threaded catch—the treble end of the (missing) wooden damper cover rail.
- Plate 267 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) 96
(London, 1780/86?): the worn depression on the front underside of the main lid that may have received the top of an actuating rod for the (missing) nag’s head swell.

Plate 268	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the worn depression on the front underside of the main lid that may have received the top of an actuating rod for the (missing) nag's head swell (detail).	96
Plate 269	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): a rectangular hole through the bottom boards provides access for the nag's head swell actuating rod that opens and closes the main lid.	97
Plate 270	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the rectangular hole through the bottom boards that provides access for the nag's head swell actuating rod (detail).	97
Plate 271	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the rectangular hole through the keyframe that provides access for the nag's head swell actuating rod (detail).	98
Plate 272	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the rectangular hole through the keyframe that provides access for the nag's head swell actuating rod (detail).	98
Plate 273	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the near-rectangular hole made by cutting into the sides of two adjacent key levers (b ¹ and c ²).	99
Plate 274	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): b ¹ —the cut made into the treble-side edge of the key lever.	99
Plate 275	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): witness marks on the bottom of the instrument suggest that an iron or brass plate holding a mounted fulcrum comprised part of a mechanism operated by a pedal (or knee-lever).	100
Plate 276	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): carefully plugged parallel rectangular holes on the underside of the long detachable stretcher that holds apart the stretchers in the lower part of the legs.	102
Plate 277	Square piano by John Betts(?) (1755–1823), possibly Longman & Broderip or James Henry Housten (London, late 1770s–90s?): shallow rebate running around the underside of the lid where a strip of closely spun woollen cloth is fitted.	103

Plate 278	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): screw holes on the top face of the hitch-pin block are for the (missing) harp stop.	105
Plate 279	Square piano by John Betts(?) (1755–1823), possibly Longman & Broderip or James Henry Houston (London, late 1770s–90s?): the two strips of wood comprising the harp stop.	105
Plate 280	Square piano by John Betts(?) (1755–1823), possibly Longman & Broderip or James Henry Houston (London, late 1770s–90s?): the two strips of wood comprising the harp stop—the stop is engaged.	106
Plate 281	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): recess cut into the inside of the block at the bottom end of the case.	106
Plate 282	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—square oblique hole cut through the bass boards.	107
Plate 283	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): witness marks for a missing batten running along the bottom edge of the spine.	108
Plate 284	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): keyboard.	109
Plate 285	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): keyframe.	110
Plate 286	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): balance rail pins.	111
Plate 287	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—keyframe protective ‘side fence’.	111
Plate 288	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): key lever front guide-pins.	113
Plate 289	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): key lever front guide-pins and balance rail pins (detail).	113
Plate 290	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): mortice under the middle of a natural key head for the key lever front guide-pin.	114

Plate 291	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end—undercutting behind the key head.	115
Plate 292	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end—undercutting and rounded profile at the balance rail.	115
Plate 293	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): undercutting—rounded profile at the balance rail (detail).	116
Plate 294	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): undercutting—19 key levers have shaved shoulders at the back.	116
Plate 295	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): two lead weights have been inserted into the head of a shaved key lever (detail).	117
Plate 296	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the characteristically English insertion of a lead weight close behind the head of a shaved key lever (detail).	117
Plate 297	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): D [#] —the insertion of a lead weight combined with severe undercutting behind the key head (detail).	118
Plate 298	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): D [#] —the insertion of a lead weight combined with severe undercutting behind the key head (detail).	118
Plate 299	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): one key lever without a lead weight has been severely undercut behind the key head (detail).	118
Plate 300	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the soundboard edge at the belly rail is not straight.	119
Plate 301	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): a 'cranked' treble key lever—underside.	119
Plate 302	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): two-piece ivory key plate.	120
Plate 303	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): two-piece ivory key plate (detail).	121

Plate 304	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): ivory key plate—1 millimetre thick at the front, tapering towards the back (detail).	121
Plate 305	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): ivory key plate—1 millimetre thick at the front, tapering towards the back (detail).	122
Plate 306	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): varnished boxwood moulded cornice (detail).	122
Plate 307	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): varnished boxwood moulded cornices (detail).	123
Plate 308	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the solid ebony raised part of a sharp key lever (detail).	124
Plate 309	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): a prominent single score line, located on a natural key head front plate (detail).	125
Plate 310	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): certain key tops are worn from use.	127
Plate 311	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): certain key tops are worn from use.	128
Plate 312	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): naturals key top wearing from f^3 to d^1 .	128
Plate 313	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): naturals key top wearing from a to E^b .	128
Plate 314	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the first 28 consecutive bass-note strings (FF– $F^\#$ inclusive) are overspun.	131
Plate 315	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the first two open-covered bass-note strings (FF and $FF^\#$) have one copper overspinning loop every 3 millimetres (detail).	132
Plate 316	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the open-covered strings for GG– $F^\#$ (inclusive) have one copper overspinning loop every 2 millimetres (detail).	132
Plate 317	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): string-gauge markings—handwritten (in ink) on the soundboard, very near the wrest-pins (detail).	134

Plate 318	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): string-gauge markings—handwritten (in ink) on the soundboard—numbers '8', '9' and '10'.	134
Plate 319	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): string-gauge markings—handwritten (in ink) on the soundboard—numbers '11', '12' and '13'.	135
Plate 320	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?).	138
Plate 321	The ground-floor drawing room in Brian Barrow's home, viewed from the entrance to the adjacent dining room.	138
Plate 322	The dining room in Brian Barrow's home, viewed from the entrance to the adjacent drawing room.	139
Plate 323	Ceiling of the dining room in Brian Barrow's home.	139
Plate 324	Ceiling of the ground-floor drawing room in Brian Barrow's home.	140
Plate 325	Ceiling of the entrance hallway in Brian Barrow's home (detail).	140
Plate 326	Single-page document entitled 'Longman & Broderip Piano 1781', apparently signed by William Bradshaw on Monday, 6 August 2007.	146
Plate 327	Single-page document entitled 'Square Piano No 604 Longman & Broderip. C 1781', with 'Signed William F. Bradshaw' handwritten at the bottom of the page, undated.	147
Plate 328	Single-page document that includes comments handwritten by Brian Barrow, containing information concerning the provenance of Barrow's Longman & Broderip square piano.	148
Plate 328a	'Certificate by Richard John William d'Apice of 135 King Street, Sydney': page one of two.	149
Plate 328b	'Certificate by Richard John William d'Apice of 135 King Street, Sydney': page two of two.	150
Plate 328c	'Catalogue of the Stewart Symonds Keyboard Instrument Collection': entry for a square piano by George Pether (fl. 1775–94) (London, 1785), page two of two.	150
Plate 328d	Letter dated 23 May 2013, handwritten by Paul Kenny to Brian Barrow.	152
Plate 328e	A page from William Bradshaw's stock book showing the first half of his handwritten entry concerning acquisition of the 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano.	153

Plate 328f	A page from William Bradshaw's stock book showing the second half of his handwritten entry concerning acquisition of the 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano.	154
Plate 328g	147 King Street, Sydney.	157
Plate 328h	147 King Street, Sydney, as seen from the corner of King and Castlereagh streets.	157
Plate 329	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): serial number '604' stamped into the bottom of the mutation hand-lever well.	169
Plate 330	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard inscription.	170
Plate 331	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): outside of the front of the case and lid, bass-end front corner—stained(?) fruitwood stringer inlaid on each side with a holly(?) or boxwood(?) stringer (detail).	186
Plate 332	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): outside of the front of the case, treble end of the closed front fallboard (lockboard) and the treble end of the case—stained(?) fruitwood stringer inlaid on each side with a holly(?) or boxwood(?) stringer, running parallel with the edge of the case (detail).	186
Plate 333	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard—inlaid decorative swags on either side of and above the central rectangular inlaid inscription cartouche.	198
Plate 334	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard—bass-end beginning of an inlaid decorative swag (detail).	199
Plate 335	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard—continuation of the inlaid decorative swag shown in Plate 334 (detail).	199
Plate 336	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard—the inlaid decorative swag above the central inscription cartouche (detail).	200
Plate 337	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard inscription.	218
Plate 338	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard inscription (detail).	219
Plate 339	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard inscription (detail).	219

Plate 340	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard inscription (detail).	220
Plate 341	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard inscription (detail).	220
Plate 342	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): treble end—moulding on the top inside edge of the case (detail).	221
Plate 343	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): internal construction.	222
Plate 344	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): internal construction—the box formed by the case from the bass end to the belly rail (detail).	222
Plate 345	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): internal construction—the box formed by the case at the right-hand end of the instrument (detail).	223
Plate 346	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): hole in the belly rail, viewed from the bass end of the instrument.	223
Plate 347	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): hole in the belly rail, viewed from the treble end of the instrument.	224
Plate 348	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): hole in the belly rail, viewed from the treble end of the instrument.	224
Plate 349	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): soundboard—the grain runs parallel to the spine.	226
Plate 350	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): pine liners glued to the internal faces of the box formed by the case at the right-hand end of the instrument, and the top of the wrest-plank, upon which the soundboard is tightly glued.	226
Plate 351	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): soundboard ribs.	227
Plate 352	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the main rib—running parallel with the straight part of the bridge—is large compared with those around it.	227
Plate 353	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): bridge—bass-end undercutting.	228

Plate 354	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): bridge—bass-end undercutting.	229
Plate 355	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): bridge—the treble-end curve has been clumsily replaced.	229
Plate 356	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nut—bass end (detail).	230
Plate 357	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): hitch-pin block, bass end—extensive woodworm damage.	230
Plate 358	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): composite wrest-plank comprising beech(?) and pine(?).	231
Plate 359	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the spine side of the lid is flush with the top of the spine.	232
Plate 360	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the lid-stick rotates around a screw inside the bass-end case, above a flat-surfaced wooden block on the left-hand inside of the case.	233
Plate 361	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the lid is split into three parts by a longitudinal cut over the nameboard (extending the length of the instrument) and a short lateral cut over the right-hand cheek.	235
Plate 362	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the lid is split into three parts by a longitudinal cut over the nameboard (extending the length of the instrument) and a short lateral cut over the right-hand cheek.	235
Plate 363	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the main lid is hinged to the outside of the spine with two three-screw butt hinges (one at the treble and one at the bass end).	236
Plate 364	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the keywell flap is hinged to the main lid with four brass butt hinges.	236
Plate 365	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): solid wooden ledge screwed near the edge of the inside face of the hinged lockboard, for holding a music book or music sheets in place (to be used with the lockboard opened and standing in its vertical position).	237

Plate 366	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the treble-end swivelling brass stay (one of two) that prevents a music book or music sheets from sliding forward over the solid wooden ledge screwed near the edge of the inside face of the hinged lockboard.	238
Plate 367	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): trestle stand.	239
Plate 368	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): soundboard—four rows of holes for the wrest-pins to pass through.	240
Plate 369	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): witness marks associated with hand-levers.	241
Plate 370	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): witness marks associated with the hand-levers (detail).	241
Plate 371	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): treble-end keywell cheek.	242
Plate 372	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): wooden batten associated with damper raising.	243
Plate 373	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): wooden batten associated with damper raising (detail).	243
Plate 374	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): wooden batten associated with damper raising (detail).	243
Plate 375	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): hitch-pin block, treble end—two screw holes on the front (vertical) face for a harp stop (detail).	244
Plate 376	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): keyboard.	245
Plate 377	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): keyboard.	245
Plate 378	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): keyboard.	246
Plate 379	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): keyframe, bass end—witness marks show that the position of the balance rail has been altered (detail).	247
Plate 380	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): keyframe, treble end—witness marks show that the position of the balance rail has been altered (detail).	247

Plate 381	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): front touch rail—a strip of felt had been glued to the top face (detail).	248
Plate 382	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): damaged protective side fence at the bass-end back edge of the keyframe.	248
Plate 383	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): damaged protective side fence at the treble-end back edge of the keyframe.	249
Plate 384	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): front-guided key levers, with a single vertical metal pin.	250
Plate 385	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): a single vertical metal pin at the balance rail.	250
Plate 386	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): gentle undercutting at the balance rail.	251
Plate 387	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the six highest treble key levers are cranked to the left.	251
Plate 388	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): naturals, key lever c ² —ivory key plates in two pieces.	253
Plate 389	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): naturals—ivory key plates in two pieces (detail).	253
Plate 390	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): naturals—in some instances, the key head is significantly thinner than the tail (detail).	254
Plate 391	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): key fronts—varnished boxwood cornice (detail).	254
Plate 392	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): key front, key lever c ² —varnished boxwood cornice.	255
Plate 392a	Grand piano by John Broadwood (London, 1796, serial number 875): key-front moulding—ovolo form with a protruding lip placed in the lower half.	255
Plate 392b	Grand piano by John Broadwood (London, 1796, serial number 875): key-front moulding—ovolo form with a protruding lip placed in the lower half.	256
Plate 393	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): sharps—solid ebony.	257
Plate 394	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): sharps—solid ebony (detail).	257

Plate 395	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): hammers (detail).	258
Plate 396	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): hammers, bass end—FF—F.	259
Plate 397	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): hammers (detail).	259
Plate 398	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): hammer rail, bass end—the top of the wooden hammer rail comprises French-polished wood taken from another article of furniture (detail).	260
Plate 399	Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the top of the wooden hammer rail comprises French-polished wood taken from another article of furniture (detail).	260
Plate 400	Square piano by John Broadwood (1732–1812) (London, 1783).	270
Plate 400a	Square piano by John Broadwood (1732–1812) (London, 1783).	271
Plate 400b	Square piano by John Broadwood (1732–1812) (London, 1783): nameboard inscription.	271
Plate 400c	'Catalogue of the Stewart Symonds Keyboard Instrument Collection': entry for a square piano by John Broadwood (fl. 1775–94) (London, 1783)—page one of two.	273
Plate 400d	'Catalogue of the Stewart Symonds Keyboard Instrument Collection': entry for a square piano by John Broadwood (fl. 1775–94) (London, 1783)—page two of two.	274
Plate 401	William Bradshaw's Parianware statue of Hebe, the goddess of youth.	312
Plate 402	William Bradshaw's Parianware statue of the goddess Hebe (detail).	312
Plate 403	William Bradshaw's Parianware statue of the goddess Hebe: a broken arm mended (detail).	312
Plate 404	Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526).	314
Plate 405	Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): serial number.	315

- Plate 406 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): intersections of the treble cheek and bentside, and the bentside and tail—metal-strengthened corners for the expansion and contraction caused by overheated Russian salons. 315
- Plate 407 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): intersection of the treble cheek and bentside (detail)—metal-strengthened corner for the expansion and contraction caused by overheated Russian salons. 316
- Plate 408 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): tail, and the intersection of the bentside and tail—metal-strengthened corners for the expansion and contraction caused by overheated Russian salons. 316
- Plate 409 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): divided ('split') bridge. 317
- Plate 410 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): the nameboard has a stained fruitwood border. 318
- Plate 411 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): nameboard (detail)—painted oval cartouche, with the inscription 'Muzio Clementi & Co—Cheapside, London'. 319
- Plate 412 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): nameboard (detail)—painted swags. 319
- Plate 413 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): painted swags (detail). 319
- Plate 414 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): painted swags (detail). 320
- Plate 415 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): nameboard (detail). 320
- Plate 416 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): keyboard (detail)—e¹–a¹. 321
- Plate 417 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): pedals. 322
- Plate 418 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): damper jack. 323
- Plate 419 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): damper c³ (detail)—damper compartment. 323

Plate 420	Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): middle dampers (detail)—the dampers rest relatively lightly on the strings.	324
Plate 421	Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): four iron gap spacers.	324
Plate 422	Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): bass-end gap spacer.	325
Plate 423	Bentside spinet by Furley Hawkins (fl. ca 1725 – ca 1747) (London, 1736).	332
Plate 424	Bentside spinet by Furley Hawkins (fl. ca 1725 – ca 1747) (London, 1736).	332
Plate 425	Square piano by Longman, Lukey & Co., reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1772–73).	336
Plate 425a	Square piano by Longman, Lukey & Co., reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1772–73).	336
Plate 425b	Square piano by Longman, Lukey & Co., reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1772–73): nameboard.	337
Plate 425c	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1773).	337
Plate 426	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1774).	338
Plate 427	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1774): nameboard inscription.	338
Plate 427a	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1774): round-tapered, fluted screw-in leg—the moulded circular boss lends a touch of ornament to the round capitals, a variant of the French style.	339
Plate 428	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1776).	339
Plate 428a	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1776): nameboard.	340
Plate 428b	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1776).	340
Plate 428c	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1776).	341

Plate 429	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1777).	341
Plate 429a	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1777).	342
Plate 430	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1777): nameboard inscription.	342
Plate 431	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1777): characteristically for Beck, the top five dampers are omitted.	343
Plate 432	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1778).	344
Plate 433	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1778): nameboard inscription.	344
Plate 434	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1778): hammers, bass end—FF–B.	345
Plate 435	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?)	345
Plate 435a	The single-storey sandstone Georgian house in Ermington, Sydney, within which sits the 1780/86? Beck square piano (detail).	346
Plate 436	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782): nameboard inscription.	346
Plate 437	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798), (London, 1782/87?, serial number 5008): lid open. The backwards-slanting outside face of the front-half of the lid acts as a music desk.	347
Plate 438	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?, serial number 5008): lid open. The backwards-slanting outside face of the front-half of the lid acts as a music desk.	347
Plate 439	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?, serial number 5008): nameboard inscription.	348
Plate 440	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?, serial number 5008).	348
Plate 441	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783).	357
Plate 442	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783): nameboard.	357

Plate 443	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783): French frame—the square-tapered legs are original; the apron is not.	358
Plate 444	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1785).	358
Plate 444a	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1785).	359
Plate 445	Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1786).	359
Plate 446	Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate).	360
Plate 447	Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): the soundboard covers the entire surface of the case (excluding the wrest-plank).	361
Plate 448	Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): the soundboard covers the entire surface of the case (excluding the wrest-plank) (detail).	362
Plate 449	Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): nameboard.	362
Plate 450	Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): nameboard (detail).	363
Plate 451	Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): handwritten inscription on the soundboard—'A. F. Beck. 1790 Patent'.	363
Plate 452	Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): French frame, treble-front corner.	364
Plate 453	Square piano by Frederick Beck and George Corrie (London, ca 1790?, serial number 2505): sometime during the Victorian or Edwardian period, the case was painted with neo-classical decoration.	365
Plate 454	Square piano by Frederick Beck and George Corrie (London, ca 1790?, serial number 2505): nameboard inscription.	366
Plate 455	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?).	367

Plate 456	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): nameboard cartouche and inscription (following the instrument’s ‘modernisation’ during the early nineteenth century).	367
Plate 457	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): a single hand-lever in a compartment at the bass end operates all the dampers.	368
Plate 458	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): the angle of the mortice cut into the top of the belly rail, and of the two mortices cut into the top of the treble-end front liners, into which one end of each of three soundboard ribs are recessed, is consistent with Zumpe’s early soundboard barring.	369
Plate 459	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): the angle of the single mortice cut into the top of the liner at the back right corner is consistent with Zumpe’s early soundboard barring design.	370
Plate 460	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): original wrest-pins.	370
Plate 461	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): original wrest-pins (detail).	371
Plate 462	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): original bass-end wrest-pins (detail).	371
Plate 463	Clavichord in the Saxon style (ca 1770). Copy by Joris Potvlieghe (2007): serpentine bridge, with a curve at both the treble and the bass ends.	372
Plate 464	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): beech J-form bridge with a truncated triangular cross-section.	373
Plate 465	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): the sculpted bass end of the J-form bridge (detail).	373
Plate 466	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): the key lever for GG, with a permanently joined dummy GG [#] .	374
Plate 467	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): the key lever for GG, with a permanently joined dummy GG [#] (detail).	374

Plate 468	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): the key lever for GG, with a permanently joined dummy GG [#] (detail).	375
Plate 469	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): the first hammer sounds the note GG; the second hammer is for show only, as it belongs to the GG key lever's dummy GG [#] .	375
Plate 470	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): the first hammer sounds the note GG; the second hammer is for show only, as it belongs to the GG key lever's dummy GG [#] .	376
Plate 471	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): representative key lever—rear rack-guided with a whalebone fillet (detail).	376
Plate 472	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): representative key lever—carved underneath at the balance rail (detail).	377
Plate 473	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): key lever for GG—carved underneath at the balance rail (detail).	377
Plate 474	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): key plates and key front (detail).	378
Plate 475	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): hammerhead leathering.	378
Plate 476	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): rectangular hole in the belly rail.	379
Plate 477	Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): rectangular hole in the belly rail.	379

Appendix A

The First Piano to be Brought to Australia? George Bouchier Worgan's square piano by Frederick Beck (London, 1780/86?): Description and measurements

Nameboard

- On a single pine¹ plank 830 millimetres long, 83 millimetres wide, 16 millimetres thick.
- Removable: Drops down within slots at either end. This facilitates the removal of the action frame.
- Banded top and bottom (each 18 millimetres wide) with plain mahogany veneer, with a central band of fiddle-back mahogany veneer stained brown (44 millimetres wide) with stringers top and bottom (ebony, edged each side with boxwood).
- Varnished—'using the standard spirit varnish of the [contemporaneous] furniture trade'.²
- Handwritten pen work in ink, on an elongated applied boxwood ogee-pointed cartouche (360 millimetres long, 30 millimetres wide).
- The inscription (Plates 134–42), the top line of which is written in Latin, reads:³ *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1780 / No. 4 and 10 Broad Street Soho.*
- Infills of fine pen work scrolls and dots.

Although it is likely that the date of the instrument is 1780, there is room for reasonable doubt. The calligraphic style of Beck's nameboard inscriptions did not remain consistent throughout his output. Note the difference, for example, between the '7' on an instrument of 1786 (Plates 20a and 20b) and the '7's on instruments dated 1774 (Plate 20c), 1776 (Plate 43t), 1777 (Plate 20d), 1778 (Plates 20e and 20f), 1780 (Plate 20), 1782⁴ and 1783 (Plate 20g). Note also the

1 The nameboard is probably made from Scotch pine (*Pinus sylvestris*)—'the most important European hard pine (its natural range includes much of the continent but only the northern part of the British Isles, hence its English name)'. Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 331.

2 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 102.

3 See 'Date', in Chapter 2, Volume 1 of this publication.

4 See photograph in Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, Plate 110b 'Das Tafelklavier von Beck', p. 54.

difference between the '8' on an instrument of 1786 (Plates 20a and 20b) and the '8's on instruments dated 1778 (Plates 20e and 20f), 1780 (Plates 16 and 20) and 1783 (Plate 20g).

Consistencies in calligraphic style, however, can also be found. Note the similarity between the '7's on Beck instruments dated 1774 (Plate 20c), 1776 (Plate 43t), 1777 (Plate 20d), 1780 (Plate 20), 1782⁵ and 1783 (Plate 20g). Note also the similarity between the '8's on Beck instruments dated 1778 (Plates 20e and 20f), 1782⁶ and 1783 (Plate 20g).

Regardless of any variations in calligraphic style, Beck's nameboard inscriptions reflect the characteristically serpentine freedom and balance of numerals written by accomplished eighteenth-century hands.⁷

Initial inspection of George Worgan's piano suggests the date of the instrument to be 1780 (Plate 20). It is tempting, however, to construe the small oblique line above the '0' as a now-faded oblique line that was once the top of a '6' (Plates 20 and 139). Given the degree of fading and the calligraphic style (which is full-bodied, rather than fine-lined), this may be the case.

Comparison of the '0' (if viewed as a '6') written on the nameboard of Worgan's piano (Plate 20) with the '6' written on the nameboards of two Beck pianos dated 1776 (Plate 43t) and 1786 (Plates 20a and 20b)⁸ reveals marked differences in proportion and form—especially in relation not only to the thickness and angle of the two thick pen strokes of the circular body of the '0', but also to the thickness and angle of the curving top stroke of the '6'. Using the calligraphic style of the 1776 (Plate 43t) and 1786 (Plates 20a and 20b) instruments as a basis for supposition, had the '0' on Worgan's piano been a '6', the body of the '6' would have been more elliptical, and the angle of the two thick pen strokes of the circular body would have inclined markedly towards the right.

Although it seems likely that the date of Worgan's piano is 1780, reasonable doubt remains; it could be 1786.

Of the 27 Beck square pianos listed by Martha Clinkscale,⁹ descriptions of the nameboard are provided for 19 instruments. The nameboard inscriptions of these pianos take a range of forms:

5 See photograph in *ibid.*, p. 54. See also photographs in 'Beck, Frederick' at hammerfluegel.net/.

6 *Ibid.*

7 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 168.

8 Stockholm Music and Theatre Museum, Sweden, inv. no. N61230.

9 Watson, *Clinkscale Online*. See also 'Extant Pianos by Frederick Beck' in Chapter 2, Volume 1 of this publication.

1. *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1772 / Broad Street, Golden Square*
2. *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1774 / No 4 Broad Street, Golden Square*
3. *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1775 / No 4 Broad Street, Golden Square*
4. *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1785 / No 10 Broad Street, Soho.*

An instrument of 1778 (Plates 20e and 43f), not listed by Clinkscale, has the following nameboard inscription: *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1778 / No 4 and 10 Broad Street, Golden Square.*

An instrument of ca 1790 (serial number 2580), not listed in Clinkscale, has the following nameboard inscription:¹⁰ *No 2580, Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit, No 10 Broad Street Soho.*

In relation to Beck's instruments, the range of nameboard inscription content and form listed above is representative.¹¹



Plate 134 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

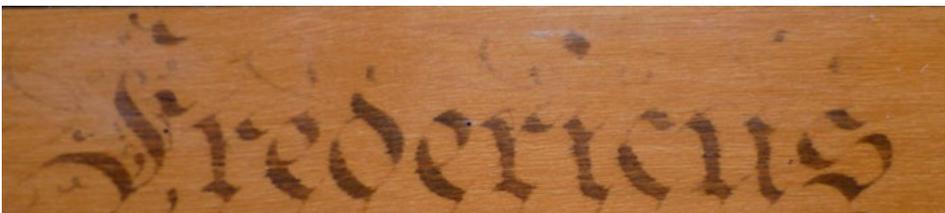


Plate 135 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—'Fredericus'.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

¹⁰ I am indebted to Andrew Snedden for this information (email to the author, 12 December 2013).

¹¹ For a list of the 25 Beck square piano nameboard inscriptions known to the author, see '1782/87?, Serial Number 5008', in Appendix L, this volume.



**Plate 136 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—'Beck'.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 137 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—'Londini'.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



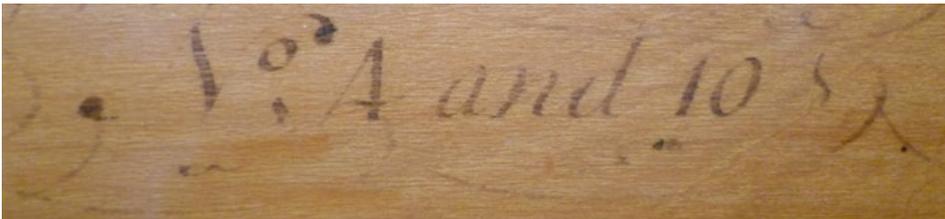
**Plate 138 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—'Fecit'.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 139 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—‘1780’.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 140 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—‘No. 4 and 10’.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 141 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—‘Broad Street’.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 142 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): nameboard (detail)—‘Soho’.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Serial Number

‘Up until 1780 at least, Beck’s square pianos were not numbered.’¹²

- No serial number can be found.
- The number 111 is prominently handwritten, in chalk, on the bass end of the underside of the keyframe back touch rail. It is tempting (at first glance) to assume that this may be a serial number. It is not known who wrote it, or when.

There are two other numbers, faintly handwritten in chalk, on the bass end of the underside of the keyframe back touch rail.

Each of the three numbers is located in proximity to the three separate longitudinal bars (running from front to back) connecting the balance rail with the back touch rail. The treble bar is labelled ‘I’, the tenor bar is labelled ‘II’ and the bass bar is labelled ‘III’ (Plate 143).

It is almost certain that the handwritten chalk numbers are directly associated with the keyframe’s construction.

¹² Cranmer, ‘Beck, Frederick’, p. 334. Regrettably, Cranmer provides no supporting data to substantiate her assertion.



Plate 143 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): numbers 'I', 'II' and 'III' written in chalk on the underside of the keyframe back touch rail.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Case

An oblong, fairly shallow box, open at the top (but closed by the lid) and divided into two compartments. The soundboard is mounted in the right-hand compartment, closed to the front, while the larger, left-hand compartment, open to the front, contains [an inset] ... keyboard and [the] action, a single unit which slides in under the strings like a drawer.¹³

Length

- Treble-edge front corner to bass-edge front corner (including main lid overhang): 1455 millimetres.
- Right-hand-side front (from the treble-end cheek to the right-hand outside edge): 505 millimetres long, 192 millimetres high, 21 millimetres thick.
- Left-hand-side front (from the bass-end cheek to the left-hand outside edge): 97 millimetres long, 192 millimetres high, 21 millimetres thick.

¹³ Clarke, 'The English Piano', p. 254.

Width

- Outside measurement from the front to the back: 505 millimetres.

Height

- From the bottom of the instrument: 191 millimetres.

The dimensions of the case fit comfortably within the range of the average dimensions of Frederick Beck's instruments.

Average Dimensions of Frederick Beck's Square Pianos

Based on data for the dimensions of 20 Frederick Beck square pianos,¹⁴ the average length of Beck's pianos is 1475.75 millimetres—the shortest of these 20 instruments is 1427 millimetres (Plate 43f);¹⁵ the longest 1630 millimetres.¹⁶

Based on the measurements of 16 of the above 20 instruments (instruments dated 1775, 1778? [estimate], ca 1790?¹⁷ and ca 1795 are excluded, owing to a lack of data), the average width is 507 millimetres—the narrowest of these is 490 millimetres¹⁸ (Plates 43a, 43b and 43s); the widest is 545 millimetres (Plate 43h).¹⁹

The average length of eight Beck instruments made in the 1770s²⁰ is 1449 millimetres—the shortest of these eight instruments is 1427 millimetres (Plate 43f);²¹ the longest 1470 millimetres.²²

14 Instruments dated 1772, 1773, 1774 and 1775 (see 'Cité de la musique, Paris', in *MIMO Musical Instrument Museums Online*); 1776 (owner: Michael Borgstede, Germany); 1778 (owner: Musée instrumental de Bruxelles, Brussels); 1778 (owner: Thomas Strange); 1778? (estimate) (owner[s]: unknown; serial number 3091); 1780/86?, George Worgan's piano (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney); 1782 (owner: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg) (see Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, p. 57); 1782 (owner[s]: unknown); 1782/87? (owner: Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA; serial number 5008); 1782/90? (owner: Osaka College of Music Museum, Japan), 'tangent action' instrument; 1784; 1785; 1786; 1788 (serial number 1941); ca 1790? (owner[s]: unknown, in Germany; serial number 2505) (see 'Lot Details', in Bonhams, 'Lot 31 Beck et Corrie' [London: Bonhams, n.d.]; ca 1790 (owner[s]: unknown; serial number 2580); and ca 1795 (estimate) (see Watson, *Clinkscale Online*).

15 An instrument dated 1778 (owner: Thomas Strange). See Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

16 An instrument dated ca 1795 (estimate). See *ibid.* This instrument's extended keyboard compass (FF–c⁴) explains its length.

17 Serial number 2505.

18 Instruments dated 1773 (owner: Pelham Galleries, London); 1774 (owner: Bachhaus, Eisenach, Germany); and 1776 (owner: Michael Borgstede, Germany).

19 An instrument dated 1782/87? (owner: Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA; serial number 5008).

20 Instruments dated 1772; 1773; 1774; 1775 (see 'Cité de la musique, Paris' in *MIMO Musical Instrument Museums Online*); 1776; 1778; 1778 and 1778? (estimate)

21 An instrument dated 1778 (owner: Thomas Strange). See Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

22 An instrument dated 1775. See 'Cité de la musique, Paris', in *MIMO Musical Instrument Museums Online*.

The average width of six of the same eight instruments made in the 1770s (instrument dated 1775 and 1778? [estimate] are excluded, owing to a lack of data) is 495.3 millimetres—the narrowest of these is 490 millimetres (Plates 43a, 43b and 43s);²³ the widest 510 millimetres.²⁴

The average length of nine Beck instruments made in the 1780s²⁵ is 1479.77 millimetres.

The average length of nine Beck instruments made in the 1780s²⁶ plus three instruments made ca 1790?²⁷ ca 1790²⁸ and about the mid-1790s²⁹ is 1493.58 millimetres—the shortest of these 12 instruments is 1447 millimetres;³⁰ the longest 1630 millimetres.³¹

The average length of three instruments made in the ca 1790s³² is 1535 millimetres.

The average width of the nine instruments made in the 1780s plus one instrument made ca 1790³³ (the instruments dated ca 1790?³⁴ and ca mid-1790s are excluded, owing to a lack of data) is 514 millimetres—the narrowest of these is 501 millimetres (Plate 43k);³⁵ the widest 545 millimetres (Plate 43h).³⁶

Because the length of the ca 1795 piano³⁷ can be explained by the instrument's extended keyboard compass (FF–c⁴), and no other Beck instruments (for which

23 Instruments dated 1773 (owner: Pelham Galleries, London); 1774 (owner: Bachhaus, Eisenach, Germany); and 1776 (owner: Michael Borgstede, Germany).

24 An instrument dated 1778 (owner: Musée instrumental de Bruxelles, Brussels). See *ibid.* See also Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 19.

25 Instruments dated 1780/86?, George Worgan's piano (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney); 1782 (owner: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg) (see Andreas Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, p. 57); 1782 (owner[s]: unknown); 1782/87? (owner: Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA; serial number 5008); 1782/90? (owner: Osaka College of Music Museum, Japan), 'tangent action' instrument; 1784; 1785; 1786; and 1788 (serial number 1941) (see Watson, *Clinkscale Online*).

26 Instruments dated 1780/86?, George Worgan's piano (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney); 1782 (owner: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg) (see Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, p. 57); 1782 (owner[s]: unknown); 1782/87? (owner: Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA; serial number 5008); 1782/90? (owner: Osaka College of Music Museum, Japan), 'tangent action' instrument; 1784; 1785; 1786; and 1788 (serial number 1941) (see Watson, *Clinkscale Online*).

27 An instrument dated ca 1790? (owner[s]: unknown, in Germany; serial number 2505).

28 An instrument dated ca 1790 (owner[s]: unknown; serial number 2580).

29 An instrument dated ca 1795 (estimate). See Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

30 An instrument dated 1782 (owner: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg). See Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, p. 57.

31 An instrument dated ca 1795 (estimate). See Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

32 Instruments dated ca 1790? (owner[s]: unknown, in Germany; serial number 2505); ca 1790 (owner[s]: unknown; serial number 2580); and ca 1795 (estimate) (see Watson, *Clinkscale Online*).

33 Serial number 2580 (owner[s]: unknown).

34 Serial number 2505 (owner[s]: unknown, in Germany).

35 An instrument dated 1786 (owner: Stockholm Music and Theatre Museum, Sweden). See Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

36 An instrument dated 1782/87? (owner: Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA; serial number 5008).

37 See Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

data were available at the time of publication)³⁸ have a compass of FF–c⁴, the average length of Beck's pianos (excluding the ca 1795 piano) is 1467.63 millimetres. Excluding the ca 1795 piano, the shortest instrument is 1427 millimetres (Plate 43f);³⁹ the longest 1595 millimetres (Plate 43h).⁴⁰

Measurements of the 20 Frederick Beck square pianos for which data were available at the time of publication are given below.

Date	Length (in mm)	Width (in mm)	Owner
1772	1440	500	Mr Tidstrom, Netherlands; formerly housed at the Rien Hasselaar Collection, Amsterdam.
1773	1435	490	Pelham Galleries, London, UK.
1774	1440	490	Bachhaus, Eisenach, Germany.
1775	1470	?	Musée de la Musique, Cité de la Musique; formerly Musée Institut du Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique, Paris, France.
1776	1430	490	Michael Borgstede, Germany.
1778	1440	510	Musée instrumental de Bruxelles, Brussels, Belgium.
1778	1427	492	Thomas Strange.
1778? (estimate)	1510	?	Unknown; serial number 3091.
1780/86?	1455	505	Stewart Symonds, Sydney, Australia; George Worgan's piano.
1782	1447	504	Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, Germany.

38 Instruments dated 1772; 1773; 1774; 1775 ('Cité de la musique, Paris', in *MIMO Musical Instrument Museums Online*); 1776 (owner: Michael Borgstede, Germany); 1778 (owner: Musée instrumental de Bruxelles, Brussels); 1778 (owner: Thomas Strange); 1778? (estimate) (owner[s]: unknown; serial number 3091) (see 'Sale 6414 Lot 277', in *Christie's The Art People*); 1780/86?, George Worgan's piano (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney); 1782 (owner: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg) (see Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, p. 57); 1782 (owner[s]: unknown); 1782/87? (owner: Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA; serial number 5008); 1782/90? (owner: Osaka College of Music Museum, Japan), 'tangent action' instrument; 1784; 1785; 1786; 1788 (serial number 1941); ca 1790? (owner[s]: unknown, in Germany; serial number 2505) (see 'Lot Details' in Bonhams, 'Lot 31 Beck et Corrie'); and ca 1790 (owner[s]: unknown; serial number 2580).

39 An instrument dated 1778 (owner: Thomas Strange). See Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

40 An instrument dated 1782/87? (owner: Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA; serial number 5008).

Date	Length (in mm)	Width (in mm)	Owner
1782	1460	510	Unknown.
1782/87?	1595	545	Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA; serial number 5008.
1782/90?	1468	515	Osaka College of Music Museum, Japan; 'tangent action' instrument.
1784	1480	510	Eberhard Brünger, Bielefeld, Germany.
1785	1469	504	Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, USA.
1786	1464	501	Stockholm Music and Theatre Museum, Sweden.
1788	1480	520	Unknown; serial number 1941.
ca 1790?	1490		Unknown, in Germany; serial number 2505.
ca 1790	1485	526	Unknown; serial number 2580. (I am grateful to Andrew Snedden, York, UK, for data associated with this instrument.)
ca 1795 (estimate)	1630		Unknown; this instrument's extended keyboard compass (FF–c ⁴) may explain its length. (See Watson, <i>Clinkscale Online</i> .)

The length of George Worgan's 1780/86? Beck piano (1455 millimetres) is slightly on the long side for Beck's 1770s instruments (the average length of which is 1440.3 millimetres), and slightly on the short side for the nine instruments made during the 1780s (the average length of which is 1479.77 millimetres).

Even if the ca 1795 instrument is excluded from analysis because of its length (the result of an extended keyboard compass: FF–c⁴), the length of George Worgan's 1780/86? Beck piano (1455 millimetres) is slightly on the short side compared with the remaining 19 Frederick Beck square pianos (for which data were available at the time of publication),⁴¹ none of which has a compass of FF–c⁴, and whose average length is 1467.63 millimetres.

41 Instruments dated 1772; 1773; 1774; 1775 (see 'Cité de la musique, Paris', in *MIMO Musical Instrument Museums Online*); 1776 (owner: Michael Borgstede, Germany); 1778 (owner: Musée instrumental de Bruxelles, Brussels); 1778 (owner: Thomas Strange); 1778? (estimate) (owner[s]: unknown; serial number 3091); 1780/86?, George Worgan's piano (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney); 1782 (owner: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg) (see Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, p. 57); 1782 (owner[s]: unknown); 1782/87? (owner:

Moulding

- Step-half-round-and-step: 4 millimetres wide (Plate 144).

The moulding runs around the upper top inside edge of the case.



Plate 144 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): step-half-round-and-step moulding.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Similar types of moulding can be found on several mid to late eighteenth-century clavichords and square pianos either made in Germany, or made by German makers. For example:

1. fretted clavichord by anonymous (ca 1750)⁴²
2. unfretted clavichord by Johann Anton Fuchs (1737–96) (Innsbruck, 1781)⁴³
3. *tafelklavier* by Johann Christoph Steinbrück (fl. ca 1780s) (Gotha, 1782)⁴⁴
4. *tafelklavier* by Wilhelm Zimmermann l'ainé (fl. 1780–1805) (Paris, 1787)⁴⁵

Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA; serial number 5008); 1782/90? (owner: Osaka College of Music Museum, Japan), 'tangent action' instrument; 1784; 1785; 1786; 1788 (serial number 1941); ca 1790? (owner[s]: unknown, in Germany; serial number 2505) (see 'Lot Details' in Bonhams, 'Lot 31 Beck et Corrie'); and ca 1790 (owner[s]: unknown; serial number 2580).

42 Fretted clavichord (Germany, ca 1750), *Klavierhistorische Sammlung Neupert* (Historic Piano Collection: Neupert), housed at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Inv. no. 1148. In F. Hellwig, *Atlas der Profile an Tasteninstrumenten vom 16. bis zum Frühen 19. Jahrhundert* [*Atlas of the Profiles of Keyboard Instruments from the 16th to the Early 19th Century*] (Frankfurt: E. Bochinsky, 1985), p. 117, 'Upper case-moulding (1)'.

43 Unfretted clavichord by Johann Anton Fuchs (Innsbruck, 1781), *Sammlung historischer Musikinstrumente Dr. Ulrich Rück* (Collection of Historic Musical Instruments: Dr Ulrich Rück), housed at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Inv. no. 1062. In *ibid.*, p. 123, 'Upper case-moulding (1)'.

44 *Tafelklavier* by Johann Christoph Steinbrück (Gotha, 1782), *Klavierhistorische Sammlung Neupert* (Historic Piano Collection: Neupert), housed at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Inv. no. 171. In *ibid.*, p. 160, 'Upper case-moulding (1)'.

45 *Tafelklavier* by Wilhelm Zimmermann l'ainé (Paris, 1787), *Sammlung historischer Musikinstrumente Dr. Ulrich Rück* (Collection of Historic Musical Instruments: Dr Ulrich Rück), housed at the Germanisches

5. *tafelklavier* by Christian Gottlob Hubert (1714–93) (Ansbach, 1787).⁴⁶

Inside of the Case

Width

- Flat-surfaced wooden block at the bass-end inside of the case: 60 millimetres (Plate 145).
- The wooden block ends slightly short of the hitch-pin block (Plate 146).



Plate 145 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): flat-surfaced wooden block at the bass end inside the case.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Inv. no. 1146. In *ibid.*, p. 161, 'Upper case-moulding (1)'.
46 *Tafelklavier* by Christian Gottlob Hubert (Ansbach, 1787), in *Sammlung historischer Musikinstrumente Dr. Ulrich Rück* (Collection of Historic Musical Instruments: Dr Ulrich Rück), housed at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Inv. no. 1145. In *ibid.*, p. 162, 'Upper case-moulding (1)'.



Plate 146 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the wooden block at the bass end inside the case ends slightly short of the hitch-pin block.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Height

- Treble end from the top of the case to the soundboard: 45 millimetres.
- Treble end from the top of the case to the top of the moulding on the soundboard: 36 millimetres.
- Right-hand side from the top of the case to the bottom of the moulding on the soundboard: 43 millimetres. (The moulding on the soundboard travels from the treble side of the keywell across the inside edge of the right-hand front of the instrument, and returns along the entire treble end; Plate 147.)
- Left-hand side from the top of the case to the flat surface on the inside of the case: 41 millimetres.
- Top of the spine to the top of the hitch-pin block at the bass end: 37 millimetres (Plates 148 and 149).
- Treble and bass-end cheeks from the lockboard bottom closure point to the top edge of the cheeks: 110 millimetres. (The lockboard closes the front of the keyboard. It is hinged to the main lid's front keyboard flap, and can stand vertically when the main lid's front keyboard flap is folded back; Plates 150 and 151).



Plate 147 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the moulding on the soundboard extends from the treble side of the keywell, across the front inside edge, and along the entire treble end.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 148 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the spine and hitch-pin block at the bass end.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 149 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the spine and hitch-pin block at the bass end (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 150 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the hinged lockboard lying against the main lid's front keyboard flap, which is folded back.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 151 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the hinged lockboard standing vertically when the main lid's front keyboard flap is folded back.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Cheeks

- Length of the cheeks from the outside surface of the nameboard to the outside front of the case: 146 millimetres; 18 millimetres thick.
- The running step-half-round-and-step mould around the inside of the case continues along the upper top inside edge of the cheeks (Plate 152).

Case Corners

- Front: Joined with hidden mitre dovetails.
- Back: Lap dovetails visible from behind (Plate 153).

Interior Framing

- Hole in the belly rail (Plate 154).

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View



Plate 152 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass-end cheek—the running step-half-round-and-step mould around the inside of the case continues along the upper top inside edge of the cheeks.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 153 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the bass-end case corner, at the back—lap dovetails are visible.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 154 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): hole in the belly rail.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Soundboard

- Alpine spruce.⁴⁷
- Grain runs parallel to the spine (Plate 155). The grain is close and fairly uniform—two essential elements for a soundboard of high quality.
- Tightly glued onto pine liners (which are themselves glued to the internal faces of the box formed by the case at the right-hand end of the instrument), as well as onto the top of the wrest-plank.

Ribs

- Soundboard ribs are visible through the hole in the belly rail (Plate 156).
- The main rib is large compared with those around it (Plate 157).
- Several ribs appear to cross under the bridge at more or less right angles (this is similar to Zumpe's early instruments).
- The main rib appears to be supported underneath by a thick wooden bar (Plate 158).
- One small rib runs near the treble end of the bridge. This small rib appears to have been inserted underneath a crack that runs in the direction of the grain of the soundboard. Because the soundboard is sunken in various places, the bass end of the adjacent larger rib has come away from the underneath of the soundboard (Plate 159).

⁴⁷ 'Wood from trees of the genus *Picea* ... presumably of the species *P. abies* (sometimes referred to incorrectly as *P. excelsa*).' Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 332.



Plate 155 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): soundboard—the grain runs parallel to the spine.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 156 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): soundboard ribs are visible through the hole in the belly rail.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 157 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the large main soundboard rib, as seen through the hole in the belly rail.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 158 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the main soundboard rib appears to be supported underneath by a thick wooden bar.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 159 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): a small rib runs near the treble end of the bridge— this small rib has been inserted underneath a crack that runs in the direction of the grain of the soundboard. Because the soundboard is sunken in various places, the bass end of the adjacent larger rib has come away from the underneath of the soundboard.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

- When compared with the soundboard ribs visible through the hole in the belly rail of some other Beck square pianos, the soundboard ribs on Worgan's 1780/86? piano appear to be
 - a) positioned differently in relation to the bridge
 - b) shaped differently
 - c) more delicate
 - d) generally arranged in a more complex pattern.

Condition

- It appears that anachronistic reinforcing material (soundboard barring) has been added to the underside of the soundboard. It is currently not possible to know which soundboard ribs are original. The soundboard is quite sunken in various places (Plate 160), and it may be that some ribs were installed after the piano was made in response to the soundboard's downward movement and cracking. Despite the addition of 'extra' ribs, soundboard sinking has continued; this is evidenced by the bass end of a rib coming away from the underside of the soundboard (Plate 159).
- Several cracks in the soundboard have been crudely repaired (Plates 161–3).



Plate 160 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the soundboard is quite sunken in various places.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 161 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): crudely repaired soundboard cracks.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 162 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): crudely repaired soundboard crack (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 163 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): crudely repaired soundboard crack (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Bridge

- Single.
- Beech. This wood is especially suited for the thin bridge: it is hard and has great strength. During the eighteenth century, English makers used mainly beech for the bridges of their harpsichords and pianos.⁴⁸
- J-form, which has a curve at the treble end, and is straight in the tenor and bass (Plate 164).
- The J-form bridge is typical of the late eighteenth-century English square piano. By comparison, the bridge on contemporaneous clavichords was commonly serpentine (Plate 165).
- Double-pinned throughout the compass.
- Truncated wedge-shaped cross-section (Plate 166), leaning towards the keyboard (the small slant of the bridge lies towards the sounding part of the string) (Plate 167). The right-hand side is raised, with a concave cut-out on the left-hand side, into which the brass guide-pins are driven. This provides a ridge approximately 2 millimetres wide upon which the strings rest.
- Undercut at the bass end (reducing the bridge's footprint) in order to increase the flexibility of the soundboard in this narrow region near the corner, thus making the soundboard generally more resonant (and more resonant to lower frequencies) (Plates 168–71).

48 See Skowronek, *Harpsichord Construction*, p. 188.



Plate 164 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): J-form bridge, with the curve at the treble end.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 165 Clavichord in the Saxon style (ca 1770). Copy by Joris Potvlieghe (2007): serpentine bridge, with a curve at both the treble and the bass ends.

Source: ANU School of Music Keyboard Institute Collection, Canberra. Photo by the author.



**Plate 166 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): bridge—truncated wedge-shaped cross-section.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 167 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): bridge—leaning towards the keyboard.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



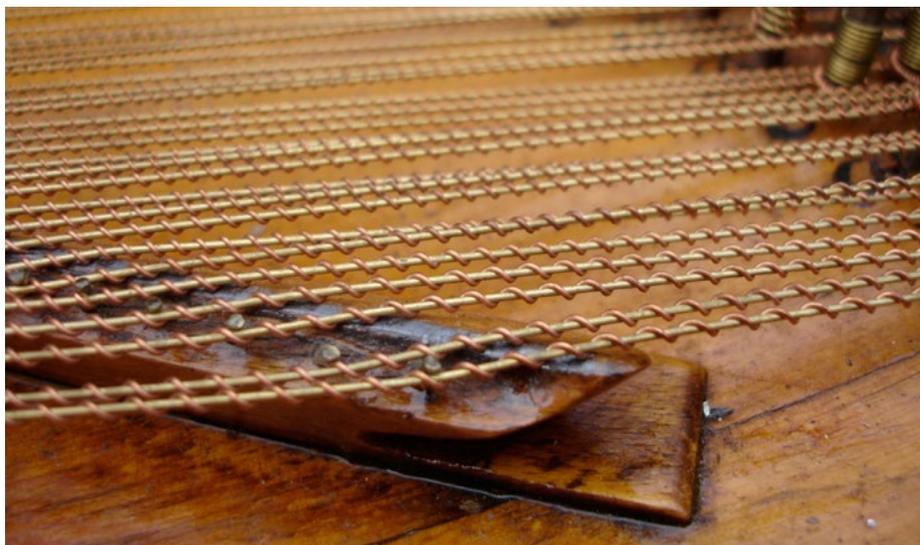
**Plate 168 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): bridge—undercut at the bass end.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



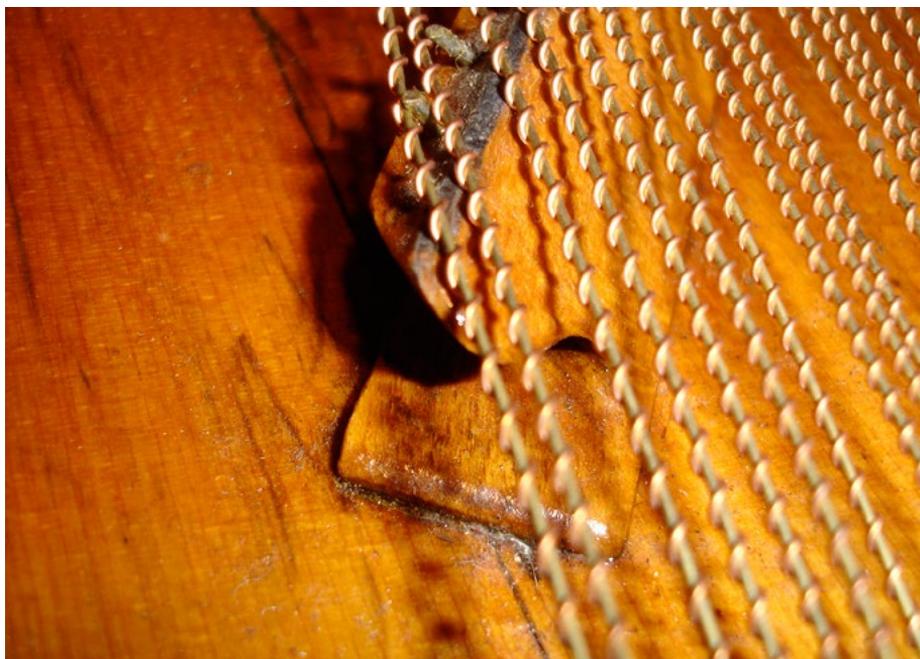
**Plate 169 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): bridge—undercut at the bass end (detail).**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 170 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): bridge—undercut at the bass end (detail).**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 171 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): bridge—undercut at the bass end (detail).**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Height

- Slightly tapering, reducing in height at the extreme treble end.
- f³ (top note): 10 millimetres.
- g^{#2}: 11 millimetres.
- GG[#]: 11 millimetres.
- FF (bottom note): 11 millimetres.

Condition

- In the past, a crack at the curve of the bridge has been repaired (Plates 172 and 173).



Plate 172 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): repaired crack in the curve of the bridge.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 173 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): repaired crack in the curve of the bridge (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Nut

- A thin strip of oak?⁴⁹
- Located parallel to the front edge of the hitch-pin block, immediately behind the nut-pins (Plate 174).⁵⁰

49 'Wood from trees of the genus *Quercus*.' Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 331.

50 In relation to the second extant Beck square piano dated 1780 (owner: Musikinstrumenten-Museum, Berlin), see photograph 'Beck 011.jpg' in 'Beck, Frederick' at hammerfluegel.net/.



Plate 174 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the nut, at the bass end.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Hitch-Pin Block

- Oak.
- Anchored to the spine (Plates 175–7).



Plate 175 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the hitch-pin block anchored to the spine (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 176 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—the hitch-pin block anchored to the spine (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 177 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end—the hitch-pin block anchored to the spine (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Wrest-Plank

- In all probability, Beck has followed Zumpe's design by installing a diagonally disposed wrest-plank at the treble end, made from a composite block of beech and pine.
- The top of the wrest-plank is level with pine liners that are glued to the internal faces of the box formed by the case at the right-hand end of the instrument.

Bottom Boards

- Plain pine.
- Double thickness.
- The lower layer comprises four rectangular planks, the long sides of which are laid adjacent to one another, parallel to the spine (Plates 178 and 179).

- The upper-layer planks are laid diagonally in the direction of the back left-hand corner to the front right corner—that is, parallel with the diagonally positioned strings of the instrument (Plate 180).
- In the bass half of the instrument, the upper-layer planks are reinforced within the case walls by three longitudinal wooden bars running at a right angle to the lower-layer planks (Plate 179). (These three longitudinal wooden bars add only a little strength to the diagonal upper-layer planks.) The middle longitudinal bar is the widest of the three. The bass-end longitudinal bar is approximately two-thirds of the width of the middle longitudinal bar. The treble-side longitudinal bar is approximately five-sixths of the width of the middle longitudinal bar. All three longitudinal bars are glued to the lower-layer bottom boards. The bass-end longitudinal bar is also nailed (two nail heads are visible) to the lower-layer bottom boards.
- A replacement upper-layer section (at the treble end, towards the back) appears to have been added at a later date. The replacement section has four reinforcing screws, each of which passes vertically through the replacement section into the planks of the lower layer (Plate 181).
- The top of the replacement upper-layer section does not sit flush with the top of the original surrounding upper-layer planks; it sits slightly lower (Plate 182). That this is so may have been the intention of the craftsman who installed the replacement section; the removal of the keyframe is not impeded by a protruding top surface.
- The replacement upper-layer section extends to the belly rail.



Plate 178 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bottom boards—four lower-layer planks are laid parallel to the spine.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 179 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): lower-layer bottom boards (detail)—the direction of the grain can be seen through the spaces between the upper-layer planks.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 180 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): double-thickness bottom boards—the upper-layer
planks are laid parallel with the strings of the instrument.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 181 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): treble-end back corner—the replacement upper-layer
section, with four reinforcing screws.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 182 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the top of the replacement section does not sit flush with the top of the surrounding upper-layer planks—this ensures that the removal of the keyframe is not impeded by a protruding top surface.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Internal Scribe Lines

- Scribe lines are scored into the inside back of the spine between the bottom boards and the underneath of the hitch-pin block (Plate 183). These score lines may be associated with the maker's need to obtain an exact correspondence between the dampers (held in a hinged wooden rack located at the top of, and running parallel with, the spine) and the width of the back of each key lever.



Plate 183 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): scribe lines at the treble end on the inside of the spine, between the bottom boards and the underneath of the hitch-pin block (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Main Lid

Length

- Including edge moulding: 1456 millimetres at the front.

Width

- Including edge moulding: 515 millimetres.

Thickness

- Approximately 6 millimetres.
- Solid figured mahogany.
- Grain runs parallel to the spine.
- In the middle of the lid, there is a slightly curved, 15 millimetre-long split running in the direction of the grain.

Moulding

- Applied 7-millimetre convex running mould, with a 12-millimetre overhang along the front and sides of the main lid, excluding the spine (Plate 184).
- The spine side of the main lid is flush with the top of the spine (Plate 185).

Lid-Stick

- Missing. This would have been a tapered wooden prop, hinged with a screw (still extant) at the bottom (wide) end of the taper. The lid-stick probably rotated towards the front of the instrument to attain its rest position.

Lid-Stick Fastening Hole

- A single hole, 7 millimetres square, is located at the bass end of the underside of the lid. This hole is approximately 2.5 millimetres deep at the front edge—that is, at the top edge of the square hole when the main lid is open (Plate 186).

Lid-Stick Screw

- Location: Inside the bass-end case, 193 millimetres from the inside of the spine, 27 millimetres above the flat-surfaced wooden block on the left-hand inside of the case (Plate 187). Witness marks reveal the arc of rotation of the lid-stick.



**Plate 184 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): bass-end front corner—the moulding that runs along
the front and sides of the main lid (detail).**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 185 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): the spine side of the main lid sits flush with the top
of the spine.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 186 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): square lid-stick fastening hole.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 187 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): lid-stick screw—witness marks reveal the arc of
rotation of the lid-stick.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Lid Sections

- The lid is split into three parts by a longitudinal cut over the nameboard—extending the length of the instrument—and a short lateral cut over the right-hand cheek (Plates 188 and 189).

Main Lid

- Length from the treble-end edge to the bass-end edge: 954.5 millimetres.
- Width from the keyboard front edge to the hinged back edge: 156.5 millimetres.
- Thickness: Approximately 6 millimetres.
- Solid mahogany.
- Rectangular.
- Grain runs in the direction of the spine.
- Hinged to the outside of the spine with two three-screw brass butt hinges—one at the treble and one at the bass end (Plate 190).

Keywell Flap

- The keywell flap is hinged to the main lid with four brass butt hinges (Plate 191). The hinges at the bass and treble ends are three-screw hinges, whilst the two in between are two-screw hinges.

Lockboard

- The lockboard is hinged to the inside of the keywell lid flap with two two-screw brass butt hinges (Plates 192 and 193). The lockboard falls forward, as in clavichords of the Hamburg and Saxon schools.⁵¹
- When the instrument is open, the lockboard may stand vertically as a support for a book of music (Plate 194).
- Length (from the treble-end edge to the bass-end edge): 836.5 millimetres.
- Width (from the bottom edge to the top edge, when closed): 112 millimetres.
- Thickness: 17 millimetres.
- Solid mahogany.

Treble-End Front Lid Flap

- Length from the treble-end edge to bass-end edge: 504 millimetres.
- Width from keyboard front edge to the hinged spine-side edge: 156.5 millimetres.

51 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 56.

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View

- Thickness: 10 millimetres.
- Mahogany.
- Grain runs parallel to the spine.
- The back edge is hinged to the main lid with three two-screw brass butt hinges (Plates 195 and 196).

Moulding

- Applied 7-millimetre convex running mould, with a 12-millimetre overhang along the front (Plate 197) and treble-end side (when closed).



Plate 188 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the lid is split into three parts by a longitudinal cut over the nameboard (extending the length of the instrument) and a short lateral cut over the right-hand cheek.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 189 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the lid is split into three parts (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

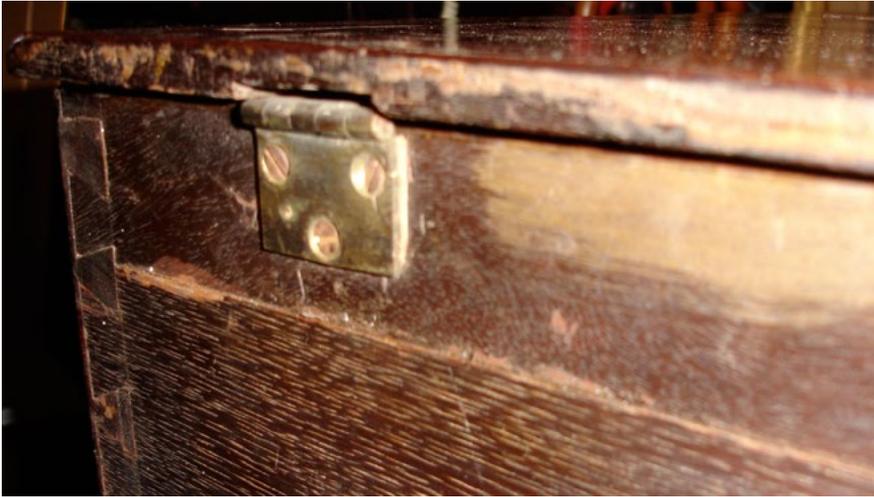


Plate 190 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the spine at the bass end—one of the two three-screw butt hinges connecting the main lid with the spine.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 191 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the keywell flap, hinged to the main lid with four brass butt hinges.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 192 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the lockboard, hinged to the inside of the keywell lid flap with two two-screw brass butt hinges (viewed from the spine side of the instrument).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 193 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the lockboard, hinged to the inside of the keywell lid flap with two two-screw brass butt hinges.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 194 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the lockboard standing vertically, functioning as a support for a book of music.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 195 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble-end front lid flap (closed)—the back edge of the flap is hinged to the main lid with three two-screw brass butt hinges.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 196 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble-end front lid flap (open)—the back edge of the flap is hinged to the main lid with three two-screw brass butt hinges.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 197 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): treble-end front lid flap (closed)—treble-end front
corner; convex running mould, with overhang.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Music Desk

- There is no internal provision for a sideways-folding music desk fitted to the back of the nameboard, which when extended holds the lid open (a sideways-folding music desk became a commonly encountered feature of square pianos during the 1790s).
- The only provision for holding a music book or music sheets in place is a solid wooden ledge fitted near the edge of the inside face of the hinged lockboard (to be used with the lockboard open and standing in its vertical position) (Plate 198). This means that when a music score is used, the main part of the lid has to remain closed, the upright lockboard serving as a convenient prop for the score. The small treble-end front lid flap may be opened, at the player's discretion.
- Solid mahogany.
- Wedge-shaped cross-section with curved apex.
- Length: 317.5 millimetres.
- Width: 18 millimetres.



Plate 198 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the wooden ledge fitted near the edge of the inside face of the hinged lockboard, for holding a music book or music sheets in place.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Stand

- Height from the floor to the upper surface of the naturals: Approximately 668 millimetres.
- Four square-tapered cabriole legs (Plate 199).
- Each pair of legs at the treble and bass ends is joined at the top by a 43-millimetre-high bar at the top edge, the ends of which are curved into the legs (Plate 200).
- At each end of the instrument, the lower part of each pair of legs is fixed by a 20 x 37 millimetre stretcher let into each leg. The bottom of each stretcher is 228 millimetres from the floor (Plates 201 and 202).
- When the piano is standing on its feet, each of these two stretchers—and therefore, each pair of legs at each end of the instrument—is held apart by a detachable dovetailed lower stretcher running the length of the case, in solid mahogany, measuring 40 x 38 millimetres (Plate 203).

Plate 204 shows the protruding dovetail (at the treble end of the detachable lower stretcher) inserted into its dry mortice and tenon socket. The socket has increased in depth because of wear; as a consequence, the top surface of the protruding dovetail sits slightly beneath the top surface of the stretcher that fixes the lower part of the legs.

The combination of trestle-and-stretcher structure with cabriole legs produces a hybrid stand; ‘it is rare to find cabriole legs with stretchers ... in any ... period’.⁵²

⁵² Hayward, *Antique or Fake*, p. 134.

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View



Plate 199 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): four square-tapered cabriole legs.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 200 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end—the legs are joined at the top by a bar, the ends of which are curved into the legs.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 201 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): treble end of the instrument—stretcher let into the
lower part of each leg.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 202 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): treble end of the instrument—stretcher let into the
lower part of each leg.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View



Plate 203 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): detachable lower stretcher, running the length of the case, which holds apart the pair of legs at each end of the instrument.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 204 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end of the instrument—the protruding dovetail at the end of the detachable lower stretcher has sunk into a socket that has increased in depth because of wear.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

- Uniquely, within the context of late eighteenth-century square piano stand design, the top of each leg is attached to the case by an iron three-screw butt hinge (Plate 205).
- The two plates comprising each hinge originate from the late eighteenth century.
- Each hinge leaf is slightly tapered from the hinge barrel outward. This not only saves material and enhances the look, but also is typical of many eighteenth-century English butt hinges.
- If the hinges were added by someone other than Frederick Beck after the completed instrument had left Beck's workshop, it is reasonable to assume that the mortice into which the hinge leafs are recessed would have been close to perfectly, if not perfectly, matched to the leaves' edges. That the mortices cut into the wood are imperfect and rough (Plate 35) conforms with Frederick Beck's 'rushed cabinet-work' and poor-quality carving style,⁵³ suggesting that the hinges were incorporated into the instrument by Beck as part of its manufacture.
- The top front of the stand comprises a second detachable stretcher (Plate 206), the ends of which are inserted into slots at the top of both front legs (Plate 207).
- The top front detachable stretcher measures 45 millimetres on the face, and is 21 millimetres thick.
- The front detachable stretcher tapers off at each end into the curve of the leg (Plate 208), and is held aloft by two brass swivel hooks mounted at either end on the back (Plates 209 and 210). Each hook catches in a square brass catch that protrudes from underneath the case (Plate 211).
- The front stretcher creates the illusion that the instrument, legs and front stretcher are one article—thereby alluding to the French frame (Plate 212). When assembled, the legs and front stretcher also allude to the cabriole legs and shaped apron of the Louis XV style.⁵⁴
- When the detachable stretchers are removed, the hinged legs at each end can be quickly folded under the case (Plate 213).
- The front stretcher, legs and the main case of the piano contain similar and/or related decorative motifs.

⁵³ Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick', p. 335.

⁵⁴ Streeter, 'Marquetry Furniture by a Brilliant London Master', p. 420.



Plate 205 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—iron three-screw butt hinge attaching the top of the rear leg to the bottom of the case.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 206 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): top front of the 'frame'—detachable stretcher running between the top of each front leg.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 207 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—slot in the top of the front leg for the detachable front stretcher.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 208 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—the detachable front stretcher tapers off into the curve of the front leg.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 209 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—brass swivel hook on the back of the detachable front stretcher.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 210 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—brass swivel hook and catch (in situ).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 211 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—square brass catch (for the swivel hook) protruding from underneath the case.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 212 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the front stretcher creates the illusion that the instrument, legs and detachable front stretcher are one article.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 213 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument—legs folded underneath.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Glue

- Hide (animal) glue.
- In the eighteenth century, hide glue was bought, as now, either in cake form, which must be smashed into manageable pieces, or as ‘pearls’ of a translucent brown colour. Steeped in water for several hours and then heated in a small copper pot, the mixture becomes a viscous fluid, which sets rapidly when allowed to cool. It has immense strength and no slippage. The hot glue allows the instrument maker to fit wooden components together very quickly and securely without having to resort to clamps. This is the only form of adhesive to be discovered in late eighteenth-century pianos.⁵⁵ Hide glue also dries brittle and hard, and is acoustically transparent; modern glues stay somewhat rubbery, insulating one piece of resonant wood from the next.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, pp. 282–3.

⁵⁶ I am indebted to Gavin Gostelow for this information.

Metalware

- Main lid: Two three-screw brass butt hinges (one at the treble end and one at the bass end) on the spine-side edge.
- Treble-end front lid flap: The spine-side edge is hinged to the main lid with three two-screw brass butt hinges.

Keywell Lid Flap

- Top section: The keywell flap is hinged to the main lid with four brass butt hinges on the spine-side edge. The hinges at the bass and treble ends are three-screw hinges, whilst the two in between are two-screw hinges.

Lockboard

- The lockboard is hinged to the inside of the keywell lid flap with two two-screw brass butt hinges.

Lock

- Brass, located at the centre upper edge of the lockboard.
- There is no escutcheon surrounding the keyhole (Plates 150, 188 and 193).
- The key for the lock is missing.

Wrest-Pins

- Four rows (Plate 214).
- The two wrest-pins for the last bass note are positioned adjacent to each other—as a continuation of the two treble-side rows (Plate 215).
- 122 wrest-pins for the 61-note compass.
- Iron.
- Unbored.
- Inserted directly into the soundboard, passing into the wrest-plank underneath.
- The wrest-pins project out of the soundboard 35 millimetres (Plate 216).
- Diameter: Approximately 5 millimetres (of the same type used in contemporaneous English harpsichords).
- The wrest-pins taper from the round into a fine oblong head (Plate 217).



Plate 214 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): wrest-pins.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

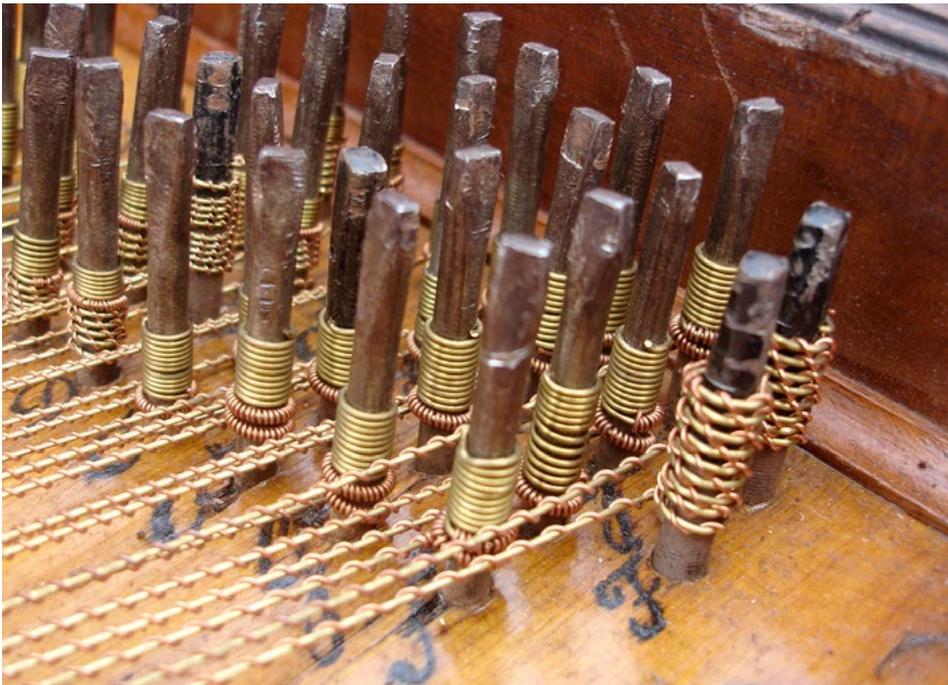


Plate 215 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): wrest-pins—the two wrest-pins for the last bass note (on the right) are adjacent to each other (as a continuation of the two treble-side rows).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 216 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the wrest-pins project out of the soundboard 35 millimetres (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 217 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the wrest-pins taper from the round into a fine oblong head.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Note Names

- Pitch names are handwritten on the soundboard, in ink, near each wrest-pin—as an aid for tuning and/or string replacement (Plates 218 and 219).
- It is not known if Beck wrote these note names. (There are, however, similar pitch names, written in what appears to be the same hand, on a Beck square piano dated 1782.)⁵⁷



Plate 218 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): pitch names, handwritten in ink on the soundboard, near each wrest-pin.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

⁵⁷ See photograph in Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, Plate 110g 'Die Ton-Namen bei den Wirbeln', p. 55.



Plate 219 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): pitch names, handwritten in ink on the soundboard, near each wrest pin (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Hand-Levers

Damper Raising

- Witness marks on the top face of the hitch-pin block at the bass end suggest there were two iron hand-levers (each probably with a turned brass knob) running from the front towards the back of the case. These levers were located in the compartment in the left-hand cheek. The levers were associated with raising the dampers
 1. the left hand-lever raised the bass dampers (probably FF–b inclusive)
 2. the right hand-lever raised the treble dampers (probably c^1 – c^3 inclusive).⁵⁸
- The following permutations were possible
 1. the left hand-lever engaged: this raises the bass dampers (probably FF–b inclusive)

⁵⁸ Based on the disposition of hand-levers found on an instrument by Frederick Beck, dated 1782, described in *ibid.*, p. 56, and Plate 110n 'Unten der Dämpfung-Eisenhebel mit Rückdruckfeder. Oben zwei Handhebel', p. 57.

2. the right hand-lever engaged: this raises the treble dampers (probably c^1 – c^3 inclusive)
3. no levers engaged
4. both hand-levers engaged simultaneously: this raises all dampers simultaneously (probably FF– c^3 inclusive).

Decoration

Main Lid (All Flaps Closed)

- Top: Running parallel with the edge, on the outside of the lid, plain mahogany veneer, 35 millimetres wide. Grain runs parallel with the spine.
- Then follows a simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay running parallel with the edge, on the outside of the lid (Plate 220). This inlay is identical to that found on the outside of the case (Plate 221).
- Wax polished.



Plate 220 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): outside of the main lid—a simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay running parallel with the edge.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 221 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): outside of the front of the case—a simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay running parallel with the edge.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Simplified Form of Tunbridgeware Inlay

- Width (in total): 14 millimetres.
- Comprising
 1. a fine 1-millimetre-wide ebony stringer adjacent to a 1.5-millimetre-wide boxwood stringer
 2. a 9-millimetre band of cross-banded fine ribbon-grained brown timber (possibly kingwood/beechn)
 3. a 2.5-millimetre band of alternating 25 millimetre-long diagonally cut boxwood and ebony stringers (Plate 222).
- The inlay carries right around all four sides of the top of the lid, right around the treble and the bass sides of the instrument, and right across the front of the instrument (carrying straight through the keywell vertical lockboard).
- The inlay is repeated along the bottom of the bar that goes between the top of both legs at both ends of the piano (Plate 223).
- The inlay runs along the bottom edge of the top front detachable stretcher, which slots into the top of both front legs (Plate 224).
- As each end of the front detachable stretcher curves down, the inlay follows the curved inside edge of the square-tapered cabriole shape of each leg, down to the leg termination (Plate 225). The inlay emphasises the sensuous form of each cabriole leg.
- The leading edge of the case (directly underneath the key fronts) is decorated with the simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay (Plate 226).

Keywell Cheeks

- The same veneer pattern and woods as found on the nameboard—that is, banded top and bottom (each 18 millimetres wide) with plain mahogany

veneer, with a central band of fiddle-back mahogany veneer stained brown (44 millimetres wide) with stringers top and bottom (ebony-edged each side) with boxwood—continue around onto the treble and bass keywell cheeks (Plates 227 and 228).

- Varnished—'using the standard spirit varnish of the [contemporaneous] furniture trade'.⁵⁹



Plate 222 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): a simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 223 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end—the simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay is repeated along the bottom of the bar that goes between the top of both legs. The ends of the bar (and the inlay) curve into the legs.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 224 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay runs along the bottom edge of the front detachable stretcher.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 225 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end of the instrument, front leg—the simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay follows the curved inside of the leg, down to the leg termination.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 226 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the leading edge of the case (directly underneath the key fronts) is decorated with the simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 227 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)(London, 1780/86?): bass-end keywell cheek—veneer and inlay pattern.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 228 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): treble-end keywell cheek—vener and inlay pattern
(detail).**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Back (Spine) of the Instrument

- Oak.
- Plain, unveneered (Plate 229).
- At the treble and bass corners of the spine, there are five lapped dovetail joints (Plate 230).
- The top dovetail joint at the bass end is impressed with the stamp 'T' (Plate 230), suggesting that the case, as one of many, may have been assembled by someone other than Beck away from Beck's workshop (such a scenario was not uncommon during the late eighteenth century).



Plate 229 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): unveneered spine.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 230 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): five lapped dovetail joints at the bass corner of the spine—the top joint is impressed with the stamp 'I'.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Action

- The ‘action’ of a piano is ‘the system of levers, comprising chiefly the hammers, keys, and any additional levers or moving parts, by which the energy of the downward ‘movement of the finger on the key is transmitted to the hammer which sounds the string’.⁶⁰ The function of the action is to transform a lower velocity of the key into a higher one for the hammer.⁶¹
- Beck’s action is modelled on that of Zumpe: ‘The hammers are attached to a rail above the keys with their heads pointing away from the player.’⁶² The hammers freely rotate around this fixed axis.
- A ‘jack’—comprising a stiff threaded brass wire surmounted by a little leather-covered solid beech head⁶³—is screwed into the far end of each key lever. As the key lever is pressed down at the front, the jack bumps against the underside of the hammer butt to make it fly up and hit the strings. The downward motion of the key is stopped when it contacts a layer of soft woven cloth extending beneath the front of the keyboard. The hammer shank continues under its own momentum, however, until it impacts on the strings and immediately falls back onto a cloth-covered rest rail (the ‘hammer rest rail’).
- There is no escapement.
- The action described above is commonly known as an ‘English single action’.

Hammers

Hammerhead Cores

- The hammerhead cores are original.
- Solid wood (possibly limewood),⁶⁴ no larger than a small shirt button.
- 3 millimetres thick.
- Flattened, semicircular (Plate 231).
- Slightly and consecutively graduated in size (the largest at the bass end) (Plate 232).
- Radii (heights):

60 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 377.

61 W. Pfeiffer, *The Piano Hammer: A Detailed Investigation into an Important Facet of Piano Manufacturing with 91 Figures and 4 Graphs*, translated by J. Engelhardt (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Das Musikinstrument, 1978), p. 98.

62 M. Cole, ‘Tafelklaviere in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum: Some Preliminary Observations’, in *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 50 (March) (London: The Galpin Society, 1997), p. 193.

63 In relation to the second extant Beck square piano dated 1780 (owner: Musikinstrumenten-Museum, Berlin), see photograph ‘Beck 007.jpg’ in ‘Beck, Frederick’ at hammerfluegel.net/.

64 ‘Wood from the European trees of the genus *Tilia*; also known as “linden”’. Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 331.

1. f³: 5 millimetres
2. c³: 5 millimetres
3. f²: 6 millimetres
4. c²: 6 millimetres
5. f¹: 6 millimetres
6. c¹: 6 millimetres
7. f: 6 millimetres
8. c: 6.5 millimetres
9. F: 7 millimetres
10. C: 7 millimetres
11. FF: 7 millimetres.

Hammerhead Covering

- The hammerhead leathering may be original.
- Two thin foundation layers of brown vegetable-tanned⁶⁵ leather, overlaid with approximately 1 millimetre of firm, fibrous buff leather stretched tightly around it (Plate 231).⁶⁶
- The outer layer of leather is 3 millimetres deep.⁶⁷
- This is a decisive move away from Zumpe's comparatively thinner outer layer of leather—which produces a sweet, light and percussive style of voicing. The tone created by Beck's 3-millimetre-deep outer layer of leather is more mellow than that of Zumpe's pianos.
- The hammerheads point away from the player.
- Hammerhead leathers are glued to the hammerhead cores only on the sides; there is no glue under the surface that strikes the strings.

65 See 'Tanning', in Appendix Q, this volume.

66 Based on a description of the voicing of John Broadwood's 1790s square pianos, in Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 91.

67 This is normal for Beck. In relation to the second extant Beck square piano dated 1780, see photograph 'Beck_004.jpg' in 'Beck, Frederick' at hammerfluegel.net/. See also photograph 'Beck_um_1782_13.jpg' in *ibid.*



Plate 231 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—flattened, semicircular wooden hammerhead cores for the first four notes (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 232 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the wooden hammerhead cores are slightly and consecutively graduated in size—the largest are at the bass end (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Hammer Shanks

- Flat tapered slips of solid mahogany, rectangular in section (Plate 233).
- The grain of the wood runs in the direction of the shank.
- Wider at the hinge end than at the hammer end.
- 2–3 millimetres thick.
- Width gently graduated in size.
- Each hammer shank is hinged to the hammer rail by a thin strip of leather (Plates 234 and 235). Michael Cole observes:

Grove's Dictionary, 1980 edition, [informs us] that square piano hammers are hinged with parchment or vellum. Do not believe it. In thirty odd years I have only once seen hammers hinged with vellum. This was a Fredrick Beck, c. 1788, and its touch was terrible. However, it may have been original as the hammers, though apparently original, did not have guide-pins. Dampers, you understand, need vellum or parchment hinges to maintain their alignment.⁶⁸

- Half the length of each leather hinge is kept firmly in place by the wooden hammer rail (Plate 236).
- The wooden hammer rail comprises two pieces (a top cover rail and a bottom rail) (Plate 237) between which sits the keyboard-side half of each leather hinge.
- In order to keep the leather hinges in position, the top cover rail is screwed tightly to the bottom piece with seven screws. At some stage, the treble-end screw has been so tightly screwed in that the end of the top cover rail has split; a 'repair' has been made by cutting the split section out, exposing the leather hinges of the top two hammer shanks (Plate 235). The screw hole in the bottom rail reveals that the treble-end screw has been moved to the left.
- The hammer rail is 36 millimetres wide.
- The hammer rail is supported by two vertical stiff brass wires, threaded at each end (Plates 238 and 239).
- Each hammer rail support wire passes vertically downwards into the keyframe between the specially shaped sides of two key levers (Plates 240 and 241).
- The treble-end hammer rail support wire passes between b¹ and c².
- The bass-end hammer rail support wire passes between B and c.
- Each hammer shank is guided by a single vertical metal pin that passes through a slot in the shank (Plate 242).

68 Cole, 'Some Thoughts on Adhesives', pp. 2–3.

- The lower end of the metal pin is secured in the hammer rest rail.
- The top surface of the hammer rest rail is covered with a thin strip of woven white cloth. The function of this cloth is to reduce the noise of the hammer shanks when, having rebounded from the strings, they fall onto the hammer rest rail (Plates 243 and 244).
- The height of the vertical metal pin that passes through each of the hammer shanks is 17 millimetres (from the top of the thin strip of woven white cloth to the top of the metal pin).
- The hammer shanks are almost imperceptibly graduated in size—the largest at the bass through to the smallest at the treble.

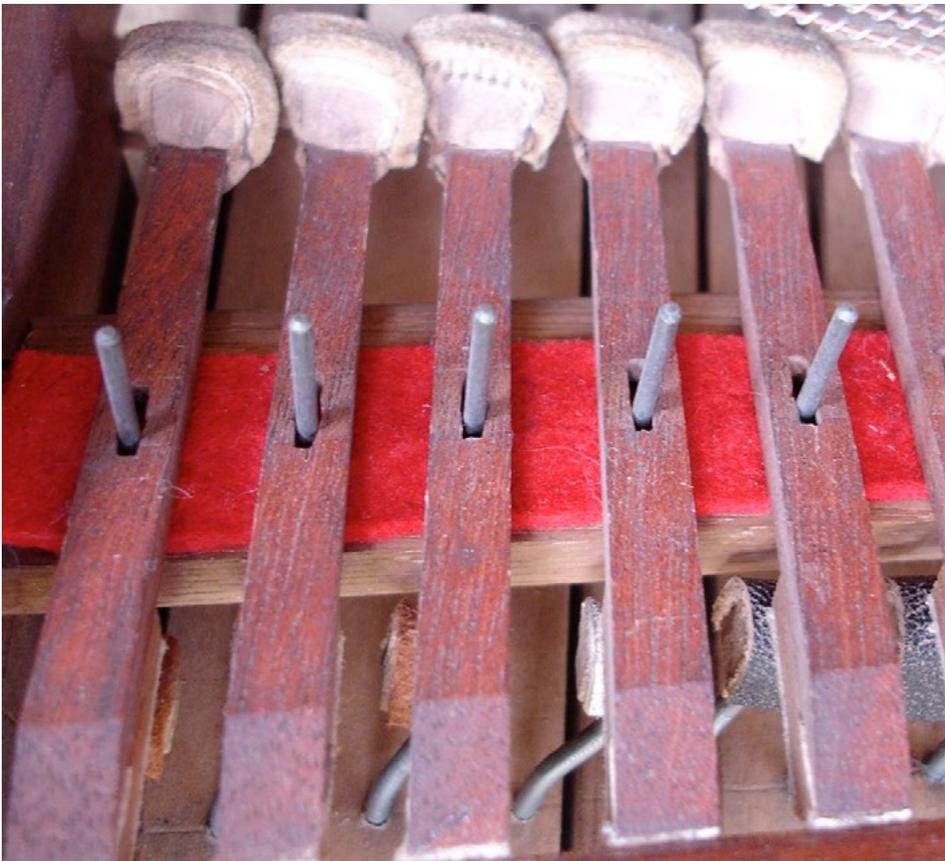


Plate 233 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—hammer shanks for the first five notes (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 234 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): each hammer shank is hinged to the wooden hammer rail by a thin strip of leather (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 235 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): treble end—leather hinges for the top two hammer shanks (detail).



Plate 236 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): wooden hammer rail (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 237 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the bass end of the wooden hammer rail, viewed from the keyboard side (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 238 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): two vertical stiff brass wires support the wooden hammer rail.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

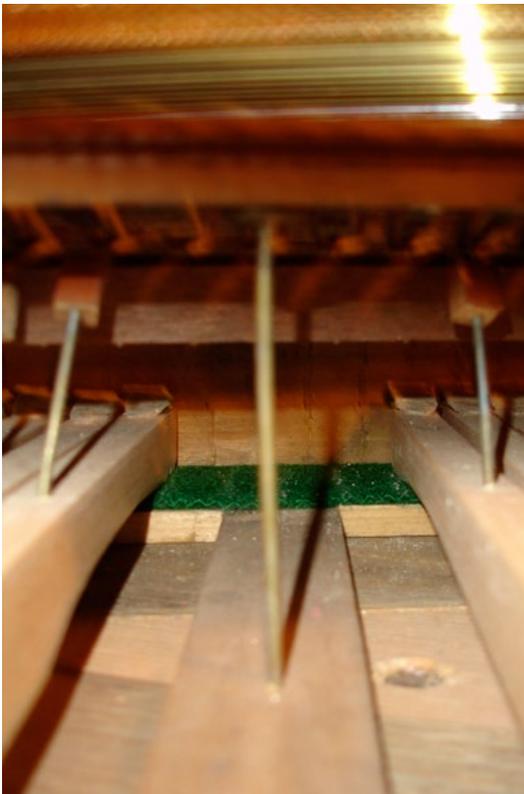


Plate 239 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the treble-end vertical stiff brass wire that supports the wooden hammer rail (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 240 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the bass end of the hammer rail, viewed from above—the bass-end stiff brass supporting wire passes between the specially shaped sides of two key levers (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 241 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the bass-end supporting wire passes between the specially shaped sides of two key levers (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 242 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): hammer shank guide-pins (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 243 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—the hammer shank guide-pins and the hammer rest rail (covered with a thin strip of woven white cloth) for the first 10 notes (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 244 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): hammer rest rail, covered with a thin strip of woven white cloth (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Jacks

- The jack transmits the motion of the key lever to the butt of the hammer shank (hammer butt). An upright element, the jack comprises a stiff threaded brass wire surmounted by a little leather-covered solid beech head (commonly called 'the old man's head'). The wire is attached directly to the key lever (Plates 245 and 246).
- The wooden cores, and the leather covering of the jacks, are original.

Dampers

- A set of lightweight solid mahogany levers, suspended from the inside back of the case above the hitch-pin plank, one for each note (Plates 247 and 248).
- The mahogany damper levers are very crudely made. It is probable they are not original; the damper levers were already part of the piano when the current owner purchased the instrument.
- Each damper lever has a single vellum hinge (Plate 249). ('Dampers ... need vellum or parchment hinges to maintain their alignment.')
- The back end of each damper lever rests on a horizontally protruding ledge that is glued to a hinged wooden rail.
- The horizontally protruding ledge is located at the vertical halfway point of the hinged wooden rail, and comprises the top face of a triangular cross-section batten.
- The back face of the triangular batten is glued to the front of the hinged wooden rail located in a cut-out at the top edge of the spine.
- A strip of woven red cloth is glued along the top face of the triangular batten, so that the back ends of the damper levers do not clatter (Plate 250).
- The hinged wooden rail (fitted into a cut-out at the top of the spine) begins near the bass-end main lid hinge, and extends towards the treble end of the spine, ending approximately five-eighths of the way along the length of the instrument (Plate 251).
- When the dampers are in their rest position, the top and back faces of the hinged wooden rail sit flush with the top edge and back of the spine (Plate 252).
- As the hinged wooden rail swivels slightly backwards, all dampers are raised simultaneously (Plate 253).
- The hinged wooden rail can swivel backwards to a much greater degree than would be necessary for the normal raising of dampers within the context of playing; this arrangement enables the damper levers to be raised high enough for access to the hitch-pins during string replacement (Plate 254). ('The earliest dampers were operated by little whalebone stickers, pinned into a tiny mortise in the damper-lever. This arrangement [made] ... it impossible to raise them clear of the strings, [making] ... string replacement rather difficult.')

69 Ibid., p. 3.

70 Hackett, '(2) An Early London Square Piano Made for Longman, Lukey & Co. c. 1774'.



**Plate 245 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): a jack—note the leather-covered 'old man's head'.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 246 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): jacks (detail).**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 247 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): mahogany damper levers.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 248 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): mahogany damper levers (detail).**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 249 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—first wooden damper lever; vellum hinge (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 250 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—the back end of the damper levers rest on a horizontally protruding ledge, comprising the top face of a triangular cross-section batten, which is glued to a hinged wooden rail fitted into a cut-out at the top of the spine.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 251 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): spine-side view—the hinged wooden rail begins near the bass-end lid hinge (in this image, near the left-hand side of the hinge on the right) and extends towards the treble end of the spine, ending about five-eighths of the way along the length of the instrument.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 252 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): spine-side view—when the dampers are in their rest position, the top and back faces of the hinged wooden rail sit flush with the top edge and back of the spine.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 253 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): spine-side view—as the hinged wooden rail swivels backwards, all dampers are raised simultaneously.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 254 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the bass end of the hinged wooden rail, swivelled backwards to a much greater degree than would be necessary for the normal raising of dampers within the context of playing.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Damper Lever Push-Up Rods

- Within the context of normal playing—that is, when all dampers have not been simultaneously raised—each damper lever rises because of its interaction with a damper lever push-up rod.
- Each damper lever push-up rod sits on a padded section at the back end of the key lever (Plate 255). Each rod has a punched circular leather head component mounted on top (Plate 256).
- Each damper lever push-up rod passes vertically through a hole at the front of the hitch-pin block.
- Vertical motion at the back of the key lever causes the damper lever push-up rod to rise or fall (Plate 257). As the push-up rod presses upwards against the underside of a damper lever, the damper lever rises; as the push-up rod falls, so too does the damper lever.
- Wood.⁷¹
- Punched circular leather head component—diameter: 4–5 millimetres.

Damper Pads

- A thick pad of soft white cloth (unlike Zumpe's oil-tanned leather block) is located at the proximal end of each damper lever (Plate 258). These cloth pads are the result of recent restoration. Originally, Beck may have used an oil-tanned leather block, in the style of Zumpe. He may also have used soft cloth pads (a Beck square piano dated 1782,⁷² housed in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, has original soft cloth damper pads).
- The thick pad of soft cloth is carefully positioned so as to come to rest on the appropriate pair of strings as soon as the finger releases the key.⁷³
- There are dampers only to c^3 (inclusive). The top five notes are un-damped. This is typical of Beck's instruments, and is designed to increase the resonance in the treble through the sound produced by sympathetically vibrating un-damped strings (Plates 259 and 260). No other maker of square pianos followed this damping pattern.
- Damper lever length:
 1. f^2 : 59 millimetres
 2. c^2 : 66 millimetres
 3. f^1 : 77 millimetres
 4. c^1 : 82 millimetres
 5. f : 92 millimetres

71 See 'History of Restoration', below .

72 See photograph in Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, Plate 110a 'Das Tafelklavier von Beck', p. 54.

73 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 33.

6. c: 101 millimetres
7. F: 110 millimetres
8. C: 115 millimetres
9. FF: 123 millimetres.



**Plate 255 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): the padded section at the back end of a key lever.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 256 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): a damper lever push-up rod incorporating its punched circular leather head component.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 257 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): each damper lever push-up rod passes vertically through a hole at the front of the hitch-pin block (vertical motion at the back of the key lever causes the damper lever push-up rod to rise or fall)—note that the original wooden rod has been replaced with a brass rod.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 258 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—first five damper levers. There is a thick pad of soft white cloth at the proximal end of each damper lever.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 259 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the top five notes are un-damped.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 260 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the top five notes are un-damped.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Damper Lever Springs

- Each damper lever is fitted with a spring comprising a thin brass wire (Plates 261 and 262). Pressure from this spring increases the damping efficiency of the soft cloth pad located at the proximal end of each damper lever (the wire spring causes the damper lever to be pressed against the strings more firmly than would otherwise be the case).
- The back section of each spring passes upwards through the hinged wooden rail that is located in a cut-out at the top edge of the spine.
- The back end of each spring terminates flush with the back (vertical) face of the hinged wooden rail (Plate 263).
- The front end of each spring passes over (and from the back to the front section of) the damper lever (Plates 261 and 262).
- The front section of each spring presses against a small square pad of soft blue cloth, which is located on the top and towards the front of the damper lever (Plates 259–62). The blue cloth pad enables a comparatively frictionless

sliding interaction to take place between the spring and the cloth pad. Any noise produced by this interaction is minimised.

- The damper spring wires (as well as the associated blue cloth pad on the top of the damper lever) are not typical of Beck's instruments, and have been added at a later date. Usually, Beck used baleen strips approximately one-seventh of the length of each wooden damper lever, in a manner similar to that of Zumpe (Plate 264). Normally, the top of each wooden damper lever would be bare (this is because with baleen strips, no small square pad of soft cloth is required on the top of the damper lever to mitigate friction and noise).



Plate 261 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): viewed from the bass end—each damper lever is fitted with a thin brass wire spring (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 262 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): damper lever springs (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 263 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the back ends of the two bottom damper lever springs are just visible (as two 'dots') in the back (and near the top face) of the hinged wooden rail (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 264 Square piano by John Betts(?) (1755–1823), possibly Longman & Broderip or James Henry Houston (London, late 1770s–90s?): baleen damper lever springs, in the manner of Zumpe (detail).

Source: ANU School of Music Keyboard Institute Collection, Canberra. Photo by the author.

- Damper spring wire length (from the insertion point into the spine to the front end): c¹, 42 millimetres; FF, 59 millimetres.
- Each damper spring wire is approximately half the length of its wooden damper lever.
- Cloth-lined damper cover rail: Missing. The bass end of a wooden cloth-lined damper cover rail would have plugged into a rectangular slot cut into the inside bass end of the case (Plate 265). ('The function of the cloth-lined damper cover-rail was to prevent the lightweight damper-levers from flying up and clattering on the underside of the main lid.')
- The damper cover rail may have been decorated with a fine 1-millimetre-wide ebony stringer adjacent to a 1.5-millimetre-wide boxwood stringer running parallel close to the keyboard-side edge, in the same manner as that found on a square piano by Beck dated 1782.⁷⁵ The design of this decorative element is part of the simplified form of Tunbridgeware inlay found both on the 1782 piano and on Worgan's piano.
- The treble end of the missing damper cover rail was fastened with an 'L'-shaped threaded metal catch to a small wooden block located above the treble end of the hitch-pin block (Plate 266).

⁷⁴ Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 74.

⁷⁵ See Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, Plate 110c 'Hammer-stuhl-Leiste mit Intarsie', p. 55. The instrument is owned by the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.



Plate 265 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): rectangular slot cut into the inside bass end of the case, associated with a (missing) wooden damper cover rail.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 266 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): small wooden block, upon which was fastened—with a small metal 'L'-shaped threaded catch—the treble end of the (missing) wooden damper cover rail.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Mutation Stops

Nag's Head Swell

- A nag's head swell is a mechanism operated by a pedal (or sometimes by a knee-lever) that modifies the piano's volume by lifting either a part of or the entire lid. During the 1780s and 1790s, the nag's head swell became a commonly encountered accessory.
- The entire mechanism is missing.
- Witness marks suggest that a nag's head swell (comprising the entire main lid and treble-end front lid flap concurrently) was incorporated into the instrument. Evidence for a missing nag's head swell can be found on the front underside of the main lid, where there is a worn depression that may have received the top of a wooden actuating rod (Plates 267 and 268). This depression strongly suggests that the wooden actuating rod of a nag's head swell has often been brought into play. The depression may also have resulted from the fact that the nag's head swell comprises the entire main lid and treble-end front lid flap concurrently, rather than just the treble-end front lid flap; this makes it very heavy.
- A rectangular hole has been made through the bottom boards of the instrument to provide access for the actuating rod operated by the (missing) pedal that opens and closes the main lid (Plates 269 and 270).
- A rectangular hole has been made in the keyframe—through the intersection of the front end of the treble brace that joins the balance rail with the back touch rail (Plates 271 and 272). This rectangular hole is in perfect alignment with the rectangular hole in the bottom boards.
- A near-rectangular hole has been made by cutting into the sides of two adjacent key levers (b¹ and c²) (Plates 273 and 274). This hole is in perfect alignment with both the rectangular hole in the bottom boards and the rectangular hole in the keyframe. The three perfectly aligned holes would have allowed an actuating rod to pass unhindered from below the instrument, through the bottom boards, through the keyframe and through the key levers to the underside of the main lid.
- Witness marks on the bottom of the instrument suggest that an iron or brass plate set into the bottom of the case (with four screws) held a mounted fulcrum as part of a mechanism operated by a pedal (Plate 275). Although this may have been associated with the nag's head swell, it seems more likely that it was associated with the harp stop.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ See 'Harp Stop', below.



Plate 267 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the worn depression on the front underside of the main lid that may have received the top of an actuating rod for the (missing) nag's head swell.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 268 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the worn depression on the front underside of the main lid that may have received the top of an actuating rod for the (missing) nag's head swell (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 269 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): a rectangular hole through the bottom boards
provides access for the nag's head swell actuating rod that opens and
closes the main lid.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 270 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): the rectangular hole through the bottom boards that
provides access for the nag's head swell actuating rod (detail).**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View



Plate 271 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the rectangular hole through the keyframe that provides access for the nag's head swell actuating rod (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 272 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the rectangular hole through the keyframe that provides access for the nag's head swell actuating rod (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 273 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the near-rectangular hole made by cutting into the sides of two adjacent key levers (b^1 and c^2)—this hole provides access for the nag's head swell actuating rod (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

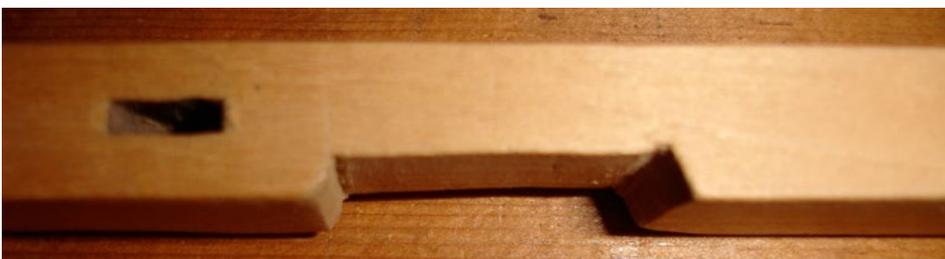


Plate 274 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): b^1 —the cut made into the treble-side edge of the key lever. The cut forms one half of the near-rectangular hole between b^1 and c^2 that provides access for the nag's head swell actuating rod (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 275 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): witness marks on the bottom of the instrument suggest that an iron or brass plate holding a mounted fulcrum comprised part of a mechanism operated by a pedal (or knee-lever).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Nag's Head Swell Pedal

- 'When an 18th century [English] square piano is seen to have a pedal, it is most likely to be for [a nag's head] swell.'⁷⁷ In some instances, a pedal may operate the raising of dampers; the earliest known example of a pedal-operated damper-raising mechanism on a square piano is an instrument dated 1775, by Adam Beyer. On late eighteenth-century English square pianos, the pedal for the nag's head swell is most commonly located towards the right-hand side.
- Missing pedal and pedal leg.
- Missing pedal leg. It is common to find that the pedal(s) and pedal leg(s) are missing on surviving late eighteenth-century square pianos.
- The nag's head swell would have been activated by a pedal.

⁷⁷ Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 76.

- Unusually, a missing pedal appears to have been located under the instrument at the centre. The central location of the pedal is suggested by two carefully plugged parallel rectangular holes on the underside of the long detachable stretcher that holds apart the stretchers in the lower part of the legs (Plate 276). These two holes are positioned at the centre of the long stretcher. There can be little doubt that originally these holes would have received the top end of a vertical wooden pedal support. The back end of a pedal would have been hinged to this support.
- Perhaps Frederick Beck removed the pedal, the pedal support and its associated mechanism prior to George Worgan taking delivery of the instrument. (Both Beck and Worgan may have decided that the piano's stand could not be dismantled quickly and easily enough if a pedal was permanently attached to the long detachable stretcher running the length of the case.) If this is so, there are resultant implications.
 1. Beck constructed the stands for his pianos using pre-cut stretchers within which the holes for a pedal support were already present. If this is so, in this instance, Beck must have plugged the pre-cut holes in order to exclude the pedal support.
 2. Beck had several completed instruments from which Worgan selected a preferred piano. Worgan's chosen piano included a pedal-operated nag's head swell with the pedal located in the centre. In order to meet Worgan's specifications, Beck made the necessary modifications by removing the nag's head swell pedal support and pedal.

It is also possible that Worgan's instrument had a pedal-operated nag's head swell when he purchased it, and sometime afterwards the mechanism was removed (possibly as a 'modernising' gesture at a time when the nag's head swell had become unfashionable), with evidence of its existence obscured.

If this is so then such work would have to have been done in Australia—because since its arrival at Botany Bay in 1788, the piano has most likely never left Australian shores.



Plate 276 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): carefully plugged parallel rectangular holes on the underside of the long detachable stretcher that holds apart the stretchers in the lower part of the legs.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Nag's Head Swell Pedal Hinge-Point Stretcher

On late eighteenth-century square pianos, the nag's head swell pedal is usually hinged to a stretcher located near the floor between the right-hand legs. The pedal (hinged on its right) usually points to the left.

- On Worgan's square piano, there is no evidence of a stretcher having existed near the floor between the right-hand legs.
- The pedal (and its hinge point) is missing.

Lid Rebate

- Normally in instruments fitted with a nag's head swell, 'a shallow rebate runs around the underside of the lid where a strip of [closely spun] woollen cloth is fitted, so that the closing of the lid does not make a clatter' (Plate 277).⁷⁸ This rebate, and any evidence of a missing strip of woollen cloth, cannot be found on the underside of the lid of Worgan's 1780/86? Beck instrument.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 76.



Plate 277 Square piano by John Betts(?) (1755–1823), possibly Longman & Broderip or James Henry Houston (London, late 1770s–90s?): shallow rebate running around the underside of the lid where a strip of closely spun woollen cloth is fitted.

Source: ANU School of Music Keyboard Institute Collection, Canberra. Photo by the author.

Harp Stop (Also Called a Buff Stop)

The harp stop was ‘especially prevalent in English square pianos between 1770–1790’.⁷⁹

- Missing.
- Screw holes on the front face of the hitch-pin block reveal that a harp stop was incorporated into Worgan’s Frederick Beck piano (Plate 278).
- Two narrow strips of wood are loosely attached (using the missing screws) along the front face of the hitch-pin block just beneath the strings. When activated, the lower strip slides horizontally to the right. As it does so, it engages the upper strip by means of recessed triangular dogs (Plates 279 and 280). The triangular dogs lift the upper strip until its covering of soft buckskin presses lightly against the underside of the strings very ‘near to

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 378.

the extremity of their sounding lengths' (that is, near to the nut-pins).⁸⁰ This causes 'the upper partials' of the sound 'to be restricted'.⁸¹ Simultaneously, the lingering attenuation of the sound is cut short. To eighteenth-century listeners, the resultant sound would most probably have resembled a gut-strung harp or a lute.

- Witness marks on the top face of the hitch-pin block at the bass end suggest that two iron hand-levers were associated with damper raising. In the absence of any witness marks for a third hand-lever, it does not seem likely that the harp stop was activated by a hand-lever.
- The block inside the bass end of the case has a specially cut recess to allow for an internal lever to pass between the action frame and the bass end of the case. The recess is shaped, by deeper cutting, up to the underside front of the beginning of the hitch-pin block (Plate 281). The shaped recess could have allowed for a steel jerk-compression spring (hidden from casual view) associated with a mutation stop.⁸² The foundation point for the jerk-compression spring lever was under the bottom of the instrument. The lower end of the spring rose through the square hole (cut in the bottom of the instrument at a slightly oblique angle from front to back) (Plate 282).
- Both the location and the direction of movement (implied by the recess cut into the bass end of the case) suggest that the spring may have been associated with operating the harp stop. It seems odd, however, that the tension and power inherent in a steel jerk-compression spring would be needed to operate a harp stop—which could be easily and effectively engaged by a hand-lever (some square pianos incorporating a harp stop—by makers such as Christopher Ganer—suggest that the harp stop may have been operated by a pedal under the left foot). Witness marks on the bottom of the case may also be associated with the harp stop (Plate 275).

80 Ibid., pp. 377–8.

81 Ibid., p. 378.

82 See Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, Plate 110l 'Die Seil-Rolle'; Plate 110m 'Unteres Ende der Dämpfung-Eisenhebeldruckfeder'; and Plate 110n 'Unten der Dämpfung-Eisenhebel mit Rückdruckfeder. Oben zwei Handhebel', p. 57. See also photograph 'Beck_um_1782_16.jpg' in 'Beck, Frederick' at hammerfluegel.net/.



Plate 278 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): screw holes on the top face of the hitch-pin block are for the (missing) harp stop.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 279 Square piano by John Betts(?) (1755–1823), possibly Longman & Broderip or James Henry Houston (London, late 1770s–90s?): the two strips of wood comprising the harp stop—the stop is unengaged, therefore the top face of the upper strip of wood does not press against the underside of the strings.

Source: ANU School of Music Keyboard Institute Collection, Canberra. Photo by the author.



Plate 280 Square piano by John Betts(?) (1755–1823), possibly Longman & Broderip or James Henry Houston (London, late 1770s–90s?): the two strips of wood comprising the harp stop—the stop is engaged. The lower strip of wood has moved to the right, as a consequence of which the recessed triangular dog has forced the upper strip of wood upwards. The top face of the upper strip of wood (covered by soft buckskin) presses lightly against the underside of the strings.

Source: ANU School of Music Keyboard Institute Collection, Canberra. Photo by the author.



Plate 281 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): recess cut into the inside of the block at the bass end of the case.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

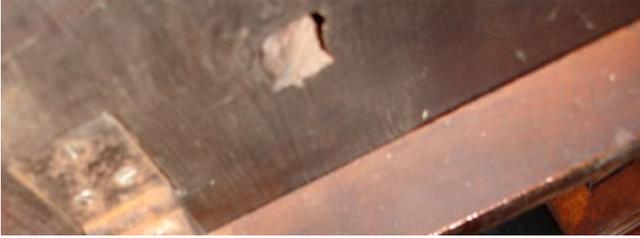


Plate 282 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—square oblique hole cut through the bass boards.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Harp Stop Pedal

- Missing.
- Other square pianos incorporating a harp stop—by makers such as Christopher Ganer—suggest that the harp stop may have been operated by a pedal under the left foot. Commonly, the harp stop pedal would have been located to the left-hand side of the instrument, and hinged to a stretcher located near the floor between the left-hand legs.
- As there is no evidence of a stretcher having existed near the floor between the left-hand legs, the missing pedal may have been hinged in another manner.
- Two screw holes and a fade line suggest that there was, at one stage, a batten running along the bottom edge of the spine of the instrument (Plate 283).
- Because the spine is plain and unveneered, there is no reason to apply a batten as protection. The batten may have been a strengthening component, associated with an attachment point for a vertical pedal support. On the other hand (and more probably), the function of the batten may simply have been to ensure that when the instrument's spine was placed against a wall, the hinged wooden rail located in the cut-out at the top of the spine had enough room to move backwards. The batten may also have functioned as a knee-lever hinge support.
- Whatever mechanism was operated by the pedal, the mechanism may have been attached to the pedal via a cord.
- The fact that Beck may have opened a dealership in Paris, sold pianos to Parisian customers, or even operated a workshop in Paris, may have encouraged him to include pedal-operated sound-modifying mechanisms in his square pianos. This is because the presence 'of a pedal-operated mechanism to modify the sound (either through a Nag's Head Swell or a Harp (Buff) Stop reflects a fashion that was exceedingly popular, especially in Paris, until at least 1810'.⁸³

83 Cole, 'Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker', p. 94.



Plate 283 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): witness marks for a missing batten running along the bottom edge of the spine.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Mutation Stop Hand-Lever and Pedal: Summary

- Two hand-levers:
 1. the left hand-lever raises the bass dampers (FF–b inclusive)
 2. the right hand-lever raises the treble dampers (c¹–f³ inclusive).
- A pedal operates the nag's head swell.
- A pedal? operates the harp (buff) stop.

Keyboard

Compass

- Fully chromatic: FF–f³ (61 notes) (Plate 284).
- Keywell span: 831 millimetres.
- Keyboard width at natural fronts: 828 millimetres.
- Three-octave span (F–f²): 483 millimetres.
- The 'three-octave span' (*Stichmaß*) is the distance from the left-hand side of the F key to the left-hand side of the f² key—that is, the width of the three octaves in the centre of the keyboard. The three-octave span measure is taken as the standard reference when comparing various keyboards, rather than a single-octave span, since old keyboards can be slightly variable, owing either to the maker's lack of precision or to subsequent distortion of the wooden keys in varying conditions of humidity.

The three-octave span is a fairly reliable parameter, and will usually remain constant for any given maker over a period of many years. It can be used to distinguish between the work of different makers when the instruments are either unsigned or possibly fraudulently inscribed. An accurate single-octave span is obtained by dividing the three-octave span by three.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 384.

The three-octave span of the 1780/86? Beck piano (483 millimetres) is a mere 1 millimetre wider than that of a Beck piano dated 1782⁸⁵ (482 millimetres).⁸⁶ This miniscule difference may be due to Beck's lack of precision, or to distortion of the wooden keys resulting from humidity, and lies within the realms of the expected.

- Single-octave span: 161 millimetres.
- The single-octave span of the 1780/86? Beck piano (161 millimetres) is a mere 1 millimetre wider than that of a Beck piano dated 1774⁸⁷ (160 millimetres).⁸⁸ This miniscule difference may be due to Beck's lack of precision, or to distortion of the wooden keys resulting from humidity, and lies within the realms of the expected.



Plate 284 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): keyboard.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Keyframe

- The 'keyframe' is the wooden framework upon which the key levers rest.⁸⁹
- Oak and pine.
- Three-rail keyframe: Three transverse members—running parallel both with each other and with the keyboard—are joined at each end with a single beam running from the front to the back (Plate 285). The three transverse members are (from the front to the back)
 1. a 'front touch rail'
 2. a 'balance rail', which serves as a fulcrum for the key levers; a 'balance rail pin' (made of plated brass wire 2–3 millimetres in diameter) that passes through a mortice in the key lever at the fulcrum, and is driven

85 The 1782 instrument is owned by the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.

86 See Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, p. 57.

87 The 1774 instrument is owned by the Bachhaus, Eisenach, Germany.

88 See Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 19.

89 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 381.

into the balance rail (Plate 286); the balance rail pin, which prevents the key lever from slipping in and out or twisting from side to side⁹⁰

3. a 'back touch rail', which supports the distal ends of the key levers.
- Front touch rail: Oak. A strip of woven green cloth is glued along the top face of the front touch rail.
 - Balance rail: Pine (possibly Scotch pine, *Pinus sylvestris*).
 - Back touch rail: Pine. A strip of woven green cloth is glued along the top face of the back touch rail. (Because the original strip of cloth on both the front and the back touch rails has been lost, any possibility of determining the original key dip has also been irretrievably lost.)
 - Three separate wooden bars (running from the front to the back) connect the balance rail with the back touch rail (Plate 285). These bars strengthen the entire keyframe as well as the balance rail.
 - The workmanship evidenced by the three longitudinal wooden bars connecting the balance rail with the back touch rail is rough.
 - At each of the two outside edges of the keyframe, there is a protective 'side fence' (Plate 287).



Plate 285 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): keyframe.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

⁹⁰ Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, p. 351.



Plate 286 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): balance rail pins.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 287 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): bass end—keyframe protective 'side fence'.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Condition

- There is considerable damage to the protective side fence at the treble-end back edge of the keyframe.
- The bass-end side fence is also damaged, but not nearly as extensively (Plate 287).

Key Levers

- Lime.
- Front-guided, with a single vertical drawn-brass pin for each key lever (Plate 288). Beck's use of front guide-pins has its origins in English harpsichord making (English harpsichord key levers are almost always front-guided). Front guide-pins are the norm for late eighteenth-century English square pianos.
- A single pin at the balance rail (Plate 289).
- Height of front guide-pins (from top of cloth strip): 8 millimetres.
- Height of pins on balance rail (from bare wood): 14.5 millimetres.
- A 'front guide-pin' design comprises a 'vertical metal pin driven into the front touch rail of a three-rail keyframe. This pin preserves the lateral alignment of the key.'⁹¹

Many late eighteenth-century square piano makers have a distinctive approach to the way the key levers are guided. In this piano, Beck cuts a mortice for a front guide-pin under the middle of each of the natural key heads (Plate 290), as well as under the front of each sharp. 'This is a commonly encountered feature in all kinds of pianos after 1790',⁹² and has its origins in the English harpsichord. The front guide-pin design of this instrument represents a departure from Beck's rear rack-guided system of ca 1772, when his square pianos were more thoroughly modelled on those of Zumpe.

⁹¹ Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 379.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 380.



**Plate 288 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): key lever front guide-pins.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 289 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): key lever front guide-pins and balance rail pins
(detail).**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 290 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): mortice under the middle of a natural key head for the key lever front guide-pin.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Undercutting

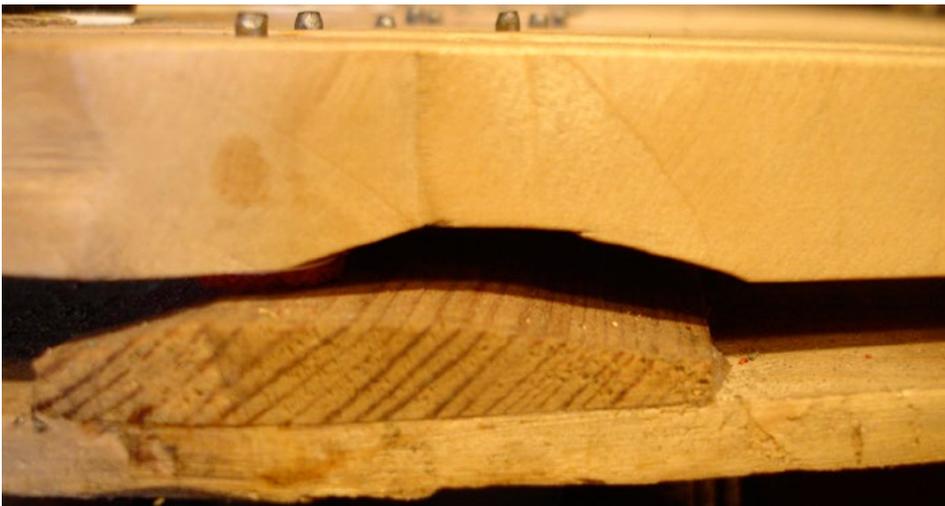
- Behind the key head (Plate 291).
- A rounded profile at the balance rail (Plates 292 and 293). (This feature is foreign to English harpsichord making.)
- Nineteen key levers have shaved shoulders at the back (Plate 294). This is done in order both to 'balance' the key lever and to 'lighten' the touch. It is unlikely that this is Beck's work, because each of the 'shaved' key levers has had one or two small lead weights inserted into the key head. For late eighteenth-century English piano makers, the insertion of lead weights into the key head (Plate 295), rather than close behind the key head (Plate 296), is an uncharacteristic approach to balancing shaved key levers. ('Lead weights in the keys increase the mass inertia and have a bad name amongst organologists.')
- In two instances—one treble and one tenor key lever—the insertion of a lead weight under the key head has proved to be so disastrous in relation to key weight and balance that severe undercutting behind the key head has been done to remedy the problem. There is no shaving of the shoulders at the back of these two key levers. In one instance (D[#]) there is both shaving of the shoulders at the back and severe undercutting behind the key head. The lead weight has been inserted in the apex of the undercutting behind the key head (Plates 297 and 298).
- One key lever without a lead weight has been severely undercut behind the key head (Plate 299).

93 Skowroneck, *Harpsichord Construction*, p. 201.



**Plate 291 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): treble end—undercutting behind the key head.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 292 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?): treble end—undercutting and rounded profile at the
balance rail.**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 293 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): undercutting—rounded profile at the balance rail (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 294 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): undercutting—19 key levers have shaved shoulders at the back.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 295 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): two lead weights have been inserted into the head of a shaved key lever (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 296 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the characteristically English insertion of a lead weight close behind the head of a shaved key lever (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 297 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): D#—the insertion of a lead weight combined with severe undercutting behind the key head (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 298 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): D#—the insertion of a lead weight combined with severe undercutting behind the key head (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 299 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): one key lever without a lead weight has been severely undercut behind the key head (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

'Cranked' Key Levers

- Because the curved treble part of the bridge is placed near to the belly rail edge of the soundboard, the soundboard edge is not a straight line (Plate 300). As a result, some treble key levers are not straight, but are 'cranked'—that is, deviated (Plate 301).
 1. The highest 15 treble key levers (f^3 – $d^{\#2}$ inclusive) are cranked or deviated to the left.⁹⁴
 2. The highest seven treble key levers (f^3 – b^3 inclusive) are severely cranked.⁹⁵



Plate 300 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the soundboard edge at the belly rail is not straight.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 301 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): a 'cranked' treble key lever—underside.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Key Plates

During the second half of the eighteenth century, black accidentals and ivory naturals were the prevailing style for piano keyboards in England.

⁹⁴ See also photograph 'Beck_um_1782_18.jpg' in 'Beck, Frederick' at hammerfluegel.net/.

⁹⁵ See *ibid.*

Naturals

- Ivory key plates.
- In two pieces (Plates 302 and 303).
- 1 millimetre thick at the front, tapering towards the back (Plates 304 and 305).

Ivory was used in prodigious quantities for key plates in the eighteenth century. In 1780 the best makers were using ivories between 1.5 millimetres and 2 millimetres thick.⁹⁶

- Length of key head: 36 millimetres. (The length of the key head is slightly shorter than the 41 millimetres that invariably became the standard for most late eighteenth-century London piano-making workshops.)
- Tail: Ranging between 94.5 millimetres and 98 millimetres.
- Width of the key head: 22 millimetres. The key head overhangs the top of the key front moulded cornice by 3 millimetres (Plate 304).
- Tail: Ranging between 11 millimetres and 13 millimetres.

Key Fronts

- Moulded varnished boxwood cornice (Plate 306). The shape of the key fronts is particularly beautiful, and is not consistent with that found on some of Beck's other pianos. The key fronts of several Beck pianos are finished with an ovolo moulding with a protruding front lip placed in the lower half (see, as examples, Plates 20c, 20e, 20i, 43d, 43j and 43k). 'The same form is observed in all [John] Broadwood pianos dating from the 1780s.'⁹⁷ By way of comparison, the shape of the key fronts on a Clementi grand piano (1806/10?) is finished with an ovolo moulding with a protruding front lip placed in the *upper* half (Plate 416).

Key Front Moulded Cornice

- Depth: 5 millimetres at the top; 2 millimetres at the bottom (Plate 307).
- Clearance from the top of the natural keys to the bottom edge of the nameboard: Approximately 4 millimetres.
- There is no indication that woven cloth or felt has ever been glued to the bottom edge of the nameboard.



Plate 302 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): two-piece ivory key plate.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

⁹⁶ Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 286.

⁹⁷ Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 169.



Plate 303 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): two-piece ivory key plate (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 304 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): ivory key plate—1 millimetre thick at the front, tapering towards the back (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 305 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): ivory key plate—1 millimetre thick at the front, tapering towards the back (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 306 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): varnished boxwood moulded cornice (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 307 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): varnished boxwood moulded cornices (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Sharps

- Solid ebony (Plate 308). Many of Beck's 'contemporaries in London made their sharps of stained pearwood⁹⁸ with only a thin cap of ebony glued on top'.⁹⁹ Beck's use of solid ebony for the raised part (playing surface) of the sharp key levers on Worgan's piano not only brings him into alignment with the practice of his contemporary John Broadwood, but also suggests that Beck did not feel the need to keep costs down. It also suggests that he did not feel that solid ebony would create too heavy a touch.
- c^{#3} length at base: 82 millimetres.
- c^{#3} height from base: 11.5 millimetres.
- c^{#2} length at base: 84 millimetres.
- c^{#2} height from base: 10.5 millimetres.
- c^{#1} length at base: 84 millimetres.
- c^{#1} height from base: 10.5 millimetres.
- c[#] length at base: 82 millimetres.
- c[#] height from base: 10.5 millimetres.
- C[#] length at base: 83 millimetres.
- C[#] height from base: 11 millimetres.
- CC[#] length at base: 84 millimetres.
- CC[#] height from base: 11 millimetres.

98 'Wood from trees of the species *Pyrus communis*.' Although identified 'as having been made of pearwood', such sharps 'could be of the nearly indistinguishable apple, *Malus sylvestris*, regarded by some taxonomists as being in the same genus as pear and therefore called by them *Pyrus malus*'. Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 331.

99 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 169.

- The key lever is stained with black ink on the sides and at the back of the solid ebony accidental, in order to give a good appearance at the keyboard (Plate 308).
- Height of sharps (at front) above the top of the naturals: 10 millimetres.
- Typically for English square pianos, the height of the sharps is not tapered from front to back.



Plate 308 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the solid ebony raised part of a sharp key lever (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Key Plate Score Lines

Key plate score lines 'are made after the keyboard is assembled, and will line-up down the keyframe. Replacement [key plates] ... rarely would have any [score] lines, and these would invariably be off from their neighbours, as the scribing tool was unique to [a] ... builder.'¹⁰⁰

- A prominent single score line is located on the key head (Plate 309).
- The score line runs parallel to the junction between the key head and the tail.
- The distance between the key head junction and the scored line is 4 millimetres.

¹⁰⁰ 'Beginning the Restoration Process' in T. Strange, 'Restoration of a Longman & Broderip Square Piano: Diary Written by Tom Strange', in *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos* (2008).



Plate 309 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): a prominent single score line, located on a natural key head front plate (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Key Plate Wearing

Given the shorter length of late eighteenth-century English piano natural key head front plates compared with those of the modern piano, the question arises as to whether or not late eighteenth-century players used the type of hand position—with extended, sometimes almost straight fingers—that many pianists use on the post-Lisztian keyboards of modern instruments. ‘Steinway, Bösendorfer, and many 21st century makers use 50 mm or even 52 mm’ versus the 41 millimetres commonly found in late eighteenth-century English pianos. ‘This makes an enormous difference to the look of the keys and to the manner in which they may be played.’¹⁰¹

- Examination of the tail plates reveals no indentation (‘dishing’). This suggests that it was not customary to play between the sharps, even though there is ample space to play between them. An approach to the key lever that positions the fingertip towards the front of the natural key head is associated with
 1. the slightly ‘jabbing’ technique required to play instruments that have no escapement (such as Worgan’s 1780/86? Beck piano)

¹⁰¹ Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 306.

2. a touch that 'strokes' the keys with a movement that draws backward from the fingertip towards the palm of the hand (some sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth-century music theorists describe this touch).¹⁰²
- Wearing of the key tops suggests that players of Worgan's piano have preferred certain tonalities and ranges (Plates 284 and 310–13).

Worn Naturals

- c³: Front edge and middle, pronounced indentation, extends to back scoring line.
- a²: Front edge, mild indentation; middle, pronounced indentation, overlaps front scoring line.
- g²: Front edge, moderate indentation; middle, pronounced indentation, extends to back scoring line.
- e²: Front middle, moderate indentation; middle, pronounced indentation, extends to halfway between scoring lines.
- d²: Front corners, moderate indentation.
- c²: Front edge, pronounced indentation; middle, mild indentation.
- b¹: Front edge, mild indentation; middle, moderate indentation, overlaps front scoring line.
- a¹: Front edge to middle, overlaps front scoring line, pronounced indentation.
- e¹: Front edge to middle, pronounced indentation.
- c¹: Front edge to middle, mild indentation.
- g: Middle, extends to front scoring line, moderate indentation.
- f: Pronounced indentation on the front edge; pronounced indentation in the middle.
- e: Front edge and middle, pronounced indentation, overlaps front scoring line.
- d: Middle and front edge, pronounced indentation, overlaps front scoring line.
- c: Front edge to middle, extends to front scoring line, pronounced indentation.
- A: Front edge, mild indentation.
- G: Front edge and corners, moderate indentation.
- F: Front edge and corners, mild indentation.

102 See, for example, T. de Sancta Maria, *Libro Llamado el Arte de Tañer Fantasia* [Book Entitled *The Art of the Resounding Fantasia*] (Valladolid: Francisco Fernandez de Cordoua, 1565), fol. 49r, Translated in B. Sachs and B. Ife, *Anthology of Early Keyboard Methods* (Cambridge: Gamut, 1981), p. 24. See also Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, pp. 46, 73. See also J. J. Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* [On Playing the Flute], translated by E. R. Reilly (London: Faber & Faber, 1966), pp. 259–60.

Worn Sharps

- Wear is slight compared with the naturals.
- f^{#2}: Top front, pronounced indentation.
- d^{#2}: Top front, right-hand side, pronounced indentation.
- c^{#2}: Top front, slight indentation.
- a^{#2}: Top front, middle and right-hand side, pronounced indentation.
- a^{#1}: Top front, pronounced indentation.
- g^{#1}: Top front, middle, slight indentation.
- f^{#1}: Front edge to middle, overlaps front scoring line, pronounced indentation.
- d^{#1}: Top front, across entire top, pronounced indentation.
- c^{#1}: Top front, across entire top, slight indentation.
- a[#]: Top front, right-hand side, pronounced indentation.
- g[#]: Top front, slight indentation.
- f[#]: Top front, right-hand side, moderate indentation.
- d[#]: Middle, moderate indentation.



Plate 310 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): certain key tops are worn from use.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 311 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798 (London, 1780/86?): certain key tops are worn from use.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Left: Plate 312 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): naturals key top wearing from f^3 to d^1 .

Right: Plate 313 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): naturals key top wearing from a to E^b .

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photos by the author.

Implications

- Key wearing that is either pronounced or moderate is consistent with the registers, ranges and tonalities most commonly exploited by late eighteenth-century composers.
- Pronounced or moderate key wearing in the treble ranges from a^1 to c^3 . The keys of the octave c^2 – c^3 are particularly worn; most Classic-era melodic lines strongly exploit this octave.

- Pronounced or moderate key wearing in the bass ranges from F to f; most Classic-era accompaniment material sits comfortably within this range.
- Key wearing suggests that the following tonalities have been preferred:
 1. C major
 2. G major
 3. D major
 4. F major
 5. B-flat major
 6. E-flat major
 7. A minor
 8. E minor
 9. G minor
 10. C minor.

The number of accidentals—that is, ‘black’ notes—associated with these tonalities never exceeds two sharps, or three flats. Consequently, the demands made on reading skills (at least until modulation into a more complex tonality occurs) are not great.

Commonly occurring late eighteenth-century tuning systems would have ensured that these tonalities sounded relatively ‘relaxed’, ‘pure’ and sonorous.

Key plate wearing, however, does not appear to be consistent with the fact that there is

one key on the keyboard that tends to get more wear than any of the others ... It is the D an octave above middle C [that is, d^2 , 14 semitones above c^1]. A key signature of at least four sharps or four flats is needed before the D [d^2] key gets relief from the sharp or flat key above and below it.¹⁰³

Nevertheless, given that 1) indentation on the d^2 key head front plate is moderate, 2) the keys of the octave c^2 – c^3 are particularly worn, and 3) there is pronounced or moderate key wearing in the treble ranges from a^1 to c^3 , it is reasonable to conjecture that the piano has been ‘cherished as a musical instrument and not just held up as a silent monument to the wealth [or social aspirations] of its owner’.¹⁰⁴

103 Watson, *Changing Keys*, p. 42.

104 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

Stringing

- The strings extend diagonally to the right (the longest string beginning at the bass end, near the back corner) over a J-form soundboard bridge (Plate 164) to iron wrest-pins at the extreme right.
- Each string is anchored by means of an eyelet or 'loop' over a metal hitch-pin at the back of the case—that is, opposite the player (each metal hitch-pin is driven into the wooden hitch-pin block).
- Double-strung throughout.
- Graded diameter.

Bass

- The first 28 consecutive bass-note strings (FF–F[#] inclusive) are overspun—that is, each string has a drawn-brass 'straight core around which a helical copper wire is wrapped'.¹⁰⁵ These are modern replacements (using wire from Malcolm Rose) (Plate 314).

In square pianos of the 1770s and 1780s, if plain brass wire is used for the strings of approximately the two bottom octaves, the tone produced is hollow and musically unsatisfactory. Overspinning with copper produces a heavier, and yet flexible, string that produces a richer tone. (Johann Christoph Zumpe was probably the first to use overspun strings for bass notes in a keyboard instrument; usually, the lowest 11 consecutive notes of Zumpe's square pianos have overspun strings.)¹⁰⁶

By the end of the eighteenth century, the technique of overspinning had been known for some time. Overspinning

consists in first making a plain brass string, then stretching it on a bench machine, and applying a thin copper wire spiralling around the core. The diameter of this cover wire and the number of turns per unit length determine how heavy a given string is, and this may be graduated to match the intended note.¹⁰⁷

- The first two bass-note strings (FF and FF[#]) have one adjacent copper overspinning loop every 3 millimetres (Plates 315 and 316) (the adjacent loops of the wrapping do not touch each other; this form of overspun string is called 'open-covered'). This string conforms with the type of open-covered string used on late eighteenth-century English square pianos (by the mid-nineteenth century, the copper wire spiralling around the core was commonly closely wound—that is, adjacent loops of the wrapping touched each other).

105 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 334.

106 See Hackett, 'The Square Piano in England 1766–1866', p. 2.

107 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 53.

- The remaining 24 consecutive open-covered bass-note strings (GG–F# inclusive) have one copper loop every 2 millimetres (Plate 316).

Tenor

- The next 10 consecutive notes (G–e inclusive) are plain, drawn brass and graded. (For musical instruments, the basic wire was drawn through holes of diminishing size in factory draw plates. Late eighteenth-century piano strings were made from the purest sort of iron, hammer-tempered when it came out of the furnace.)¹⁰⁸

Treble

- The remaining notes (e–f³ inclusive) are drawn iron ('steel', as they used to call it, but considerably less hard than anything used for the purpose from the mid-nineteenth century onwards)¹⁰⁹ and graded.
- Most of the iron strings are original.



Plate 314 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the first 28 consecutive bass-note strings (FF–F# inclusive) are overspun.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 287.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 53, 287.



Plate 315 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the first two open-covered bass-note strings (FF and FF#) have one copper overspinning loop every 3 millimetres (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 316 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): the open-covered strings for GG–F# (inclusive) have one copper overspinning loop every 2 millimetres (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Speaking String Lengths

- The speaking string length is measured from the longest of the unison strings—that is, the one on the left—from bridge-pin to nut-pin.
- FF: 1294 millimetres (this is marginally longer than on a square piano made by Beck in 1782, for which the speaking string length of FF is 1285 millimetres).¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ An instrument owned by the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg. See Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, p. 57.

String-Gauge Marks

- String-gauge markings are handwritten, in ink, on the soundboard, very near the wrest-pins (Plate 317). It is not known if Beck wrote these string-gauge markings. It seems likely, as an earlier square piano by Beck (dated 1782)¹¹¹ similarly has note names and string-gauge numbers handwritten, in ink, on the soundboard, very near the wrest-pins.¹¹²
- Unlike Beck's 1782 instrument, Worgan's 1780/86? piano has dotted lines encompassing the wrest-pins; these lines identify groups of wrest-pins as being associated with specific string gauges:
 - a) '8' is written next to the eight wrest-pins for the top four notes (d³–f³ inclusive)
 - b) '9' is written next to the 36 wrest-pins for the next 18 notes (g^{#1}–c^{#3} inclusive)
 - c) '10' is written next to the 16 wrest-pins for the next eight notes (c¹–g¹ inclusive) (Plate 318)
 - d) '11' is written next to the 16 wrest-pins for the next eight notes (e–b inclusive).
 - e) '12' is written next to the eight wrest-pins for the next four notes (c–d[#] inclusive)
 - f) '13' is written next to the eight wrest-pins for the next four notes (G[#]–b inclusive) (Plate 319).
- The next 30 wrest-pins for the remaining 15 notes (FF–G inclusive) have no gauge markings. This is because the strings for these notes are overspun.
- The note G has been incorrectly strung with plain drawn brass.
- If Beck's 1782 piano provides an indication of his usual string-gauge intentions, Worgan's 1780/86? piano currently and erroneously includes only 28 overspun strings for the bottom 14 notes (FF–G[#] inclusive).

111 An instrument owned by the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.

112 See Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, Plate 110e 'Draufsicht'; and Plate 110g 'Die Ton-Namen bei den Wirbeln', p. 55.



Plate 317 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): string-gauge markings—handwritten (in ink) on the soundboard, very near the wrest-pins (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 318 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): string-gauge markings—handwritten (in ink) on the soundboard—numbers '8', '9' and '10'.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 319 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1780/86?): string-gauge markings—handwritten (in ink) on the soundboard—numbers ‘11’, ‘12’ and ‘13’.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Listing Cloth

- Missing.

History of Restoration

- At the time of purchase by William Bradshaw, the piano was in a deteriorated condition. This is surprising, given that the family who owned the instrument openly recognised its historical significance.
- In 1987 Stewart Symonds undertook the following restorations:

Strings

- Strings that had been wrongly replaced in the past were replaced (the note G has, however, been incorrectly strung with plain drawn brass).
- Rust was removed from the remaining strings.

Damper Lever Push-Up Rods

- The original wooden damper lever push-up rods were replaced with brass rods.
- The circular leather head component on the top of each rod was replaced.

Keys

- Missing ivory front plates were replaced.
- Score lines were inscribed to match the originals.

Action Frame

- The (then missing) woven cloth strip on the front and back touch rails was renewed.
- Punchings were installed around each balance rail pin.

Appendix B

A Rival First Fleet Piano?

In any reunion, the real moment of truth comes after the euphoric embrace and before the cascade of competing stories, when both parties hold each other at a slight distance and look one another in the eye. It is the moment in which—without sentimentality but not without affection—one says, ‘Let me look at you as you are.’¹

At the street end of the first-floor hallway in an elegant Victorian terrace house² in Waverley, Sydney, a Longman & Broderip square piano of 1785/86? sits in the space it has quietly occupied for the past 44 years, gently embraced by shadow (Plate 320). Despite the instrument’s subtly glowing cabinetwork, the piano does not attract attention, being but one object in a profusion of magnificent antique furniture that adorns each room and corridor of the rambling house. Opulently framed, exquisite, richly coloured paintings and intricately ornamented, breathtakingly beautiful ceilings—some created by the current owner/occupant of the house, the antiques restorer, collector and fortepiano aficionado Brian Jack Barrow (b. 1946)—beautify the home (Plates 321–5; the ceiling decoration shown in Plates 321 and 324 is by an anonymous hand, and dates from the late 1880s).³ Every room ‘breathes of instruction by a gifted past’,⁴ and provides ‘evidence of a happiness to which’ erudition and refinement have made a ‘distinctive contribution’.⁵ The home is a veritable hymn to good taste. Barrow asserts that his Longman & Broderip instrument may be the ‘First Fleet piano’.

1 S. Smee, ‘Fred Williams and Company’, in D. Hart, *Fred Williams: Infinite Horizons* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2011), p. 207.

2 The terrace house, in the Italian style, was built in 1886. I am indebted to Brian Barrow for this information.

3 I am further indebted to Brian Barrow for this information. Barrow suggests that the painting may have been executed by the first owner of the house.

4 West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 705.

5 de Botton, *The Architecture of Happiness*, p. 11.

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View



Plate 320 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 321 The ground-floor drawing room in Brian Barrow's home, viewed from the entrance to the adjacent dining room.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Brian Barrow. Photo by the author.



Plate 322 The dining room in Brian Barrow's home, viewed from the entrance to the adjacent drawing room.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Brian Barrow. Photo by the author.



Plate 323 Ceiling of the dining room in Brian Barrow's home.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Brian Barrow. Photo by the author.



Plate 324 Ceiling of the ground-floor drawing room in Brian Barrow's home.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Brian Barrow. Photo by the author.



Plate 325 Ceiling of the entrance hallway in Brian Barrow's home (detail).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Brian Barrow. Photo by the author.

A Tale of Two Pianos

Both Brian Barrow and Stewart Symonds claim to own the First Fleet piano. Since there was only one piano on board the *Sirius* as the ship made its way to Botany Bay, there can only be one First Fleet piano.

Barrow's instrument may be the piano that George Bouchier Worgan brought to Botany Bay in 1788. On the other hand, the instrument may be the piano that Elizabeth Macarthur purchased at Thomas Laycock's estate auction on Thursday, 4 January 1810.⁶ At the very least, the instrument is one of about 105 extant Longman & Broderip square pianos.⁷

Ascertaining the facts surrounding the history of Brian Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano is essential for the formation of 'its meaning as a historic [instrument] ... and therefore to its value as a cultural artefact worth conserving and interpreting'.⁸

Two hypothetical provenances may be posited in relation to the history of Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip piano. Each is based substantially on details derived both from hearsay and from pronouncements made by William Bradshaw.⁹ The two hypothetical provenances are given below.

When the two hypothetical provenances are compared with the provenance of Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano¹⁰—many details of which are also substantially based upon hearsay and Bradshaw's pronouncements—inconsistencies in detail emerge, which appear to originate with William Bradshaw.

Hypothetical Provenance 1: If the instrument is the First Fleet piano

- Between 1785? and December 1786?,¹¹ George Bouchier Worgan purchased the instrument from Longman & Broderip at one of their premises—either at 26 Cheapside or at 13 Haymarket.
- On Sunday, 13 May 1787, at three in the morning, the instrument departed England for Botany Bay on board the flagship of the First Fleet, the *Sirius*.¹²

6 See 'Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip Square Piano: Elizabeth Macarthur's second piano?', below.

7 See Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

8 Rosen, *Australia's Oldest House*, p. 82.

9 See 'Discovery', in the Introduction to Volume 1 of this publication.

10 See 'The History of George Bouchier Worgan's Piano: A speculative summary', in Chapter 16, Volume 1 of this publication.

11 See 'A Date of Manufacture: Bradshaw's estimation and what evidence suggests—the keyboard compass, the serial number and the nameboard inscription', below.

12 See 'The First Fleet Departs from England', in Chapter 5, Volume 1 of this publication.

- About 7 on the evening of Saturday, 26 January 1788, the instrument arrived at Sydney Cove.¹³ It is not known exactly when the instrument was offloaded from the *Sirius*, but it had been taken off by Saturday, 6 March 1790.¹⁴ Nor is it known exactly where the instrument was housed for the three years between its arrival at Sydney Cove and early 1791.
- Between January and Monday, 7 March 1791, the piano was placed in John and Elizabeth Macarthur's new thatched wattle-and-daub hut at Sydney Cove.¹⁵ This hut may have been up the hill to the west of the fledgling colony's parade ground (the parade ground was located at what is now the corner of Bridge and George streets).¹⁶
- George Worgan gave the instrument as a gift to Elizabeth Macarthur between January and 7 March 1791.¹⁷
- In November 1793, the piano was placed in John and Elizabeth Macarthur's new cottage ('Elizabeth Farm') at Parramatta.¹⁸
- Between Sunday, 4 March and Monday, 5 March 1804, Worgan's piano escaped destruction by fire within the context of an uprising by Irish convicts.¹⁹
- In January 1805, Worgan's piano once again escaped destruction—from a fire that broke out in the kitchen of Elizabeth Farm cottage.²⁰
- The instrument remained in the Macarthur family's possession until 15 years after Elizabeth Macarthur's death (in 1850).
- In 1865, the piano was acquired by the Mat(t)hews family at an auction of furniture from Elizabeth Farm cottage.²¹
- In 1942, the antiques dealer William Bradshaw purchased the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano from the Mat(t)hews family, whose home was in the vicinity of Parramatta.²²
- Between 1943 and 1949, Bradshaw sold the piano to the antiques dealer and expert in Australian colonial silver²³ Albert George Briskie (1914–87).²⁴

13 See 'Botany Bay and Port Jackson', in Chapter 6, Volume 1 of this publication.

14 See 'George Worgan Puts His Piano on Land', in Chapter 7, Volume 1 of this publication.

15 See 'When Did George Worgan Place His Piano into the Macarthurs' Thatched Wattle-and-Daub Hut?', in Chapter 10, Volume 1 of this publication.

16 This information is derived from a conversation held between the author and Gary Crockett, Curator, Hyde Park Barracks Museum, Queens Square, Sydney, on 11 February 2010.

17 See 'George Worgan Gives His Piano to Elizabeth Macarthur', in Chapter 10, Volume 1 of this publication.

18 See 'Worgan's Piano at Elizabeth Farm', in Chapter 13, Volume 1 of this publication.

19 See 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano Escapes Destruction for the First Time', in Chapter 13, Volume 1 of this publication.

20 See 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano Escapes Destruction for the Second Time', in Chapter 13, Volume 1 of this publication.

21 See 'Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip Square Piano: Elizabeth Macarthur's second piano?', below.

22 See 'Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance', below.

23 See T. Ingram, 'An Eccentric Magpie Bites the Dust', *The Australian Financial Review*, 26 February 1987, p. 34.

24 See 'Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance', below.

- During early 1969, William Bradshaw repurchased the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano, from Albert Briskie, at Briskie's shop in Catherine Street, Leichhardt, Sydney.²⁵
- The current owner, Brian Barrow, purchased the instrument from William Bradshaw on Friday, 29 May 1969.²⁶

Hypothetical Provenance 2: If the instrument is Elizabeth Macarthur's second piano

- Between 1785/86?²⁷ and early 1791,²⁸ Thomas Laycock purchased the piano, either new or second-hand. If Laycock purchased the instrument from Longman & Broderip, the transaction would most probably have taken place at one of the piano maker's premises—at 26 Cheapside, 13 Haymarket or Tottenham Court Road.²⁹
- Between Wednesday, 21 September 1791³⁰ and late December 1809,³¹ the piano arrived at the colony of New South Wales.
- On Thursday, 4 January 1810, Elizabeth Macarthur purchased the piano for £85³² at Thomas Laycock's estate auction.³³ If the instrument is not the piano that Macarthur acquired at Laycock's estate auction, conjecturally it may be the unidentified instrument that was offered for sale at auction by David Bevan on Monday, 2 April 1810³⁴ and/or Wednesday, 12 January 1814,³⁵ it is not known what became of this particular instrument.
- The instrument remained in the Macarthur family's possession until 15 years after Elizabeth Macarthur's death (in 1850).
- In 1865, the piano was acquired by the Mat(t)hews family at an auction of furniture from Elizabeth Farm cottage.³⁶

25 See *ibid.*

26 See *ibid.*

27 See 'A Date of Manufacture: Bradshaw's estimation and what evidence suggests—the keyboard compass, the serial number and the nameboard inscription', below.

28 Thomas Laycock arrived in Sydney on the *Gorgon*, which dropped anchor at Sydney Cove on Wednesday, 21 September 1791.

29 Longman & Broderip acquired their premises in Tottenham Court Road on 29 September 1787. Unlike their premises at 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket, the Tottenham Court Road property was used principally 'as a musical instrument manufactory and timber yard'. M. Kassler, 'Chronology of the Business Begun by James Longman', in M. Kassler (ed.), *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), p. 3. To the author's knowledge, there are no extant records concerning the sale by Longman & Broderip of one of their pianos to Thomas Laycock.

30 When the instrument may have arrived at Sydney Cove with Thomas Laycock on board the *Gorgon*.

31 Thomas Laycock died on Wednesday, 27 December 1809.

32 See 'An "Elegant" Piano', below.

33 See 'Thomas Laycock's Estate Auction', in Chapter 13, Volume 1 of this publication.

34 See '1810: David Bevan', in Chapter 14, Volume 1 of this publication.

35 See '1814: David Bevan', in *ibid.*

36 See 'Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip Square Piano: Elizabeth Macarthur's second piano?', below.

- In 1942, the antiques dealer William Bradshaw purchased the Longman & Broderip piano from the Mat(t)hews family, whose home was in the vicinity of Parramatta.³⁷
- Between 1943 and 1949, Bradshaw sold the instrument to the eccentric antiques dealer Albert George Briskie.³⁸
- In early 1969, William Bradshaw repurchased the Longman & Broderip square piano, from Albert Briskie, at Briskie's shop in Catherine Street, Leichhardt, Sydney.³⁹
- On Friday, 29 May 1969, the current owner, Brian Barrow, purchased the piano from William Bradshaw.⁴⁰

Sources of Information

On Saturday, 28 July 2012, the author visited Brian Barrow at his home. Within the context of this visit, information concerning the provenance of Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano emerged from several sources. These sources were

1. a single-page printed document entitled 'Longman & Broderip Piano 1781', containing provenance details of the instrument, signed by William Bradshaw on Monday, 6 August 2007 (Plate 326)
2. a single-page printed document entitled 'Square Piano No 604 Longman and Broderip. C 1781', with 'Signed / William. F. Bradshaw' handwritten at the bottom of the page, undated (Plate 327)
3. a single-page printed document that includes handwritten comments by Brian Barrow, containing information related to the provenance of the Longman & Broderip piano, undated (Plate 328)
4. *The Australasian Antique Collector*, Vol. 3, No. 9 (July–December 1970), containing an article written by William Bradshaw entitled 'The Domestic Piano',⁴¹ which includes a photograph of Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano
5. conversations held between the author and Barrow.

On Saturday, 20 April 2013, the author again visited Brian Barrow at his home. Within the context of this visit, Barrow furnished the author with a copy of a two-page printed document entitled 'Certificate by Richard John William

37 See 'Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance', below.

38 See *ibid.*

39 See *ibid.*

40 See *ibid.*

41 Bradshaw, 'The Domestic Piano'.

d'Apice of 135 King Street, Sydney' (Plates 328a and 328b). D'Apice AM, senior partner of Makinson & d'Apice, authenticated both pages of this certificate with his handwritten signature on Wednesday, 10 April 2013.

In the certificate, d'Apice attests to the fact that, within the context of conversations held with William Bradshaw in late July 2007 and on Monday, 6 August 2007, Bradshaw verified the provenance details contained in the following two documents:

1. a single-page printed document entitled 'Longman & Broderip Piano 1781', containing provenance details of the instrument, signed by William Bradshaw on Monday, 6 August 2007 (Plate 326)
2. a single-page printed document entitled 'Square Piano No 604 Longman and Broderip. C 1781', with 'Signed / William. F. Bradshaw' handwritten at the bottom of the page, undated (Plate 327).

In the certificate, d'Apice warrants that William Bradshaw signed each of these two documents in his presence.

There is no reason to doubt that Bradshaw demonstrated his agreement with the pronouncements contained in the two signed documents (Plates 326 and 327). Nor is there any reason to doubt that Bradshaw signed the two documents in d'Apice's presence. A problem does exist, however, in relation to the believability of some of the pronouncements contained in the two signed documents.

Although one hesitates to disparage a man as eminent as William Bradshaw, inconsistencies arising from his recounting of provenance details pertinent to Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip square piano and Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Beck square piano (Bradshaw suggested to each of these gentlemen, on several occasions, that their instrument was the First Fleet piano)⁴² and his publication as fact of an apparently estimated date for the Longman & Broderip instrument,⁴³ make it difficult to consistently accept all his statements as being true. Because so much depends upon Bradshaw's remarks, anything that casts even the smallest degree of doubt upon the veracity of his pronouncements assumes significance.⁴⁴

42 I am indebted to both Brian Barrow and Stewart Symonds for this information. See 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano in Windsor', in Chapter 15, Volume 1 of this publication. See also 'The History of George Bouchier Worgan's Piano: A speculative summary', in Chapter 16, Volume 1 of this publication.

43 See 'A Date of Manufacture: Bradshaw's estimation and what evidence suggests—the keyboard compass, the serial number and the nameboard inscription', below.

44 See 'Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance', below.

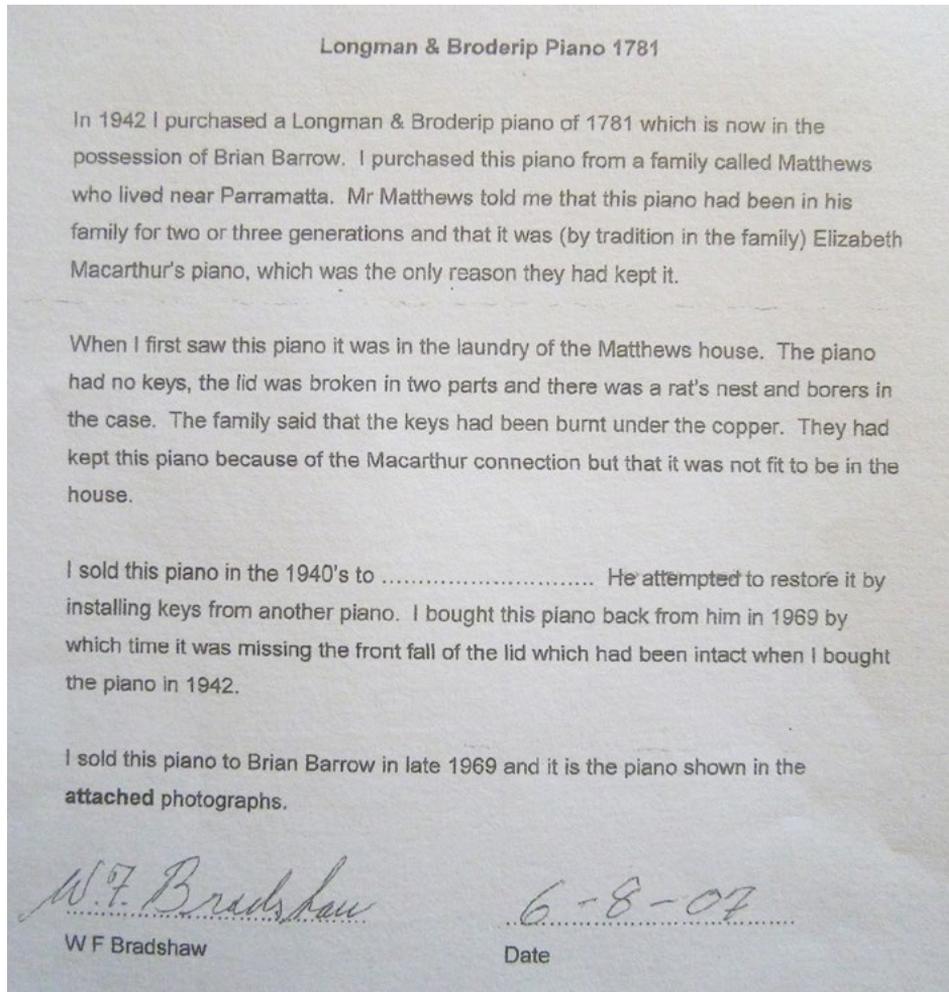


Plate 326 Single-page document entitled 'Longman & Broderip Piano 1781', apparently signed by William Bradshaw on Monday, 6 August 2007.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Brian Barrow. Photo by the author.

Square Piano No 604 Longman and Broderip. C 1781.

This piano, built by the company known as Longman and Broderip, established in 1767, who were music publishers who also built some pianos. The name board is inscribed in pen work. Longman and Broderip musical instrument makers.
No.26 Cheapside & No.13 Haymarket London.

The firm was declared bankrupt in the 1790s and became known as Clementi and Co., after the famous keyboard musician, Musio Clementi, whose compositions they had published and he had become quite wealthy.

F.W.Collard obtained patents and made improvements as early as 1811. The firm became known as Collard & Collard after Clementi's retirement about 1835. Collard & Collard became one of the most successful piano manufacturers until well into the 20th century. The simple case, built of mahogany on a plain collapsible tressle stand like the campaign furniture of the period suitable for shipboard use and light weight. It's typical of the early domestic pianos with a simple action, light weight strings, small sound board, five octaves and a rather weak tone.

William Bradshaw, 96 Queen st Woollahra, NSW, (long regarded as the most knowledgeable expert on antique pianos) bought this instrument from a family whose name was Matthews and lived in the paramatta area in 1942. The piano was a wreck, and stood in a laundry with rubbish piled on top for many years and the top was bent and broken. The original keys may have been burnt under the copper.

The only reason why the family had kept it for two or three generations, was because the Matthews' believed it had once belonged to Elizabeth McArthur. Mr Bradshaw bought it for a small sum because he could see it was a piano of the period and the Matthews story was quite credible. In more than 60 years, he has not come across another piano more likely to be the first piano in the colony.

Brought to Australia by Dr. George Bouchier Worgan, 1757-1838 on the flagship Sirius of the first fleet, 1788. It was first mentioned in early letters. The band master repaired and tuned it. Later by Elizabeth McArthur who arrived on the second fleet and received tuition from Dr Worgan she mentions being taught to play God Save The King and "Foot's minuet". Dr Worgan gave the piano to Elizabeth McArthur before he left in 1791, returning to England where he continued in the medical profession. He retired in poor health in 1800 to take up farming with little success.

Mr Bradshaw sold the piano to an unknown collector who tried unsuccessfully to fit a set of keys from another piano of the period. The key bed, sound board and name board are original. borer's have destroyed parts of it, the case has been repaired and made stable. It could be restored to a playable condition. In 1969 Mr Bradshaw bought it back and sold it to, Mr. Brian Barrow who has owned it ever since.

Signed
William F. Bradshaw

Plate 327 Single-page document entitled 'Square Piano No 604 Longman & Broderip. C 1781', with 'Signed William F. Bradshaw' handwritten at the bottom of the page, undated.

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View

Very Likely "The Worgan Piano"

Square Piano built by Longman and Broderip about 1781.
Size **xxx**

The name board is inscribed in pen, "Longman and Broderip Musical ~~Instrument~~ Makers/ No 26 Cheapside & No 13 Haymarket London"

The simple case, built of mahogany on a plain collapsible trestle stand like a campaign furniture of the period suitable for shipboard use and light weight. It is typical of early domestic pianos with a simple action, light weight strings, small sound board, five octaves and a rather weak tone.

Change ~~McArthur~~ to Macarthur.

Illustrated and Literature : Antique Collector **date, vol etc.** The Domestic Piano, W. F. Bradshaw, Woollahra as Fig 1 on page 72. The photograph caption states Fig 1- Square Piano by Longman and Broderip of London 1781 has a compass of 5 octaves (the same as a harpsichord) (Courtesy B. Barrow) **Quote from the article**

Condition:
The key bed, sound board and name board are original . Borers have destroyed parts (**which parts**), the case has been repaired and made stable
In the 1960s, the unknown collector unsuccessfully tried to fit a set of keys from another piano of the period.

Certain Provenance:
Purchased by Bill Bradshaw from the Matthews family who lived in Parramatta. The Mathews lived in the Parramatta area in 1942 (**what is the 1942 record to evidence this**) (**do we know their exact names or address**), but the date of purchase by Bradshaw is unknown. Bradshaw states (**is his statement dated, why is it written in the third person**)

"The piano was a wreck and stood in the laundry with rubbish piled on top for many years and the top was bent and broken. The original keys may have been burnt under the copper.

"The only reason why the family had kept for two or three generations, was because the Mathews believed it had once belonged to Elizabeth McArthur. Mr Bradshaw purchased it (**where is this from , is this Bradshaw's own words or written words**) for a small sum because he could see it was a piano of the period and the Mathews story was quite credible".

Sold by Bradshaw to an unknown collector in the 1960s. Repurchased by Bradshaw in 1969.
Brian Barrow Esq

Very Likely early provenance:
The piano, owned by Dr George Bouchier Worgan (1757-1838) surgeon to HMS Sirius, the armed storeship and flagship of The First Fleet. (1788 until return date)
(**Story of where Worgan lived near Longman**)
Details of mention by Worgan in early letters in Mitchell
Details of band master repaired and tuned it
Details of music written by Worgan

Elizabeth McArthur **Dates she came, and age, on the Second Fleet**
The following quote from Elizabeth's letters states that she had Worgan 's piano on 7 March 1791. But where did she live then?? **STATE LIB- ARCHIVES**

Handwritten notes:
Instrument
EVERYTHING BILL KNEW ABOUT THE PIANO I WROTE DOWN AND HE SIGNED IT.
24715 1766-1850
BILL TOLD ME THAT HE WENT TO THE MATTHEWS HOUSE NEAR PARRAMATTA IN 1942 TO BUY THE CEDAR SIDE BOARD FROM GOVERNMENT HOUSE PARRAMATTA (WHICH IS THE ONE IN THE DINING ROOM TODAY.) HE WAS SHOWN THE WRECK OF A PIANO

Plate 328 Single-page document that includes comments handwritten by Brian Barrow, containing information concerning the provenance of Barrow's Longman & Broderip square piano.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Brian Barrow. Photo by the author.

Certificate by Richard John William d'Apice of 135 King Street, Sydney

1. I am a solicitor of the Supreme Court of New South Wales and senior partner of the firm of Makinson & d'Apice.
2. I knew the late William Frederick Bradshaw (Bill) from the late 1960's until his death in late 2009. I acted as his solicitor shortly before his death. I had not acted as his solicitor prior to or at the time referred to in this document.
3. I have known Brian Jack Barrow (Brian) since the late 1960's and have acted as his solicitor since the 1980s.
4. From the early 1970s Brian had in his possession at his homes at 31 Park Parade, Waverley and 105 Carrington Road, Queen's Park, a small square piano (**the Piano**). From time to time over that period, Brian has told me of the First Fleet provenance of the Piano as told to him by Bill at the time of his purchase of the Piano from Bill.
5. In the first part of July 2007, Brian repeated to me the First Fleet provenance of the Piano.
6. In response to my enquiry as to how he had documented this provenance, Brian produced a document a copy of which is annexed initialled by me and marked "A". I told him that I would visit Bill and enquire whether he would agree to sign a record of the provenance of the item.
7. In late July 2007, I telephoned Bill and made an appointment to see him which I did in late July 2007 taking with me a copy of annexure "A" prepared by Brian and three (3) colour photographs of the Piano, copies of which are annexed initialled by me and marked "B1", "B2" and "B3" inclusive. I spent about an hour with Bill alone talking about this matter and reminiscing about life. I read annexure A to Bill and he interjected comments at various points. I showed him the photographs and he agreed that they showed the Piano he had sold to Brian. I asked him whether he was prepared to allow me to prepare a short statement from notes I would take to which he agreed. We then discussed the Piano, his purchase of it, the vendor's representations to him, its first sale by him, its repurchase by him and its final sale by him to Brian. I took notes from his comments limited to how the piano came into his possession and the provenance which the vendor had ascribed it.
8. At or towards the end of our discussion, I asked Bill whether the document prepared by Brian concerning the Piano was accurate and I again read it to him. He agreed that it was accurate. I asked him whether he would sign it which he agreed to do and he did so in my presence, signing two original documents and dating one of them "2007". The original documents prepared by Brian and so signed by Bill are annexed hereto initialled by me and marked "C1" and "C2" respectively. It was agreed

Richard d'Apice

Plate 328a 'Certificate by Richard John William d'Apice of 135 King Street, Sydney': page one of two.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Brian Barrow. Photo by the author.

Regrettably, some of the provenance details provided in the documents shown in Plates 326–8 cannot be conclusively substantiated. As a consequence, some information contained in these documents can only be regarded as hearsay.

On Wednesday, 19 June 2013, the author held a telephone conversation with Brian Barrow. As a result of this conversation, further sources of information pertinent to the provenance of Barrow’s Longman & Broderip square piano and Stewart Symonds’ Beck square piano emerged:

1. a photographic copy of a letter dated Thursday, 23 May 2013, handwritten by Paul Kenny⁴⁵ to Brian Barrow, containing edited transcriptions of selected entries made by Bradshaw in his business records (Plate 328d)⁴⁶
2. a photographic copy of a page in William Bradshaw’s stock book, showing acquisition details associated with the 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano (Plates 133 and 328e);⁴⁷ since this page does not contain data concerning the name and address of the individual from whom Bradshaw purchased the Beck (information contained on the adjacent page; see Plate 328f),⁴⁸ this photographic copy represents only half of the data pertaining to the 1780/86? Beck piano as recorded by Bradshaw
3. conversations held between the author and Barrow.

45 Paul Kenny was one of William Bradshaw’s closest friends, and an importer of fine antiques. Kenny currently possesses Bradshaw’s meticulous business records.

46 I am indebted to Brian Barrow for providing me with a photographic copy of this letter.

47 I am indebted to Brian Barrow for providing me with this photographic copy.

48 I am indebted to Paul Kenny for providing me with a photographic copy of the stock book page containing the second half of Bradshaw’s entry detailing his acquisition of the 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano (Plate 328f).

Mount Pleasant
Sofala NSW 2795
23rd May 2013

Dear Brian,

As I am going to Thailand & Vietnam for three weeks I thought I would bring you up-to-date on my piano search.

I can't find mention of the Henryman & Gooding but I can remember it — maybe it is one of the unnamed ones

17/6/41 Square Piano Muller Stokes
11/9/41 Cabinet Piano Sold to Tech Museum

then to you

29/5/69 Orchestral & Piano Case date 1780
27/4/70 Collard & Collard
5/6/70 Organ Player
26/11/70 Electric Grand + rttls
11/2/72 Mechanical piano by deBain

I wonder if the item described as a piano case c1780 has importance

all the very best.

Paul

Other Purchases by WFB

26/3/45 Table Piano (Walter)
28/2/46 Collard & Collard Ken Smith
28/5/49 Square piano &
14/7/52 Resin sq. piano
8/10/57 Sq. piano (Power)
23/10/56 Sheraton Sq. Piano (Partway)
2/2/60 Broadwood (Mortel)
28/10/63 Sq. piano (Lawson)

Plate 328d Letter dated 23 May 2013, handwritten by Paul Kenny to Brian Barrow.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Brian Barrow and Paul Kenny. Photo by Brian Barrow.

1973
Nov

Second-hand Dealers and
THIRD

ENTRY OF PURCHASES

Day of purchase or receipt, and hour of day	Description of old wares purchased or received	date	£	s.	d.
Oct 29 11-30	Chippendale Sea Table	1760	150		
	2 Gilt chairs	1850	300		
	Square Piano by Beck for sale	1780	150		
Oct 31 2-30	Five screen desk in later wood	1740	250		
"	Wiennese Square Piano	1800	500		
-	1 Gilt couch	1850	450		
-	Tall Mahogany gaming Table	1790	250		
Oct 31 2-30	1 Gilt arm chair	1760	180		
Nov 1 9-30	Sewing Box in Mahogany	1800	200		
9 12-30	French Officers Travelling Clock	1785	650		
" "	Silver Watch for the Eltona Trade	1860	65		
" "	Silver Hunter Watch	1800	30		
10. 2-30	Chippendale dining Table	1790	300		
	William & Mary chest on cast	1685	400		
	George II side Table	1760	150		
12. 10-30	3 Four Post Beds	1940	800		
14 11.	Stick Duo-Port Player		300		
16 2-30	Printed Clock by G. Scott	1800	235		
22-4-30	London Clock by Scott	1780	330		
26. 1-30	Longcase Clock in Oak, case by Gustave	1732	2200		
" "	6 Early 19th Wall Light in Gilt Metal	1845	2000		

Regulation 10 (d) under the Act gazetted on 10/5/29 requires that the name and weight of each kind of metal purchased shall be entered in this column.

Plate 328e A page from William Bradshaw's stock book showing the first half of his handwritten entry concerning acquisition of the 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano.

Source: Paul Kenny—current custodian of Bradshaw's stock books. Reproduced with permission of Paul Kenny. Photo by Paul Kenny.

Collectors Act, 1906

SCHEDULE

AND RECEIPTS

SE 9197

Name and surname of person by or through whom purchased or received	Name and surname of person from whom purchased or received	Business and place of abode of person from whom purchased or received
<i>W. F. Bradshaw</i>	<i>Adam Barber</i>	<i>82 Merriman Road Bondi</i>
	<i>?</i>	
	<i>Adam Barber</i>	<i>82 Merriman Road North Bondi</i>
	<i>Anna Schofield</i>	<i>45 Queen St. South Brisbane</i>
	<i>S. Marcus</i>	<i>27 Hill Street North Brisbane</i>
	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>
	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>
	<i>Bobby Lee & Co. Brisbane</i>	<i>82 Merriman Road North Bondi</i>
	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>
	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>
	<i>P. Kenny</i>	<i>76 City Centre Building Harley Queensland</i>
	<i>Barry O'Sullivan</i>	<i>3 High Street Darling</i>
	<i>J. Macomber</i>	<i>Coak Street</i>
	<i>K. R. Barrett-Smith</i>	<i>10 Walsby St. Darling</i>
	<i>J. B. Huntley</i>	<i>130th Street Darling</i>
	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>
	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>

Regulation 10 (a) under the Act gazetted on 11th October, 1937, requires that where any metal is purchased or received and such metal is delivered to the premises of a second-hand dealer by means of a motor vehicle, the registered number of such motor vehicle shall be recorded in this column.

Plate 328f A page from William Bradshaw's stock book showing the second half of his handwritten entry concerning acquisition of the 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano.

Source: Paul Kenny—current custodian of Bradshaw's stock books. Reproduced with permission of Paul Kenny. Photo by Paul Kenny.

Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance

Within the context of the author's visit to Barrow's home on Saturday, 28 July 2012, the following provenance details came to light.

In 1942, the Longman & Broderip piano currently in Barrow's possession was purchased by the antiques dealer William Bradshaw. At the time of purchase, Bradshaw was 20 years old. Bradshaw started business with his mother when he was 16.⁴⁹ Because Bradshaw's age rendered him legally ineligible to trade, his mother, Ruby Florence (1885–1974),⁵⁰ owned the necessary antiques/second-hand goods trading licence.⁵¹ Bradshaw traded from a small shop at the then unfashionable end of Market Street, Sydney; at a wartime rent of £2 per week,⁵² Bradshaw and his mother leased number 12—an 'old 1840s house where the kitchen was in the yard out the back', the shop at street level and the residence upstairs.⁵³

Bradshaw was approached by a member of the Mat(t)hews family with an invitation to visit their home, which was in the vicinity of Parramatta. The Mat(t)hews intended to sell a cedar sideboard that had allegedly been part of the furniture in Government House, Parramatta. In 1855, Governor-General Sir William Thomas Denison (1804–71) had all the furniture and fittings in Government House, Parramatta, sold at public auction. A number of sideboards were offered for sale.⁵⁴ Perhaps an ancestor of the Mat(t)hews acquired the cedar sideboard at the auction.⁵⁵ Bradshaw purchased the sideboard, and subsequently sold it to Government House, Parramatta. The sideboard is currently part of the impressive furniture collection of the National Trust of Australia (New South Wales).

49 See Keating, *Eulogy*, p. 1.

50 Ruby died on Tuesday, 15 October 1974. On Thursday, 17 October 1974, her body was interred at Randwick Cemetery, Sydney. See 'Deaths—001', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 October 1974.

51 I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for this information.

52 'A Tribute to William Frederick Bradshaw (1922–2009)', in *Antiques & Art in New South Wales* (December–May) (Bondi Junction, NSW: JQ Proprietary Limited, 2009–10), p. 4.

53 Lawson, 'The Other Man in Keating's Life'. In 1957, Bradshaw moved his shop from Market Street to 96 Queen Street, Woollahra, Sydney. With the support of family, friends and clients, he paid £2470 for the premises in Woollahra. In 1991, Bradshaw recalled that 'Queen Street then was rather run down, sleazy, and 5,000 pounds would have bought anything in the street ... Next to me was an old produce store which sold potatoes by the sack and on the other side, a lodging house. Over the road ... was a fish and chip shop.' Ibid. After Bradshaw's death in 2009, his shop was 'tenanted to Jacardi, the children's clothing store from Paris, following' the property's A\$2.7 million sale. Chancellor, 'Queen Street Eschews Antiques for Fashion'. See also Oakman, 'Man of Antiques Lived on Fruit Cake'.

54 I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for this information.

55 I am indebted to the eminent historian and Emeritus Curator of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Elizabeth Ellis OAM, for alerting me to this possibility. See 'The Mat(t)hews Connection', below.

Why the Mat(t)hews approached a dealer as young and inexperienced as Bradshaw remains a mystery (in 1942, Bradshaw was only 20 years old). Bradshaw's maternal aunt⁵⁶ was Vere Mathews, who was married to Freddy Mathews, Bradshaw's mother's brother⁵⁷ (Freddy was a 'gentlemanly-looking man; always well dressed').⁵⁸ Vere was a well-known and successful Sydney businesswoman 'who liked crocodile shoes',⁵⁹ 'lived in the T&G⁶⁰ building'⁶¹ and 'ran a restaurant' of distinction on the lower ground floor of the Rigneys Building,⁶² 147 King Street, Sydney.⁶³ Vere's restaurant was 'known far and wide for its floral decorations',⁶⁴ and gained a reputation as *the* venue at which the best of Sydney's high society might meet and be seen.⁶⁵ Apparently, Vere could 'make wonderful salads'.⁶⁶

56 Bradshaw had another aunt, Ms Batwell, whose home was at the top of Queen Street, Woollahra (on the current site of the Hughenden Hotel, now 14 Queen Street), and who was very fond of Bradshaw. Although Ms Batwell was not one of Bradshaw's relatives, he affectionately referred to her as 'Aunt Bat'. I am indebted to Paul Kenny for this information.

57 I am indebted to Paul Kenny for this information.

58 I am further indebted to Paul Kenny for this information.

59 Vere would 'wear a different pair of shoes every day'. I am again indebted to Paul Kenny for this information, which emerged within the context of a telephone conversation held between the author and Kenny on Friday, 16 August 2013.

60 Australasian Temperance and General Mutual Life Assurance Society. The company was founded in Victoria in 1876, emerging from the assurance branch of the Independent Order of Rechabites. See 'T & G Mutual Life Assurance Society', in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (Last modified 17 June 2013).

61 An early Sydney skyscraper, on the corner of Elizabeth and Park streets. Between 1930 and 1939, Sydney's T&G Building was the tallest in Australia. This elegant building was demolished in 1975, replaced in 1977 with a 50-storey office tower. Company policy precluded single and/or divorced women from living at the T&G Building. I am indebted to José Gutierrez for this information.

62 'Rigneys, the House of Perfect Footware, 147 King Street (2 doors from Castlereagh Street), Sydney.' Advertisement in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 January 1939, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

63 Lawson, 'The Other Man in Keating's Life'.

64 *The Cessnock Eagle and South Maitland Recorder*, 8 November 1946, p. 5, Trove, National Library of Australia. The observation is made in a report concerning the 'lovely flowers at the Red Cross Cup Party held at the club house of the new [Cessnock] golf links', within which context 'it was said by one well-known person that she felt she had just walked into "Vere Matthews"', which city restaurant is known far and wide for its floral decorations'.

65 The tone of the neighbourhood was outrageously lowered on the evening of Tuesday, 18 February 1947, when a 'man, wearing only a pair of trousers, threw carving knives at the staff and splashed' a large can of 'tomato sauce over walls ... fittings' and anyone he could reach 'in Vere Mathews's restaurant ... Women dining in the restaurant ran for shelter ... and waitresses cried. He snatched off two tablecloths and crockery smashed on the floor. Mr. Chris Morgan, the chef, overpowered the man after a struggle. When Constable Anger, who was on traffic duty at the intersection of King and Castlereagh Streets [two buildings from Vere's restaurant; see Plate 328h] arrived, he found the nearly naked man dripping with blood and tomato sauce. "I'm the nude dancer from Armidale," the man shouted.' Definitely not a successful floorshow (to say the least). *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 February 1947, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

66 I am indebted to Paul Kenny for this information, which emerged within the context of a telephone conversation held with the author on Friday, 16 August 2013. Kenny remarked that he'd 'had some of them'.

Plates 328g and 328h show 147 King Street as it appears today (it is the Victorian free classical-style yellow building). The site of Vere’s restaurant is currently occupied by The Emperor’s Choice Chinese restaurant.⁶⁷



Left: Plate 328g 147 King Street, Sydney.

Right: Plate 328h 147 King Street, Sydney, as seen from the corner of King and Castlereagh streets.

Source: Photos by the author.

Originally a five-storey structure, 147 King Street was built in 1888 to house the offices and printing equipment of the Sydney newspaper the *Daily Telegraph*.

In 1914, the building was sold and renamed Elystan Chamber. The new owners commissioned architects Spain, Cosh and Dodds, to modify the shop fronts and building interior.

In 1935 architects McCredie and Evans were commissioned to provide two additional floors and a caretaker’s flat at roof level. In 1974 Cornelius Properties Pty Ltd. purchased the building and renamed it Cornelius Court.

⁶⁷ Vere Mathews’ restaurant and The Emperor’s Choice Chinese restaurant are not linked only by location, but also by flowers: Vere’s renowned floral decorations and the culinary tradition found in many Chinese restaurants in Australia—flowers made out of carrots.

In 2003 the building was sold to the Ashington Group who upgraded the building and carried out major conservation works restoring many of the lost internal details, renaming the building Ashington Court.⁶⁸

On more than one occasion, Vere and Freddy Mathews' finances were compromised by: 1) Vere's penchant for expensive shoes (purchased at only the *best* shops in the exclusive Sydney suburb of Double Bay); and 2) Freddy's passion for horseracing.⁶⁹ At one stage, financial circumstances forced the Mathews to move from the T&G Building to Barrenjoey Road, Palm Beach, Sydney.⁷⁰ Following Freddy's death,⁷¹ Vere moved to the upstairs flat of 94 Queen Street, Woollahra, next to William Bradshaw's shop/home.⁷²

Vere Mathews had a private passion and appreciation for Georgian decorative arts and design, owning many high-quality Georgian engravings, pieces of furniture and a 1785 square piano by George Pether (fl. 1775–94). Vere often travelled to England, where she acquired most of her antiques. It was Vere who encouraged Bradshaw to enter the antiques trade, and her consistent emphasis on quality and impeccable taste became an enduring influence on her nephew, William Bradshaw. It is reasonable to suppose that Bradshaw's interest in fortepianos was a direct result of Vere Mathews' influence.

After Vere retired, whenever she needed money, Bradshaw would collect antiques from her home and sell them. (In this way, Vere's 1785 Pether square piano eventually came into the possession of Stewart Symonds, who purchased the instrument in 1983.)⁷³

Bradshaw's mother, Ruby Florence, lived at 96 Queen Street, Woollahra, with her son. When Bradshaw was overseas purchasing antiques (during which times, his shop was closed for business), it was Vere Mathews who looked after the elderly Ruby;⁷⁴ on such occasions, Ruby and Vere squabbled 'like two alley cats'.⁷⁵

68 Brass heritage plaque affixed to the facade of 147 King Street, Sydney.

69 I am indebted to Paul Kenny for this information.

70 See listing No. 4125 in 'Subdistrict Pittwater' in 'District MacKellar' in 'Electoral Roll for the Year 1958' in Ancestry.com, *Australia, Electoral Rolls, 1905–1980*, p. 75.

71 Vere found herself at the Eastern Suburbs Crematorium, Matraville, Sydney. Upon observing a column of red flames exploding from the top of a tall chimney in the petrol refinery next door, she remarked: 'Dear oh dear! There goes Freddy.' I am indebted to Paul Kenny for this information, which emerged within the context of a telephone conversation with the author on Friday, 16 August 2013.

72 I am further indebted to Paul Kenny for this information.

73 The instrument is currently housed in the Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for information concerning Vere Mathews' passion for Georgian antiques, her influence on Bradshaw, Bradshaw's assistance to Vere following her retirement and the 1785 Pether square piano. Surprisingly, there is no mention of Vere Mathews in the entry for the 1785 Pether square piano in the *Catalogue of the Stewart Symonds Keyboard Instrument Collection*; the entry states: 'The original owner was Baron Paul Celestini—Brought to Sydney c1920 by Mrs Arquaif After her death to 3 other owners before coming into the collection through WFB [Bradshaw]' (Plate 328c).

74 I am indebted to Paul Kenny for this information.

75 I am further indebted to Paul Kenny for this information.

Did Vere Mathews have any contact (and/or familial connection) with the Mat(t)hews who were located in the vicinity of Parramatta? Perhaps it was Vere who recommended her 20-year old nephew William to the Mat(t)hews.⁷⁶ The Mat(t)hews may have been aware not only of Vere's discriminating taste in antiques, but also of her reputable social standing; if so, they would probably not have hesitated to act positively upon her recommendation.

At the Mat(t)hews' home, after having viewed the cedar sideboard that had allegedly been part of the furniture in Government House, Parramatta, Bradshaw was taken to the laundry to see a broken-down square piano. Bradshaw was told that the piano had been in the possession of the Mat(t)hews family for at least two generations, and that the instrument—Mr Mat(t)hews believed—had once belonged to Elizabeth Macarthur. The Mat(t)hews did not regard the piano as being in fit enough condition to place in their house.

Oddly—especially given the supposed historical significance of the instrument, a significance the Mat(t)hews regarded as being important enough to communicate to Bradshaw—bricks and rubbish had been piled on top of the piano. Not only had borers damaged the interior of the instrument, but it also contained a rats' nest. The lid was warped and broken into two parts. The piano's keys were missing. Upon asking what had become of the keys, Bradshaw was informed that they had been used as kindling to heat the copper!

The instrument was not only a ruin

in the prosaic sense, something that time and fortune ... [had] left damaged and incomplete, but a ruin in the elevated sense, too. A ruin is not the same thing as a pile of rubble after all; it can be magnificent and affecting, in its own ways. Ruin fanciers speak of feelings that ruins evoke more intensely than intact structures: mystery, romance, nostalgia, wistfulness, melancholy, regret.⁷⁷

Reflecting the fact that the instrument was in terrible condition, and because he may also have sensed deep significance in the blighted remains of the Longman & Broderip square piano that lay before him, Bradshaw purchased the instrument for a small (unknown) price.

At some time between 1943 and 1949, Bradshaw sold the piano to Albert George Briskie, an antiques dealer and expert in Australian colonial silver.⁷⁸ Briskie was notorious for disassembling clocks and antiques as part of (sometimes inadequate)

⁷⁶ 'As a sixteen year old ... [Bradshaw] started business with his mother.' Keating, *Eulogy*, p. 1.

⁷⁷ K. Bazzana, *Lost Genius: The Curious and Tragic Story of an Extraordinary Musical Prodigy* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2007), pp. 292–3.

⁷⁸ See Ingram, 'An Eccentric Magpie Bites the Dust'.

attempts at restoration (Briskie 'enjoyed tinkering with his pieces').⁷⁹ Born in Queensland, Briskie had been 'in service' in England.⁸⁰ Briskie's 'acquaintance with antiques' began 'when he was a butler in Gloucestershire. He worked for Lady Topham of Grand National associations, and' was also employed for a time as 'a gentleman's gentleman at the Old Etonian Club, before returning to Australia'.⁸¹

Between 1940 and 1942, Briskie was employed as a houseman at the home of Clara Board, widow of the collector and artist Leslie Richmond Board (d. 1935), in Macleay Street, Potts Point, Sydney.⁸² (Apparently, Briskie had carving skills: using a long knife, he could create a thin slice of roast beef with a single, strong stroke.)⁸³ In February 1944, Briskie opened a second-hand shop at the foot of King Street, Sydney:⁸⁴ his

20 foot window and ... shop ... [were] crammed full of shells, porcelain goods, foreign coins, pieces of jade, knives, lacquer cigarette cases, cameras, Chinese perfume bottles, ancient French inkpots, pewter and silver rings, hair bracelets, [and] carved wooden heads.⁸⁵

Prior to opening his shop in King Street, Briskie traded largely through the antiques dealer Stanley Lipscombe (1918–80).⁸⁶ (William Bradshaw despised Stanley Lipscombe, or 'Stella', as he used to call him.)⁸⁷ The painter William Dobell (1899–1970) was a 'frequent visitor' to Briskie's shop, 'in search of unusual frames for his own works'.⁸⁸ Musical instruments sometimes passed through Briskie's hands. In late August 1945, for example, two violins stood alongside one another in Briskie's shop window: one had been made by a sailor on board ship; the other, with a price tag of £350 was, according to Briskie, the work of Nicolò Amati (1596–1684).⁸⁹ Eventually, Briskie moved to a 'tin and wood premises at Catherine Street', Leichhardt. Briskie's shop was 'the epitome of clutter in the middle of which was his bed'.⁹⁰ About 1983, Briskie

79 Ibid.

80 This information is derived from a conversation held between the author and Stewart Symonds on 1 August 2012. About 1969, Symonds purchased his first piano from Briskie, at Briskie's shop in Catherine Street, Leichhardt, Sydney. The instrument, a Broadwood & Sons square piano, dated 1837, was completed on Monday, 2 January 1837, 100 years to the day before Symonds was born.

81 Ingram, 'An Eccentric Magpie Bites the Dust'.

82 See "Lost' 16th Century Portrait Located: Dealer Charged', *The Advertiser*, 25 April 1951, p. 3; 'Dealer's Alleged Theft of 18th Century Oil Painting', *West Australian*, 25 April 1951, p. 1; 'Art Dealer Charged with Picture Theft', *Barrier Miner*, 26 April 1951, p. 3; and 'Dealer Not Guilty Alleged Theft of Pictures', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 July 1951, p. 5.

83 This information is derived from a conversation held between the author and Stewart Symonds on 1 August 2012.

84 See 'Sydney "Sailors" Last Hope', *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 29 August 1945, p. 3.

85 Ibid.

86 See Ingram, 'An Eccentric Magpie Bites the Dust'.

87 See Keating, *Eulogy*, p. 3.

88 'Sydney "Sailors" Last Hope'.

89 See *ibid.*

90 Ingram, 'An Eccentric Magpie Bites the Dust'.

moved to his last shop/abode at Parramatta Road, Leichhardt. Briskie was ‘a very successful dealer’, who, ‘like all true eccentrics ... irritated others’.⁹¹ In 1987, at the age of 73, Briskie found himself in hospital. Whilst there, his aorta ruptured, causing his death.⁹²

In early 1969, 18 years before Albert Briskie’s death, William Bradshaw repurchased the Longman & Broderip piano currently in Brian Barrow’s possession from Briskie, by which time the instrument had lost its front fallboard (lockboard). A set of keys taken from a contemporaneous square piano had been substituted for the missing originals.⁹³

On Friday, 29 May 1969, Brian Barrow bought the piano from Bradshaw (along with an unrestored Aeolian Orchestrelle—a roll-operated reed organ) for slightly less than A\$1000. (Not only were Bradshaw and Barrow friends, but also, on occasion, Bradshaw had need to call upon Barrow’s virtuosic gilding and painting skills.)⁹⁴

After acquiring the piano, Barrow glued the lid back together (the lid had been clumsily glued together) and made a rough set of hammers for the instrument.

In July 1970, a photograph of Barrow’s Longman & Broderip square piano appeared in *The Australasian Antique Collector*, as part of an article written by Bradshaw entitled ‘The Domestic Piano’.⁹⁵ Bradshaw’s caption to the photograph explicitly dates the piano as 1781; moreover, in his article, Bradshaw reiterates the piano’s date: ‘it is by Longman & Broderip and dated 1781.’⁹⁶

91 Ibid.

92 This information is derived from a conversation held between the author and Stewart Symonds on 1 August 2012.

93 See ‘Key Fronts’, below.

94 I am informed that Bradshaw affectionately referred to Barrow as ‘Tricky Vicky’ not only because Barrow possessed the gilding and painting skills necessary to make (if required) an antique appear older than it really was, but also because of Barrow’s predilection for Victorian-era antiques. Bradshaw often gave his friends nicknames: there was, for example, “‘Matron” [Keith] Lehane, who was the early carer and janitor. John Reilly, the offshore diver who was affectionately called “The Mermaid” and also known as “The Princess Kinkara” for his tea-making prowess. Then his theatre-usher friend, Peter Berry, whom he called “the glow worm”’. Keating, *Eulogy*, p. 4. I am informed by Stewart Symonds that Bradshaw called the Queen Street antiques dealer Peter Code ‘Kora Code’. Moreover, Symonds informs me that Bradshaw gave a female neighbour who had undergone a breast reduction procedure the name ‘Dorothy Crop-Tit’. On several occasions, within the context of ‘polite’ company, refined conversation and witty repartee, Bill enthusiastically uttered this name—not surprisingly, teacups rattled.

95 Bradshaw, ‘The Domestic Piano’, p. 72, Fig. 1, captioned ‘Square piano by Longmann & Broderip of London 1781’.

96 Ibid., p. 74. I am indebted to Brian Barrow for providing me with a copy of a letter written to him by Paul Kenny (a very close and supportive friend of William Bradshaw), dated Thursday, 23 May 2013, in which Kenny provides information taken from Bradshaw’s business records (Kenny is the current custodian of Bradshaw’s business records). Since Brian Barrow purchased his 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano from Bradshaw along with an unrestored Aeolian orchestrelle, Bradshaw’s description ‘29/5/69 Orchestrelle & Piano case date 1780’ strongly suggests that the specified ‘piano case’ is Barrow’s 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano. Note that Bradshaw dates this piano as 1780 (Plate 328d).

About 2006–07, Bradshaw attempted to repurchase the piano from Brian Barrow. At that time, 'in a hushed voice' (to quote Barrow), Bradshaw informed Barrow that he had purchased Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Beck square piano in London, and that he had scratched off the little round British Antique Dealers' Association sticker.

If Bradshaw's scenario is true then he appears to have had no qualms in telling Stewart Symonds—one of his closest friends⁹⁷—that he purchased the Beck 1780/86? square piano in an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor,⁹⁸ and that it was the First Fleet piano.⁹⁹ Unfortunately, such a disquieting inconsistency casts doubt upon the veracity of provenance details attested to and/or provided by Bradshaw.

Within the context of a conversation held between the author and Stewart Symonds on Sunday, 12 May 2013, Symonds recounted that Bradshaw had encouraged him to purchase the Frederick Beck piano not only by informing him of the instrument's Windsor-related provenance,¹⁰⁰ but also by stating 'it should be in your collection', as the instrument is 'important to Australia'. Symonds also recounted that when he gave Bradshaw a deposit to purchase the Beck piano in mid-October 1986, Bradshaw asked him not to 'brag about it', not to 'make a noise' about owning the instrument, or about the instrument's provenance. Bradshaw's request invites concern in relation to his motives for making such an appeal. Perhaps

1. Bradshaw was no longer convinced of the significance of the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip piano that Brian Barrow had purchased from him four years before, on 29 May 1969 (Bradshaw told Barrow that the instrument had once belonged to Elizabeth Macarthur and was the First Fleet piano)
2. Bradshaw was not as certain as he appeared to be about the significance of the 1780/86? Beck square piano that he had just sold to Symonds.¹⁰¹

In either case, Bradshaw's request suggests that he did not want to be 'caught out' one way or another. After all, his professional reputation was on the line. One could speculate that in response to provenance details associated with the Frederick Beck square piano he had purchased on 29 October 1973,¹⁰² he had

97 Symonds was the executor of Bradshaw's estate.

98 See 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano at a Farm "30 miles out of Sydney"', in Chapter 15, Volume 1 of this publication.

99 Bradshaw, having informed Stewart Symonds of the 1780/86? Beck piano's provenance when Symonds first saw the instrument in early October 1986, reiterated the piano's provenance when Symonds purchased the instrument a week or two later. See 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano in Windsor', in Chapter 15, Volume 1 of this publication.

100 See *ibid.*

101 See 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano at a Farm "30 miles out of Sydney"' and 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano in Windsor', in Chapter 15, Volume 1 of this publication.

102 See 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano at a Farm "30 miles out of Sydney"' and 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano in Windsor', in Chapter 15, Volume 1 of this publication.

revised his opinion concerning the significance of the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip piano that he had sold to Barrow—in other words, new and more recent information had resulted in the formation of new conclusions.

The Mat(t)hews Connection

What was the connection between the Mat(t)hews family and the Macarthurs?

1. Did the Mat(t)hews family acquire the piano as a result of the fact that they (or one or more of their ancestors) had at some stage worked at Elizabeth Farm (the Macarthurs used local labour and craftsmen at Elizabeth Farm)?
2. Did a local person, or a member of the Mat(t)hews family, purchase the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano at the 1865 clearing sale¹⁰³ of the Macarthurs' estate?¹⁰⁴

What was the connection between William Bradshaw and the Mat(t)hews family?

1. Did Vere Mathews, Bradshaw's aunt, have any contact or familial connection with the Mat(t)hews who lived in the vicinity of Parramatta?

The nature and depth of the connection between the Mat(t)hews and the Macarthurs and the Mat(t)hews family and Bradshaw represent an enticing goal for future research.

A Piano Disrespected

Given the Mat(t)hews family believed the Longman & Broderip square piano to be historically significant because of its association with Elizabeth Macarthur—they felt it important enough to inform Bradshaw that they believed the instrument had once been owned by Elizabeth Macarthur—it seems odd that

1. the piano had been stored in the laundry
2. bricks and rubbish had been piled on top of the instrument
3. the piano's keys had been used as kindling to heat the copper
4. the piano had not been (either to some extent or fully) restored.

Times and ideas change. In 1942, antiques were not always regarded or treated with the reverence that is often accorded to them today. If the Mat(t)hews' attitude towards their Longman & Broderip square piano was one of indifference (as the instrument's storage context and condition suggest), the fact that they told

103 See 'Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip Square Piano: Elizabeth Macarthur's second piano?', below.

104 I am indebted to the eminent historian and Emeritus Curator of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Elizabeth Ellis OAM, for raising these questions.

Bradshaw that the piano had belonged to Elizabeth Macarthur is paradoxical: the Mat(t)hews were aware of the instrument's historical significance, and yet, having allowed the piano to fall into a state of gross disrepair, had stored it in their laundry.

That the dilapidated instrument was housed in the laundry may be explained by the fact that by the time Bradshaw first saw the piano, the Macarthurs had not only faded from social and cultural prominence, but also, perhaps, from relevance to the Mat(t)hews family; and yet still the Mat(t)hews felt it important enough to tell Bradshaw that the instrument had once been owned by Elizabeth Macarthur.

The Mat(t)hews family may have been reticent to restore the instrument because of

1. financial constraints
2. the fact that they did not know of (or could not find) a restorer with the appropriate skills
3. their wish not to alter the fabric of the instrument through restoration, for fear that information that could be of benefit to posterity might be lost (this seems unlikely, however, given both the extent of damage that had been allowed to occur and the instrument's storage context)
4. a belief that because the instrument was both antiquated and unable to meet the musical demands inherent in nineteenth and twentieth-century keyboard repertoire, the piano was not worth the expenditure associated with restoring it to playing order
5. indecision resulting from the frustration of not knowing quite what to do with the instrument—a level of frustration, perhaps, that prompted them to sell the instrument to the 20-year-old Bradshaw.

Given the piano's purported significance, Bradshaw (who would have been acutely aware of its heritage value) inexplicably

1. sold the instrument to Albert Briskie, a dealer who was notorious for both disassembling and inadequately restoring antiques (Briskie's subsequent treatment of the piano is alarming,¹⁰⁵ especially so as Bradshaw must have made the instrument's provenance—as he understood it—clear to Briskie at the time of sale)
2. having reacquired the instrument in early 1969, sold it almost immediately, rather than keeping it as a part of his impressive personal keyboard instrument collection.

105 See 'Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance', above.

A Taxing Proposition

Bradshaw's decisions may be explained by the fact that the 'turnover' time between his purchase and subsequent sale of instruments was usually small. Bradshaw, in his own enigmatic words, would only keep a piano or piece of antique furniture for himself until he had 'drained it'.¹⁰⁶ (After Bradshaw had 'drained' an instrument, he was often reluctant to part with it. Bradshaw had no room, however, to store every instrument he acquired, nor could he afford to keep every piano he purchased. In such circumstances, his close friend Stewart Symonds was usually given first offer to buy the 'drained' instrument. Consequently, Symonds became one of Bradshaw's biggest clients.)¹⁰⁷

Unlike the turnover time for the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip, Bradshaw's turnover time for the 1780/86? Beck square piano was uncharacteristically long.

Having acquired the Beck on 29 October 1973, Bradshaw waited 13 years before he sold the instrument. In fact, given the Beck's cultural significance, it is surprising that Bradshaw elected to sell it at all, rather than keeping the instrument as a permanent part of his formidable personal piano collection (apart from the instrument's proposed association with George Worgan, it was—and still is—the only piano located in Australia made by Frederick Beck, and is one of 32 extant Frederick Beck instruments. Moreover, it is the only fully chromatic five-octave late eighteenth-century English square piano with cabriole legs and a campaign-furniture-inspired stand).¹⁰⁸

It may be argued that Bradshaw's intention when purchasing the Beck piano on 29 October 1973 was to reduce his tax bill in the future. As a shrewd businessman, Bradshaw would have known that the eventual sale of such a culturally significant instrument would yield a considerable profit (Bradshaw purchased the instrument in 1973 for A\$150, and sold it in 1986 for A\$3800—a substantial return of A\$3650).

In 1973, Bradshaw's stock book entry 'Square Piano by Beck for self' (Plates 133 and 328e) reveals that he did not categorise the instrument as shop stock (the piano is described as Bradshaw's own private property). A quiet sale of the instrument sometime after he had acquired it (as it turned out, 13 years) would ensure that earnings from the sale were kept 'off the radar'. Since the piano was Bradshaw's private property, the instrument could not be regarded as a generator of taxable income derived from his business.

106 I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for this information.

107 I am further indebted to Stewart Symonds for this information.

108 See 'Extant Pianos by Frederick Beck', in Chapter 2, Volume 1 of this publication.

When Stewart Symonds purchased the 1780/86? Beck square piano from Bradshaw in mid-October 1986, payment was made by cheque. If Bradshaw had hoped to disguise his taxable earnings, a quiet sale for cash would have been more expedient, and yet Bradshaw made no request that cash be involved in the transaction. Moreover, Bradshaw provided Symonds with a receipt.

It appears that in 1973, Bradshaw did not acquire the Beck piano for himself¹⁰⁹ as a tax dodge, but rather as a response not only to his belief that the instrument was the First Fleet piano, but also to his belief that such an important instrument would sit well in his personal collection. Until the Beck piano's eventual sale to Stewart Symonds 13 years later, Bradshaw kept the instrument until he had 'drained it'.

A Date of Manufacture: Bradshaw's estimation and what evidence suggests—the keyboard compass, the serial number and the nameboard inscription

In *The Australasian Antique Collector* (Vol. 3, No. 9, July–December 1970), William Bradshaw labelled a photograph of Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip square piano as 'Square Piano by Longman & Broderip of London 1781'.¹¹⁰ The photograph is part of an article written by Bradshaw. In the article, the Longman & Broderip instrument is described as 'a very early and typical example of the square piano ... it is by Longman & Broderip and dated 1781'.¹¹¹ Bradshaw's explicit dating of the instrument is surprising as the date appears to be the product of guesswork; however, given the little that was known in 1970 about Longman & Broderip's pianos, serial numbers and dates, Bradshaw's guess is not only the best that could be managed at the time, but is also, remarkably, not far off the mark.¹¹² Moreover, in his sales register, Bradshaw inconsistently dates Barrow's Longman & Broderip as 1780 (Plate 328d).¹¹³

109 See Plate 133.

110 Bradshaw, 'The Domestic Piano', p. 72.

111 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

112 From 1933 to the early 1980s, the leading and only comprehensive source concerning the history of the development of the piano was Rosamond E. M. Harding's *The Piano-Forte: Its History Traced to The Great Exhibition of 1851*. According to Stewart Symonds, Bradshaw owned this book. In the 1933 edition, Harding mentions Longman & Broderip only briefly, and twice (pp. 56, 82).

113 I am indebted to Brian Barrow for providing me with a copy of a letter written to him by Paul Kenny, dated Thursday, 23 May 2013, containing edited transcriptions of some of the entries found in Bradshaw's business documents. Since Barrow purchased his 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano from Bradshaw along with an unrestored Aeolian orchestrelle, Bradshaw's datum '29/5/69 Orchestrelle & Piano case date 1780' strongly suggests that the specified 'piano case' is Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano. In the entry, Bradshaw dates this piano erroneously as 1780.

Each of the two documents in Brian Barrow's possession signed by William Bradshaw gives the piano's date as 1781.¹¹⁴ One of these documents is dated, in Bradshaw's own hand: '6-8-07' (Plate 326). It is surprising that a man of Bradshaw's erudition should not, by 2007, have been aware of Clinkscale's 1995 pronouncements concerning the significance of the year 1782 when dating Longman & Broderip pianos: 'The [firm's] original name was J. Longman & Co and the first address 26 Cheapside ... [In] 1775 ... Francis Fane Broderip ... joined the partnership ... Longman & Broderip enjoyed a long association, which included the addition of another address, 13 Haymarket in 1782.'¹¹⁵

It is also surprising that Bradshaw appears not to have heard of David Hunt's research (or, if he was aware of Hunt's conclusions, does not appear to have paid any attention to relevant data).¹¹⁶ As Bradshaw's health was in decline by 2007,¹¹⁷ perhaps his need for pedantic accuracy was of little concern to him. If so, doubt must be cast upon some aspects of the recollections and pronouncements communicated by Bradshaw between 2007 and 2009.¹¹⁸

An informed proposed dating of Barrow's Longman & Broderip square piano may be achieved using three sources of information derived from the instrument itself: 1) the keyboard compass; 2) the serial number; and 3) the nameboard.

Keyboard Compass

Although the original keyboard of Barrow's Longman & Broderip is missing, the dimensions of the instrument's keywell make it reasonable to assume that the keyboard compass was five octaves (FF–f³); this 61-note keyboard was the normal compass throughout late eighteenth-century Europe. Longman & Broderip began making 5.5-octave square pianos in ca 1794;¹¹⁹ the five-octave compass of Barrow's Longman & Broderip piano suggests that the instrument may have been made prior to this date.

114 See 'Sources of Information', above.

115 M. N. Clinkscale, 'Longman & Co (Longman & Broderip)', in M. N. Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 182. See also '2) Nameboard Inscription', below.

116 See Hunt, 'Instrument History/Research'. See also 'Serial Number', below.

117 Symptoms of Bradshaw's encroaching dementia began to appear during the last three years of his life—that is, from 2006. I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for this information.

118 Bradshaw died on Wednesday, 18 November 2009.

119 Four 5.5-octave square pianos 'are known and dated 1796 on the enamel plaque, with numbers from 291 to 470'. 'Dating Pianos', in *Square Piano Tech*. Longman & Broderip did not cease making five-octave square pianos in ca 1794; the firm made five and 5.5-octave instruments concurrently.

Serial Number

Five-octave Longman & Broderip square pianos were subject to a serial number series that ran to more than 4000,¹²⁰ numbering commencing in late 1783 or 1784.¹²¹ The dates of nine five-octave Longman & Broderip pianos are currently known

- serial number 289 is dated 1785?
- serial number 361 is signed 'John Geib Fecit 1785' (on the bottom boards under the soundboard)¹²²
- serial number 1025 is 'believed to date from 1786'¹²³
- serial number 1049 is dated 23 August 1787
- serial number 1072 is dated 1787
- serial number 1134 is signed and dated by Geib 1787
- serial number 2386 is signed 'Geib and Goldsworth 1791'
- serial number 2416 is dateable to 1789 by invoice from Burghley House ? (given the previously listed serial number and date, these details are inexplicable)
- serial number 2707 is dateable to 1 September 1792 by invoice.¹²⁴

Barrow's piano has the serial number 604 stamped into the bottom of the compartment at the left of the keyboard; this compartment originally contained mutation hand-levers (Plate 329). Longman & Broderip square pianos commonly have a serial number stamped into the bottom of the mutation hand-lever compartment—see, as representative examples, instrument number 1846 (London, ca 1788)¹²⁵ and number 1926 (London, ca 1790).¹²⁶ Basing supposition on information contained in David Hunt's list, it is more than reasonable to speculate that Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip square piano dates from 1785/86.¹²⁷

120 See Hunt, 'Instrument History/Research'.

121 'Longman & Broderip', in *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos* (n.d.).

122 See 'Acquisition History and Description', in Strange, 'Restoration of a Longman & Broderip Square Piano'. 'John Geib worked for Longman & Broderip under the 'putting-out system', whereby Longman & Broderip provided him with all the necessary materials for making musical instruments and paid him only for his workmanship.' Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', pp. 50–1, fn. 18. See also photograph in 'Longman, Broderip 1785', Inscription emailable.jpg, at hammerfluegel.net/.

123 M. Cole, 'Longman & Broderip (Revised November 2010) with Information on Longman & Lukey, Broderip & Wilkinson, Muzio Clementi & Co., and Collard & Collard', in *Square Pianos* (2010).

124 Hunt, 'Instrument History/Research'. See also 'Longman & Broderip c.1792', in 'Pianos for Sale', *Friends of Square Pianos* (n.d.).

125 See 'Antique Instruments for Sale. Square Piano by Longman & Broderip No 1846, London c.1788', in *The Music Room Workshop. Makers & Restorers of Early Keyboard Instruments* (n.d.).

126 See T. Strange, 'Bringing Back a 1790 Longman and Broderip Piano', in *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos* (2011).

127 In the light of information contained in David Hunt's list, Andrew and Robert Durand's dating of square piano number 306 as 1796 may be incorrect. See A. Durand and R. Durand, 'Restored Instrument Archive: Square Piano by Longman & Broderip No 306, London 1796', in *The Music Room Workshop. Makers & Restorers of Early Keyboard Instruments* (n.d.). David Hunt's research suggests that instrument number 306 dates from 1785.



Plate 329 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): serial number '604' stamped into the bottom of the mutation hand-lever well.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Nameboard

1) Nameboard Decoration

Styles of nameboard decoration found on extant Longman & Broderip square pianos suggest that until ca 1790, decorative options included either inlaid arabesques or 'inlaid swags and bell-flower drops'¹²⁸ on either side of and above an inlaid inscription cartouche. 'A new fashion becomes apparent around 1790 when many of the pianos have hand-painted decoration on the nameboard, featuring either laurel wreaths or floral garlands featuring roses, sweet peas and eglantine.'¹²⁹ The inlaid nameboard decoration on Barrow's Longman & Broderip piano dates the instrument prior to ca 1790, reinforcing the viability of 1785/86 (derived from the serial number) as a proposed date of manufacture.

2) Nameboard Inscription

Many late eighteenth-century square pianos made by the principal London-based makers provide a date of manufacture as part of the nameboard inscription. The nameboard inscriptions of Longman & Broderip square pianos typically contain no date.

¹²⁸ Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 51. Bozarth and Debenham take the quotation from: www.squarepianos.com/longman.htm.

¹²⁹ See Cole, 'Longman & Broderip'. See also photographs in 'Longman, Broderip' at hammerfluegel.net/.

The nameboard inscription on Barrow's Longman & Broderip piano (Plate 330) reveals that at the time the instrument was made, Longman & Broderip occupied premises at both 26 Cheapside, near the Church of St Mary-le-Bow¹³⁰ (Cheapside was one of London's most prestigious shopping streets)¹³¹ and 13 Haymarket (at the southern end of the street, near the opera house).¹³² 'Longman & Broderip were for some years the premier manufacturers in Europe, and their shops in Cheapside and Haymarket became an essential call for all musical visitors to London.'¹³³

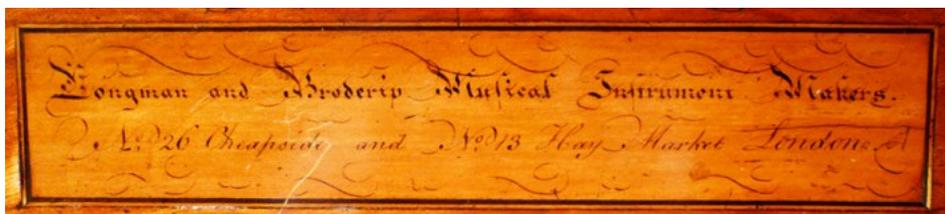


Plate 330 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard inscription.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Longman & Broderip acquired their second address—13 Haymarket—on Sunday, 29 September (Michaelmas) 1782.¹³⁴ These premises appear to have been 'primarily a shop with living accommodation on the upper floors, and to have had no warehouse or workshop'.¹³⁵ Assuming the nameboard on Barrow's piano is original (no evidence suggests anything to the contrary), the inclusion of the 13 Haymarket address in the instrument's nameboard inscription reinforces the viability of 1785/86 (derived from the instrument's serial number) as a proposed date for the piano's manufacture. What is not viable, however, is William Bradshaw's estimated date of 1781.

Surprisingly, not only did Bradshaw date the instrument in his sales register as 1780 (Plate 328d), he also labelled a photograph of Barrow's Longman & Broderip square piano, published in *The Australasian Antique Collector*,¹³⁶ knowing that the date given in the caption (1781) was an estimation, and signed two documents in 2007 explicitly attesting to 1781 as the date of the instrument's manufacture, knowing that the date was just an approximation.¹³⁷

130 See 'Cheapside', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 29. See also Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 46.

131 See Cole, 'Longman & Broderip'.

132 See 'Hay Market', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 36. On Cary's map, the Haymarket Opera House is designated with the number 72.

133 Cole, 'Longman & Broderip'.

134 See *ibid.* See also '21) James Longman (ca 1740–1803) and Francis Broderip (d. 1807)' in Appendix E, this volume.

135 J. Nex, 'Longman & Broderip', in M. Kassler (ed.), *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).

136 Bradshaw, 'The Domestic Piano', p. 72

137 See 'Sources of Information', above.

The Piano in the Laundry

The tale Bradshaw told Brian Barrow in late 1969 and Richard d'Apice in August 2007 regarding his initial encounter with the Longman & Broderip piano in the Mat(t)hews' laundry in 1942 is strikingly similar to the story Bradshaw told Stewart Symonds in early October 1986 concerning Symonds' 1780/86? Beck square piano.¹³⁸ On several separate occasions, Bradshaw recounted the provenance details of the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip piano to Brian Barrow. Similarly, on a number of distinct occasions, Bradshaw recounted the provenance details of the 1780/86? Frederick Beck piano to Stewart Symonds.¹³⁹ One can only conjecture as to why this is the case.

1. Was Bradshaw telling a truth that is 'stranger than fiction'?
2. Was Bradshaw eager to make both the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip and the 1780/86? Beck pianos enticingly saleable by suggesting that each instrument was the First Fleet piano? As a master salesman and bon vivant, Bradshaw could, and may have, spun a captivating tale in order to secure a sale. Paul Keating (b. 1944), Prime Minister of Australia from 1991 until 1996, observed that Bradshaw was a ferocious salesman ... [Keating] used to say [to Bradshaw], 'You're like a black widow spider'. He'd sidle out of that narrow door and come upon [customers]. If they were old customers he would know the approach, but if they were new customers he'd go through the patter, slowly reeling them in—it was something to see.¹⁴⁰
3. Did Bradshaw revise his initial opinion of the significance of the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip in the light of his more recent encounter with the 1780/86? Beck square piano, and as a consequence sought to protect Brian Barrow from disappointment?
4. Did Bradshaw knowingly sign the two documents in Barrow's possession (each containing details of the provenance of the Longman & Broderip square piano) having 'trapped' himself with fabricated facts?¹⁴¹
5. Did Bradshaw knowingly sign the two documents in Barrow's possession (each containing details of the provenance of the Longman & Broderip square piano) in order to protect Barrow from distress and disenchantment?

138 See 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano in Windsor', in Chapter 15, Volume 1 of this publication.

139 I am indebted to both Brian Barrow and Stewart Symonds for this information.

140 Keating, *Eulogy*, p. 5.

141 The fact that Bradshaw was capable of overenthusiastic pronouncements and/or selective memory concerning a late eighteenth-century piano is suggested by documentation held in the archives of the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, concerning the museum's 1782–98? Longman & Broderip square piano. See '6', in Appendix D, this volume.

6. Was Bradshaw confused? Symptoms of Bradshaw's encroaching dementia began to appear during the last three years of his life—that is, from 2006.¹⁴² The document entitled 'Longman & Broderip Piano 1781' (Plate 326), containing provenance details of Barrow's instrument, signed by Bradshaw on Monday, 6 August 2007, falls within this period.
7. Is the tale the result of rivalry between two collectors? ('There is ... an understandable desire among collectors to possess instruments that are unique in some respect. Most prized would be the only example of some interesting type, but, failing that, the oldest.')¹⁴³

The author is strongly of the opinion that both Barrow and Symonds have revealed what they ardently believe to be the truth concerning the provenance of their pianos. Moreover, the author has found no evidence suggesting that either of these reputable collectors is not truthful; they are both gentlemen of reason and probity. Any inconsistencies and/or inaccuracies in provenance detail appear to originate with William Bradshaw.

Close Proximity and Dr Worgan's Tenuous Connections with Longman & Broderip

Brian Barrow maintains that at the time of the manufacture of his 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano, Dr John Worgan and his family lived in Berners¹⁴⁴ (Berner¹⁴⁵ or Berner's)¹⁴⁶ Street (off the northern side of Oxford Street), within walking distance of Longman & Broderip's premises at 13 Haymarket¹⁴⁷ (about 10 blocks south of Oxford Street),¹⁴⁸ and that such proximity may have influenced Worgan to purchase a piano from Longman & Broderip.

A conversation held between the author and Brian Barrow on Thursday, 29 November 2012 revealed that Barrow had obtained information concerning the location of Dr John Worgan's home in Berners Street from two sources:

1. Alec Worgan, a descendant of one of George Bouchier Worgan's brothers; regrettably, Alec provided no evidence to substantiate the assertion

142 I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for this information.

143 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 317.

144 See Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Cm. See also Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27.

145 See *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1767), Map Section: left-hand quadrant, northernmost extent Mary le Bon and southernmost extent Tothill Fields.

146 See Hughson, 'Walk 15th'.

147 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 182. See also '21) James Longman (ca 1740–1803) and Francis Broderip (d. 1807)' in Appendix E, this volume.

148 See 'Berners Str', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 19.

2. Mollie Gillen, who states (without citing her sources) that Dr John Worgan ‘had lived in Berners Street, London, not far from the residence of James Bradley’ (1693–1762), the astronomer royal from 1742 until his death, ‘a friend of Evan Nepean’ (1752–1822)¹⁴⁹ ‘and later under secretary at the India Board, whose brother Henry became superintendent of the *Dunkirk* hulk at Plymouth’.¹⁵⁰

Three sources associate Dr John Worgan with an address in Berners Street:

1. the assertion (mentioned above) made by Alec Worgan
2. Mollie Gillen’s statement (mentioned above)
3. a single-page printed document in Brian Barrow’s possession, comprising a map (taken from *Google Maps*, dated Monday, 15 March 2010) showing ‘Berners St Westminster, London W1 UK’. The document contains the following handwritten statement at the bottom of the page: ‘The Worgan family lived in Berners St within walking distance of the Haymarket shop, Longman & Broderip, where the piano may have been purchased.’ The statement is signed underneath with the initials ‘BB’ (Brian Barrow).

To the author’s knowledge, no late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century evidence links Dr John Worgan with an address in Berners Street.

In 1746, Berners Street was the short, first-named street westward from Rathbone Place. On the northern side of Oxford Street, travelling westward from Rathbone Place, streets and entrances were

1. Rathbone Place
2. a relatively long yet narrow entrance to a stable yard
3. Marybone Pass, a narrow lane linking Oxford Street with uncultivated land
4. a wide unnamed entrance to the same uncultivated land accessed by Marybone Pass
5. Berners Street.¹⁵¹

In 1767, Berner Street was the first-named street westward from, and running parallel with, Rathbone Place.¹⁵² Berner Street and Rathbone Place were

¹⁴⁹ Evan Nepean was involved with arrangements for the dispatch of the First Fleet and the administration of the newly established penal colony in New South Wales during its early years. See Parsons, ‘Nepean, Evan (1752–1822)’.

¹⁵⁰ Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 393.

¹⁵¹ See ‘Berners St.’, in Rocque, *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, [B] (seq. 7), Map Reference I-12/B-7.

¹⁵² See ‘Berner Str.’, in *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1767), Map Section: left-hand quadrant, northernmost extent Mary le Bon and southernmost extent Tothill Fields.

intersected at their halfway points by a relatively wide unnamed cross street,¹⁵³ making it viable to describe Berner Street as being 'off Rathbone Place'. During the mid-1780s, Dr John Worgan resided at 40 Rathbone Place.¹⁵⁴ The fact that Berner Street was located 'off Rathbone Place' during the late 1760s may explain why Alec Worgan, Mollie Gillen and Brian Barrow have Dr John Worgan residing in Berners Street.

By 1775, Berners Street had become the second street westward from Rathbone Place. On the northern side of Oxford Street, travelling westward from Rathbone Place, named streets and entrances were

1. Rathbone Place
2. Newmans Street
3. Berners Street.¹⁵⁵

In 1775, Berners Street and Rathbone Place were no longer connected by an intersecting street; consequently, Berners Street could not be described as being 'off Rathbone Place'.

In 1795, Berners Street was the third street westward from Rathbone Place. On the northern side of Oxford Street, travelling westward from Rathbone Place, named streets and entrances were

1. Rathbone Place
2. Perrys Place
3. Newmans Street
4. Berners Street.¹⁵⁶

In 1795, no cross street connected Berners Street with Rathbone Place. Berners Street could not be considered as being 'off Rathbone Place'.

Within the context of conversations held between the author and Brian Barrow on Saturday, 28 July 2012, Barrow shared his belief that the Worgans' proximity to 13 Haymarket may explain why George Bouchier Worgan purchased an instrument from Longman & Broderip.

153 See *ibid.*

154 See below.

155 See 'Berners Str', in Bowles, *Bowles's New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster with the Borough of Southwark*, Grid Reference Cm.

156 See 'Berners Str.', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28.

Late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century sources make no mention of Berners Street in connection with the address of Dr John Worgan's family home. Five addresses are verifiable; these are

1. 7 Millman (Milman or Millmans)¹⁵⁷ Street
2. 40 Rathbone Place
3. 1 Maids of Honour Row, Richmond Hill
4. 2 Richmond Green
5. 65 Gower Street.¹⁵⁸

When seeking to ascertain the viability of Barrow's proposition, three of these addresses are germane.

1) 7 Millman Street

In 1755, John Worgan published his 'Trio for Three Voices. With Instruments. Sung by Miss Burchell, Miss Stevenson, and Mr. Lowe in Vaux Hall Gardens'. The work's publication inscription contains details of Worgan's address at the time: 'Printed for the Author and sold at his house in Millman Street, facing St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, Holborn.'¹⁵⁹

Mortimer's *London Directory* of 1763 erroneously gives John Worgan's address as St John's Square, near Clerkenwell Green (in the then northern outskirts of the city).¹⁶⁰ *The Public Advertiser* of Tuesday, 27 March 1764 provides (by not confusing the whereabouts of the relevant St John's) a correct address:

¹⁵⁷ See 'Millman Str', in *ibid.*, Map Reference 20; and 'Millmans Street', in *ibid.*, 'A List of 528 of the Most Principal Streets with Reference to their Situation'.

¹⁵⁸ In 1793, two London directories give Dr John Worgan's last address: 1) J. Wilkes, *Directory to the Nobility, Gentry, and Families of Distinction, in London, Westminster, &c. being a Supplement to the British Directory of Trade, Commerce, and Manufacture, for 1793. Together with the Alterations, Corrections, and Additional Names, in the List of Merchants, Manufactures, Brokers, and Traders* (London: J. Wilkes, 1793?), p. 50, 'Worgan, Dr. 65, Lower Gower-street'. 2) P. Boyle, *The Fashionable Court Guide, or Town Visiting Directory, for the Year 1793, Considerably Enlarged, and Carefully Corrected. With the Addition of Near One Thousand Measured Hackney Coach Fares. Also the Respectable Hotels at the West-End of the Town* (London: P. Boyle and Hookham & Carpenter, 1793?), p. 164, 'Worgan, Dr. 65, lower gower-street'. Concerning the title of the *Court Guide*, a 'hackney coach' was a horse-drawn carriage with 'four wheels, two horses and six seats ... driven by a Jarvey (also spelled jarvie)', which operated as a vehicle for hire. See 'Hackney Carriage', in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (Last modified 28 February 2013).

¹⁵⁹ Worgan, *A Trio for Three Voices*. See Stainer, *Catalogue of English Song Books Forming a Portion of the Library of Sir John Stainer*, p. 92.

¹⁶⁰ See McGairl, 'Worgan'. See also 'Worgan, John' in Highfill et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, Vol. 16, p. 273. See Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Em, Reference Number 86. See also 'St. Johns Square' and 'Clerkenwell Green' in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 21.

'Mr. Worgan's House, facing St. John's Chapel, Millman-street Bedford Row, Holborn'¹⁶¹ (John Worgan became organist of St John's Chapel, near Bedford Row, in 1760).¹⁶²

Millman Street lay one block south-east from the Foundling Hospital. It appears that Millman Street was regarded as insignificant enough to warrant its exclusion from any late eighteenth-century London map until 1795.¹⁶³ In Millman Street, John Worgan lived at number 7.¹⁶⁴ *The Public Advertiser* describes Worgan's house as 'facing St. John's Chapel, Millman-street'.¹⁶⁵ It is reasonable to propose that the Worgan family lived in a house on the eastern side of Millman Street, at the southern end, presumably either near or on the corner of Chapel Street.¹⁶⁶ It seems that Dr John Worgan called 7 Millman Street home for approximately 20 years; in 1780, Dr Worgan's son Joseph (1768–1825) enrolled at Eton College; as part of Joseph's particulars, the *Eton College Register* records Dr Worgan's address as 'Milman Street, London'.¹⁶⁷

2) 40 Rathbone Place

There is a discrepancy between the address of the Worgan family as given in the 1780 *Eton College Register* and that published in *The Daily Advertiser* of Monday, 13 January 1777. Announcing the death of Dr Worgan's second wife, Eleanor, *The Daily Advertiser* remarks:

On Saturday [11 January 1777] at her House at Rathbone-Place, Mrs. Worgan, Wife of Dr. Worgan, one of the most amiable of her Sex. If the affectionate Wife, the tender Parent, the good Christian, the sincere Friend, and agreeable Companion, were ever united in one Character, they most happily were in this Lady's; consequently her Family sustain a real Loss, and her Friends must ever remember her with Regret.¹⁶⁸

The mention of Rathbone Place in *The Daily Advertiser* suggests that the Worgan family had left their previous address at 7 Millman Street, Holborn, by late 1776. If *The Daily Advertiser* is correct, John Worgan and his family did not reside in Millman Street in 1780. For some unknown reason, the *Eton College Register* entry is inaccurate.

161 *The Public Advertiser*, 27 March 1764. Quoted in *Handel Reference Database 1764*.

162 Edwards, 'Worgan, John (DNB00)'.

163 See 'Millman Str', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 20.

164 See McGairl, 'Worgan'.

165 See *The Public Advertiser*, 27 March 1764. Quoted in *Handel Reference Database 1764*.

166 See 'Millman Str', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 20. On Cary's map, St John's Chapel is designated with the number 52.

167 See 'Worgan 1780–87', in *The Eton College Register, 1753–1790*.

168 *The Daily Advertiser*, 13 January 1777.

In 1785, Dr John Worgan helped to fund the publication of *The Adventures of the Six Princesses of Babylon, in their Travels to the Temple of Virtue: An Allegory*, written by Lucy Peacock (fl. 1785–1816).¹⁶⁹ Dr Worgan is mentioned in the book's 'List of Subscribers',¹⁷⁰ which gives his address as 'Rathbone-Place'.¹⁷¹ This information locates the Worgan family's residence ca 1784–85 at Rathbone Place.

In 1823, the English journalist and musician Richard Mackenzie Bacon informs us that Dr Worgan's address was 'No. 40, Rathbone Place'.¹⁷²

Longman & Broderip's 13 Haymarket premises were about 12 blocks to the south of Rathbone Place.

3) Richmond

Dr John Worgan also enjoyed the benefits of a country house. Rate books dating from 1780 and 1790 reveal that, along with his London addresses, he had a country house at 1 Maids of Honour Row, Richmond Hill.¹⁷³ Subsequently, Dr Worgan occupied 2, Richmond Green, about 800 metres south-east of Richmond Hill.¹⁷⁴ He named his abode at Richmond Green 'Nightingale Lodge'.¹⁷⁵ Located outside the boundaries of late eighteenth-century London, Worgan's Richmond addresses have no relevance in relation to any hypotheses concerning George Bouchier Worgan's purchase of a square piano.

Writing 33 years after Dr Worgan's death, Bacon makes no mention of the Worgan family living in Berners Street. Of Dr Worgan, he states: 'his first residence in town'—that is, in London—'on record was at No. 7 in Milman Street, Bedford Row: his next, at No. 40, Rathbone Place; and his last, where he died, at No. 22, Gower Street, now No. 65' (near Bedford Square).¹⁷⁶

Similarly, in 1835 Thomas Oliphant does not mention Berners Street when giving Dr Worgan's address as 'Millman-street, Bedford-row'.¹⁷⁷ (Similarities in detail between the pronouncements of Oliphant and Bacon suggest that Oliphant may have based his research on that of Bacon.)

169 L. Peacock, *The Adventures of the Six Princesses of Babylon, in their Travels to the Temple of Virtue: An Allegory* (London: T. Bensley, 1785). Peacock's book is an adaptation for children of Edmund Spenser's (ca 1552–99) *The Faerie Queene* (1590–96). Peacock was a popular writer of children's books.

170 *Ibid.*, pp. ix–xxiv.

171 *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

172 Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 133.

173 See Baty, 'Private Houses'. Maids of Honour Row is now one of the finest Georgian terraces in England.

174 Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 133. See Moule, *Environs of London*, bottom left-hand quadrant.

175 See Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan', p. 134.

176 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

177 T. Oliphant, *A Brief Account of the Madrigal Society, from its Institution in 1741, up to the Present Period* (London: Calkin & Budd, 1835), p. 18.

The Worgan family may have lived in premises that are not on record. Dr Worgan's lifelong fame as an organist (child prodigy to esteemed professional), not to mention the notoriety he attained through his divorce proceedings in June 1768, makes this unlikely (though not impossible).

If the Worgan family lived in Berners Street, the workshops of eight highly regarded piano makers lay within a closer walking distance than Longman & Broderip's 13 Haymarket premises (which were about 11 blocks to the south of Berners Street):

1. John Broadwood: the western side of Great Pultney Street and Bridle Lane—approximately five blocks to the south of Berners Street¹⁷⁸
2. Frederick Beck: 4 Broad Street (before ca 1777) and 10 Broad Street (after ca 1777)—the same premises, depending on the date—approximately three blocks to the south of Berners Street¹⁷⁹
3. George Froeschle: Great Pultney Street (ca 1780–88), opposite John Broadwood, on the east side of the street—approximately five blocks to the south of Berners Street¹⁸⁰
4. Christopher Ganer: Broad Street, on the opposite side of the street to Frederick Beck, at 47 and 48—approximately three blocks to the south of Berners Street¹⁸¹
5. George Garcka: Stephen Street, Rathbone Place,¹⁸² off the western side of Tottenham Court Road—approximately four blocks to the east of Berners Street¹⁸³
6. Jacob and Abraham Kirckman: Broad Street, on the same side of the street as Frederick Beck, in the adjacent block, at number 19¹⁸⁴—approximately three blocks to the south of Berners Street¹⁸⁵

178 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 38. See also 'Pultney Str' and 'Bridle Lane' in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27.

179 See 'Frederick Beck', in Chapter 2, Volume 1 of this publication. See also 'Broad Street', in Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Dc.

180 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 43. This address is recorded in the rate books for St James's Parish. See 'Pultney Str' in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27.

181 See 'Christopher Ganer Square Pianoforte Circa 1775', in *PalacePianos.Com*. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 151. See also 'Broad Street' in Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Dc.

182 See Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 152.

183 See 'Stephen S', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28.

184 See Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 165.

185 See 'Broad Street', in Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Dc.

7. Robert Stodart: Wardour Street, a southward extension of Berners Street from the southern side of Oxford Street¹⁸⁶
8. Charles Trute: Broad Street, on the same side of the street as Frederick Beck, at number 7—approximately three blocks to the south of Berners Street.¹⁸⁷

Even in relation to the Worgan family's Rathbone Place address (rather than Berners Street), the workshops of these eight piano makers lay within a closer walking distance than Longman & Broderip's 13 Haymarket premises.

On Saturday, 29 September 1787, 'Longman & Broderip acquired additional premises in Tottenham Court Road for use as a musical instrument manufactory and timber yard'.¹⁸⁸ From 1791, Longman & Broderip made their pianos exclusively at 195 Tottenham Court Road (on the east side of Tottenham Court Road, opposite Whitefield's Chapel,¹⁸⁹ 'in the heart of the music instrument makers' district').¹⁹⁰

Berners Street was approximately five blocks to the west of Tottenham Court Road; Rathbone Place lay only two blocks to the west of Tottenham Court Road. Longman & Broderip's Tottenham Court Road premises cannot, however, play any part in hypotheses concerning George Bouchier's purchase of his 'First Fleet' piano. This is because Longman & Broderip's acquisition of their Tottenham Court Road address in 1787 took place five months *after* the First Fleet had departed from England for Botany Bay (and therefore at least five months *after* George Bouchier Worgan had purchased his piano). Moreover, Longman & Broderip's move to 195 Tottenham Court Road in 1791 occurred in the same year that George Bouchier's tour of duty at Sydney Cove concluded.

Did the Worgan family have an allegiance to Longman & Broderip's instruments? If they did, such an allegiance may not necessarily have played any part in George Bouchier's purchase of a piano. This is suggested by the Broadwood company records, which reveal that on Thursday, 10 April 1783, a 'Mr Worgan' purchased one of their square pianos. John Broadwood's workbook for the period 1771–85 (held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford)¹⁹¹ contains the following

186 See Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 300. See also 'Wardour Street' in Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Cn.

187 See Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 315. See also 'Broad Street' in Bowles, *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Grid Reference Dc.

188 'Chronology of the Business Begun by James Longman' in Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, p. 3.

189 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 50, fn. 18. See also 'Tottenham Court Road' and 'Chap. St.' in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 20.

190 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 46.

191 Call no. Ms Eng. misc b 107, Journal 1771–1785. The book is bound in white vellum, and has 'Journal 1771–1785' marked on the spine. See Mould, 'The Broadwood Books', p. 1. See also Clarke, 'Australian Colonial

simple statement: 'Mr Worgan bought a piano.'¹⁹² (As Broadwood only began making grand pianos in 1784, the type of instrument purchased in 1783 by 'Mr Worgan' was a square piano.) Who was Broadwood's Mr Worgan?¹⁹³

George Bouchier's father, John Worgan, gained his doctorate in music from Cambridge University in 1775—that is, eight years before the unidentified Mr Worgan acquired his square piano from Broadwood's workshop. Following the conferring of his degree, Worgan consistently used the prefix, and was commonly and respectfully referred to as, 'Dr'.¹⁹⁴ Dr John Worgan's reputation as a virtuoso organist and harpsichordist was such that any person whose vocation involved commercial transaction with London-based musicians (such as John Broadwood) would have been aware of Dr Worgan's high professional/academic status (in 1793, John Wilkes included Dr Worgan's household as one of London's 'families of distinction').¹⁹⁵ For John Broadwood not to have referred to John Worgan as 'Doctor' would not only have seriously breached the bounds of commonly upheld propriety, but would also have thwarted a habit arising from the ordinary dictates of protocol.¹⁹⁶ It seems unlikely that the Mr Worgan listed in John Broadwood's journal for the period 1771–85 is George Bouchier's father, Dr John Worgan.

Of Dr John Worgan's five surviving sons, three became professional musicians: Richard (1759–1812), James (1762–1801) and Thomas Danvers (1773–1832). In 1783, only two of these brothers would have been old enough, and perhaps financially secure enough (very little is known about their lives), to independently purchase a Broadwood square piano: Richard was 24 years old and James, 21. Perhaps one of these two musicians was the unidentified Mr Worgan listed in Broadwood's journal; or perhaps Mr Worgan was the then 26-year-old George Bouchier. (It is reasonable to propose that Dr John Worgan gave financial assistance to whichever of his sons purchased the piano; then again, it is just as reasonable to conjecture that one of Dr John Worgan's sons purchased the instrument either for, or on behalf of, their father. There are simply too many unanswered questions for a definitive understanding to be reached.)

Dance'. See also Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 190. See also Appendix C, this volume.

192 See 'Heather Says: February 10, 2013 at 2:15 am', in '12 Responses to "Australia's First Piano"', in Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance'.

193 See Appendix C, this volume.

194 See, for example, the title page from Dr John Worgan's *Pieces for the Harpsichord*. See Plate 55. See also Boyle, *The Fashionable Court Guide*, p. 164, 'Worgan, Dr. 65, lower gower-street'. See also J. Worgan, *Pieces for the Harp ... By Dr. Worgan* (London: W. Owen, n.d.).

195 Wilkes, *Directory to the Nobility, Gentry, and Families of Distinction*, p. 50.

196 The use of the prefix 'Dr' by contemporaneous writers in relation to John Worgan can, for example, be found in the writings of Richard Mackenzie Bacon, Patrick Boyle, Dr Charles Burney, Thomas Busby, Reverend Richard Cecil, Alexandre Choron, John Langshaw, John S. Sainsbury, Arthur Bowes Smyth, Richard John Samuel Stevens, *The Daily Advertiser* (26 March 1772, No. 12872) and Sylvanus Urban.

If George Bouchier was the Mr Worgan who acquired a Broadwood square piano on 10 April 1783,¹⁹⁷ was this instrument the one that he subsequently took with him on board the *Sirius*, bound for Botany Bay? Attractive as an affirmative answer to this question may be, no evidence exists that unequivocally proves this to be the case.

If George Bouchier is the unidentified Mr Worgan listed in the Broadwood archives, it seems unlikely that the proximity of Dr John Worgan's home to Longman & Broderip's premises played any part in his decision to purchase a piano from John Broadwood. Nor does it seem likely that the proximity of Dr Worgan's home to Longman & Broderip's premises was the driver for George Bouchier's decision to purchase a square piano from (if he did) Longman & Broderip. Given George Bouchier's limited income, it is more likely that his decision to purchase a piano from a particular maker was influenced by the cost of the instrument.¹⁹⁸

If the Worgan family were not exclusively committed to Longman & Broderip's pianos, were they supportive of the firm in other ways?

James Longman began publishing ca 1767. Subsequently trading as 'Longman & Broderip from 1776',¹⁹⁹ the firm was the first 'to deposit ... [their] new publications at Stationers Hall for copyright purposes, and [were] probably the most prolific of all London music publishers in the 1790s'.²⁰⁰

In order to survive, publishers had not only to supply their customers with music, but to provide them with the sort of music they wanted to play or hear, not just the sort of music that composers thought they should publish. The problematic nature of this endeavour may be one of the reasons for the bankruptcy of so many eighteenth-century music publishers²⁰¹ [including Longman & Broderip, who filed for bankruptcy on Saturday, 23 May 1795].²⁰²

Dr John Worgan had occasional commercial associations with Longman & Broderip in their capacity as music publishers. He contributed catches to the first

197 In 1783, George Bouchier is unaccounted for. Having served on board the hospital ship *Pilote* between 1780 and 1782, he may subsequently have worked as a naval surgeon on the Portsmouth guardship *Ganges*, or may have been on some sort of detached list. See 'Significant Events in George Bouchier Worgan's Life: Summary', in Chapter 12, Volume 1 of this publication. See also Appendix C, this volume.

198 See 'How Much Did George Worgan's Piano Cost?', in Chapter 4, Volume 1 of this publication. See also Appendices C and E, this volume.

199 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 49.

200 Krummel and Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, p. 102. See also 'Music Publishing in Late Eighteenth-Century London' in Chapter 5, Volume 1 of this publication. See also '(21) James Longman (ca 1740–1803)' and 'Francis Broderip (d. 1807)' in Appendix E, this volume.

201 Burchell, 'The First Talents of Europe', p. 109.

202 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 59.

and tenth volumes of a 32-volume set of vocal music (comprising approximately 650 works by more than 100 composers) published by Longman & Broderip from 1782? through to 1793.

1. *A Collection of Catches Canons and Glee's for Three, Four, Five, Six and Nine Voices Never before Published. Selected by Thomas Warren* (London: Longman & Broderip, n.d. [1782?])²⁰³
 - p. 4: a three-voice catch, 'Prithee is Not Miss Chloe's a Comical Case'.
2. *A Tenth Collection of Catches, Canons and Glee's for Three, Four, Five and Six Voices*, edited by T. Warren (London: Longman & Broderip, n.d.)
 - p. 33: a three-voice catch, 'Come Hither My Pretty Maid'
 - p. 41: a three-voice catch, 'Come Hither My Merry Boys All in a Ring'
 - p. 42: a three-voice catch, 'As Colin One Ev'ning Walk'd out to the Grove' (the following information is printed above the full score: 'This gain'd a Prize Medal 1771')
 - p. 43: a three-voice catch, 'Tom Cobler Mending of a Shoe'
 - p. 44: a three-voice catch, 'As Joan Lamenting Her Good Man'.

On Friday, 23 October 1789, Dr Worgan's *Six Canzonets for Two and Three Voices* was entered at Stationers' Hall.²⁰⁴ This is the only music published by Longman & Broderip composed by Dr John Worgan to be entered at Stationers' Hall. The *Catalogue of Printed Music Published between 1487 and 1800 Now in the British Museum (Volume 2)* proposes '1785?' as the publication date for Dr Worgan's *Six Canzonets for Two and Three Voices*.²⁰⁵ Because 'entry at Stationers' Hall was the principal ... way of securing copyright protection'²⁰⁶ and Longman & Broderip was the first publishing firm to 'deposit ... new publications at Stationers Hall for copyright purposes',²⁰⁷ the British Museum's proposed publication date of 1785 seems unlikely; Dr Worgan's 'Six Canzonets for Two and Three Voices' was almost certainly first published in 1789. (The only work of Dr Worgan's published in 1785 was a harpsichord concerto, which was self-published.)²⁰⁸

203 Longman & Broderip acquired their second address, at 13 Haymarket, on Sunday, 29 September 1782. The inscription's inclusion of the Haymarket address suggests that the publication dates from 1782 or later.

204 See Kassler, *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall 1710–1818*, p. 137.

205 J. Worgan, *Six Canzonets for Two and Three Voices. Composed Purposely for Dilettanti* (London: Longman & Broderip, 1789?), ohl. 4° B. 395, in *Catalogue of Printed Music Published between 1487 and 1800 Now in the British Museum. Volume 2* (n.d.), p. 121. Cudworth gives 1785 as the publication date for Dr Worgan's *Six Canzonets for Two and Three Voices*. See Cudworth, 'Worgan', p. 530. Cudworth may have used the proposed publication date given in the *Catalogue of Printed Music Published between 1487 and 1800 Now in the British Museum* as the basis for his pronouncement.

206 Kassler, *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall 1710–1818*, p. xvii.

207 Krummel and Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, p. 102. See also 'Music Publishing in Late Eighteenth-Century London' in Chapter 5, Volume 1 of this publication. See also '21) James Longman (ca 1740–1803)' and 'Francis Broderip (d. 1807)' in Appendix E, this volume.

208 Worgan, *A New Concerto for the Harpsichord*.

Others who published Dr John Worgan's music included Richard Baldwin,²⁰⁹ Edward Cave,²¹⁰ Robert Falkener,²¹¹ Henric Foug, ²¹² John Johnson,²¹³ Mrs Johnson,²¹⁴ William Owen,²¹⁵ Henry Roberts,²¹⁶ John Sadler,²¹⁷ John Simpson,²¹⁸ Robert Thompson,²¹⁹ J. & R. Tonson²²⁰ and John Walsh.²²¹ That such a panoply of publishing luminaries supported Dr Worgan's compositional output reveals that he did not exercise exclusivity in relation to his selection of a publishing house.

It appears that John Johnson (d. 1761)²²² (working at the sign of the 'Harp and Crown, facing Bow Church, Cheapside')²²³ and Johnson's widow (d. 1777) may have been Dr Worgan's preferred publishers. By way of example, over a period of 19 years (between 1752 and 1771), the Johnsons issued no less than

209 See, for example, J. Worgan, 'A Martial Song. A Song on the Taking of Montreal. Sung by Mr. Lowe; Set by Mr. Worgan', in *The London Magazine: Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, Vol. 29 (December) (London: R. Baldwin, 1760), p. 660.

210 See, for example, J. Worgan, 'The Shepherd's Wedding. Set by Mr. Worgan', in *The Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle*, Vol. 18 (London: Edw. Cave, 1748), p. 420.

211 See, for example, J. Worgan, *The Little Coquette* (London: R. Falkener, ca 1775).

212 See, for example, J. Worgan, *Dearest Kitty, Kind and Fair. Set to Music by Mr. Worgan* (London: H. Foug, ca 1767–70).

213 See, for example, J. Worgan, *A Collection of New Songs and Ballads Sung by Miss Burchell, Mr. Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan* (London: J. Johnson, 1752). This collection contains one cantata and seven songs: 'Cease Your Music Gentle Swains (A Cantata)'; 'If I Say, though 'tis Gospel'; 'One Morning Bright within the Grove'; 'Of freedom Too Fond; Ye Woods and Ye Mountains Unknown'; 'I Once was Prudish, Vain and Grave'; 'Ah, Why Must Words by Flame Reveal?'; and 'The Winter's Fled with All Its Train (to Euphrosyne)'.

214 See, for example, Worgan, *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord*.

215 See, for example, D. Scarlatti, *Libro de xii sonatas modernas para clavicordio ... Libro ii*, edited by J. Worgan (London: Wm Owen, 1771). See also Worgan, *Pieces for the Harpsichord*.

216 See, for example, J. Worgan, 'Jockey & Jenny. A Favourite Dialogue', in Various Composers, *Clio and Euterpe or British Harmony: A Collection of Celebrated Songs and Cantatas by the Most Approv'd Masters* (London: Henry Roberts, 1762), pp. 148–9.

217 See, for example, Various Composers, *Apollo's Cabinet*, p. 56 ('Did You See E'er a Shepherd'); p. 68 ('Nanny of the Hill'); p. 69 ('When Phoebus the Tops of Ye Hills does Adorn'); p. 70 ('Ye Swains that are Courting a Maid'); p. 97 ('Young Collin was the Bonniest Swain'); p. 137 ('The Lad for Me'); p. 154 ('Young Strephon a Shepherd the Pride of the Plain'); p. 157 ('The Happy Swain').

218 See, for example, J. Worgan, *Blest as the Immortal Gods is He. Set to Musick by Mr. Worgan* (London: J. Simpson, ca 1745).

219 See, for example, J. Worgan, *The Fair Thief. Set by Mr. Worgan; And Sung by Mr. Lowe at Vaux-Hall* (London: Robert Thompson, 1748–69).

220 See, for example, J. Worgan, *Hannah: An Oratorio Written by Mr. Smart; The Musick Composed by Mr. Worgan; As Perform'd at the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market* (London: J. & R. Tonson, 1764).

221 See, for example, J. Worgan, *The Agreeable Choice. A Collection of Songs Sung by Miss Burchell, Miss Stevenson, and Mr. Lowe at Vaux-Hall-Gardens; Set by Mr. Worgan* (London: I. Walsh, 1751).

222 'Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades of the Later 18th Century*, cites a newspaper report of his death: 'Johnson, John. On Friday [15 May] died Mr. John Johnson, musical instrument seller, in Cheapside' (*Daily Advertiser* 18 May 1761; see www.devon.gov.uk/localstudies/121390/1.html). Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 50, fn. 11.

223 F. Kidson, *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers: London, Provincial, Scottish, and Irish. From Queen Elizabeth's Reign to George the Fourth's, with Select Bibliographical Lists of Musical Works Printed and Published within that Period* (La Vergne, Tenn.: n.p., 2010), p. 66 [Originally published London: W. E. Hill & Sons, 1900].

13 commercially successful publications devoted to Dr Worgan's Vauxhall songs, cantatas and dialogues; between 1752 and 1761, a new publication in the series appeared each consecutive year. These publications are:

1. *A Collection of New Songs and Ballads Sung by Miss Burchell, Mr. Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan* (London: J. Johnson, 1752): seven songs and one cantata
2. *A Collection of New Songs and Ballads Particularly the Favourite Dialogue (No Never) Sung by Mr. Lowe & Miss Stephenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan* (London: J. Johnson, 1753): three songs and one dialogue
3. *A Collection of New Songs and Ballads Sung by Miss Burchell, Mr. Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan* (London: J. Johnson, 1754): nine songs
4. *The New Ballads Sung by Mr. Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan. Book the 4th* (London: Jn. Johnson, 1755): eight songs and one dialogue
5. *The New Ballads Sung by Mr. Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan. Book the 5th* (London: Jn. Johnson, 1756): eight songs
6. *The New Ballads Sung by Mr. Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan. Book the 6th* (London: Jn. Johnson, 1757): eight songs and one dialogue
7. *The Songs and Ballads Sung by Mr. Lowe and Miss Stephenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. John Worgan. Book the VII* (London: John Johnson, 1758): 11 songs
8. *The Songs and Ballads Sung by Mr. Lowe and Miss Stephenson at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan. Book the VIII* (London: John Johnson, 1759)
9. *A Collection of the New Songs Sung at Vaux Hall by Mrs. Vincent & Mr. Lowe. Set to Music by Mr. Worgan. Book the IX* (London: John Johnson, 1760): four songs and one dialogue
10. *A Collection of the New Songs Sung at Vaux Hall by Mrs. Vincent & Mr. Lowe. Set to Music by Mr. Worgan. Book the X* (London: J. Johnson, 1761): five songs, one cantata and one dialogue
11. *The New Ballads Sung this Summer at Vaux Hall. Set by Mr. Worgan. Book the 11th* (London: Mrs Johnson, 1770): seven songs and one cantata
12. *A Collection of the Favourite Songs Now Singing in Vauxhall Gardens, by Mrs. Weichsell, Miss Jameson, Miss Cowper, and Mr. Vernon. Set by Mr. Worgan* (London: Mrs Johnson, 1771)

13. *A Collection of the Favourite Songs Sung this Summer in Vaux Hall Gardens by Mrs. Weichsell, Miss Jameson, Miss Cowper, & Mr. Vernon. Set by Mr. Worgan. Book the 13th* (London: Mrs Johnson, 1771): eight songs.

Ironically, Dr Worgan's opinion of his Vauxhall songs was far from glowing; in 1823, the English journalist and musician Richard Mackenzie Bacon informs us:

[A]t a late period of Dr. Worgan's life, a friend told him that he had just bought a complete collection of his Vauxhall Songs. 'Then' replied the Doctor, 'you have bought a great deal of trash, for many of them were penned either when I was fatigued with business or straitened for time, or from some cause or other not at all in the humour for composition.'²²⁴

In 1769, Mrs Johnson also issued John Worgan's *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord*.²²⁵

The Johnsons were fortunate. No other publishing house enjoyed an equivalently prolific and ongoing relationship with Dr John Worgan. The commercial connection between Dr Worgan and the Johnsons resulted in a significantly greater published output of his music (more than 78 songs, three cantatas, five dialogues and six harpsichord sonatas) than the relatively modest offering of six three-voice catches (n.d.) and *Six Canzonets for Two and Three Voices* (1789) published by Longman & Broderip.

All the works published by Longman & Broderip composed by Dr Worgan's sons James Worgan and Thomas Danvers²²⁶ were entered at Stationers' Hall after Dr John Worgan had died (in 1790). The *Catalogue of Printed Music Published between 1487 and 1800 Now in the British Museum (Volume 2)* proposes '1785?' as the publication date for James Worgan's *Port and Sherry, or, Britons be Wise and Merry. A Favorite New Song. Written and Composed by J. Worgan*.²²⁷ The work was entered at Stationers' Hall on Friday, 22 December 1797. The publication date of 1785 proposed by the British Museum is unlikely; James Worgan's *Port and Sherry* was almost certainly published in 1797.

It cannot be ascertained whether or not Dr Worgan's comparatively brief and relatively insignificant associations with the publishing house of Longman & Broderip were enough to inspire his family to form an allegiance to the pianos of the Longman & Broderip firm. Moreover, when Dr John Worgan's *Six Canzonets for Two and Three Voices* were published by Longman & Broderip in 1789, both George Bouchier Worgan and his square piano had been in Sydney Cove for 21 months.

²²⁴ Bacon, 'Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan, Mus. D.', p. 117.

²²⁵ Worgan, *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord*. See 'Keyboard Music', in Chapter 3, Volume 1 of this publication.

²²⁶ See 'George Worgan's Father, Dr John Worgan', in Chapter 3, Volume 1 of this publication.

²²⁷ J. Worgan, *Port and Sherry, or, Britons be Wise and Merry. A Favorite New Song. Written and Composed by J. Worgan* (London: Longman & Broderip, 1797?).



Plate 331 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): outside of the front of the case and lid, bass-end front corner—stained(?) fruitwood stringer inlaid on each side with a holly(?) or boxwood(?) stringer (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 332 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): outside of the front of the case, treble end of the closed front fallboard (lockboard) and the treble end of the case—stained(?) fruitwood stringer inlaid on each side with a holly(?) or boxwood(?) stringer, running parallel with the edge of the case (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

A Plain Instrument

The modestly decorated casework and plain trestle stand of Barrow's Longman & Broderip piano (Plate 320) suggest that the instrument was not made for a particularly wealthy person. Ornamental elaboration

was the chief visual reminder of the quality that owners had paid for (there were no differences internally, or musically). The cases of English square pianos belonging to the 'more pricey examples' had complex, exquisite inlay. 'Economy style' instruments 'had unadorned cases, or were ornamented with only simple stringing.'²²⁸

The decorative style of the casework on Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano is in keeping with the type of instrument that may have been found in the possession of a person with fairly limited financial means—a person such as George Bouchier Worgan.

1. The instrument's plain mahogany case is decorated with a stained? fruitwood stringer inlaid on each side with a holly? or boxwood? stringer (Plates 331 and 332).
2. Some decorative extravagance is found on the outside of the lid, where two rows of stringing run parallel with each other and with the edge (whilst not especially decoratively opulent, these two parallel rows of stringing would have been regarded as more ornamentally sumptuous than a single row: 'one is usual, two much less so').²²⁹

An instrument with such *relatively* unexceptional casework could easily have fallen within the range of George Bouchier Worgan's purchasing power.²³⁰

The Trestle Stand

The single-page printed document in Barrow's possession, written in the third person, entitled 'Square Piano No 604 Longman and Broderip. C 1781', with 'Signed / William. F. Bradshaw' handwritten at the bottom of the page, undated (Plate 327), contains the following statement: 'a plain collapsible tressle stand like the campaign furniture of the period suitable for shipboard use and light weight.'

Campaign (or travelling) furniture was usually designed in the most fashionable contemporary taste. It was not only durable and practical, but also more

²²⁸ Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 93.

²²⁹ Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 170.

²³⁰ See 'How Much Did George Worgan's Piano Cost?', in Chapter 4, Volume 1 of this publication. See also 'An 'Elegant' Piano', below.

often than not extremely elegant.²³¹ The essential difference between elegant household furniture and campaign furniture was that the latter could be quickly disassembled, packed away, transported and reassembled without using nails, tacks or tools.²³²

A typical late eighteenth-century English square piano trestle stand comprises two square-section non-tapering 'H' end frames joined by one or two long stretchers—the whole stand considerably shorter than the piano which sits on it²³³ (Plates 22, 320 and 425). Square piano trestle stands are usually simple and unadorned. As such, they are aesthetically remote from the elegance commonly associated with contemporaneous campaign furniture.

By the time George Bouchier purchased his square piano, trestle stands were no longer considered fashionable. By 1780, trestle stands had been 'rejected for all but the cheapest class of piano',²³⁴ and had been replaced with the elegant so-called 'French frame' (Plates 441, 444 and 453).²³⁵ (The decorative casework and nameboard decoration of Barrow's Longman & Broderip piano cannot be included in the category of 'the cheapest class of piano'.)²³⁶

Apart from having the capacity to be dismantled, the trestle stand of Barrow's Longman & Broderip is not 'like the campaign furniture of the period',²³⁷ inasmuch as it is not fashionably elegant, nor can it be disassembled and reassembled without the use of tools.²³⁸

With many English square piano trestle stands, each end of the long stretcher is joined to an 'H' end frame with an iron bolt;²³⁹ representative examples are found on the following pianos (to list but a few):²⁴⁰

1. Johann Zumpe, 1766²⁴¹
2. Johann Zumpe, 1767²⁴²

231 See McDonald, 'Campaign Furniture', p. 22.

232 See *ibid.*

233 Kibby, 'Square Piano Legs & Stands'.

234 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 80.

235 See 'Stand in George Worgan's Piano (Frederick Beck, London, 1780/86?)', in Chapter 2, Volume 1 of this publication.

236 See 'A Plain Instrument' and 'An 'Elegant' Piano', above.

237 William Bradshaw?, single-page printed document, entitled 'Square Piano No 604 Longman and Broderip. C 1781', with 'Signed / William. F. Bradshaw' handwritten at the bottom of the page, undated, in the possession of Brian Barrow.

238 See McDonald, 'Campaign Furniture', p. 22.

239 In some instances, the long stretchers are *glued* rather than bolted to the 'H' end frames.

240 Images referenced in relation to the listed pianos show *bolted* (rather than *glued*) long stretchers.

241 See photograph in Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, p. 227. See also photograph in Cole, *Square Pianos*.

242 See photograph in Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, pp. 123, 230. See also photograph in James, *Early Keyboard Instruments*, p. 137, Plate LVII.

3. Johann Zumpe, 1769²⁴³
4. Johann Pohlman, 1769²⁴⁴
5. Johann Zumpe & Gabriel Buntebart, 1770²⁴⁵
6. Longman, Lukey & Co., 1770²⁴⁶
7. Longman, Lukey & Co., ca 1772–73 (reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck)²⁴⁷
8. John Broadwood, 1774²⁴⁸
9. Johann Pohlman, 1774²⁴⁹
10. Fredrick Beck, 1775²⁵⁰
11. Johann Zumpe & Gabriel Buntebart, 1775²⁵¹
12. George Froeschle, 1776²⁵²
13. Frederick Beck, 1777²⁵³
14. Christopher Ganer, ca 1777²⁵⁴
15. John Geib, ca 1777²⁵⁵
16. Adam Beyer, 1778²⁵⁶
17. Adam Beyer, 1780²⁵⁷
18. Johann Pohlman, ca 1780–84²⁵⁸
19. Longman & Broderip, ca 1782²⁵⁹
20. John Broadwood, 1783²⁶⁰

243 See photograph in ‘Gallery’, in *Lucy Coad Square Piano Conservation and Repair* (n.d.).

244 See Beurmann, *Das Buch vom Klavier*, p. 21, Plate 102c.

245 See photograph in Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 115.

246 See photograph in *ibid.*, p. 120.

247 See ‘The Stands of Extant Beck Instruments’, in Chapter 2, and Plate 43u, Volume 1 of this publication.

248 See photograph in Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 166.

249 See photograph in ‘Restored Instrument Archive: Square Piano by Johannes Pohlman, London 1774’, in ‘Antique Instruments’, in *The Music Room Workshop: Makers & Restorers of Early Keyboard Instruments* (n.d.).

250 See photographs in ‘Cité de la musique, Paris, France’, in *MIMO Musical Instrument Museums Online*.

251 See photograph in Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, p. 233. See also Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, Plate 2, between p. 210 and p. 211.

252 See photograph in Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, p. 141.

253 See photograph in Deachman, ‘Fortepiano’.

254 See photographs in ‘Christopher Ganer Square Pianoforte Circa 1775’, in *PalacePianos.Com*.

255 See photograph in Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, p. 236.

256 See photograph in ‘1778 Adam Beyer, Square Piano’ in ‘Gallery’, in *The Early Piano: Authentic Materials for Early Keyboard Instruments* (Dorchester, Dorset: Early Piano, 2011–13).

257 See photograph in Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, p. 237.

258 See photograph in R. D. Anderson, ‘Pohlman Square Piano ca 1780–1784’, in *Harpsichord Photo* (n.d.).

259 See photograph in Durand and Durand, ‘Restored Instrument Archive’.

260 See Plate 400. See also photograph in Clarke, ‘Australian Colonial Dance’.

21. Christopher Ganer, 1785²⁶¹
22. Christopher Ganer, ca 1785²⁶²
23. John Broadwood, 1786²⁶³
24. Adam Beyer, 1788²⁶⁴
25. James Houston (made for John Bland), early 1790s²⁶⁵
26. John Broadwood, 1791²⁶⁶
27. John Broadwood, 1795.²⁶⁷

The trestle stand of Barrow's Longman & Broderip piano has this arrangement—that is, two long *bolted* stretchers—and cannot be regarded as being representative of, or inspired by, campaign furniture. This is because the nature of campaign furniture is such that it can be quickly disassembled and reassembled without using tools.²⁶⁸ Unscrewing the tightened bolts on the stand of Barrow's Longman & Broderip cannot be achieved without the aid of tools; what is more, the process is a protracted one—especially compared with the disassembling process associated with the unique hinged cabriole legs and campaign-furniture-inspired stand of Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Beck piano.²⁶⁹

Contrary to William Bradshaw's remark that the trestle stand of Barrow's Longman & Broderip square piano is 'suitable for shipboard use', the stand has several distinct shipboard disadvantages:

1. if a storm at sea suddenly arose, the trestle stand could not be quickly and easily dismantled as part of a process leading to the safe and protectively immobilised storage of the piano
2. the stand cannot be dismantled without the piano having to be first lifted off the stand
3. having to move a separate (assembled or disassembled) trestle stand is inconvenient

261 See photograph in 'Square Piano, Ganer, London, 1785. [2007.3455], Ganer, Christopher', in *Museum & Collections* (London: Royal Academy of Music, n.d.).

262 See photograph in 'Gallery' in *Lucy Coad Square Piano Conservation and Repair*.

263 See photograph in 'John Broadwood and Sons, London, 1786', in *Period Piano Company* (n.d.).

264 See photograph in 'For Sale', in *Andrew Lancaster Music Room Antiques* (n.d.).

265 See photograph in Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 147.

266 See photograph in 'Antique Instruments for Sale: Square Piano by Johannes Broadwood No 1676, London 1791', in *The Music Room Workshop: Makers & Restorers of Early Keyboard Instruments* (n.d.).

267 See photograph in Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 52. See also pertinent photographs in O'Leary, 'Restoration Report of 1795 Broadwood Square Piano #3007 5 Octave Compass FF-f3'.

268 See McDonald, 'Campaign Furniture', p. 22.

269 See 'A Unique Stand' and 'The Advantages of Beck's Unique Folding Stand', in Chapter 2, Volume 1 of this publication.

4. when a trestle stand is disassembled, five or eight elements remain separate from the piano—that is, two ‘H’ end frames, a single or two long stretchers, and two or four iron bolts—there is always a risk that the several parts comprising a disassembled trestle stand may be lost
5. within the context of storm-induced movement, the trestle stand is not inherently stable enough to prevent the instrument from sliding around on the floor; as the soldier, composer, music publisher and author Captain Thomas Williamson remarks in his *East India Vade-Mecum*, the instrument may be ‘tumbled about, and shivered to atoms, by the vessel’s motion’.²⁷⁰

Conditions on board the *Sirius* were both crowded and cramped, and it is something of a miracle that surgeon Worgan managed to find space enough to safely and conveniently house his piano.

In accordance with navy regulations, specific areas of the ship were designated for the occupancy of officers. Commissioned officers (lieutenants) ‘and warrant officers of wardroom rank (surgeon, sailing master, purser) lived in the Ward Room’.²⁷¹ ‘The Ward Room consisted of a series of small cabins along the sides of the ship with a long dining table in the middle’,²⁷² and functioned as a recreation room.

Typically, a cabin adjacent to the Ward Room was 1.5 by 2 metres ‘and large enough only for [one or] two bunks and a little storage space’.²⁷³ If surgeon Worgan managed to make room for a piano in his cabin—the 1780/86? Beck square piano is a little more than 1455 millimetres long, a little less than 505 millimetres wide and 191 millimetres high—he probably kept the instrument unassembled for both space-related and protective reasons.²⁷⁴ The portable nature of the piano, however, would have enabled it to be moved into the ward room, where it may have functioned as a side table (one of the advantages of the square piano’s design).

During the eighteenth century, a square piano was most likely to have been placed in a room with dimensions commonly found in houses built in West London: no more than about 7 metres by about 5 metres, with a ceiling about 3 metres high.²⁷⁵ The ward room on board the *Sirius* was certainly no longer or wider than rooms ordinarily found in eighteenth-century West London houses.

During a shipboard journey, a keyboard instrument was not necessarily put into storage and rendered silent for the duration of the voyage; nor was it

270 Williamson, *East India Vade-Mecum*, Vol. 1, p. 48.

271 See ‘The Great Cabin’, in Chapter 4, Volume 1 of this publication.

272 HMS Rose Foundation, *The Great Cabin*.

273 Hill, 1788, p. 76.

274 When standing on its legs, the 1780/86? Beck piano’s height from the floor to the upper surface of the keyboard’s naturals is 668 millimetres.

275 See Hill, 1788, p. 88.

permanently placed on its legs on board a rolling ship. Keyboard instruments could be played whilst the ship was at sea when conditions were relatively calm. Representative examples of this decades-long custom include the following:

1. In 1761, Queen Charlotte, during her crossing of the English Channel 'to marry a man she had never seen (George III) ... comforted herself by playing the harpsichord. She ... left her cabin door open so that others on board the ship could enjoy her playing'.²⁷⁶
2. During a voyage to India in 1764, Robert Clive endured the daily practice regime of a talentless female would-be harpsichord player who unremittingly practised 'two hum drum tunes for four hours every day without the least variation or improvement'.²⁷⁷
3. Captain Thomas Williamson, in his *East India Vade-Mecum*, provides advice for the traveller at sea in relation to the design and functionality of keyboard instrument storage boxes. Williamson implies that pianos were played on board ships at sea by stating that the box 'should open in front, so as to admit of playing the instrument, while its lid should be fixed upon hinges, that it may be thrown back at pleasure'.²⁷⁸
4. William Henty (1808–81), who, in 1837, travelled to Van Diemen's Land on board the *Fairlie*, reported that 'once they were in calmer and warmer waters ... [a] piano was brought on deck and ... 7 or 8 couples danced country dances, quadrilles, etc'.²⁷⁹

Regular access to a piano during a sea voyage 'was a matter of real concern to the unmarried woman wishing to maintain her level of accomplishment, as indeed it was to the genuine music lover, anxious not to be deprived of a favoured recreation'.²⁸⁰ 'For many, music, singing and dancing would have been a highlight on a lengthy and monotonous voyage ... pianos ... were essential ship board equipment'.²⁸¹

No evidence suggests that George Worgan played his piano on the high seas as the *Sirius* plied its way to Botany Bay. Throughout the eighteenth century, however, precedents for playing keyboard instruments at sea had been set, and it may be conjectured that within such a context, Worgan, on occasion, availed himself of the opportunity to play his piano.

276 Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, p. 235.

277 Quoted in Woodfield, *The Calcutta Piano Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century*, pp. 5–6.

278 See Williamson, *East India Vade-Mecum*, pp. 47–8.

279 W. Henty, *Diary of a voyage to V. D. L. 26 Aug. 1836 – 6 Jan. 1837* (2010), entry 24 (retrieved 7 June 2015).

280 Woodfield, *The Calcutta Piano Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century*, p. 5.

281 N. Cama and P. Hyde, 'Object of the Week: Upright Yacht-Style Piano', in *Australian National Maritime Museum Blog*, 9 December (Sydney: Australian National Maritime Museum, 2011).

If Brian Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano is the instrument that was owned by, and travelled with, surgeon George Bouchier Worgan on board the *Sirius*, there can be little doubt that Worgan would have found the shipboard inconveniences associated with assembling and disassembling the instrument's trestle stand, as well as the stand's inherent shipboard instability, bothersome.²⁸²

Although the trestle stand of Barrow's Longman & Broderip square piano is typical for its era (at least until ca 1780),²⁸³ William Bradshaw signed his name to a document in which the instrument's trestle stand is wrongly described as being 'like the campaign furniture of the period suitable for shipboard use'. This is perplexing, for the statement is not an enlightened one. Bradshaw's comment rests as an uncomfortable bedfellow alongside his usual erudition, and leads one to consider that not all his remarks may be regarded as being accurate. Because unveiling the provenance of Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano is largely reliant on the veracity of Bradshaw's statements, any inaccuracies become, axiomatically, notable. Employment of the mistaken notion that the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano's trestle stand is 'like the campaign furniture of the period suitable for shipboard use' as either justification for or reinforcement of the proposition that the instrument came to Botany Bay with the First Fleet is a little lip-pursing.

Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip Square Piano: Elizabeth Macarthur's second piano?

The single-page printed document in Barrow's possession, entitled 'Longman & Broderip Piano 1781', containing provenance details of the instrument, signed by William Bradshaw on Monday, 6 August 2007 (Plate 326), includes the following statement: 'Mr Matthews told me that this piano had been in his family for two or three generations and that it was (by tradition in the family) Elizabeth Macarthur's piano.'²⁸⁴

Furthermore, the single-page printed document in Barrow's possession, entitled 'Square Piano No 604 Longman and Broderip. C 1781', with 'Signed / William. F. Bradshaw' handwritten at the bottom of the page, undated (Plate 327), contains the following remark: 'The only reason why the family had kept [the piano] ... for two or three generations, was because Matthews believed it had once belonged to Elizabeth Macarthur.'²⁸⁵

282 See 'A Unique Stand', and 'The Advantages of Beck's Unique Folding Stand', in Chapter 2, Volume 1 of this publication.

283 See 'A Unique Stand', in *ibid.*

284 See 'Sources of Information', above.

285 See *ibid.*

Both documents present the notion that the Longman & Broderip square piano had once belonged to Elizabeth Macarthur. The notion that the instrument arrived with the First Fleet is presented in only one of the two documents (Plate 327), and then only as a conjectural statement: the instrument is 'likely to be the first piano in the colony'.

It is quite reasonable, however, to speculate that in 1865, the piano was acquired by the Mat(t)hews family. In 1865, Edward Macarthur, who had inherited Elizabeth Farm on his father's death, 'decided to lease the estate and the house which had deteriorated. He gave his brothers and sisters the opportunity of purchasing items of furniture from the house and decided that the remaining contents should be disposed of at auction.'²⁸⁶

Within the context of this sale, the piano may have passed out of the hands of the Macarthur family. (By 1865, George Worgan's instrument had been supplanted at least twice: Worgan's piano 'appears to have been replaced in 1810 by ... [an] instrument ... purchased at auction in Sydney from the estate of Thomas Laycock ... and in 1836 Edward [Macarthur] purchased in London, from Broadwood's, a piano for [his sister] Emmeline'.)²⁸⁷ The Macarthur family may eventually have regarded Worgan's piano as both outmoded and musically irrelevant. If—as may reasonably be conjectured—a member of the Mat(t)hews family purchased the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano at the 1865 auction of furniture from Elizabeth Farm, this aligns with the Mat(t)hews' statement, recounted by Bradshaw, that the piano had been in their family for two or three generations (see Plates 326 and 327).²⁸⁸

On the other hand, could it be that Barrow's Longman & Broderip is the piano that Elizabeth Macarthur purchased at Thomas Laycock's estate auction on Thursday, 4 January 1810?²⁸⁹ Unfortunately, there is no evidence proving that Laycock's piano was an instrument made by Longman & Broderip. Furthermore, there is no evidence substantiating James Broadbent's claim that the instrument purchased by Elizabeth Macarthur from Laycock's estate was 'larger and finer ... (perhaps a piano in upright form)'²⁹⁰ than the square piano that George Bouchier Worgan had given Elizabeth in early 1791.²⁹¹

The first advertisement in a Sydney newspaper in which a piano by Longman & Broderip is specifically named was published in *The Monitor* on Friday, 22 September 1826. The advertisement reads:

286 Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta*, p. 44.

287 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

288 See 'Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance', above.

289 Laycock died on Wednesday, 27 December 1809. See 'Laycock, Thomas (1756?–1809)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*.

290 Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta*, p. 38. Broadbent provides no evidence to substantiate his claim.

291 See 'Was Elizabeth Macarthur's 'New' Piano an Instrument in Upright Form?', below.

To be sold by auction, by Mr. Paul, this day, at his rooms, George Street, a very fine toned *Piano Forte by Longman*, an elegant chimney glass, Brussels carpet, new, 4 by 4 yards and half, Spanish mahogany table, handsome China tea service, hearth rugs, chimney ornaments, a set of block tin dish covers, Fire irons, brass fenders, drawing and fancy paper, memorandum books and various other stationary.

Conditions:—Prompt payment, Sterling, or Dollars at 4s. 4d.²⁹²

The fact that the auction sale involving this piano took place in 1826 places the event well outside the time frame relevant to Elizabeth Macarthur's acquisition of a piano in 1810 at Thomas Laycock's estate auction.

The Enticement of Touch

If Elizabeth Macarthur's 'new' instrument contained design innovations that rendered it more 'modern' and desirable than Worgan's 'old-fashioned' piano, the 'new' instrument's 'modernity' may saliently have been manifested through its action.

'Longman and Broderip's square pianos were the first to incorporate an escapement mechanism, giving them a subtlety of touch and expression [close to that] found in grand pianos.'²⁹³

Typical Longman & Broderip square pianos 'dating from the mid 1780s have an escapement lever'.²⁹⁴ This action design closely resembles 'the designs shown in' a two-lever escapement action 'patent drawing ... taken out in 1786 by John Geib'²⁹⁵ (patent number 1571, granted on Thursday, 9 November 1786).²⁹⁶

Longman invested a large sum to purchase the exclusive right to Geib's two-lever escapement action patent.²⁹⁷ The sensitivity of touch resulting from an escapement action was enhanced by hammers that were covered in leather with the softer, suede-like side out (rather than with the hair-side out, as on other pianos); this also created a sweeter sound.²⁹⁸ The results of Michael Cole's extensive research on Longman & Broderip pianos reveals that the escapement mechanism

292 *The Monitor*, 22 September 1826, No. 19, p. 1, Trove, National Library of Australia.

293 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 78.

294 Cole, 'Longman & Broderip'.

295 *Ibid.*

296 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 50. 'At the time John Geib was in the employ of pianoforte maker Thomas Culliford [1747–1821]'. *Ibid.*, p. 50, fn. 16. 'In 1784 Culliford established a fourteen-year partnership with William Rolfe, John Goldsworth [fl. mid-1780s], and Thomas Bradford [fl. 1784–89]. In 1787 Goldsworth left the company to start a new business with John Geib.' *Ibid.*, p. 50, fn. 17.

297 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 78.

298 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 51.

went through several stages of refinement leading, around 1788, to a design which became so successful that it was universally known, to nineteenth century piano-makers, as 'English action' for square pianos—copied not only in London (after the patent had expired) but also in America and Germany, and adapted for upright pianos too.²⁹⁹

Although the original action of Barrow's Longman & Broderip square piano is missing, the instrument's date of manufacture, 1785/86?, makes it possible for an escapement action—either of Longman & Broderip's single-lever type or of Geib's two-lever design—to have originally been present.

Thomas Laycock arrived in Sydney in September 1791.³⁰⁰ If he purchased a Longman & Broderip square piano prior to his departure for Sydney Cove, it is possible that the instrument's action had an escapement mechanism. Assuming this is so, it may have been this design innovation that persuaded Elizabeth Macarthur to buy Laycock's piano.

Keyboard Compass

Was the keyboard compass of the piano that Elizabeth Macarthur purchased at Laycock's estate auction in January 1810 larger than that of the square piano that George Bouchier Worgan had given her in early 1791? The compass of Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck piano, believed to be Worgan's piano, is a fully chromatic five octaves (FF–f³).³⁰¹ Although the original keyboard of Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip is missing, it is reasonable to assume that the instrument's keyboard compass was also a fully chromatic five octaves (FF–f³). The piano's keywell has no space for the inclusion of additional key levers—that is, there is no room for an 'upward extension' of five additional notes to 5.5 octaves, 'retaining FF as the bottom note' (FF–c⁴).³⁰²

Given that Thomas Laycock arrived in Sydney in September 1791,³⁰³ and that Longman & Broderip began making 5.5-octave square pianos in ca 1794 (Broadwood began making 5.5-octave square pianos late in 1793),³⁰⁴ it is highly unlikely that Laycock's square piano (if he brought the instrument with him to the colony) had additional keys.

The first advertisement appearing in the Sydney press in which a piano with additional keys is described was published on Saturday, 30 October 1813 in the

299 Cole, 'Longman & Broderip'.

300 'Laycock, Thomas (1756?–1809)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*.

301 See 'Keyboard', in Appendix A, this volume.

302 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 70.

303 'Laycock, Thomas (1756?–1809)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*.

304 James Shudi Broadwood, in a letter dated Wednesday, 13 November 1793, written to Thomas Bradford of Charleston, reveals that Broadwood first added extra treble keys to square pianos in 1793. See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 70.

Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser: 'For sale, a capital piano forte, with the additional keys, made by *Bolton*.'³⁰⁵ This advertisement appeared three years after Laycock's estate auction had taken place.

Bolton's identity remains a mystery. He may have been the 'T. Bolton' who composed *Six Waltzes, Composed and Adapted as Lessons for the Piano Forte, with Accompaniments for a Tambourine and Triangle (ad libitum); And Instructions for Performing on the Tambourine*.³⁰⁶ An anonymous critic writing in *The Monthly Magazine; Or, British Register* of Tuesday, 1 April 1800, described Bolton's *Six Waltzes* in the following way:

[L]overs of tambourine music will find a variety of useful hints. The *flamps, semi-flamps, the travale, the double-travale, the gùgles, the bass, the turn,* and other necessary particulars, are explained. The waltzes are, for the most part, uncommonly pleasing, and well calculated for tambourine and triangle accompaniments.³⁰⁷

If Laycock's piano had additional keys, the auctioneer David Bevan did not need to mention the fact in his advertisement for the piano's sale at Laycock's estate auction,³⁰⁸ by 1809, a 68-note keyboard compass (5.5 octaves: FF–c⁴) was nothing special.

An 'Elegant' Piano

At Thomas Laycock's estate auction, his piano was described as 'elegant'. The *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser* of Sunday, 31 December 1809 contains the following advertisement:

Sale by auction, by Mr. Bevan,

On Thursday next the 4th of January, 1810, on the premises of Mr. Laycock, deceased, in Pitt's Row, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, all the neat household furniture, consisting of bedsteads, beds, bolsters, blankets, and mattresses, tables and chairs, table linen, sheeting, a small quantity of plate, knives, forks, and all kinds of kitchen furniture, a quantity of wearing apparel, some fine Hyson tea, sugar, wine and spirits, an elegant piano-forte with music books.³⁰⁹

It is thought that during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the term 'elegant' pertained to elaborate case decoration, such as buhl (*bouille*) or other

305 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 30 October 1813, p. 1. See 'Pianos "with Additional Keys"', in Chapter 13, Volume 1 of this publication.

306 Bolton, *Six Waltzes*.

307 'Review of New Musical Publications', in *The Monthly Magazine; Or, British Register*, p. 296.

308 See 'An "Elegant" Piano', below.

309 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 31 December 1809, p. 1.

inlay.³¹⁰ The case of Barrow's Longman & Broderip is not elaborately decorated,³¹¹ being plain mahogany ornamented with a simple stained? fruitwood stringer inlaid on each side with a holly? or boxwood? stringer (Plates 331 and 332). On the outside of the lid, however, two rows of stringing run parallel with each other and with the edge. Whilst not extravagant, these rows of stringing would have immediately been regarded as more ornamentally splendid than the commonly encountered single row.

The nameboard of Barrow's Longman & Broderip is embellished with beautiful inlaid swags on either side of and above the central inlaid rectangular inscription cartouche (Plates 333–6). The style of nameboard decoration on extant Longman & Broderip instruments reveals a variety of approaches, ranging (at the most simple) from a nameboard inscription cartouche comprising an elongated rectangular form³¹² (some have convex rounded ends)³¹³ to oval enamel plaques exquisitely embellished on either side, 'either with inlaid swags and bell-flower drops ... or ... painted sprays of flowers and other fancies'.³¹⁴



Plate 333 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard—inlaid decorative swags on either side of and above the central rectangular inlaid inscription cartouche.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

310 See Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, p. 184. See 'Thomas Laycock's Estate Auction', in Chapter 13, Volume 1 of this publication.

311 See, by way of comparison, photographs of the case and lid decoration on Longman & Broderip square piano number 306 in Durand and Durand, 'Restored Instrument Archive'. The date assigned to this instrument, 1796, may be too late. Research undertaken by David Hunt (in 'Instrument History/Research'), suggests that a proposed date of 1785 is more viable.

312 See, for example, photograph 'H5300 Square Pianoforte, Longman & Broderip, London, 1782–1798', in *Powerhouse Museum Collection Search 2.53* (Sydney: Powerhouse Museum, n.d.).

313 See, for example, photographs in Durand and Durand, 'Restored Instrument Archive'.

314 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 51. Bozarth and Debenham take the quotation from: www.squarepianos.com/longman.htm.



Plate 334 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard—bass-end beginning of an inlaid decorative swag (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 335 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard—continuation of the inlaid decorative swag shown in Plate 334 (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 336 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard—the inlaid decorative swag above the central inscription cartouche (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

The inlaid decoration found on the nameboard of Barrow's instrument is by no means as extravagant as that found on some Longman & Broderip square pianos;³¹⁵ conversely, the nameboard of Barrow's instrument is more elaborately decorated than some other square pianos made by Longman & Broderip.³¹⁶ In Sydney in 1810, such fine-looking decoration may well have been regarded as 'elegant'—and within the colonial context, rare and exquisite enough to entice Elizabeth Macarthur to purchase the instrument for £85.

Was Elizabeth Macarthur's 'New' Piano an Instrument in Upright Form?

As has been previously mentioned, James Broadbent states that in 1810, 'Elizabeth Macarthur appears to have replaced Worgan's piano with a larger and finer instrument (perhaps a piano in upright form) that was purchased at auction in Sydney from the estate of Thomas Laycock ... for the then substantial sum of £85', which was approximately four times the price of a new square piano in London.³¹⁷

It is surprising that Elizabeth spent so much money to acquire Laycock's piano, especially given that many contemporaneous documents reveal her to be an

315 See, for example: 1) photographs in 'Longman & Broderip' in Michael Cole, 'Makers', in *Square Pianos* (n.d.); 2) photograph in Strange, 'Restoration of a Longman & Broderip Square Piano'; 3) photographs in Durand and Durand, 'Restored Instrument Archive'; 4) photographs in 'Square Piano', in *V&A: Search the Collections* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, n.d.); 5) photograph 'c1791 Longman & Broderip Square Piano', in *The Early Piano*. In the light of research undertaken by David Hunt (in 'Instrument History/Research'), the dating of square piano number 306 as 1796—listed in (3) above—may be wide of the mark. Hunt's research suggests the instrument dates from 1785.

316 See, for example: 1) photograph in 'Pianos, Square—(4346) Square Pianoforte: Longman & Broderip, London, c. 1785', in *The Collection: List of Instruments in the Collection, University of Edinburgh* (n.d.); and 2) photograph 'H5300 Square Pianoforte, Longman & Broderip, London, 1782–1798', in *Powerhouse Museum Collection Search 2.53*.

317 See Broadbent, *Elizabeth Farm Parramatta*, p. 38.

astute and prudent businesswoman. Furthermore, it seems odd that a piano about 25 years old would have so substantially appreciated in value at a time when contemporaneous innovations in design had resulted in the emergence and acceptance of a significantly different and usually more expensive instrument.

At the very least, Elizabeth's purchase appears to be an extravagance. At the very worst, Elizabeth may have been an unfortunate victim of the financial opportunism that existed in relation to the cost of square pianos sold by Sydney residents to other citizens of Sydney (in 1810, the population of the colony was relatively small, and pianos were a rare and desirable commodity). On Sunday, 24 July 1803, for example, a piano (presumably square) was advertised for sale in the *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*;³¹⁸ the asking price was an exorbitant 60 guineas—approximately three times the price of a new square piano in London. Judge Advocate Ellis Bent provides another example of the unprincipled practice. In a letter dated Friday, 27 April 1810, Bent, writing from Sydney to his mother in England, recounts:

Mrs. Paterson had a small pianoforte [that is, a square piano] but she asked for it £40. and the sounding board was broken, and the instrument was in other respects not a good one. I offered her £26 for it, but it was not accepted, tho' it did not cost her more than £25 and she had used it for ten Years.³¹⁹

Mrs. Paterson 'was the wife of the lieutenant-colonel of the New South Wales Corps and had arrived with her husband in 1791. At the time Bent wrote she was packing to leave for England.'³²⁰

One assumes that the piano purchased by Elizabeth Macarthur at Laycock's estate auction was, unlike Mrs Paterson's square piano, in good condition. 'Either Mrs Macarthur had been practising assiduously since Worgan's departure, or she was determined to give her daughters the early opportunities she herself had lacked.'³²¹ One also assumes that Elizabeth was so personally drawn to the instrument that she was prepared to spend £85 to acquire it.

Even though it is logical to suppose that Elizabeth's new piano was 'larger' and 'finer' than Worgan's piano, we do not know exactly how (or if) it differed from Worgan's piano. Furthermore, there is no evidence that Laycock's piano was an instrument in upright form.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, 'structural problems inherent in square piano fabrication, as the makers strove for a more powerful

318 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 24 July 1803, p. 4.

319 Bent, 'Letter to His Mother'. See *Ellis Bent Correspondence*, pp. 147–8.

320 Jordan, 'Music and Civil Society in New South Wales', p. 206.

321 *Ibid.*

tone, increasing string tensions while at the same time widening the case to accommodate extended keyboards caused many [piano makers] ... to ponder the merits of a new type of piano in upright form'.³²² Many design difficulties specific to the upright piano were successfully overcome by late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century makers. (In 1811, the Viennese piano maker J. F. Bleyer, on examining an upright piano, wrote: 'When we examine this action closely, we observe the drops of sweat shed by its inventor.')³²³

That an upright piano would have found its way to Australia so soon after its invention in London is unlikely. Significant dates pertaining to the development of the upright piano are

- 1795: patent for Robert Stodart's 'upright grand piano-forte in the form of a bookcase' (commonly referred to as an 'upright grand') (Plates 2, 130 and 131)³²⁴
- December 1798: patent for William Southwell's 'upright square' piano³²⁵
- 1800: John Isaac Hawkins' (1772–1855) small upright piano ('patent portable grand')³²⁶
- 1811: patent for the inventive William Southwell's 'cabinet piano' (Plate 132)³²⁷
- ca 1811: Broadwood begins to make cabinet pianos³²⁸
- 1811: Robert Wornum's (1780–1852) 'cottage upright'.³²⁹

If Laycock's piano arrived with him in September 1791 on board the *Gorgon*, the instrument could not have been in upright form; such pianos were not invented until 1795. There remains the possibility that Laycock imported an upright instrument into the colony sometime after 1795 and before his death on Wednesday, 27 December 1809. If his piano had been such a rare and innovative type of instrument (and this within the contexts both of English and of colonial culture), remarks would certainly have been made by contemporaneous colonial commentators, who remain silent on the matter.

It did not take too long, however, for upright pianos to find their way to the colony. The first mention in the antipodean press of an upright piano appears in an advertisement published in the *Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land*

322 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 96.

323 Quoted in Closson, *History of the Piano*, p. 112.

324 Patent no. 2028, registered Monday, 12 January 1795. See Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, p. 250, fn. 36.

325 Patent no. 2264, registered Thursday, 6 December 1798. See *ibid.*, p. 250, fn. 43.

326 Advertisement in *Aurora*, [Philadelphia], May? 1800. See Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, p. 255, fn. 14. Patent no. 2446, registered Thursday, 13 November 1800. *ibid.*, p. 250, fn. 64.

327 Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design*, p. 8. Patent no. 3419, registered Tuesday, 26 March 1811. *ibid.*, p. 178.

328 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 97.

329 The height of Wornum's 'cottage upright' was about only 1.5 metres. By the mid-1830s, 'the square piano was being replaced' with the cottage upright, 'which took up even less room and became the favourite domestic instrument of the Victorian household'. Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 273.

Advertiser on Friday, 9 April 1824.³³⁰ The first mention of an upright piano in the Sydney press appears in an advertisement for the raffling of ‘an elegant patent upright piano-forte, by Wornum’, published in *The Australian* on Wednesday, 18 April 1827.³³¹ In both instances, these advertisements appear more than a decade after Elizabeth Macarthur purchased Thomas Laycock’s piano at his estate auction.

A portrait of the merchant, pastoralist, politician and philanthropist Robert Campbell ‘at Wharf House, Sydney, [painted] by Charles Rodius in 1834 shows [Campbell] ... seated on a gilt japanned chair beside a table’. ‘In the background can be seen an upright grand piano’—or, because the instrument’s proportions are inaccurately depicted, perhaps a cabinet piano—with a typical ‘pleated silk front’ panel (commonly known as the ‘sunburst’ or ‘cloudburst’ design) in the upper section.³³²

In 1835, approximately one year after Campbell’s portrait was painted, the pianoforte maker³³³ John Benham designed? and produced the first Australian-made piano. This extant instrument is in upright form: a ‘cottage’ piano.³³⁴

The Allure, for Elizabeth Macarthur, of Laycock’s Longman & Broderip(?) Piano: Summary

If Laycock’s piano is the Longman & Broderip square piano dated 1785/86? currently owned by Brian Barrow, it is possible that the instrument had an escapement action. Although the keyboard compass of Barrow’s square piano was most probably identical to that of George Worgan’s piano—that is, five octaves, FF–f³—the instrument’s ‘modern’ escapement action, as well as the ornamental double stringing on the outside of the lid and the beautiful and elaborate inlaid nameboard decoration (all of which rendered the instrument ‘elegant’) may have been the crucial factors that persuaded Elizabeth Macarthur to acquire the piano at Thomas Laycock’s estate auction on 4 January 1810.

Remaining Questions

Confronting the questions that arise from provenance details associated with the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip and the 1780/86? Beck square pianos may reveal not only the interests that these provenance details serve, ‘but also the kinds of exclusion which they involve ... Any address to these problems will serve to animate a range of questions’.³³⁵

330 See *Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen’s Land Advertiser*, 9 April 1824, p. 4.

331 *The Australian*, 18 April 1827, p. 2.

332 Fahy, ‘Furniture and Furniture-Makers’, p. 123.

333 *Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*, 9 July 1835, p. 3.

334 This instrument is part of the Powerhouse Museum Collection, Registration no. H8405. The workmanship revealed in this instrument is splendid.

335 Harrison and Wood, *Art in Theory 1900–2000*, pp. 1–2.

Several pertinent questions remain:

1. Why did William Bradshaw attempt to reacquire Barrow's Longman & Broderip square piano in ca 2006–07? If Bradshaw had revised his initial opinion of the significance of the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip in the light of his encounter with the 1780/86? Beck square piano, was he attempting to
 - a) protect Brian Barrow from disappointment
 - b) protect his reputation by 'diffusing' the effect of provenance-related incompatibilities that had arisen because of information he had imparted in May 1969 when he sold the Longman & Broderip to Brian Barrow
 - c) reacquire the instrument for purely commercial reasons?
2. If Bradshaw was of the opinion that the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip was the First Fleet piano, why would he wish to deprive Brian Barrow of the joy of owning the instrument by attempting to reacquire it in ca 2006–07³³⁶—an intention that runs contrary to Bradshaw's character?
3. Why did Bradshaw inform Barrow in ca 2006–07 that he had purchased Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Beck square piano in London and that the instrument was not the First Fleet piano—information that contradicts everything Bradshaw had told Symonds in 1986 when Symonds purchased the Beck?³³⁷ Given Bradshaw voiced this revelation at the time of his (unsuccessful) attempt to reacquire the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip from Barrow,³³⁸ perhaps he hoped that a reinforcement of the Longman & Broderip's provenance as he understood and described it to Barrow in May 1969 would prevent a problematic situation from becoming embarrassing and/or volatile (new information arising from his encounter with the Beck piano on 29 October 1973 catalysing the formation of new conclusions).
4. Why did Bradshaw not tell Stewart Symonds that he had purchased Symonds' 1780/86? Beck piano in London, and that he did not believe the instrument to be the First Fleet piano? Was he attempting to
 - a) protect Symonds from disappointment; Symonds was one of Bradshaw's biggest clients³³⁹ (as in the world of visual art, so too in the world of antiques: a dealer will always endeavour to keep the biggest clients happy)

336 See 'Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance', above.

337 See 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano at a Farm "30 miles out of Sydney"' and 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano in Windsor', in Chapter 15, Volume 1 of this publication.

338 See 'Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance', above.

339 I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for this information.

- b) protect his own reputation by ‘diffusing’ the effect of provenance-related incompatibilities that had arisen because of information he had imparted ca mid-1986 when he sold the Beck to Symonds? (Perhaps there was no need for Bradshaw to emend his story, because the 1780/86? Beck piano’s provenance as communicated to Symonds—that is, the Beck was purchased at an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor, and was the First Fleet piano³⁴⁰—was *true*.)

The Plot Thickens

Within the context of the author’s visit to Brian Barrow’s home on Saturday, 28 July 2012, Barrow recalled that in ca 2006 or 2007 Bradshaw attempted to reacquire his 1785/86? Longman & Broderip. At that time, Bradshaw informed Barrow ‘in a hushed voice’, that

1. he had purchased Stewart Symonds’ 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano in London
2. he had scratched off the little round British Antique Dealers’ Association sticker
3. the 1780/86? Beck was not the First Fleet piano.³⁴¹

Did Bradshaw purchase the Beck piano in London? Like Bradshaw, Paul Kenny, the eminent antiques importer and Bradshaw’s close friend, regularly left Australia during the 1980s in order to purchase antiques. Bradshaw and Kenny would meet in England, and, by combining resources, would jointly ship their new acquisitions to Australia. Within the context of a telephone conversation held between the author and Kenny on Tuesday, 2 July 2013, Kenny (a man blessed with an acute memory) remarked: ‘As far as I know, Bill didn’t buy a Beck in London.’ Furthermore, Kenny remarked that when it came to provenance, Bradshaw might ‘embellish a story, but he wouldn’t invent; he was a truthful man’. Kenny’s remarks represent tantalising hearsay.

On Wednesday, 19 June 2013—11 months after the author’s visit to Barrow’s home in July 2012—the author held a telephone conversation with Brian Barrow. Within the context of this conversation, Barrow reiterated that Bradshaw had attempted to reacquire his 1785/86? Longman & Broderip in ca 2006 or 2007. Barrow’s ensuing recollections, however, differed from those imparted to the author in July 2012. On the telephone, Barrow recounted that Bradshaw informed him that

³⁴⁰ See ‘George Bouchier Worgan’s Piano at a Farm “30 miles out of Sydney”’, in Chapter 15, Volume 1 of this publication.

³⁴¹ See ‘Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance’, above.

1. he had acquired Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Beck square piano in Australia *from someone who had purchased the instrument in London*
2. he had scratched off the little round British Antique Dealers' Association sticker after he had purchased the instrument.

Each of Barrow's two versions of events contradicts information that Bradshaw communicated to Symonds regarding the provenance of the 1780/86? Beck square piano.³⁴² Bradshaw informed Symonds that

1. he had purchased the Beck piano at its location in an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor
2. the instrument had been in the owner's family for living memory
3. the owners were adamant that the instrument had come to Botany Bay with the First Fleet
4. he believed the 1780/86? Beck was the First Fleet piano.³⁴³

Within the context of the telephone conversation held between the author and Barrow on 19 June 2013, Barrow proposed that the individual who had purchased the Beck piano in London may have been the Australian composer Varney Monk (née Peterson; 1892–1967), who owned a collection of pianos. Barrow continued by informing the author that his speculation was based upon pronouncements published in Heather Clarke's article 'Australian Colonial Dance: Australia's First Piano'.³⁴⁴

Clarke, in the section of her article entitled 'Responses to "Australia's First Piano"', posted a response on Sunday, 10 February 2013. Citing as her source Scott Carlin, Manager of House Museums at the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart, Clarke wrote:

In the 1960s Elizabeth Macarthur's piano was said to be owned by a Mrs Varney Monk. Later it was said that Queen Street antiques dealer, Bill Bradshaw, either owned it or knew of its location. This comment from Scott Carlin.³⁴⁵

Clarke's/Carlin's description of the instrument as 'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano' tends to muddy the waters a little; it is unclear whether or not the instrument is

³⁴² Symonds was the executor of Bradshaw's estate.

³⁴³ See 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano at a Farm "30 miles out of Sydney"', in Chapter 15, Volume 1 of this publication. Bradshaw, having informed Stewart Symonds of the 1780/86? Beck piano's provenance when Symonds first saw the instrument in early October 1986, reiterated its provenance when Symonds purchased the instrument a week or two later. On occasion, Bradshaw took Symonds to dinner, and on these occasions he also reiterated the piano's provenance.

³⁴⁴ Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance'.

³⁴⁵ 'Heather Says: February 10, 2013 at 1:35 am' in '17 Responses to "Australia's First Piano"', in *ibid.*

1. the First Fleet piano
2. the instrument that Elizabeth Macarthur purchased at Thomas Laycock's estate auction on Thursday, 4 January 1810.³⁴⁶

Given that Clarke's/Carlin's comments appear in an article subtitled 'Australia's First Piano', however, it is reasonable to assume that the description 'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano' refers to the First Fleet piano.

Clarke's/Carlin's comments do not contain information pertaining to

1. *who* reported that 'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano was said to be owned by ... Varney Monk'³⁴⁷
2. *why* 'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano was said to be owned by ... Varney Monk'³⁴⁸
3. *who* said that 'Bill Bradshaw owned it or knew of its location'³⁴⁹
4. *how* Bradshaw came to own it or know of its location.³⁵⁰

Within the context of a telephone conversation held between the author and Scott Carlin on Tuesday, 6 August 2013, Carlin revealed that the source of information upon which his comment was based was Lesley Harwin, a curator at the Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales who had been tasked with the custodianship of property in Parramatta associated with Elizabeth Macarthur.

When Barrow's second version of events—that is, that Bradshaw had acquired Symonds' 1780/86? Beck square piano in Australia *from someone who had purchased the instrument in London*—is combined with his speculation based on Clarke's/Carlin's comments (that the individual who purchased the Beck piano in London may have been Varney Monk), several outcomes ensue.

1) Varney Monk's Piano is Not Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip

Varney Monk's piano could not have been Brian Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip. Clarke/Carlin note that '*in the 1960s Elizabeth Macarthur's piano was said to be owned by ... Varney Monk*' (emphasis in the original).³⁵¹ If the

346 See 'Elizabeth Macarthur Purchases Thomas Laycock's Piano', in Chapter 13, Volume 1 of this publication. See also 'Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip Square Piano: Elizabeth Macarthur's second piano?', above.

347 'Heather Says: February 10, 2013 at 1:35 am' in '17 Responses to "Australia's First Piano"', in Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance'.

348 Ibid.

349 Ibid.

350 Ibid.

351 Ibid.

Longman & Broderip's provenance as communicated by Bradshaw to Barrow on 29 May 1969 and on subsequent occasions is *true*,³⁵² in the 1960s the instrument was owned by Albert Briskie, not Varney Monk (William Bradshaw repurchased the piano from Briskie in early 1969, and shortly thereafter sold it to Barrow).

2) Varney Monk's Piano is Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck

The following hypothesis is based on two assumptions:

1. Clarke's/Carlin's comment that '[i]n the 1960s Elizabeth Macarthur's piano was said to be owned by ... Varney Monk'³⁵³ is *true*
2. the Beck's provenance as communicated by Bradshaw to Symonds—that is, that the Beck was purchased at an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor, and was the First Fleet piano³⁵⁴—is *false* (thereby rendering feasible Barrow's second version of events and his speculation regarding Varney Monk).

If these two assumptions are embraced, a connection between the 1780/86? Beck and Varney Monk may be proposed.

Monk lived near Sirius Cove, Mosman, 'overlooking Sydney Harbour'.³⁵⁵ She died, aged 75, on Tuesday, 7 February 1967.³⁵⁶ Bradshaw's stock book (Plate 133) reveals that he acquired the Beck piano on 29 October 1973, six years after Monk's death. Within the context of the telephone conversation held between the author and Barrow on 19 June 2013, Barrow conjectured that the reason six years had elapsed between Monk's death in 1967 and Bradshaw's acquisition of the Beck piano in 1973 may have been the protracted winding up of Monk's estate. No evidence can be found, however, pertaining to an extended time frame for the granting of probate in relation to Monk's estate.

On Saturday, 7 March 1970, three years after Monk's death, her husband, the violinist Cyril Farnsworth Monk (1882–1970), died, aged 88.³⁵⁷ Probate on his estate was granted to Ian Maxim Monk (1915–78), Cyril and Varney's son, on Monday, 6 April 1970.³⁵⁸

352 See 'Sources of Information' and 'Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance', above. Brian Barrow purchased the 1785/86? Longman & Broderip from William Bradshaw on 29 May 1969 (Plate 328d).

353 'Heather Says: February 10, 2013 at 1:35 am' in '17 Responses to "Australia's First Piano"' in Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance'.

354 See 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano at a Farm "30 miles out of Sydney"', in Chapter 15, Volume 1 of this publication.

355 *The Argus*, 14 December 1933, p. 4.

356 'Biographical Note', in *Papers of Varney Monk*.

357 See Bainton, 'Monk, Cyril Farnsworth (1882–1970)'.

358 See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 March 1970, p. 33. No objections were made to the probate application of 17 March 1970. Electoral rolls for 1937 and 1943 describe Ian Maxim Monk as a 'medical student' and

It is reasonable to propose that if Varney Monk was the individual who had purchased the Beck piano in London, the instrument may eventually, upon her death in 1967, have passed into the custodianship of her husband, Cyril. Subsequently, upon Cyril's death in 1970, the instrument may have passed into the hands of Varney and Cyril's son, Ian.

If the provenance of the Beck piano as communicated by Bradshaw to Symonds—that is, that the Beck was purchased on the outskirts of Windsor, and was the First Fleet piano³⁵⁹—is *true*, the instrument cannot have been owned by Varney Monk. This is because that particular history of the 1780/86? Beck piano's ownership presents an unbroken line of progress from: 1) an unnamed family living in an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor, through to 2) William Bradshaw, and 3) Stewart Symonds.

3) Bradshaw Owns Elizabeth Macarthur's Piano

Clarke/Carlin record that 'later'—that is, after the 1960s—'it was said that Queen Street antiques dealer, Bill Bradshaw ... owned' Elizabeth Macarthur's/the First Fleet piano.³⁶⁰

Hearsay concerning Bradshaw's *ownership* of 'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano', as recorded by Clarke/Carlin is feasible, and may viably refer either to Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip or to Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck piano.

1. If Clarke's/Carlin's 'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano' is Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip, Bradshaw owned the instrument twice:
 - a) between 1942 and 1943/49?: Bradshaw purchased the piano in 1942; between 1943 and 1949, he sold the instrument to Albert Briskie
 - b) between early 1969 and 29 May 1969: in early 1969, Bradshaw repurchased the piano from Briskie.

Bradshaw sold the instrument to Barrow on 29 May 1969 (Plate 328d).

2. On the other hand, if Clarke's/Carlin's 'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano' is Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck, Bradshaw held this instrument in his personal collection for 13 years before selling it:³⁶¹

give his address as '37 Raglan Street, Mosman'. Electoral rolls for 1937 and 1943 in Ancestry.com, *Australia, Electoral Rolls, 1905–1980*.

359 See 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano at a Farm "30 miles out of Sydney"', in Chapter 15, Volume 1 of this publication.

360 Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance'.

361 See 'A Taxing Proposition', above.

- a) between 29 October 1973 and mid-October 1986: Bradshaw acquired the piano on 29 October 1973 (Plates 133 and 328e); Bradshaw sold the instrument to Symonds in mid-October 1986.

4) Bradshaw Knows the Location of Elizabeth Macarthur's Piano

Clarke/Carlin record that after the 1960s, 'it was said that' Bradshaw knew the location of Elizabeth Macarthur's piano.³⁶²

Hearsay regarding Bradshaw's knowledge of the *location* of Elizabeth Macarthur's piano, as recorded by Clarke/Carlin is feasible, and may apply either to Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip or to Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck piano.

If Clarke's/Carlin's 'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano' is Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip, Bradshaw knew the location of the instrument because

1. he purchased the instrument from the Mat(t)hews family in 1942
2. between 1943 and 1949?, he sold the piano to Albert Briskie
3. in early 1969, he repurchased the instrument from Briskie
4. on 29 May 1969, he sold the piano to Brian Barrow
5. following this sale, Bradshaw was aware of its location in Barrow's home (in ca 2006 or 2007, Bradshaw attempted to repurchase the Longman & Broderip from Barrow).

On the other hand, if Clarke's/Carlin's 'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano' is Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck, and if the Beck's provenance as communicated by Bradshaw to Symonds—that is that the instrument was purchased in Windsor, and was the First Fleet piano—is *true*, Bradshaw knew the *location* of the Beck because

1. Bradshaw acquired the piano on 29 October 1973 (Plates 133 and 328e)
2. Bradshaw maintained possession of the instrument for 13 years before selling it to Symonds in mid-October 1986³⁶³
3. following the piano's sale to Symonds, Bradshaw was aware of the instrument's location in the Stewart Symonds Collection.

From a different perspective, if Clarke's/Carlin's 'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano' is Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck, and: 1) if the instrument's provenance as communicated by Bradshaw to Symonds is *false*; and 2) if Barrow's second

³⁶² 'Heather Says: February 10, 2013 at 1:35 am' in '17 Responses to "Australia's First Piano"' in Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance'.

³⁶³ See 'A Taxing Proposition', above.

version of events (that is, that Bradshaw acquired the Beck in Australia *from someone who had purchased the instrument in London*) is *true*; and 3) if Clarke's/Carlin's hearsay regarding Varney Monk's ownership of the instrument is *true*; Bradshaw knew the *location* of the Beck because

1. he acquired the piano on 29 October 1973 (Plates 133 and 328e); Bradshaw may have purchased the instrument from Ian Monk, who, by that time, may have had the piano in his possession for three years
2. Bradshaw maintained ownership of the Beck for 13 years before selling the instrument to Symonds in mid October 1986³⁶⁴
3. following this sale, Bradshaw was aware of the Beck's location in the Stewart Symonds Collection.

The Interplay of Equals

Drawing on information and hypotheses discussed in the foregoing 'The Plot Thickens', the following two lists comprise events associated with Brian Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip and Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck square pianos.

Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip Square Piano 1785/86?

- Sometime in 1942: William Bradshaw purchases the piano from the Mat(t)hews family.
- Between 1943 and 1949: Bradshaw sells the piano to Albert Briskie.
- 7 February 1967: Varney Monk dies.
- Early 1969: Bradshaw repurchases the piano from Albert Briskie.
- 27 May 1969: Brian Barrow purchases the piano from Bradshaw, who dates the piano as 1780 in his sales register.
- July 1970: Bradshaw dates the piano as 1781 in *The Australasian Antique Collector* (Vol. 3, No. 9, July–December 1970).
- March 1970: Cyril Monk, Varney Monk's husband, dies.
- 6 April 1970: Probate on Cyril Monk's estate is granted to Ian Maxim Monk, Cyril and Varney Monk's son.
- 1978: Ian Monk dies.
- ca 2006–07: Bradshaw attempts (unsuccessfully) to repurchase the piano from Brian Barrow.

³⁶⁴ See *ibid.*

Stewart Symonds' Frederick Beck Square Piano 1780/86?

- 1960s: The piano is owned by Varney Monk.
- 7 February 1967: Varney Monk dies.
- March 1970: Cyril Monk, Varney Monk's husband, dies.
- 6 April 1970: Probate on Cyril Monk's estate is granted to Ian Maxim Monk, Cyril and Varney Monk's son.
- 29 October 1973: William Bradshaw purchases the piano from Adam Barber.
- End of winter 1974: The author first meets Bradshaw, at his antiques shop.
- 1974–77: The author never sees the piano in Bradshaw's collection, despite Bradshaw conducting frequent tours of his collection with the author.
- 1978: Ian Monk dies.
- 8 June 1970: Bradshaw first ventures overseas to acquire antiques.
- ca April 1986: Bradshaw returns to Sydney from England.
- ca May 1986: Bradshaw returns to Sydney after spending two weeks in the United States.
- Early October 1986: Stewart Symonds first sees the Beck piano at Bradshaw's home/shop.
- Mid-October 1986: Stewart Symonds purchases the piano from Bradshaw.

Through a Glass Darkly

When the following four propositions are *combined*, they reinforce the supposition that the First Fleet piano is Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Beck square piano.

Proposition 1

Barrow's second version of events is *true*—that is, Bradshaw acquired Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Beck square piano in Australia from someone who had purchased the instrument in London.

Proposition 2

Barrow's speculation that the individual who purchased the Beck piano in London was Varney Monk is *true*.

Proposition 3

The claim that 'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano' of Clarke's/Carlin's article was owned by Varney Monk in the 1960s is *true*.³⁶⁵

³⁶⁵ 'Heather Says: February 10, 2013 at 1:35 am' in '17 Responses to "Australia's First Piano"' in Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance'.

Proposition 4

'Elizabeth Macarthur's piano' of Clarke's/Carlin's article refers to the First Fleet piano.

A Moment in Time

The final section of Heather Clarke's article 'Australian Colonial Dance: Australia's First Piano' comprises '17 Responses to "Australia's First Piano"'.³⁶⁶ On Wednesday, 12 December 2012, 'Sandy' posted the following response: 'Way back in the 70's I had a friend who worked in an antique shop in Woollahra, a very well-off Eastern suburb of Sydney. He showed me a piano his boss thought was the First Fleet piano (all I have is a vague memory of a rectangular box).'³⁶⁷

- On Sunday, 19 May 2013 Sandy appended another response: 'The only other thing I can remember definitely is that the shop was on the Sydney side of Queen St & I vaguely remember we were upstairs, so it was at least 2-storeys,—as were all the other shops in the street.'³⁶⁸

It could be conjectured that the instrument in question is Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano.

- 'Way back *in the 70's*' (emphasis added): William Bradshaw purchased the Beck piano on 29 October 1973 (Plates 133 and 328e); after acquiring the Beck, Bradshaw did not sell the instrument for 13 years.
- '*An antique shop in Woollahra*' (emphasis added): Was this William Bradshaw's antiques shop at 96 Queen Street, Woollahra?
- 'The shop was on the Sydney side of Queen St & I vaguely remember we were upstairs, so it was at least 2-storeys': The description is consistent with the location and design of William Bradshaw's antiques shop at 96 Queen Street, Woollahra.
- 'His *boss*' (emphasis added): Was this William Bradshaw?
- His boss thought the piano '*was the First Fleet piano*' (emphasis added): Was this the 1780/86? Beck instrument that Bradshaw acquired on 29 October 1973 (bearing in mind the Beck piano's provenance as communicated by Bradshaw to Stewart Symonds—that is, the Beck was purchased at an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor, and was the First Fleet piano)?³⁶⁹
- 'All I have is a vague memory of a *rectangular box*' (emphasis added): The 1780/86? Beck is a square piano.

366 Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance'.

367 'Sandy Says: December 19, 2012 at 1:01 am' in *ibid*.

368 'Sandy Says: May 19, 2013 at 11:36 am' in *ibid*.

369 See 'George Bouchier Worgan's Piano at a Farm "30 miles out of Sydney"', in Chapter 15, Volume 1 of this publication.

If Sandy's recollections are accurate, the 'First Fleet piano' could not have been Brian Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip. This is because in the 1970s,³⁷⁰ the Longman & Broderip was owned by Brian Barrow (Barrow purchased the piano from Bradshaw on Thursday, 29 May 1969) (Plate 328d).

It is reasonable to surmise, however, that Sandy's 'First Fleet piano' is Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Federick Beck square piano. Sandy's hearsay certainly seems to point in that direction—especially so because Sandy's recollections are from the 1970s. As is so often the case when attempting to conclusively identify the First Fleet piano, provenance and supposition are based on unsubstantiated hearsay.

Verifying the provenance and date of a culturally significant piano, especially

when answers are not known, [or] when understanding is evolving ... is particularly challenging. Yet such circumstances can be energising, exciting in fact, prompting theories and research that can take place ... new insights and understandings, revealing unconsidered research directions and connections.

The English historian H. A. L. Fisher wrote:

Men wiser and more learned than I have discerned in history a plot, a rhythm, a predetermined pattern. These harmonies are concealed from me ... there can be no generalizations, only one safe rule for the historian: that he should recognize in the development of human destinies the play of the contingent and the unforeseen.³⁷¹

'Above all, to rediscover a lost piano is like welcoming a prodigal child.'³⁷²

The First Fleet Piano: Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip or Stewart Symonds' Frederick Beck? Summary of hearsay, inaccuracies, conjecture and unsubstantiated claims

My object all sublime
I shall achieve in time—
To let the punishment fit the crime—
The punishment fit the crime.³⁷³

370 'Sandy Says: December 19, 2012 at 1:01 am' in '17 Responses to "Australia's First Piano"', in Clarke, 'Australian Colonial Dance'.

371 Rosen, *Australia's Oldest House*, p. 12. Rosen takes the quotation from H. A. L. Fisher, *A History of Europe* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1935), p. vii.

372 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. xi.

373 A. Sullivan and W. S. Gilbert, *The Mikado; Or, The Town of Titipu* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2000 [1898]), Act II, 'A More Humane Mikado Never Did in Japan Exist'.

Both Brian Barrow and Stewart Symonds claim to own the First Fleet piano. Since there was only one piano on board the *Sirius* as the ship made its way to Botany Bay, there can only be one First Fleet piano.

The claims made by Barrow and Symonds are based substantially on provenance details whose origins lie in hearsay. Inconsistencies in provenance details consistently appear to originate with William Bradshaw.

The dating of Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano and Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano is open to question. An informed proposed date for each instrument allows, however, for a departure for Botany Bay with the First Fleet.

With historical context in mind, and when placed within the framework of evidence based on hearsay, the unique hinged cabriole legs and campaign-furniture-inspired stand of Symonds' Beck square piano represent the strongest physical features supporting speculation that the instrument may be the First Fleet piano.

To the author's knowledge, there are only four other extant late eighteenth-century English square pianos with folding legs:

1. an instrument by Charles Trute, dated ca 1771?, with four straight square-tapering legs braced by a removable shelf;³⁷⁴ this piano has a compass of four octaves (54 notes, C–f³ chromatic—a compass perhaps inspired by that found on some seventeenth and eighteenth-century organs and clavichords)³⁷⁵
2. an instrument by Ferdinand Weber, dated 1772, with a folding 'picnic table' stand. This piano has a compass of two keys less than five octaves (59 notes, GG–f³).³⁷⁶
3. an instrument by Ferdinand Weber, date unknown, with a folding 'picnic table' stand. This piano has a compass of two keys less than five octaves (59 notes, GG–f³).³⁷⁷

374 On Wednesday and Thursday, 18 and 19 September 2013, this square piano was offered for sale (Sale 1186) in London—within the context of the auctioning of the Collection of Professor Sir Albert Richardson, PRA—by Christie's. The instrument was offered as Lot 128, with a possible attribution to Joseph Merlin, and sold for £5250. See 'Christie's Auction Results—The Collection of Professor Sir Albert Richardson, P.R.A.—Lot 128', in 'Sale 1186 Lot 128' (n.d.). See also photographs in 'A Magical Mystery Piano' in 'Update 28th October', in *Friends of Square Pianos* (n.d.). See also 'A Mystery Solved' in 'Update (2) December 12th', in *Friends of Square Pianos*.

375 A strikingly beautiful example of a square piano with an identical compass to that of the ca 1771? Trute instrument may be seen in 'Restored Instrument Archive: Square Piano by John Bland, London c.1790', in *The Music Room Workshop: Makers & Restorers of Early Keyboard Instruments* (n.d.).

376 This piano is housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Accession Number: 2003.300).

377 On Wednesday 11 March 2015, this square piano was offered for sale in Stansted, UK, by Sworders Fine Art Auctioneers. The instrument was offered as Lot 1395, and sold for £4200.

4. an instrument by Longman & Broderip, ca 1790, with four somewhat unattractive straight square-tapered legs that fold underneath the case.³⁷⁸ At first, this instrument appears to support the notion that Longman & Broderip manufactured campaign-furniture-style pianos as a matter of course. It is not known, however, how many instruments with folding legs Longman & Broderip either commissioned or sold. Significantly, this decoratively plain instrument (whose unadorned nature precludes it from association with the campaign furniture aesthetic) has a keyboard compass of only three octaves (37 notes, F–f² chromatic). This suggests that the piano may have been designed to function as a choirmaster's or dancing teacher's instrument, or as a portable piano made for a church organist (the so-called 'shipboard' piano, an especially narrow instrument in upright form, is a nineteenth-century invention).

Stewart Symonds' 1780/86? Frederick Beck square piano is the only extant late eighteenth-century English square piano with hinged legs whose case dimensions and fully chromatic five-octave keyboard compass reflect late eighteenth-century norms. From a late eighteenth-century perspective, the instrument's size and compass render it a 'piano' in both the commonly encountered and the fullest senses. The fact that the instrument has intricately decorated casework, cabriole legs and a unique stand designed to be quickly disassembled, packed away, transported and reassembled without using tools reinforces not only its distinctiveness and its campaign furniture aesthetic, but also its hypothetical appropriateness for participation in the First Fleet's epic journey to Botany Bay—a journey presenting contexts within which the instrument's portability was requisite.

By favouring this hypothesis, the author chooses not to avoid a certain amount of partisan emphasis. A willingness, however, to remain open-minded (especially in the absence of irrefutable evidence) reflects the author's hope that proof will emerge in the future enabling conclusive identification of the First Fleet piano to occur.

In relation to the provenance of each of the two instruments that vie for the status of First Fleet piano, the list below summarises

1. relevant information presented in Appendix B and in previous chapters
2. provenance details arising from hearsay
3. inaccuracies
4. conjecture
5. unsubstantiated claims.

378 See Watson, *Clinkscale Online*, EP# 2139. See also photographs in 'Square Piano (Portable Model Accession Number: 89.4.2849', in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. See also McDonald, 'Campaign Furniture', p. 22.

**Brian Barrow's Longman
& Broderip square piano
1785/86?**

- 1) Found in a laundry (hearsay)
- 2) The piano belonged to Elizabeth Macarthur (hearsay; Bradshaw's reiterated claim)
- 3) In the 1960s, Elizabeth Macarthur's piano was owned by Varney Monk (hearsay; erroneous)
- 4) Elizabeth Macarthur's piano (the First Fleet piano?) was owned by William Bradshaw (hearsay)
- 5) Bradshaw's estimated date of 1780 (Plate 328d)
- 6) Bradshaw's estimated date of 1781
- 7) Campaign furniture stand (Bradshaw's erroneous claim)
- 8) Any who regard the instrument to be the First Fleet piano are deluding themselves (Kenneth Muggleston's claim)

Stewart Symonds' Frederick Beck square piano 1780/86?

- 1) Found in a laundry (hearsay)
- 2) Purchased by the owners of a farm near Windsor on 6 June 1838 (hearsay; conjecture)
- 3) Bradshaw acquired the piano from a family living in an old farmhouse on the outskirts of Windsor (hearsay)
- 4) Bradshaw acquired the piano from the Macarthur-Onslow family (hearsay; Kenneth Muggleston's recollection)
- 5) Bradshaw purchased the piano in London, and scratched off the little round British Antique Dealers' Association sticker (hearsay)
- 6) Bradshaw did not buy a Beck piano in London (hearsay)
- 7) Bradshaw acquired the piano from someone who had purchased it in London, and scratched off the little round British Antique Dealers' Association sticker (hearsay)
- 8) No UK-based antique dealer remembers a Beck piano being sold in London during the twentieth century (hearsay)
- 9) Bradshaw acquired the piano from Adam Barber on 29 October 1973 (there is no listing of Adam Barber in 1968, 1972 or 1977 Australian Electoral Rolls)
- 10) In the 1960s, Elizabeth Macarthur's piano was owned by Varney Monk (hearsay)
- 11) Came out with the First Fleet (hearsay; Bradshaw's reiterated claim)
- 12) Likely to be the First Fleet piano (hearsay; Kenneth Muggleston's strong impression)
- 13) The instrument belonged to George Worgan (hearsay; Bradshaw's reiterated claim)
- 14) The instrument is important to Australia (hearsay; Bradshaw's claim)

The First Piano to be Brought to Australia or Elizabeth Macarthur's Second Piano? Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?, serial number 604): Description

Nameboard

- Cross-banded (top and bottom) with prominently grained veneer (possibly kingwood).
- The cross-banding is separated from a wide central band of light-coloured, golden veneer (possibly maple) by a boxwood? stringer at the top and bottom; this stringer is edged with an ink line (pseudo-stringer) (Plate 333).

- The inscription is contained in a rectangular inlaid boxwood? cartouche (Plates 330 and 337).
- The edges of the cartouche are delineated by a boxwood? stringer edged with an ink line (pseudo-stringer) (Plates 330, 337, 338 and 341).
- The inscription (Plates 337–41), reads: *Longman and Broderip Musical Instrument Makers. / No. 26 Cheapside and No. 13 Hay Market London.*
- The inscription comprises handwritten pen work in ink, on a warm honey-coloured veneer (possibly boxwood) rectangular cartouche (Plates 330 and 337).
- Infills of fine pen work scrolls.
- Embellished with inlaid decorative swags (Plates 333–6).



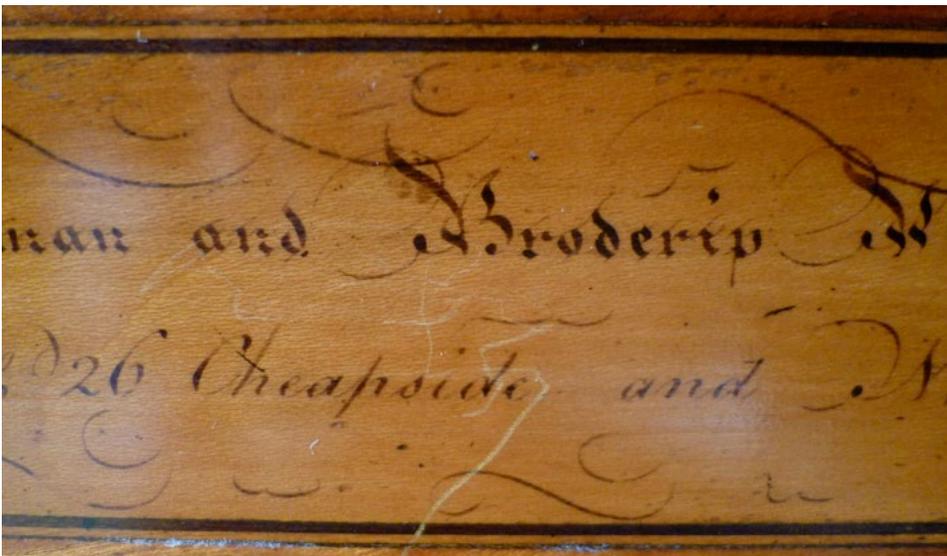
Plate 337 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard inscription.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 338 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
nameboard inscription (detail).**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 339 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
nameboard inscription (detail).**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

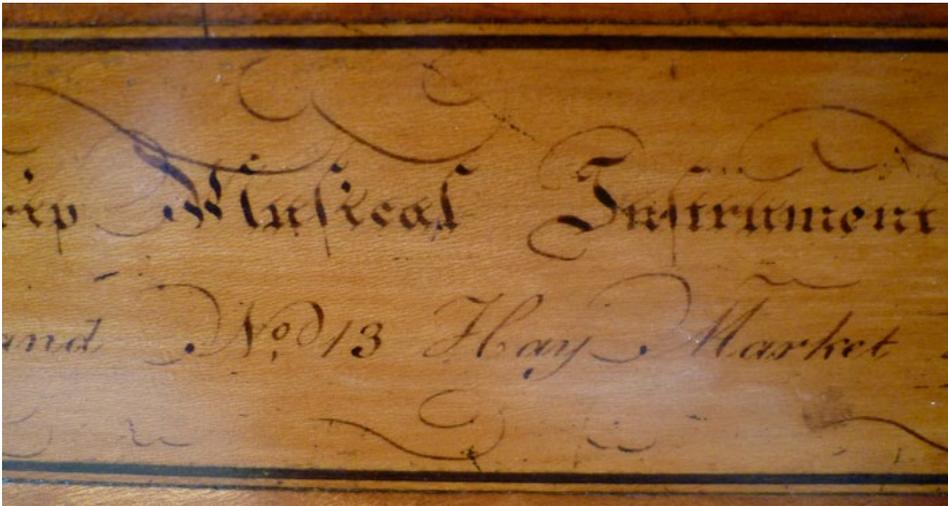


Plate 340 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard inscription (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 341 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): nameboard inscription (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

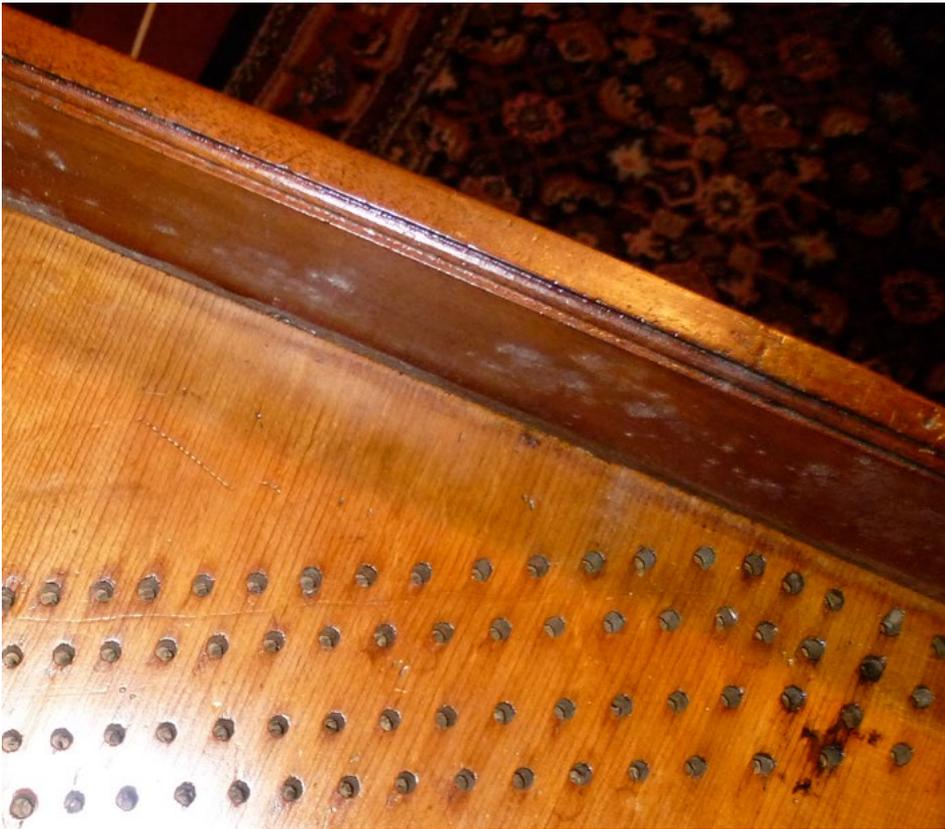
Serial Number

- '604' stamped into the bottom of the well at the left of the keyboard that originally contained mutation hand-levers (Plate 329).

Case

Moulding

The moulding runs around the upper top inside edge of the case (Plate 342).



**Plate 342 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
treble end—moulding on the top inside edge of the case (detail).**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Interior Framing

- Case construction (Plates 343–5).
- Hole in the belly rail (Plates 346–8).



Plate 343 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): internal construction.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 344 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): internal construction—the box formed by the case from the bass end to the belly rail (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 345 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
internal construction—the box formed by the case at the right-hand end of
the instrument (detail).**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 346 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
hole in the belly rail, viewed from the bass end of the instrument.**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 347 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
hole in the belly rail, viewed from the treble end of the instrument.**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 348 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
hole in the belly rail, viewed from the treble end of the instrument.**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

- ‘The main strength of the structure is provided by double-thickness bottom boards of pine, the lower layer laid parallel to the spine and the inner planks [laid] diagonally’, approximately parallel to the strings³⁷⁹ (Plates 343–5).

Soundboard

- Alpine spruce.
- Grain runs parallel to the spine (Plate 349).
- Loose in the case. Under normal circumstances, the soundboard of a square piano is tightly glued onto pine liners, which are themselves glued to the internal faces of the box formed by the case at the right-hand end of the instrument (Plate 350). ‘With the top of the wrestplank made level with these liners, the soundboard [is] ... glued down tightly to both.’³⁸⁰

Ribs

- The main rib—running parallel with the straight part of the bridge—is large compared with those around it (Plate 351).
- ‘Two ribs running parallel to the bridge, the longer [main] one being posterior to the bridge, passing near the hooked treble end’, tapering considerably to be ‘lapped into the liner at the back left hand corner’.³⁸¹ (This is similar to the soundboards of Johannes Pohlmann and Adam Beyer.)
- ‘At right angles to [the] ... main rib are [six ribs] ... of much smaller cross-section passing under the bridge. They are lapped into stopped mortises in the main rib, extend to the edge of the soundboard, tapering to almost nothing.’³⁸² (This is very much in deference to Zumpe’s early instruments, and has resonances of Adam Beyer’s approach. On Beyer’s instruments, at right angles to the main rib, there are two or three ribs of much smaller cross-section that pass under the bridge;³⁸³ Plate 352.)
- The ribs appear to be made of spruce.

379 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 71, caption for Figure 1.

380 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 41.

381 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 71, caption for Figure 1.

382 Cole, ‘Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker’, (1995), p. 110.

383 See ‘Soundboard Construction’, in Cole, ‘Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker’, (n.d.).



Plate 349 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): soundboard—the grain runs parallel to the spine.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 350 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): pine liners glued to the internal faces of the box formed by the case at the right-hand end of the instrument, and the top of the wrest-plank, upon which the soundboard is tightly glued.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 351 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
soundboard ribs.**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 352 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
the main rib—running parallel with the straight part of the bridge—is large
compared with those around it.**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Bridge

- Single.
- Beech?.
- J-form, which has a curve at the treble end, and is straight in the tenor and bass (Plate 349). The J-form bridge is typical for a late eighteenth-century English square piano.
- Single-pinned throughout the compass.
- Truncated wedge-shaped cross-section, leaning towards the keyboard.
- Undercut at the bass end (reducing the bridge's footprint) in order to increase the flexibility of the soundboard in this narrow region near the corner, thus making the soundboard generally more resonant—and more resonant to lower frequencies (Plates 353 and 354).



**Plate 353 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
bridge—bass-end undercutting.**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 354 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
bridge—bass-end undercutting.**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Condition

- At sometime, the curve at the treble end of the bridge has been clumsily replaced (Plate 355).



**Plate 355 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
bridge—the treble-end curve has been clumsily replaced.**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Nut

- A thin strip of oak.
- Located parallel to the front edge of the hitch-pin block, immediately behind the nut-pins (Plate 356).
- Single-pinned.



**Plate 356 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
nut—bass end (detail).**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Hitch-Pin Block

- Oak.
- Anchored to the spine.
- The bass-end vertical face of the hitch-pin block has been severely damaged by woodworm (Plate 357).



**Plate 357 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
hitch-pin block, bass end—extensive woodworm damage.**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Wrest-Plank

- Diagonally disposed at the treble end, made from a composite block comprising an oak? base and an upper layer of beech? (Plates 350 and 358).
- 'Under the middle part of the wrestplank it is not attached to the bottom boards.'³⁸⁴
- The top of the wrest-plank is level with pine liners that are glued to the internal faces of the box formed by the case at the right-hand end of the instrument.



Plate 358 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): composite wrest-plank comprising beech(?) and pine(?).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

384 Cole, 'Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker', (1995), p. 110.

Bottom Boards

- Plain pine.
- Double thickness.
- The lower layer comprises four rectangular planks, whose long sides are laid adjacent to one another, parallel to the spine.
- The upper-layer planks are laid diagonally in the direction of the back left-hand corner to the front-right corner—that is, approximately parallel with the diagonally positioned strings of the instrument (Plates 343 and 344).
- In the bass half of the instrument, the upper-layer planks are reinforced within the case walls by two longitudinal wooden bars running at a right angle to the lower-layer planks (Plates 343 and 344). (These two longitudinal wooden bars add only a little strength to the diagonal upper-layer planks.) The two longitudinal bars are glued to the lower-layer bottom boards.

Main Lid

- The grain runs parallel to the spine.

Moulding

- Applied convex running mould, with an overhang along the front and sides of the main lid, excluding the spine (Plates 320 and 331).
- The spine side of the main lid is flush with the top of the spine (Plate 359).



Plate 359 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the spine side of the lid is flush with the top of the spine.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Lid-Stick

- Tapered wooden prop, hinged with a screw (extant).

Lid-Stick Fastening Hole

- A single hole is located at the bass end of the underside of the lid.

Lid-Stick Screw

- Location: Inside the bass-end case, above the flat-surfaced wooden block on the left-hand inside of the case (Plate 360).

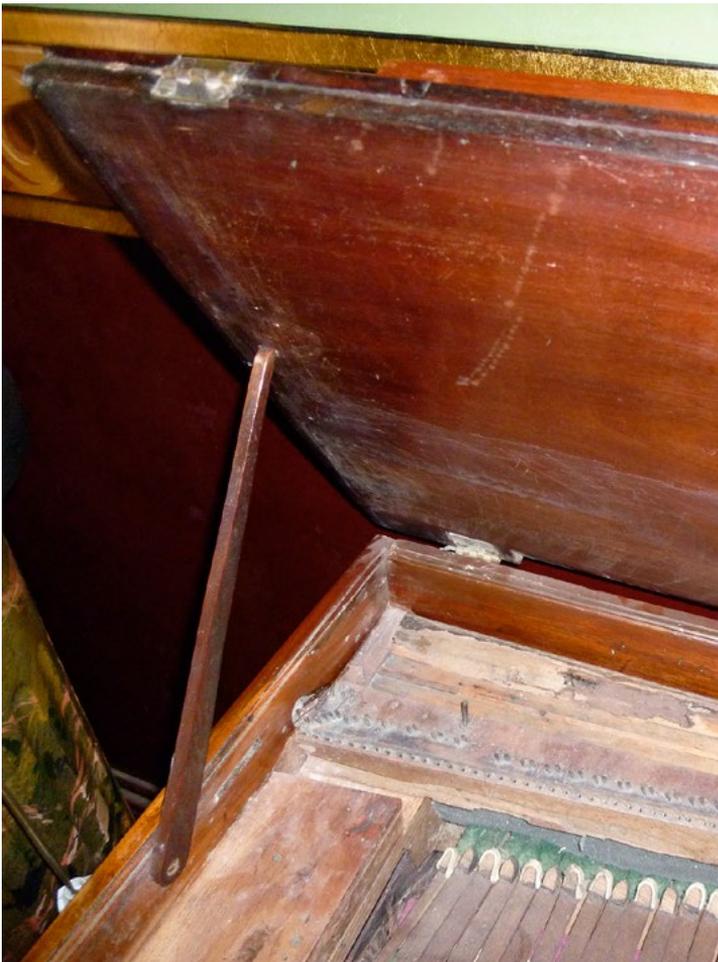


Plate 360 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the lid-stick rotates around a screw inside the bass-end case, above a flat-surfaced wooden block on the left-hand inside of the case.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Lid Sections

The lid is split into three parts by a longitudinal cut over the nameboard (extending the length of the instrument) and a short lateral cut over the right-hand cheek (Plates 361 and 362).

Main Lid

- Hinged to the outside of the spine with two three-screw butt hinges (one at the treble and one at the bass end) (Plate 363). A mortice indicates that, originally, another butt hinge was located centrally between the two butt hinges that have survived.

Keywell Flap

- The keywell flap is hinged to the main lid with four brass butt hinges (Plate 364).

Lockboard

- The lockboard is hinged to the inside of the keywell lid flap with three brass butt hinges (Plate 365). (The lockboard falls forward, as in clavichords of the Hamburg school.)³⁸⁵ When the instrument is opened, the lockboard can stand vertically as a support for a book of music (Plate 366).
- Solid mahogany.

Treble-End Front Lid Flap

- Mahogany.
- Grain runs parallel to the spine.
- The back edge is hinged to the main lid with three brass butt hinges (Plate 361).

Moulding

- Applied convex running mould, with an overhang along the front (Plate 362) and treble-end side (when closed).

³⁸⁵ Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 56.



Plate 361 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the lid is split into three parts by a longitudinal cut over the nameboard (extending the length of the instrument) and a short lateral cut over the right-hand cheek.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 362 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the lid is split into three parts by a longitudinal cut over the nameboard (extending the length of the instrument) and a short lateral cut over the right-hand cheek.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 363 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the main lid is hinged to the outside of the spine with two three-screw butt hinges (one at the treble and one at the bass end)—a mortice indicates that, originally, another butt hinge was located centrally between the two butt hinges that have survived.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 364 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the keywell flap is hinged to the main lid with four brass butt hinges.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Music Desk

- There is no internal provision for a sideways-folding music desk fitted to the back of the nameboard that when extended holds the lid open (a sideways-folding music desk became a commonly encountered feature of square pianos during the late 1790s).
- The only provision for holding a music book or music sheets in place is a solid wooden ledge screwed near the edge of the inside face of the hinged lockboard (to be used with the lockboard opened and standing in its vertical position) (Plate 365). Two swivelling brass stays prevent a music book or music sheets from sliding forward (Plates 365 and 366). This means that when a music score is used, the main part of the lid has to remain closed, the upright lockboard serving as a convenient prop for the score. The small treble-end front lid flap may be opened, at the player's discretion.
- Solid mahogany.



Plate 365 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): solid wooden ledge screwed near the edge of the inside face of the hinged lockboard, for holding a music book or music sheets in place (to be used with the lockboard opened and standing in its vertical position).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 366 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the treble-end swivelling brass stay (one of two) that prevents a music book or music sheets from sliding forward over the solid wooden ledge screwed near the edge of the inside face of the hinged lockboard.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Stand

- Trestle stand (Plate 367).
- Each pair of legs at the treble and bass ends is joined at the top edge by a horizontal bar (Plate 367).
- At each end of the instrument, the middle part of each pair of legs is fixed by a horizontal bar (Plate 367).
- When the piano is standing on its feet, each of these two horizontal bars (and therefore each pair of legs at each end of the instrument) is held apart by two horizontal stretchers running the length of the case, in solid mahogany (Plate 367).



Plate 367 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): trestle stand.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Glue

- Hide (animal) glue.

Metalware

Wrest-Pins

- Wrest-pins have been removed, and stored separately.
- Four rows (Plate 368).
- There are 116 wrest-pins for the 61-note compass.
- Iron.
- Unbored.



Plate 368 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): soundboard—four rows of holes for the wrest-pins to pass through.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Hand-Levers

- Missing (Longman & Broderip's square pianos 'had at least two hand stops to vary the tone colour, usually three'.)³⁸⁶

Damper Raising

- Witness marks on the hand-lever well (the compartment in the left-hand cheek) suggest that there were three iron hand-levers running from the front towards the back of the case (Plates 369 and 370); the levers were probably associated with raising the dampers (the left hand-lever raised the bass dampers, FF–b inclusive, while the right hand-lever raised the treble dampers, c¹–f³ inclusive), and a harp stop.
- Witness marks comprise:
 1. three holes (located towards the spine end of the hand-lever well, near and to the right of the prop's hinged end), each for a vertical pivot pin that enabled the hand-lever to move horizontally
 2. a long residual stain indicates the position of one of the hand-levers.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 101.



Plate 369 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): witness marks associated with hand-levers—located towards the spine end of the well, near and to the right of the prop's hinged end, there are three holes, each for a vertical pivot pin. A long residual stain indicates the position of one of the hand-levers.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 370 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): witness marks associated with the hand-levers (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Decoration

Main Lid (All Flaps Closed)

- Top: plain mahogany.
- Then two rows of stringing, running parallel with each other and with the edge, on the outside of the lid (Plate 361).
- Wax polished.

Keywell Cheeks

- The same pattern and timbers as found on the nameboard continue around onto the treble and bass keywell cheeks (Plate 371).
- Varnished ('using the standard spirit varnish of the [contemporaneous] furniture trade').³⁸⁷

Back (Spine) of the Instrument

- Oak.
- Plain, unveneered (Plate 359).



Plate 371 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): treble-end keywell cheek.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

³⁸⁷ Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 102.

Action

- Almost the entire original mechanism is missing. It is not known whether or not the instrument had an escapement action. ('Longman and Broderip's square pianos were the first to incorporate an escapement mechanism, giving them a subtlety of touch and expression found in grand pianos. This was owing to the patent taken out in 1786 by John Geib in which Longman, with his irrepressible enthusiasm, invested a large sum for exclusive rights to manufacture.')

Dampers

- A single wooden batten associated with damper raising is all that has survived (Plates 372–4).



Plate 372 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): wooden batten associated with damper raising.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 373 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): wooden batten associated with damper raising (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 374 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): wooden batten associated with damper raising (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

388 Ibid., p. 78.

Mutation Stops

Harp Stop (Also Called a Buff Stop)

- The harp stop was 'especially prevalent in English square pianos between 1770–1790'.³⁸⁹
- The entire mechanism is missing.
- Screw holes on the front (vertical) face of the hitch-pin block reveal that a harp stop was incorporated into the instrument (Plate 375).



Plate 375 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): hitch-pin block, treble end—two screw holes on the front (vertical) face for a harp stop (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Keyboard

- The original keyboard is missing.
- Fully chromatic (FF–f³; 61 notes).
- Taken from a contemporaneous instrument (Plates 376–8).

³⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 378.



Plate 376 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): keyboard.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 377 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): keyboard.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 378 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): keyboard.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Keyframe

- The keyframe is original.
- The disposition of the keyframe is not original: witness marks reveal that the position of the balance rail has been altered to accommodate the replacement keyboard (Plates 379 and 380).
- Front touch rail: A strip of green felt is glued along the top face of the front touch rail; this is not original (Plate 381). (Because the original cloth on both the front and the back touch rails appears to have been lost, any possibility of determining the original key dip has been irretrievably lost.)
- Green woven cloth punches have been installed around each front touch rail pin.
- A thin strip of woven green cloth is glued between the pins along the top face of the balance rail and back touch rail.
- At each of the two outside edges of the keyframe, there is a protective 'side fence'.

Condition

- There is some damage to the protective side fence at the bass-end back edge of the keyframe (Plates 382 and 395).
- The treble-end side fence is considerably damaged (Plate 383).



**Plate 379 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
keyframe, bass end—witness marks show that the position of the balance
rail has been altered (detail).**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



**Plate 380 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?):
keyframe, treble end—witness marks show that the position of the
balance rail has been altered (detail).**

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 381 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): front touch rail—a strip of felt had been glued to the top face (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 382 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): damaged protective side fence at the bass-end back edge of the keyframe.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 383 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): damaged protective side fence at the treble-end back edge of the keyframe.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Key Levers

- Lime?.
- Front-guided, with a single vertical metal pin for each key lever (Plate 384).
- A single pin at the balance rail (Plate 385).

Undercutting

- A gently rounded profile at the balance rail (Plate 386).

'Cranked' Key Levers

- The six highest treble key levers (f³–c³ inclusive) are cranked or deviated to the left (Plate 387).



Plate 384 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): front-guided key levers, with a single vertical metal pin.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 385 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): a single vertical metal pin at the balance rail.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 386 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): gentle undercutting at the balance rail.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 387 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the six highest treble key levers are cranked to the left.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Key Plates

During the second half of the eighteenth century, black accidentals and ivory naturals were the prevailing style for piano keyboards in England.

Naturals

- Ivory key plates.
- In two pieces (Plates 388 and 389).
- In some instances, the key heads are significantly thinner than the tails (in these instances, the key heads and tails do not appear to have come from the same keyboard) (Plate 390).

Key Fronts

- Varnished boxwood cornice (Plates 391 and 392). 'The front mouldings in all John Broadwood's instruments have an ovolo form with a protruding lip placed in the lower half'³⁹⁰ (Plates 392a and 392b). Despite inconsistencies in the form of key front moulding on Brian Barrow's Longman & Broderip square piano, there is a preponderance of this form on the key fronts of the instrument. As the instrument's original keyboard has been replaced with one taken from a contemporaneous piano, it seems likely that the replacement keyboard is from a piano made by John Broadwood. This proposition is strengthened by the fact that the raised part of the Longman & Broderip's sharps is solid ebony—another feature consistently found in Broadwood instruments.
- Clearance from the top of the natural keys to the bottom edge of the nameboard: There is no indication that woven cloth or felt has ever been glued to the bottom edge of the nameboard.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 169.



Plate 388 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): naturals, key lever c²—ivory key plates in two pieces.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 389 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): naturals—ivory key plates in two pieces (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 390 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): naturals—in some instances, the key head is significantly thinner than the tail (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 391 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): key fronts—varnished boxwood cornice (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 392 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): key front, key lever c²—varnished boxwood cornice.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 392a Grand piano by John Broadwood (London, 1796, serial number 875): key-front moulding—ovolo form with a protruding lip placed in the lower half.

Source: Geoffrey Lancaster Collection, Perth. Photo by the author.



Plate 392b Grand piano by John Broadwood (London, 1796, serial number 875): key-front moulding—ovolo form with a protruding lip placed in the lower half.

Source: Geoffrey Lancaster Collection, Perth. Photo by the author.

Sharps

- Many of Longman & Broderip's 'contemporaries (excluding John Broadwood) made their sharps of stained pearwood with only a thin cap of ebony glued on top'.³⁹¹ The raised part of the sharps comprises solid ebony; this suggests that the keyboard, which is not the Longman & Broderip's original, may have once belonged to an instrument by John Broadwood.
- Solid ebony (Plate 393).
- Sharps are uncharacteristically short in length (witness marks at the back of each ebony lever suggest they have been cut down) (Plates 393 and 394).

³⁹¹ Ibid., p. 169.



Plate 393 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): sharps—solid ebony.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 394 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): sharps—solid ebony (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Key Plate Score Lines

- None.

Stringing

- The strings are missing.

History of Restoration

- In 1942, at the time of purchase by William Bradshaw, the piano was in a deteriorated condition, which is surprising, given that the Mat(t)hews family, who owned the instrument, openly recognised its historical significance.
- In late 1969, Brian Barrow purchased the piano from Bradshaw. At some stage thereafter, Barrow undertook the following restoration.

Hammers

- A new set of hammers was made (Plates 395–7).
- The hammers are crudely made.
- The hammerhead covering is not consistent with Longman & Broderip's common practice.
- The top piece of the wooden hammer rail comprises French-polished wood taken from another article of furniture (Plates 395–6 and 398–9).



Plate 395 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): hammers (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 396 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): hammers, bass end—FF-F.

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 397 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): hammers (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 398 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): hammer rail, bass end—the top of the wooden hammer rail comprises French-polished wood taken from another article of furniture (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 399 Square piano by Longman & Broderip (London, 1785/86?): the top of the wooden hammer rail comprises French-polished wood taken from another article of furniture (detail).

Source: Brian Barrow Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Appendix C

Echoes of Possibility: Did George Bouchier Worgan Purchase a Square Piano by John Broadwood in 1783?

Broadwood company records show that on Thursday, 10 April 1783, a ‘Mr Worgan’ purchased one of their square pianos.¹ John Broadwood’s workbook for the period 1771–85 (held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford)² contains the following straightforward statement: ‘Mr Worgan bought a piano’³ (because Broadwood began making *grand* pianos in 1784, the instrument purchased in 1783 was a *square* piano). Was this ‘Mr Worgan’ Dr John Worgan or George Bouchier Worgan?

‘Mr Worgan’ is Dr John Worgan

George Bouchier’s illustrious father, John Worgan,⁴ gained his doctorate in music from Cambridge University in 1775—that is, eight years before the unidentified Mr Worgan acquired his square piano from John Broadwood’s workshop. Following the conferring of his doctoral degree, John Worgan consistently used the prefix ‘Dr’.⁵ Dr Worgan’s reputation as a virtuoso organist and harpsichordist was such that any person whose vocation involved commercial dealings with London-based professional musicians—a trader such as John Broadwood—would have been aware of his status. (In 1793, John Wilkes included Dr Worgan’s household as one of London’s ‘families of distinction’.)⁶ For John Broadwood to not refer to John Worgan as ‘Doctor’ would not only have seriously breached

1 See Clarke, ‘Australian Colonial Dance’. See also Goold, *Mr. Langshaw’s Square Piano*, p. 190. In the Broadwood archive, the piano sold to ‘Mr Worgan’ is not allocated a serial number. ‘Pianos made before 1784, though dated on the [nameboard] ... were not usually marked with a serial number inside.’ Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 179. ‘The earliest serial number ever recorded in the Broadwood archive is No. 206, sold to Mrs. Northey in April 1784 ... No serial number below 200 has ever been reported on a surviving example, so maybe when beginning a serial system Broadwood opted to commence at 200, knowing that there had been many more than a hundred dispatched already.’ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

2 Call no. Ms Eng. misc b 107, Journal 1771–1785. This book is bound in white vellum, and has ‘Journal 1771–1785’ marked on the spine. See Mould, ‘The Broadwood Books’, p. 1.

3 See ‘Heather Says: February 10, 2013 at 2:15 am’, in ‘12 Responses to “Australia’s First Piano”’, in Clarke, ‘Australian Colonial Dance’.

4 See ‘George Worgan’s Father, Dr John Worgan’, in Chapter 3, Volume 1 of this publication.

5 See, for example, the title page from Dr John Worgan’s *Pieces for the Harpsichord*. See Plate 55. See also Boyle, *The Fashionable Court Guide*, p. 164: ‘Worgan, Dr. 65, lower gower-street.’ See also the title page of Worgan, *Pieces for the Harp ... by Dr. Worgan*.

6 Wilkes, *Directory to the Nobility, Gentry, and Families of Distinction*, p. 50.

the bounds of commonly upheld propriety, it would also have thwarted a habit arising from the normal dictates of protocol.⁷ It seems unlikely that the Mr Worgan listed in the Broadwood archives is George Bouchier's father, Dr John Worgan.

'Mr Worgan' is One of Dr John Worgan's Professional Musician Sons

Of Dr John Worgan's five surviving sons, three became professional musicians: Richard (1759–1812), James (1762–1801) and Thomas Danvers (1773–1832). In 1783, only two of these brothers would have been old enough, and perhaps financially secure enough (very little is known about their lives), to independently purchase a Broadwood square piano: Richard was 24 and James, 21. Perhaps one of these two musicians was the unidentified Mr Worgan listed in Broadwood's journal; or perhaps he was the then 26-year-old George Bouchier. It is reasonable to propose that Dr John Worgan gave financial assistance to whichever of his sons purchased the piano; then again, it is just as reasonable to conjecture that one of Dr Worgan's sons purchased the instrument either for, or on behalf of, their father. There are simply too many unanswerable questions for a definitive understanding to be reached.

'Mr Worgan' is George Bouchier

George Bouchier Worgan confessed that although he had always been drawn towards agriculture, his father decided that he should have a career in medicine: 'My very earliest inclinations and propensities led me to the study and pursuit of agriculture ... but I had a dear and honoured Father, whose wish was to bring me up to the defective Art of Physic, his Will, was mine!'⁸

During George Bouchier's formative years, the activities of the Worgan household would have been geared primarily to music. The sounds of music making, arising from practising, teaching and composing, would have filled the home. Within such a context, and from their earliest days, Dr Worgan's children would have been surrounded by music. Doubtless, George Bouchier 'was taught music, played music, and probably wrote music as soon as he was able'.⁹

7 The use of the prefix 'Dr' by contemporaneous writers in relation to John Worgan can, for example, be found in the writings of Richard Mackenzie Bacon, Patrick Boyle, Dr Charles Burney, Thomas Busby, Reverend Richard Cecil, Alexandre Choron, John Langshaw, John S. Sainsbury, Arthur Bowes Smyth, Richard John Samuel Stevens and Sylvanus Urban.

8 *Arthur Young Papers*, British Library. I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*.

9 Kenyon, 'Bach for All'.

Although there are no extant critiques of George Worgan's pianistic abilities, it is not surprising that, having been raised in a musically stimulating environment and being (as a navy surgeon) financially self-sufficient, he purchased a piano and brought it with him on his voyage to Botany Bay.

If the Mr Worgan listed in Broadwood's journal is George Bouchier then George's early naval career path has ramifications in relation to his ability to afford to buy a Broadwood square piano in 1783:

- 1775: George Bouchier joins the British Navy and serves as a Surgeon's Mate on the hospital ship *Tiger*¹⁰
- 1778–79: George Bouchier serves as a Surgeon's Second Mate
- 1779: George Bouchier is certified as a Surgeon Fifth Rate¹¹
- 1780–82: George Bouchier serves on board the hospital ship *Pilote*¹²
- 1783–85: George Bouchier is unaccounted for; perhaps he worked as a naval surgeon (on the Portsmouth guardship *Ganges*)¹³ or was on some sort of detached list (naval surgeons did not enjoy retirement on half-pay at the time, so if George was not working, his income would have been severely restricted).¹⁴

Whilst serving on board the hospital ship *Pilote*, George Bouchier may have put aside part of his income in order to save for the purchase of a piano. (The fact that George Bouchier was capable of financial prudence is suggested by his apparently having saved enough money to pay for the construction of Wadeland House in 1836.)¹⁵ In order to buy a square piano from John Broadwood in 1783, Worgan would have had to part with a possible one-third to one-fifth of his 1780–82 annual income—a not inconsiderable proportion of his earnings.¹⁶

In 1783, Broadwood square pianos were not particularly cheap compared with the prices of those of some other makers. During the mid-1780s, the usual cost of a square piano made in London ranged between 15 and 20 guineas (£15–21)¹⁷—approximately one-fifteenth of an annual middle-class income. The standard price for a Broadwood square piano, £21,¹⁸ lay at the top of this range.

10 See Pole, 'No. 26. The Examination of Mr. George Bourchier Worgan', p. 631.

11 Company of Surgeons, *Examinations Book 1745–1800*, p. 339. I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*. See also Steel, 'Surgeons', p. 31.

12 Cobley, 'Worgan, George Bouchier (1757–1838)', p. 623.

13 See Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 393.

14 I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*. See 'Significant Events in George Bouchier Worgan's Life: Summary', in Chapter 12, Volume 1 of this publication.

15 See 'Wadeland House', in Chapter 11, Volume 1 of this publication.

16 See 'How Much Did George Worgan's Piano Cost?', in Chapter 4, Volume 1 of this publication.

17 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, pp. 62–3, 77, 91, 100, 354.

18 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 90.

It is reasonable to assume therefore that price was not the prime factor that influenced 'Mr Worgan' to buy an instrument from John Broadwood in early April 1783.

Working on board the moored *Pilote* between 1780 and 1782 (or the *Ganges* in 1783) provided a context within which George Bouchier may have, with relative ease, arranged to travel to London in order to view instruments; he may even have engaged a proxy to act on his behalf in order to commission or purchase a piano, which was not uncommon in such circumstances.¹⁹ If George Bouchier undertook such a journey to London, he may upon arrival have stayed at his father's house at 7 Millman Street.²⁰ Assuming that he intended to purchase an instrument from John Broadwood, this address, somewhat inconveniently, was located more than 40 blocks from Broadwood's workshop at 33 Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square.²¹

It is reasonable to assume that prior to his departure for Sydney Cove on Sunday, 13 May 1787, George Bouchier lived for a while at Portsmouth²² ('in 1786 he had been serving ... on the Portsmouth guardship *Ganges* and was discharged to *Sirius* on [Wednesday,] 1 November'²³ 1786). A journey to London from Portsmouth in order to commission or purchase a piano would not have been too difficult an endeavour to arrange—although, because of the importance of, and the logistical complexities arising from, his work prior to the First Fleet's departure, it is unlikely that he would have been granted leave from the *Sirius*.

If George Bouchier made a visit to London from Portsmouth with the intention of purchasing a piano, he may, upon arrival, have stayed at his father's house, then at 40 Rathbone Place²⁴ (Dr Worgan moved from 7 Millman Street to Rathbone Place after 1780, probably about 1784–85).²⁵ Assuming George Bouchier was interested in buying a piano from John Broadwood, Broadwood's workshop was situated only seven blocks or so to the south of Rathbone Place.

Although George Bouchier is unaccounted for between 1783 and 1785,²⁶ it is reasonable to conjecture that during this period he worked as a naval surgeon

19 See *ibid.*, p. 54.

20 See 'Sources of Information', in Appendix B, this volume. See also 'Millman Str', Map Reference 20, and 'Millmans Street', in 'A List of 528 of the Most Principal Streets with Reference to their Situation', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*.

21 See 'Pultney Str', in *ibid.*, Map Reference 27.

22 I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*. See also 'Significant Events in George Bouchier Worgan's Life: Summary' in Chapter 12, Volume 1 of this publication.

23 Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 393.

24 See 'Rathbone Place', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28.

25 See 'Sources of Information', in Appendix B, this volume.

26 He may have been on some sort of detached list. I am indebted to Robert Clarke for this information, which comes from his preparatory research for *Working the Forge*.

‘on the Portsmouth guardship *Ganges*’.²⁷ Within this context, George Bouchier may have journeyed from Portsmouth to London to purchase a piano from John Broadwood—after all, Broadwood’s unidentified Mr Worgan acquired a square piano in 1783.

The Surname ‘Worgan’ in Eighteenth-Century London

In eighteenth and early nineteenth-century London, the surname Worgan, although not commonly encountered, was not unheard of. The name crops up in many places—for example: in 1702, ‘John Worgan Citizen and Pewterer of London’;²⁸ in 1721, ‘John Worgan’²⁹ (possibly the son of the aforementioned John Worgan); in 1721, ‘William Worgan ... charged by William Worgan his father on oath for being idle and disorderly by taking ill courses and running away from his master’;³⁰ in 1742, ‘John Worgan ... Clothworker Saint Dunstan’s in the East, City of London’;³¹ in 1743, ‘John Worgan ... Grocer ... London’;³² in 1757, ‘Mr. Thomas Worgan, Linen-draper in the Borough of Southwark’;³³ in 1764, ‘John Worgan ... Coffeeman ... of Cooper’s Court Cornhill, London’;³⁴ in 1768, ‘Worgan John ... Cook ... near the Bank’³⁵ (the same person as ‘Mr. Worgan, at the White Horse, Threadneedle-Street’ in 1776);³⁶ in 1777, ‘Mr. Worgan, Carpenter’;³⁷ in 1778, ‘Mr. Worgan ... butcher, No. 95, Cannon-street, near Walbrook’³⁸ (the same person as ‘William Worgan ... Butcher ... City of London’ in 1797);³⁹ and in 1809, ‘John Worgan, Planter, London’.⁴⁰ It is reasonable to assume that for some of these people or their children,

27 Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p. 393.

28 See ‘Carpenters’ Company: Minute Books of Courts and Committees 3rd October 1699 – 5th September 1710’, in *London Lives 1690–1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis* (2 March 1702).

29 See ‘Carpenters’ Company: Minute Books of Courts and Committees 3rd January 1721 – 3rd October 1727’, in *London Lives 1690–1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis* (7 February 1721).

30 See ‘Bridewell Royal Hospital: Minutes of the Court of Governors 26th June 1713 – 2nd August 1722’, in *London Lives 1690–1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis* (3 August 1721).

31 See ‘PCC Abstracts of Wills: Wills Proved at Prerogative Court of Canterbury’, in *London Lives 1690–1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis* (5 February 1742).

32 See ‘PCC Abstracts of Wills: Wills Proved at Prerogative Court of Canterbury’, in *London Lives 1690–1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis* (18 July 1743).

33 ‘January 11–13’ in *The London Chronicle for 1757. Volume 1: From January 1, to June 30* (London: J. Wilke, 1757), p. 46.

34 *The London Gazette*, 3 July 1764, p. 3.

35 Corporation of London, *The Poll of the Livery of London for Four Citizens to Represent the Said City in Parliament, Taken at Guildhall, March 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 1768* (London: John Rivington, 1768), p. 107.

36 See ‘Lost Last Tuesday Morning’, advertisement in *The Daily Advertiser*, 10 May 1776, No. 14163.

37 See ‘To Be Sold by Auction by Mr. Skinner’, advertisement in *The Daily Advertiser*, 14 November 1777, No. 14637.

38 See ‘Wants a Place, a Widow, of a Middle Age’, advertisement in *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 23 January 1778, No. 15271.

39 See ‘PCC Abstracts of Wills: Wills Proved at Prerogative Court of Canterbury’, in *London Lives 1690–1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis* (17 March 1797).

40 See ‘PCC Abstracts of Wills: Wills Proved at Prerogative Court of Canterbury’, in *London Lives 1690–1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis* (28 September 1809).

professional-class—that is, middle-class⁴¹—aspirations, along with an annual income to match, resulted in them purchasing one of the visible symbols of respectability: a square piano. (Domestic music making—'a little dance music after dinner', an accompanied sonata 'or a song or two in the family circle—was considered unexceptional and many wealthy tradespeople' bought pianos and looked for tuition.)⁴² In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is possible that the Mr Worgan listed in John Broadwood's journal was not in any way connected with Dr John Worgan's family.

Why Did 'Mr Worgan' Buy a Broadwood Square Piano?

'Mr Worgan' elected to purchase a Broadwood piano, rather than an instrument produced by one of the 31 other piano makers trading in London at the time.⁴³ What might have been some of the factors that influenced Mr Worgan's decision?

1. Mutations

Perhaps Mr Worgan was not a fan of mutated sound⁴⁴ and/or its associations with France. During the late eighteenth century, the French style of piano playing exploited changes in timbre achieved using pedal-operated mutations. With this performance predilection in mind, several London piano makers equipped their instruments (for customers in Paris) with at least three, if not four, pedals.⁴⁵ (This type of piano is well represented, for example, by the surviving instruments of Schoene.)⁴⁶ In all likelihood, Broadwood's unidentified Mr Worgan was English. Perhaps Mr Worgan's nationalistic sensibilities were offended by any piano that allowed for the expression of a French sonic aesthetic; after all, 'before they learn there is a God', said a contemporaneous German describing the Georgian English, 'they learn there are Frenchmen to be detested'.⁴⁷

'When an 18th century [English] square piano is seen to have a pedal, it is most likely to be for [a nag's head] swell.'⁴⁸ In some instances, a pedal may operate the raising of dampers; the earliest known example of a pedal-operated damper-

41 See 'The Professional Class: Piano Music and Hedonism', in Chapter 1, Volume 1 of this publication.

42 Southey et al., *The Ingenious Mr Avison*, p. 119.

43 See Appendix E, this volume.

44 See 'Mutation', in Appendix Q, this volume.

45 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 60.

46 See *ibid.*, p. 60.

47 Keneally, *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, p. 78. See also 'How Much Did George Worgan's Piano Cost?', in Chapter 4, Volume 1 of this publication.

48 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 76. See also 'Nag's Head Swell', in Appendix Q, this volume.

raising mechanism on a square piano is an instrument dated 1775, by Adam Beyer. On late eighteenth-century English square pianos, the pedal for the nag's head swell is most commonly located towards the right-hand side.

The nag's head swell was not the only mutation exploited by late eighteenth-century English square piano makers. The harp (buff) stop was 'especially prevalent in English square pianos between 1770–1790'.⁴⁹ Extant square pianos incorporating a harp stop operated by a pedal rather than by a hand-lever—for example, instruments by Christopher Ganer—suggest that the harp stop may have been operated by a pedal under the left foot. Commonly, the harp stop pedal was positioned to the left-hand side of the instrument and hinged to a stretcher near the floor between the piano's left-hand legs. Whatever particular mechanism the pedal operated, the mechanism was usually attached to the pedal via a cord. For late eighteenth-century English square pianos, the presence of pedal-operated sound-modifying mechanisms 'either through a Nag's Head Swell or a Harp (Buff) Stop reflects' one of the music-aesthetic fashions prevalent 'until at least 1810'.⁵⁰

In comparison, the sonic palette of John Broadwood's square pianos was less overtly colourful. Broadwood never followed the French sound-modifying fashion,⁵¹ instead making a type of piano that the public came 'to recognize as distinctively Broadwood's'.⁵²

2. Broadwood's Emerging Reputation for Fine Craftsmanship

Apart from a possible aversion to mutated sounds (and/or their French associations), 'Mr Worgan' may have decided to acquire a Broadwood square piano because he was aware of Broadwood's growing reputation for consistently high-quality workmanship. A review of Broadwood's square piano output prior to 1783 reveals his increasing credibility as a fine maker: in 1780 (when Broadwood began 'his change to piano production'),⁵³ 'he sold only six pianos; in 1781 ten'; in 1782 'about twenty (assuming continuous output, this represents an average of one instrument completed ca every 18 days); in 1783 forty five' (on average, one square piano made every eight days).⁵⁴ The expansion of Broadwood's output continued apace: records in the Broadwood archive show that in 1784, he sold 100 square pianos (an average of one square piano completed every three days), the revenue from which was equal to that

49 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 378. See also 'Harp Stop (Buff Stop)', in Appendix Q, this volume.

50 Cole, 'Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker', (1995), p. 94.

51 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 60.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

53 'So, the Big Question, When Did Broadwood Begin Making Pianos?' in M. Cole, 'John Broadwood', in *Square Pianos* (n.d.).

54 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 61.

from harpsichords.⁵⁵ 'At least five' Broadwood square 'pianos from 1784 are known'—serial numbers 200 (Colt Collection), 204 and 206 (Michael Cole), 219 (A. Beurmann), 283—and at least two (204 and 206) completely restored by Michael Cole'.⁵⁶

John Broadwood's journal for 1771–85 shows that people of consequence who purchased pianos from him included: Lord Thomas Bruce, Seventh Earl of Elgin (1766–1841);⁵⁷ John Montagu, Fourth Earl of Sandwich (1718–92);⁵⁸ Charles, Duke of Queensborough;⁵⁹ the Duchess of Bedford;⁶⁰ Mary Howard, Duchess of Norfolk (ca 1712–73); Baron Augher;⁶¹ Robert Clive, First Baron Clive; John Spencer, First Earl Spencer (1734–83); Lady Edgcumbe;⁶² Lady Howe;⁶³ Lady Chatrian Manning;⁶⁴ Lady Frances Mayne;⁶⁵ Lady Pembroke;⁶⁶ Lady Tufton;⁶⁷ Admiral Hugh Piggot (1722–92); David Garrick (1717–79); Dr Samuel Johnson (1709–84); Thomas Gainsborough (1727–88); Josiah Wedgwood; and Mrs Horton (Queen Charlotte's cake baker).⁶⁸

During the 1790s, the sheer scale of Broadwood's square piano output is astonishing: in 1794, he sold 169 square pianos (an average of one instrument completed every 2.2 days), and in 1795, more than 200 (on average, one square piano made every 1.8 days).⁶⁹

Broadwood was a canny Scotsman. A shrewd business strategy aided in the spread of his reputation. Of the 45 square pianos Broadwood sold in 1783,

twenty-two of them went to trade customers at a thumping twenty-five percent discount ... Broadwood transformed his trading position by selling [part of his] ... output at discount prices to others, who would be selling them on to the public, or else to music professionals—clients who could be expected to provide Broadwood with further orders.⁷⁰

55 See *ibid.*, p. 53.

56 T. Strange, 'Restoration Report for a 1784 Broadwood Square Piano, #229', in *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos* (2010).

57 See Mould, 'The Broadwood Books', p. 6.

58 See *ibid.*, p. 6.

59 See Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 47.

60 See Mould, 'The Broadwood Books', p. 6.

61 See *ibid.*, p. 6.

62 See *ibid.*, p. 6.

63 Entry dated Tuesday, 18 March 1777. See *ibid.*, pp. 4–5.

64 See Mould, 'The Broadwood Books', p. 6.

65 See *ibid.*, p. 6.

66 Entry dated Friday, 13 October 1780. See *ibid.*, p. 4.

67 See Mould, 'The Broadwood Books', p. 6.

68 See Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, p. 116.

69 See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 61.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 56.

It is reasonable to assume that ‘Mr Worgan’, as a result of Broadwood’s astute business strategy and emerging reputation for quality workmanship, was at least, if not acutely, aware of the Broadwood name.

3. Broadwood’s 1783 Patent

Was Mr Worgan’s decision to buy a Broadwood square piano influenced by innovative design features? In 1783, Broadwood submitted a patent application in which he described several supposedly new square piano design features. These design features included the relocation (reversal) of

wrestpins and hitchpins (which ... had been previously utilized by Charles Trute) ... brass under-dampers (previously used by George Froeschle): and curiously, the installation of a second soundboard, beneath the ordinary one and connected to it by a spruce stick ... This feature he ... claimed as the chief among his ‘improvements’ to the pianoforte, but he did not persist with this beyond a year and a half. Also shown in the patent is a pedal for disengaging his brass dampers, and another for providing a harp stop. Neither was in itself a novelty, and neither was frequently incorporated in his subsequent production.⁷¹

The rights to Broadwood’s patent were granted in November 1783. It appears that before 1783, Broadwood had made instruments that incorporated some of the design features described in his 1783 patent. A square piano by Broadwood dated 1780, housed in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, has an action that is ‘exactly the same as that patented by John Broadwood in 1783, having straight brass under dampers, hammers with guide pins, and all wrestpins placed at the rear’.⁷² Given that Broadwood sold a square piano to Mr Worgan on 10 April 1783, one assumes that Broadwood’s pre-existing ‘new’ patented design features may have played a role in enticing Mr Worgan to buy an instrument from Broadwood.

Extant 1783 Broadwood Square Pianos

Michael Cole, the eminent expert on Broadwood square pianos, is aware of only two extant Broadwood square pianos made in 1783. One is currently owned by a Dr Turner in England⁷³ (Plates 400, 400a, 400b), whilst the other is housed in the Stewart Symonds Collection, in Ermington, Sydney.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁷³ I am indebted to Lucy Coad, eminent square piano restorer, for this information.

Dr Turner's 1783 Broadwood Square Piano

Dr Turner's instrument was purchased about 20 years ago by the distinguished fortepiano dealer and aficionado Andrew Lancaster,

from a house clearance person who was going to use it for the timber. It was most unusual in that the hitch pins were pinned directly into the soundboard rather than into a raised hitch pin rail ... [The nameboard inscription date had] been erased ... This was done in order to be able to sell the piano as being newer than it was ... But the date was inside the piano too.⁷⁴

Subsequently, approximately 15 years ago, the instrument was sold at auction, its provenance unknown.⁷⁵



Plate 400 Square piano by John Broadwood (1732–1812) (London, 1783).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Andrew Lancaster. Photo by Andrew Lancaster.

⁷⁴ Email from Andrew Lancaster to the author, 12 December 2012.

⁷⁵ I am indebted to Lucy Coad for this information.



Plate 400a Square piano by John Broadwood (1732–1812) (London, 1783).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Lucy Coad. Photo by Lucy Coad.



Plate 400b Square piano by John Broadwood (1732–1812) (London, 1783): nameboard inscription.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Lucy Coad. Photo by Lucy Coad.

Stewart Symonds' 1783 Broadwood Square Piano

According to information contained in Stewart Symonds' handwritten catalogue of his keyboard instrument collection, his 1783 Broadwood square piano was once owned by a 'private family outside Glasgow' (Plates 400c and 400d). This represents the extent of provenance information known by Symonds relating to this particular instrument, and is derived from comments made to Symonds by the eminent antiques dealer, keyboard instrument enthusiast and gentleman of Sydney William Bradshaw,⁷⁶ who sold the piano to Symonds. The mention of Glasgow should come as no surprise, because the Scotsman 'John Broadwood supplied music shops everywhere, but most plentifully in Scotland'.⁷⁷

Symonds hypothesises that Bradshaw acquired the piano in England from the historical musical instruments dealer Tony Bingham. Paul Kenny, the eminent antiques importer and Bradshaw's close friend and colleague, recalls that he shipped the instrument from England to Australia for Bradshaw.⁷⁸

Conclusion

It is currently impossible to identify with any certainty the 'Mr Worgan' who purchased a square piano from John Broadwood on Thursday, 10 April 1783. The application of 'Ockham's razor' to the problem may, however, be appropriate.

If George Bouchier was the unidentified Mr Worgan, was the Broadwood square piano the instrument that he took with him on board the *Sirius*, bound for Botany Bay? Attractive as an affirmative answer to this question may be, no evidence exists that proves this to be the case.

Although Broadwood's journal for 1771–85 contains the 'names [of] numerous buyers of [square] pianos in 1783', unfortunately, 'there is no continuing provenance for these instruments'. The pianos 'are not numbered, and the passage from ... buyer to the subsequent owners is impossible to guess'.⁷⁹ As a consequence, it cannot be conclusively ascertained if one of the two extant 1783 Broadwood square pianos is the First Fleet piano.

76 See 'Discovery', in Introduction, Volume 1 of this publication.

77 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 315.

78 Email from Paul Kenny to the author, 3 December 2013.

79 Email from Michael Cole to the author, 22 November 2012.

EARLY PIANOS 1720-1850
A COMPUTERIZED RELATIONAL DATABASE
MARTHA NOVAK CLINKSCALE

No 60

J. BROADWOOD M1

MAKER <u>JOHANNES BROADWOOD</u> (inscription on nameboard) <u>GREAT PATERNITY STREET, GOLDEN SQUARE LONDON ECIT 1783</u>	PLACE AND DATE OF MANUFACTURE <u>LONDON 1783</u>
SERIAL NUMBER _____	
STYLE (Grand, Square, etc.) <u>SQUARE PIANO</u>	
RANGE (No. of octaves, 1st & last notes) <u>5 Octave FF to F³</u>	
DIMENSIONS (Specify inches or centimeters.) LENGTH <u>5' 1 1/4"</u> WIDTH <u>1' 9" 1/2</u> DEPTH OF CASE <u>9"</u> TOTAL HEIGHT <u>2' 9 1/4"</u>	
CASE DESCRIPTION (wood, veneer, legs, stand, castors, gilding, etc.) <u>Mahogany & Mahogany Veneer - Pannelled with Star Plain Strangers of Boxwood and Ebony - Trestle Stand with trail castors</u>	
KEYBOARD (Length of key to nameboard, width of key, materials)	
Naturals <u>Ivory 4 3/4"</u> <u>12mm</u> Sharps <u>Ebony 3"</u> <u>76mm</u>	
Octave Span <u>6 3/8" (E1 to E1)</u> <u>167mm</u> <u>7 1/4" (A1 to A1)</u> <u>187mm</u>	
STRINGING (Number per note, type of wire)	
<u>BASE 11 OPEN COVER BRASS, 10R BRASS COVERED NOTES</u> B1	
<u>14 NOTES PLAIN DRAWN BRASS WIRE - B1-CORD</u>	
<u>THE REMAINDER IRON WIRE - B1-CORD</u>	
SCALE: c ² = _____	
ACTION <u>BROADWOOD'S NEW PATENT GRANTED 14th July 1783</u> <u>THE FIRST OF THESE TO BE ENTERED IN THE DRY BOOK AT</u> <u>RECORD OFFICE ON 29th SEPT. 1783 SENT TO MISS GIBB, GORK.</u>	

Plate 400c 'Catalogue of the Stewart Symonds Keyboard Instrument Collection': entry for a square piano by John Broadwood (fl. 1775–94) (London, 1783)—page one of two.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Reproduced with permission of Stewart Symonds. Photo by the author.

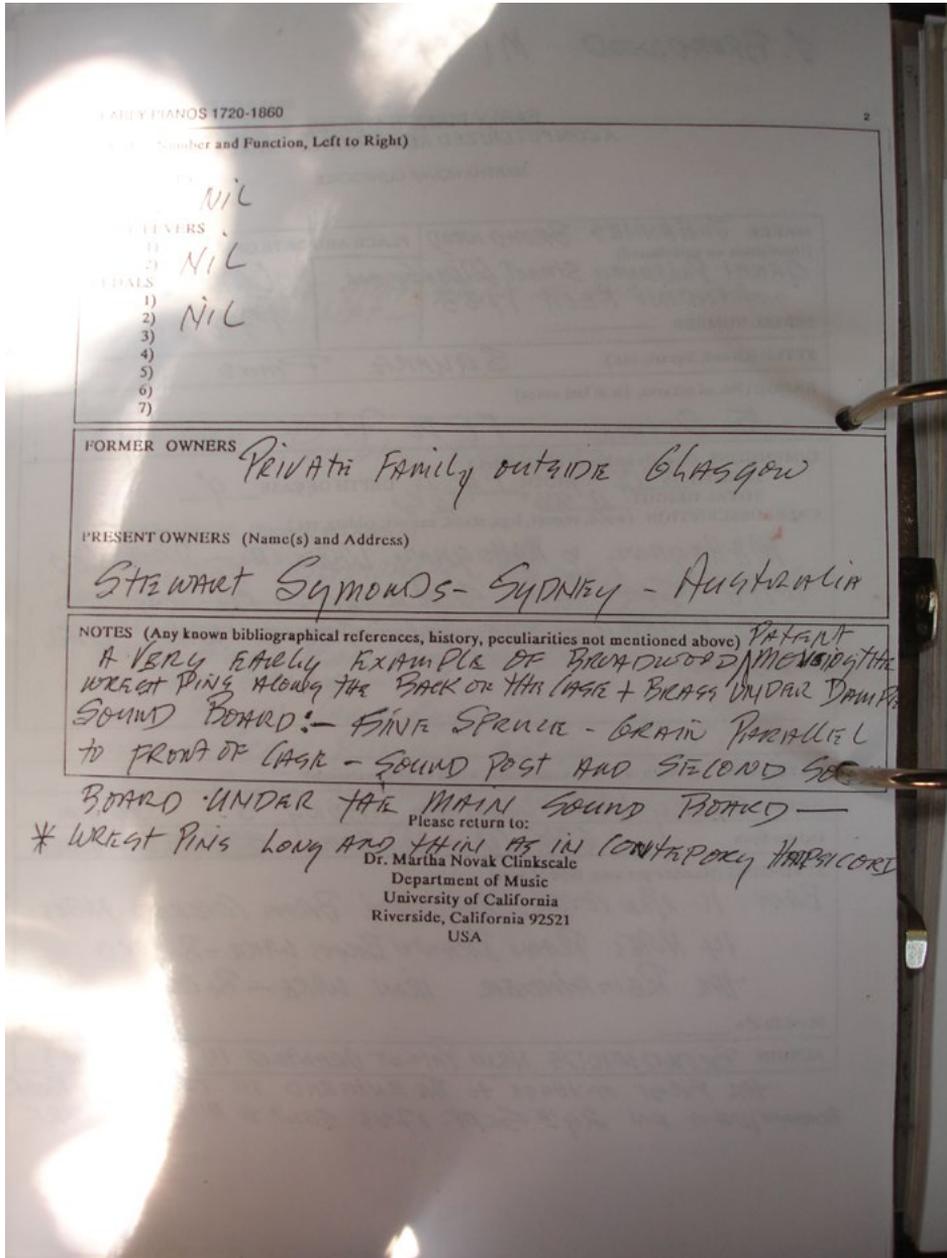


Plate 400d 'Catalogue of the Stewart Symonds Keyboard Instrument Collection': entry for a square piano by John Broadwood (fl. 1775–94) (London, 1783)—page two of two.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Reproduced with permission of Stewart Symonds. Photo by the author.

Appendix D

A Perplexing Comment

In 1979, the historian Lysbeth Cohen wrote: ‘the first ever [piano] to be landed in the colony, brought by Surgeon Worgan with the First Fleet ... is now in the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences’,¹ in Ultimo, Sydney (in 1988, the museum was renamed the Powerhouse Museum). Regrettably, Cohen provides no evidence in support of her statement.

The instrument to which Cohen refers is a square piano by Longman & Broderip, dated 1782–98?, currently housed in the Powerhouse Museum.² No evidence can be found that links this piano with the First Fleet.

A conversation held between the author and the museum’s Curator of Musical Instruments, Michael Lea, on Monday, 6 August 2012, provided the following information (Lea sourced the information from the museum’s archival material).

1. The Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences (Powerhouse Museum) purchased the instrument in 1954 from a Keith Ball, an interior designer, who worked at a shop in North Sydney on the corner of the Pacific Highway and Mount Street, on the lower side. Ball had only a fringe interest in antiques, preferring instead to pursue modern reproductions of antique furniture.³
2. No provenance details were provided at the time of purchase.
3. At the time of purchase, Ball provided the museum with a history of Longman & Broderip’s firm, beautifully handwritten in copperplate.
4. Prior to selling the piano to the museum, Ball had purchased the piano from the antiques dealer William Bradshaw.
5. The museum’s then curator, Mr Brown, dated the instrument 1779–80. (This dating is erroneous, as the instrument’s nameboard inscription reveals that at the time the instrument was made, Longman & Broderip occupied premises at 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket. Longman & Broderip acquired their second address, at 13 Haymarket, on Sunday, 29 September 1782. Assuming that the

1 L. Cohen, *Elizabeth Macquarie, Her Life and Times* (Sydney: Wentworth Books, 1979), p. 38.

2 Powerhouse Museum Collection, Registration no. H5300. See photograph ‘H5300 Square Pianoforte, Longman & Broderip, London, 1782–1798’, in *Powerhouse Museum Collection Search* 2.53.

3 Information concerning Mr Ball is derived from a conversation held on Monday, 6 August 2012 between the author and Stewart Symonds, who, at one time, worked (for approximately one year) alongside Ball for the same North Sydney firm.

piano's nameboard is original, the inscription's inclusion of the Haymarket address indicates that the instrument dates from 1782 or later.)

6. Presumably in ca 1954, Brown spoke to Bradshaw about the instrument. Bradshaw remarked that it was 'the only one he'd seen of this period, and is a museum piece'. Did Bradshaw mean the only *Longman & Broderip* of this period he had seen, or did he mean the only *square piano* of this period he had seen? (The context within which Bradshaw made the remark is not known; Brown recorded Bradshaw's remark on a note that forms part of the Powerhouse Museum's archive.) Assuming Brown recorded Bradshaw's words accurately, Bradshaw's enthusiasm appears to have overpowered his remembrance of things past.
 - a) If he meant the only *Longman & Broderip* of this period he had seen then, surprisingly, he had forgotten the Longman & Broderip square piano he had purchased from the Mat(t)hews family in 1942⁴—an instrument he had not only sold between 1943 and 1949, but had also believed was Elizabeth Macarthur's piano (if not the First Fleet piano).⁵ In his sales register, Bradshaw dated this instrument 1780.⁶
 - b) If Bradshaw meant the only *square piano* of this period he had seen then his memory had become truly clouded, as he had seen, acquired and sold several late eighteenth-century square pianos by the time the museum acquired the 1782–98? Longman & Broderip.⁷
7. The Powerhouse Museum has no supporting evidence in relation to any connection between George Bouchier Worgan and the Longman & Broderip square piano dated 1782–98? (Registration number H5300) currently housed in its collection.

4 See 'Sources of Information' and 'Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance', in Appendix B, this volume.

5 See 'Sources of Information', in Appendix B, this volume.

6 I am indebted to Brian Barrow for providing me with a copy of a letter written to him by Paul Kenny, a very close friend of William Bradshaw, dated Thursday, 23 May 2013, in which Kenny transcribed some of the entries found in Bradshaw's sales registers. These entries contain the dates on which Bradshaw sold various pianos. Since Barrow purchased his 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano from Bradshaw along with an unrestored Aeolian orchestrelle, the relevant entry in Bradshaw's sales register, '29/5/69 Orchestrelle & Piano case date 1780', strongly suggests that the specified piano case is Barrow's 1785/86? Longman & Broderip square piano. In the entry, Bradshaw erroneously dates this piano as 1780.

7 For example, Bradshaw would have seen (probably at the earliest, during his teens) the 1785 square piano by George Pether (fl. 1775–94) that was owned by Vere Mathews, Bradshaw's maternal aunt. See 'Tea, Cake, Convivial Company and a Proposed Provenance', in Appendix B, this volume. Bradshaw's sales registers reveal that by 1952, he had sold at least five square pianos (see Plate 328d). The dates of sale associated with these square pianos as listed in Bradshaw's sales registers are: 17 June 1941; 26 March 1945; 28 May 1949; 14 July 1952; and 8 October 1952. These dates exclude the Longman & Broderip square piano Bradshaw purchased from the Mat(t)hews family in 1942.

Appendix E

Thirty-One Makers in London from Whom George Bouchier Worgan may have Purchased a Square Piano in 1780/86

On Tuesday, 30 October 1787, *The Times* of London reported: 'England, instead of importing her instruments as formerly from Holland, Germany, and Italy, is now become the greatest manufactory for musical instruments in Europe.'¹ At the time, a large concentration of keyboard instrument makers lived and worked in London. In 1780/86, there were 31 London-based makers from whom George Bouchier Worgan may have purchased a square piano. These makers are listed below.

1. George Astor (1752–1813; fl. 1779–1813). Between 1779 and 1783, George Astor and his brother John (or Johann) Jacob (1763–1848) sold pianos, initially at Holywell Street in 1779 and subsequently at at 26 Wych Street (off the northern side of the southern end of Drury Lane).² In 1783 John left London for the United States, where, in Baltimore, he first sold woodwind instruments, then, in New York, furs, pianos (in 1786, John imported pianos from London;³ from 1789, the firm of Astor & Co. exported pianos from London to America) and real estate, amassing a legendary fortune. George was not a piano maker, but sold instruments labelled with his name made by John Geib and possibly Thomas Culliford. George Astor continued to sell pianos in London at the 26 Wych Street until 1795⁴ or 1797–98,⁵ when he relocated his workshop to 79 Cornhill.⁶

1 *The Times*, 30 October 1787, No. 887, p. 3. Quoted in J. Nex, 'Culliford and Company: Keyboard Instrument Makers in Georgian London', in C. H. Bates (ed.), *Early Keyboard Journal* (Georgia: The Southeastern and Midwestern Historical Keyboard Societies, 2004), Vol. 22, p. 7.

2 See 'Wych Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 345.

3 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 87.

4 See 'George Astor' (n.d.). Astor's addresses are listed in L. G. Langwill and W. Waterhouse (eds), *The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London: T. Bingham, 1993).

5 See N. O'Loughlin, 'Astor', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), Vol. 2, pp. 123–4.

6 See 'Cornhill', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 30. In 1819, Astor & Co. insured their stock and utensils for £8500. See Barnett, *The Structure of Industry in London 1775–1825*, p. 236.

2. James Ball (fl. ca 1787–1819). In 1790, Ball applied for British citizenship; his application reveals he was born in Germany:

It is not clear when he settled in London. Most of Ball's surviving instruments are square pianos of standard design. His earliest extant pianos date from the mid-1780s.⁷

He is best known for his square pianos, but also made cabinet pianos and grands, some of them for the Prince Regent.⁸

According to the usual inscription on the nameboard of his square pianos, Ball's workshop was located at 1 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, where he worked from 1787 until his death in 1833.⁹

3. Frederick Beck (fl. 1756 – ca 1798).
4. Adam Beyer (1729–1804; fl. 1768 – ca 1798), who was 'probably the most accomplished craftsman who ever made square pianos'.¹⁰ Many researchers describe Beyer as an immigrant to London from Germany.

Adam Beyer was one of the most prolific and successful piano makers in London during the eighteenth century. Most of his output was in the form of square pianos, instruments which he manufactured to extremely high standards and sold at premium prices to discerning clients.

During the 1750s he was resident in St Pancras parish, working as an organ builder ... when he bought a house in Pond Street, Hampstead in 1782 he must have been a British citizen—yet, unlike foreign-born instrument makers such as Jacob Kirckman, or Burkat Shudi, there is no record that Beyer ever applied for naturalization. There is, of course, no compelling reason why he should do so, because, unlike many European cities no permission or licence was needed to set up in trade. But only British citizens could legally buy or inherit land—yet this he did. On his death he left a quarter share in his house to each of his four daughters, devolving upon 'their heirs and assigns forever'. So it is beyond doubt that he owned the freehold, and therefore it appears he was then a British citizen. Yet strangely, the piano maker James Shudi Broadwood, writing in 1838, says that Beyer was a German. Searches in the archives of every city in Germany

7 M. Cole, 'Other Makers: James Ball', in *Square Pianos* (n.d.).

8 M. Cranmer, 'Ball, James', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 2, p. 70.

9 See 'Duke Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27.

10 See Cole, 'Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker', (n.d.).

that has been proposed as his birthplace have proved negative, as have similar searches in English church records. This mystery is still unresolved.¹¹

Between 1768 and 1800, Beyer's workshop was at 44 Compton Street, St Anne's, Soho Square.¹²

Antonio Bruni's *Inventaire* of instruments confiscated from the French aristocracy and wealthy bourgeoisie during the Reign of Terror includes two combination piano-organs made by Beyer (*Inventaire* numbers 32 and 150). Piano number 32 is listed as: '*Un forte-piano organisé, fond blanc, par Adam Berjer, Londini fecit, année 1788*'¹³ [A claviorganum, white, by Adam Berjer, made in London, year 1788], confiscated from Marie-Léopoldine-Monique, Princess Dowager of Kinski.

Piano number 150 is listed as: '*Un forte-piano organisé d'Adam Berger, Londini fecit, année 1775*'¹⁴ [A claviorganum by Adam Berger, made in London, year 1775], which was confiscated from Count Fernan-Nunez, the Spanish ambassador.

The clerk mistakenly transcribes Beyer's name as 'Berjer' and 'Berger'. This is not surprising, given that the intricate calligraphic style of the nameplates found on Beyer's pianos is sometimes difficult to decipher.

During his lifetime, the prolific Beyer manufactured in excess of 900 square pianos.

5. Lorence Beyer, the younger brother of Adam Beyer, to whom he left all his working tools. In Adam Beyer's will,¹⁵ dated September 1789, Lorence is described as 'Piano Forte Maker, of Compton Street, Soho'.¹⁶
6. Thomas Bradford (fl. 1784–89). On Wednesday, 8 September 1784,¹⁷ Bradford entered 'a fourteen-year partnership with' Thomas Culliford, William Rolfe and John Goldsworth.¹⁸

11 Cole, 'Maker's File'.

12 See 'Compton Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28.

13 '*VI Inventaire du 4 Floréal l'an IIe, rue Dominique, 1522*' in Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur*.

14 '*XLIX Inventaire du 12 Brumaire l'an IIIe, rue de l'Université*' in *ibid.*

15 Public Record Office: PROB11 1187.

16 Cole, 'Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker' (1995), p. 112. See 'Compton Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28.

17 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 82.

18 Cole, 'Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker' (1995), p. 50, fn. 17. See '9. Thomas Culliford', below.

7. John Broadwood (1732–1812)—possibly the most eminent and successful piano maker ever to have lived.¹⁹ Broadwood's workshop was at 33 Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square.²⁰ Broadwood positioned his grand pianos

at an elevated price level, [guaranteeing] ... the exclusive top end of his market while meeting demand at the lower end with a range of square [pianos] ... With their richly-veneered cases and ... sophisticated action, his grands ... were positioned in the upper sector of the market, where well-to-do people who attended exclusive concerts wanted to pay a desirably high price. He could sell to the popular market without alienating his fashionable customers. Everyone was satisfied.

John Broadwood's great skill was to supply the instrument everyone wanted while ensuring that the all-important social distinctions were maintained.²¹

8. Gabriel Gottlieb Buntebart (d. 1794; fl. 1768–94). Circumstantial evidence suggests that Buntebart was Queen Charlotte's harpsichord maker. Buntebart arrived in London from Strelitz at the same time as Queen Charlotte.²² From 1768 onwards, the names of Zumpe and Buntebart appear jointly on the nameboards of Zumpe's square pianos.²³ On 25 September 1778, the partnership of Zumpe & Buntebart was dissolved by mutual consent and quite amicably.²⁴

In his will, Buntebart describes himself as 'Grand Pianoforte Maker to Her Majesty'.²⁵

Between 1780 and 1794, Buntebart is listed in the rate books at Zumpe's address: 7 Princes Street, Hanover Square.²⁶

9. Thomas Culliford (1747–1821).

19 During the first half of the nineteenth century, 'Clementi & Co. was most probably the world's largest exporter of keyboard instruments and even rivalled Broadwood in total production for some years'. L. Sahlqvist, 'Clementi & Co 1798–1830: Piano Manufacture in London', in *The Pianos of Muzio Clementi. 'The Clementi Page.'* *Friends of Square Pianos* (2013).

20 See 'Pultney Str' in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 86.

21 Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, pp. 117–18.

22 See Cole, 'John Zumpe'.

23 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 62.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 61–2. See also Cole, 'John Zumpe'.

25 See Cole, 'John Zumpe'.

26 See 'Princes St.', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 92.

Although the name of Longman & Broderip appeared on the pianos sold by their firm, most of the instruments were actually built by Thomas Culliford and his associates. Culliford began work, at least from 1779, at 16 Fountain Court, in a warehouse behind Longman & Broderip's premises at 26 Cheapside.²⁷

Longman & Broderip owned the premises in Fountain Court and charged Culliford ... £70 per annum in rent ... [In 1782] Culliford opened timber yards on Jewin Street (which comes off the east side of Aldergate Street).²⁸ On Wednesday 8 September 1784,²⁹ Culliford established a fourteen-year partnership with William Rolfe, John Goldsworth, and Thomas Bradford³⁰ ... [In the same year, while still renting part of the Fountain Court property, Culliford] established workshops, offices, a sawpit, and a smith's shop in Pelican Court, Little Britain, [off the west side of] Aldersgate Street [two blocks south of Jewin Street].³¹

On 2 January 1786, Culliford signed an exclusive contract with Longman & Broderip, who were to purchase at least £5000 worth of instruments annually, that is, somewhere between 200 and 300 keyboard instruments—harpsichords and pianos—per year.³²

[Culliford] soon outgrew the [Fountain Court] space and expanded to other locations³³ ... [including] a warehouse in Red Lion Court, Watling Street.³⁴

In [January] 1787 Goldsworth left the company. [In 1789] ... Thomas Bradford was replaced by Culliford's son-in-law, Charles Barrow. In September 1797 Culliford and Barrow set up the firm Culliford & Co., while William Rolfe established his own company.³⁵

27 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 50. See 'Cheapside', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 29.

28 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 50, fn. 18. See also 'Jewin Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 29.

29 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 82.

30 See *ibid.*, p. 50, fn. 17.

31 See *ibid.*, p. 50, fn. 18. See also 'Little Britain' and 'Aldersgate Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 29.

32 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', pp. 50–1.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

34 See *ibid.*, p. 50, fn. 18. See also 'Watling Street' in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 29.

35 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 50, fn. 17. See also M. Cranmer, 'Rolfe', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), Vol. 21, p. 528.

[In April 1795,] Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow ceased to make instruments for Longman & Broderip, and when Longman & Broderip filed for bankruptcy [on Saturday, 23 May 1795]³⁶ ... Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow opened their own shop at 112 Cheapside ... announced in *The Times* on 13 June 1795.³⁷

In September 1797, Culliford and Barrow separated from William Rolfe (who established his own company), and set up the firm Culliford & Co. Subsequently, Culliford & Barrow announced in *The London Gazette* of Saturday, 14 October 1797 that they had relocated their workshop to 'No. 172, corner of Surry-Street, Strand'.³⁸

On Tuesday, 30 October 1798, Culliford & Barrow filed for bankruptcy. Proceedings for bankruptcy were concluded on Tuesday, 9 June 1801, whereupon Culliford appears to have left London to live at Compton near Southampton. It is possible that Culliford used Compton as a base from which to 'travel around the south of England to tune and maintain instruments, as he had done previously for Longman & Broderip'.³⁹

10. Sébastien Érard. Érard worked intermittently in London from 1786 to 1815, when he left his English shop in the charge of his nephew Pierre ('the inventive genius of the Érard family petered out in Pierre', whose 'real genius' was marketing).⁴⁰ 'In 1792, Sébastien Érard founded the London branch of the firm, concentrating on the production of harps.'⁴¹ Érard's workshop was at 18 Great Marlborough Street.⁴²
11. George Froeschle (Fröschle) (fl. ca 1774 – ca 1800) was an 'innovative maker of some importance'.⁴³ According to Cole, in ca 1780, Froeschle's workshop was located at Great Pulteney Street (East).⁴⁴ In 1788, Froeschle 'was working in a partnership known as Satchell & Fröschle advertising combined

36 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', pp. 49, 59.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 83.

38 *The London Gazette*, 14 October 1797, p. 2. See 'Strand', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 36.

39 See Nex, 'Culliford and Company', pp. 33–4.

40 M. Demarest, 'Pierre Erard Thomas Welsh', in *Chasing Down Emma: Resolving the Contradictions of, and Filling in the Gaps in, the Life and Work of Emma Hardinge Britten* (2009).

41 Latcham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', p. 371.

42 See 'Gr. Marlboro Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27.

43 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 70.

44 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 38. This address is recorded in the rate books for St James's Parish. See 'Pultney Str', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27.

harpsichord-pianofortes ... [at 2] Mark Lane',⁴⁵ two blocks north-east of the Tower of London.⁴⁶

12. Christopher Ganer (fl. 1774–1806) was born in Leipzig ca 1750. Many of Ganer's square pianos have exquisite inlay and reveal the use of exotic timbers. Ganer may be the only maker of square pianos who included double stringing inlay *inside* the lids of his instruments.

From the winter of 1774 until ca 1805, Ganer's workshop was on the north side of Broad Street, between Carnaby Market and Golden Square (Soho), at number 22, and then at 47–48.⁴⁷

Ganer may also have been known as 'Gauer'. A listing held by the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland gives '1792 Feb 11. Christopher Gauer (?Ganer) formerly of Leipzig, in Saxony, but now of Broad Street, Carnaby Market, in the parish of St. James's, Westminster, co. Midd., grand pianoforte maker.'⁴⁸

Antonio Bruni's *Inventaire* includes a name that is slightly similar to 'Ganer': '*Un forte-piano, par Christopher Qanter, Londini fecit, année 1784, estimé 720 francs*'⁴⁹ [A piano, by Christopher Qanter, made in London, year 1784, estimated 720 francs], confiscated from Françoise-Emmanuel Guinard, Count of Saint-Priest.

There is no information concerning the existence of any London-based piano maker with the name Christopher Qanter. The nameboards of extant Ganer square pianos are not difficult to read. Perhaps the details on the nameboard of the (now lost) instrument that Bruni inspected were written in a particularly elaborate calligraphic style, resulting in the clerk mistakenly transcribing Ganer's name as 'Qanter'.

As 'Ganer described himself in one of his insurance policies as a 'piano forte maker and inlayer', he might have been a specialist whose focus was on the decorative [aspects of] ... instruments'.⁵⁰ Many of Ganer's cross-banded and inlaid square pianos are objects of elegant beauty.

45 *Morning Post*, 17 March 1788. See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 99. See also Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 111.

46 See 'Mark Lane', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 38.

47 See 'Broad Street', in *ibid.*, Map Reference 27. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 151. See also Doane, *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794*.

48 G. S. Gadd, 'Famous Early Piano Maker Christopher Ganer (Gauer???)', in *Ancestry.com: Message Boards* (2006).

49 '*LI Inventaire du 8 Brumaire, faubourg du Roule*' in Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur*.

50 Sun Fire Office Policy 463403, dated 8 August 1782, LMA, formerly Guildhall ms 11936/303, pp. 561–2. See Nex, 'Longman & Broderip', p. 46, fn. 169.

For unknown reasons, Ganer's output of square pianos declined in the late 1790s. Between 1808 and 1818, Ganer sub-let his premises at 47 and 48 Broad Street.

The novelist Jane Austen (1775–1817) owned a square piano by Christopher Ganer. In May 1801, she sold the instrument when the family moved from the village of Steventon, near Basingstoke, in Hampshire—where, until that time, Jane had spent all her life—to Bath.⁵¹

Christopher Ganer probably made several hundred pianos. The fortepiano restorer and aficionado David Hackett writes: 'I have helped Graham Gadd to compile a list of known surviving Ganer pianos, and we have managed to 'collect' a total of over a hundred ... out of the hundred plus, no two are identical in terms of appearance and detail.'⁵²

13. Thomas Garbutt (fl. ca 1770–80s) worked in King Street, Golden Square,⁵³ and later at 8 Bolsover Street.⁵⁴ His square pianos are modelled on Zumpe's instruments.
14. George Garcka (b. ca. 1750; fl. 1783–92)

is presumed to be a Prussian immigrant from Schimmerwitz (now Siemirowice in Poland, about 40 km west of Danzig) where the name Garcka was formerly prevalent. Garcka made many square pianos, of entirely conventional design.

Between ca. 1783–1791, George Garcka was resident at 16 Stephen Street⁵⁵ ... [off the western side of] Tottenham Court Road. In December 1787 he was declared bankrupt, but seems to have satisfied his creditors and continued in business.

In 1792, undeterred by such problems, he applied for and was granted a patent for a square piano in which the wrestplank was positioned just behind the nameboard with the strings running diagonally to the right. This is undoubtedly of benefit as regards tuning stability, and is more convenient and comfortable when tuning. The disadvantages concern ease of maintenance, and an awkward, bulky appearance, wholly at variance with eighteenth-century ideas of elegance.

51 See Bradney-Smith, 'Famous Early Piano Maker Christopher Ganer (Gauer???)'.

52 Email from David Hackett to the author, 12 January 2015.

53 See 'King Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28.

54 See Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 151.

55 See *ibid.*, p. 152. See also 'Stephen S', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28.

In the same year, 1792, Garcka moved from Stephen Street to new premises at the corner of Edward Street and 95 Wardour Street in Soho—also the address of the piano maker James Henry Houston (fl. 1790-99).⁵⁶ His financial position did not improve, so in January 1793 he sold his business to Bates & Co., who sold general musical wares including square pianos.⁵⁷

15. John (Johann) Lawrence (Lorenz) Geib (fl. ca 1777–97) was born 1744 in Staudenheim(?), western Germany. About 1770, he settled in London. Geib is ‘an important figure in the development of square piano design’, being responsible for the incorporation of ‘an escapement mechanism, giving’ square pianos some of ‘the subtlety of touch and expression found in grand pianos’.⁵⁸

On Thursday, 9 November 1786, ‘Geib was granted a patent [No. 1571] for a two-lever escapement action for square pianos’.⁵⁹ Geib’s workshop was at Tottenham Court Road.⁶⁰ In 1797, Geib moved to America and began building organs and pianos in Philadelphia.⁶¹ In 1798, Geib continued his business in New York where he died.⁶²

16. John Goldsworth (fl. mid-1780s). On Wednesday, 8 September 1784,⁶³ Goldsworth entered a 14-year partnership with William Rolfe, Thomas Culliford and Thomas Bradford.⁶⁴ Within the context of this partnership, Goldsworth may have been involved principally in making English guitars. On Monday, 2 January 1786, Culliford, Rolfe, Goldsworth and Bradford entered into a contract with Longman & Broderip, agreeing to manufacture pianos exclusively for that firm. All instruments were to be marked with Longman & Broderip labels. Longman & Broderip were contractually obliged

56 See ‘Edwa S’ and ‘Wardour Street’, in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28. Neither Garcka nor Houston insured any stock or tools with the Sun Fire Office, which suggests that they did not manufacture instruments at the Wardour Street address. It is however, reasonable to conjecture that their stock and tools were insured with a different firm. In March 1797, the Wardour Street premises was advertised for sale as a ‘capital manufactory site, with a handsome dwelling house, several extensive tiers of workshops, timber sheds, saw pit, yard, stall & co., a spacious wareroom on the ground floor, compting-house and every other convenience.’ N. MacSween, ‘Short Biography of James Henry Houston’, in *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos* (2012).

57 M. Cole, ‘George Garcka’, in *Square Pianos* (n.d.).

58 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 78. See also M. Cole, ‘Other Makers: John Geib’, in *Square Pianos* (n.d.).

59 Bozarth and Debenham, ‘Piano Wars’, p. 82.

60 Harding, *The Piano-Forte*, p. 410. See ‘Tottenham Court Road’ in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map References 20 and 28.

61 See T. Strange, ‘Geib in America’, in ‘Dating Pianos’, in *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos* (n.d.).

62 Latcham, ‘Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties’, p. 390, fn. 28.

63 Bozarth and Debenham, ‘Piano Wars’, p. 82.

64 Cole, ‘Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker’ (1995), p. 50, fn. 17. See ‘9. Thomas Culliford’, above.

to purchase £5000 worth of instruments annually from Culliford, Rolfe, Goldsworth and Bradford—that is, approximately 300 instruments a year. In January 1787, at the request of Longman & Broderip, Goldsworth left the partnership and established a new business with John Geib (who also made pianos for Longman & Broderip).

17. John Crang Hancock (fl. 1779–94). Hancock's workshop was at 82 Wych Street, St Clement Danes, and later (in 1791) at 32 Parliament Street, Westminster.⁶⁵
18. Henry Holland (fl. 1783–98). Holland's workshop was at Bedford Row, between Red Lion Square and Gray's Inn Garden.⁶⁶ *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce* describes Holland as an 'organ-builder', and locates his workshop in 'Piccadilly'.⁶⁷
19. Jacob Kirckman's workshop was at Great Pulteney Street,⁶⁸ and later at 19 Broad Street, Golden Square (Soho).⁶⁹
20. William Le Blond (fl. 1780–92).
21. James Longman (1740–1803) and Francis Broderip (ca 1750–1807). During the late eighteenth century, the firm of Longman & Broderip took on 'a bewildering number of changing names and partners'.⁷⁰

The firm was founded in 1767 by James Longman in association with unknown partners, and was first known as J. Longman & Co.⁷¹

In 1769, when Charles Lukey joined the firm, the business traded as Longman, Lukey & Co.

In 1773, Francis Fane Broderip became a partner, and the business was known as Longman, Lukey & Broderip.

In 1776 Lukey died, and the business continued (until it filed for bankruptcy on Saturday, 23 May 1795)⁷² as Longman & Broderip.

65 Harding, *The Piano-Forte*, p. 411. See 'Parliament Str.', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map References 36 and 44.

66 See 'Bedford Row', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map References 20 and 28.

67 See Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 183.

68 See 'Pultney Str.', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27.

69 See Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 165. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 203—in which Kirckman's address is erroneously given as '10, Broad-str. Golden-sq.' (that is, Frederick Beck's address). See also 'Broad Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27.

70 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 122.

71 P. W. Jones, P. Williams and C. Mould, 'Longman & Broderip', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), Vol. 15, p. 168.

72 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', pp. 49, 59.

On Friday, 13 November 1795, 'James Longman and Francis Fane Broderip were committed to Fleet Prison as debtors'.⁷³

Longman & Broderip, having 'coupled' themselves 'with over impetuous borrowing for business expansion', and having overexposed themselves with credit given to French clients, found that 'Napoleon's effective embargo on British goods caused acute problems with their finances'.⁷⁴

On Wednesday, 2 November 1796, they were released from Fleet Prison. 'Broderip formed a new company with Charles Wilkinson, trading from 13 Haymarket,⁷⁵ selling pianos under the name of *Broderip & Wilkinson*'.⁷⁶

On Thursday, 1 November 1798,⁷⁷ 'the firm of *Longman & Broderip* was sold to John Longman, Muzio Clementi, Frederick Augustus Hyde, Frederick William Collard, Josiah Banger, and David Davis. The new company ... was named *Longman, Clementi & Co.*'⁷⁸ 'An advertisement appeared in the Times announcing this on 3 November.'⁷⁹

On Saturday, 28 June 1800, 'the partnership between John Longman and Clementi, Hyde, Collard, Banger and Davis was dissolved, and John Longman received £2,830 12s. for his share. Muzio Clementi, Frederick Augustus Hyde, Frederick William Collard, Josiah Banger, and David Davis established *Clementi & Co.*'⁸⁰

Having left the company, John Longman, 'supplied by the same workmen, set up in competition to Clementi & Co., at 131 Cheapside'.⁸¹

Although Longman & Broderip 'styled themselves "Instrument makers", most or all of the actual making was contracted to various craftsmen, generally of the second rank;⁸² the firm's principal activity was music publishing and, subsequently, dealing in musical merchandise of all types'.⁸³ As 'an all-purpose retail business', they sold 'organs, harpsichords, harps,

73 Ibid., p. 83.

74 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 60.

75 See 'Hay Market', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 36.

76 Cole, 'Longman & Broderip'.

77 See Rowland, 'Clementi's Early Business Career', pp. 49–59.

78 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 84.

79 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 79, fn. 61.

80 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 84.

81 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 79, fn. 61.

82 See '9. Thomas Culliford', above.

83 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 122.

and pianos, woodwind, string, and brass instruments, and such accessories as mutes, strings, and music stands'. They also published 'both serious and light music'.⁸⁴

James Longman 'was a persuasive, opportunistic, and unscrupulous businessman who had a ruinous effect on all who entered into financial dealings with him. By one count, he was involved in at least 30 lawsuits in some 28 years of business.'⁸⁵ 'Charming, gifted and persuasive undoubtedly, but beneath this façade', James Longman was 'calculating, manipulative and self-serving ... a man prepared to abuse the trust of colleagues, friends, and even members of his close family without compunction'.⁸⁶

On Wednesday, 26 January 1803, James Longman endured a second incarceration in Fleet Street Prison, as a debtor, where he died on Friday, 11 November 1803,⁸⁷ aged 63.

The first known address of Longman & Broderip's workshop is 26 Cheapside⁸⁸—'then the most prestigious shopping street in London'⁸⁹—where they traded 'at the sign of the Harp and Crown'.⁹⁰ Longman, having been apprenticed to the music and musical instrument seller John Johnson, took over Johnson's shop as well as his emblem.⁹¹

On Sunday, 29 September 1782 (Michaelmas), the firm acquired a second trading premises, at 13 Haymarket, near the opera house.⁹²

84 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 49. See 'Music Publishing in Late Eighteenth-Century London', in Chapter 5, Volume 1 of this publication.

85 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 46.

86 M. Debenham, '131 Cheapside: The Longman Connection—Abstract', in *Margaret Debenham Historical Musicology: New Articles* (2011), Article 1.

87 Corporation of London Record Office, Prison Inquests, 12 November 1803. See Nex, 'Longman & Broderip', p. 84, fn. 342.

88 See 'Cheapside', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 29. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 215.

89 Cole, 'Longman & Broderip'.

90 A. Laurence, *Five London Piano Makers* (London: Alastair Laurence in association with Keyword Press, 2010), p. 52.

91 See Cole, 'Longman & Broderip'. See also Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', pp. 49, fns 11, 81.

92 See Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 182. See also Cole, 'Longman & Broderip'. See also 'Hay Market', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 36. On Cary's map, the Haymarket Opera House is designated with the number 72. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 215.

On 29 September 1787, ‘Longman & Broderip acquired additional premises in Tottenham Court Road for use as a musical instrument manufactory and timber yard’.⁹³ In 1791, the address was 195 ‘Tottenham Court Road, opposite Whitefield’s Chapel’.⁹⁴

22. George Pether’s workshop was at 61 Oxford Street,⁹⁵ and later at 16 John Street.⁹⁶

23. Johannes Pohlmann (fl. 1767–93) may have been the earliest copier of Zumpé’s square pianos. His pianos were almost as celebrated as those of Zumpé. Dr Charles Burney reveals that Zumpé, who ‘could not make [square pianos] ... fast enough to gratify the craving of the public’, subcontracted Pohlmann to make ‘an almost infinite number for such as Zumpé was unable to supply’.⁹⁷ Even though Burney disparaged the quality of the sound of Pohlmann’s square pianos, stating that they ‘were very inferior in tone’,⁹⁸ he

bought several himself—probably for pupils or friends—and did not hesitate to recommend them when the Revd Thomas Twining asked for advice on his intended purchase of a piano ... It appears that Burney never renounced his ... enthusiasm for what he reckoned the sweeter tone of Zumpé’s pianos, but it is clear that he found Pohlmann’s a reasonable second best.⁹⁹

Between 1767 and 1776, the rate books for St Anne’s Parish list ‘John Pohlman’ as residing at the southern end of Frith Street, in the house next but one to Compton Street, Soho (Frith Street runs into the south-western corner of Soho Square).¹⁰⁰ In 1777–78, Pohlmann set up his workshop in a newly built house at 113 Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury.¹⁰¹

In 1772, Christoph Willibald Gluck used a Pohlmann square piano at the Paris Opéra.

93 Kassler, ‘Chronology of the Business Begun by James Longman’, p. 3.

94 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 50, fn. 18. See ‘Tottenham Court Road’ and ‘Chap. St.’ in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 20. Whitefield’s Chapel was destroyed on Palm Sunday, 25 March 1945, by a V2 rocket (see ‘The Twelve Apostles’, Chapter 1, Volume 1 of this publication).

95 See ‘Oxford Street’, in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 252.

96 See ‘John Str.’, in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 35.

97 Burney, ‘Harpsichord’.

98 *Ibid.*

99 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 70.

100 See M. Cole, ‘Other Makers: Christopher Ganer’, in *Square Pianos* (n.d.). See also ‘Frith Street’ and ‘Compton Street’ in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28.

101 See ‘Great Russel Street’, in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28.

Antonio Bruni's *Inventaire* includes four Pohlmann pianos (*Inventaire* numbers 105, 135, 178 and 224):

105.—*Un forte-piano, de Johannes Pohlman, année 1772.*¹⁰²
[A piano by Johannes Pohlman, year 1772.]
(Confiscated from Louis-Philippe Duvaucel.)

135.—*Un forte-piano de Johannes Pohlman, année 1771.*¹⁰³
[A piano by Johannes Pohlman, year 1771.]
(Confiscated from Baron Frédéric-Melchior de Grimm.)

178.—*Un forte-piano de Johannes Pohlman, Londini, année 1773.*¹⁰⁴
[A piano by Johannes Pohlman, London, year 1773.]
(Confiscated from Armond-Louis de Gontaut, Duke de Lauzun.)

224.—*Un forte-piano de Johannes Pohlman, Londini fecit, 1776, ayant les peintures du couvert cassées, estimé 800 francs.*¹⁰⁵
[A piano by Johannes Pohlman, made in London, 1776, with damaged lid painting, estimated 800 francs.]
(Confiscated from Henriette-Françoise Michel, Marquise de Marbeuf.)

24. John Preston (probably only a dealer). Preston began trading in 1774 at Banbury Court, Long Acre. From 1778, Preston's shop was at 97 Strand.¹⁰⁶
25. William Rolfe (1756–1829; fl. 1797–1829). In early 1781, Rolfe lived and worked at 34 Carter Lane, to the south of and near to Saint Paul's Churchyard. Between Wednesday, 24 September 1784 and Friday, 29 September 1797, Rolfe worked in partnership with Thomas Culliford.¹⁰⁷ Following the dissolution of the partnership, Rolfe's workshop was at 112 Cheapside¹⁰⁸ and 13 Red Lion Court, Watling Street.¹⁰⁹ Rolfe's square pianos are noted for their elaborate hand-painted nameboards and two folding internal music-desks. One music-desk is for the use of the piano player, whilst the second desk, located at the treble-end and facing towards the front of the instrument, is for the use of

102 'XXX Inventaire du 11 Vendémiaire l'an IIe, rue de Cadet, 8' in Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur*.

103 'XLIII Inventaire du 16 Messidor l'an IIe' in *ibid.*

104 'LX Inventaire du 2 Frimaire, rue de Lille, 345' in *ibid.*

105 'LXXVI Inventaire du 28 Pluviôse l'ann IIIe, à Chaillot' in *ibid.*

106 See 'Strand', in Cary, Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 36. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 259.

107 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 50, fn. 17.

108 See 'Cheapside', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 29.

109 See Nex, 'Culliford and Company', p. 31.

an ‘accompanying’ musician within a chamber music context. There are 39 extant pianos by Rolfe.

26. Frederick and Christian Schoene (fl. 1780s) (Christian Schoene died in 1795). In 1782 Zumppe relinquished his business to these brothers. They came from Zumppe’s hometown, Fürth, and like him had served an apprenticeship there. Their workshop was at 22 Princes Street, Cavendish Square.¹¹⁰ The Schoene business was a success until 1789, when the French Revolution put an end to the Schoene’s most lucrative market. A few years later Frederick Schoene took a new partner named Vinsen (first name not known), so there are some excellent late eighteenth-century pianos in existence bearing the inscription Schoene & Vinsen. The last known instrument labelled Schoene is dated 1805 and now belongs to the Easton Historical Society in Pennsylvania. It is inscribed not by Frederick Schoene but by his son, George Frederick Schoene. The inscription reads: ‘Georgius Fredericus Schoene No. 45 Paddington Street,¹¹¹ Marylebone London 1805.’ He turned his back on piano making, however, and became a successful artist and engraver.¹¹² Antonio Bruni’s *Inventaire* includes nine Schoene pianos (*Inventaire* numbers 2, 30, 36, 56, 75, 120, 125, 141 and 222):

2.—*Un forte-piano de Schoene, année 1788.*¹¹³

[A piano by Schoene, year 1788.]

(Confiscated from Marie-Louis de Caillebot, Marquis de la Salle.)

30.—*Un forte-piano anglais, de Schoene and successors, to ... année 1788.*¹¹⁴

[An English piano, by Schoene and successors, to year 1788.]

(Confiscated from Marie-Léopoldine-Monique, Princess Dowager of Kinski.)

36.—*Un forte-piano anglais, de Schoene, année 1786.*¹¹⁵

[An English piano, by Schoene, year 1786.]

(Confiscated from Charles-René-Félix de Vintimille, Marquis de Luc.)

56.—*Un forte-piano anglais, de Schoene, année 1788.*¹¹⁶

[An English piano, by Schoene, year 1788.]

110 Harding, *The Piano-Forte*, p. 421. See ‘Princes Str.’, in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 280.

111 See ‘Paddington Street’, in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 19.

112 See Cole, ‘John Zumppe’.

113 ‘I Inventaire du 13 Floréal l’an IIe, rue de Grenelle, 370’ in Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur*.

114 ‘VI Inventaire du 4 Floréal l’an IIe, rue Dominique, 1522’ in *ibid.*

115 ‘VII Inventaire du 12 Floréal l’an IIe, rue du Bacq, 559’ in *ibid.*

116 ‘XIII Inventaire du 9 Prairial l’an IIe, place de la Révolution’ in *ibid.*

(Confiscated from Jean-Baptiste Boullongne, or Jean-Baptiste Tavernier de Boulogne.)

75.—*Un forte-piano de Schoene, année 1784.*¹¹⁷

[A piano by Schoene, year 1784.]

(Confiscated from Louis-Joseph Nompar de Caumont, Duke of La Force.)

120.—*Un forte-piano de Schoene 1787.*¹¹⁸

[A piano by Schoene, 1787.]

(Confiscated from Simon-Charles Boutin.)

125.—*Un forte-piano de Schoene, année 1785.*¹¹⁹

[A piano by Schoene, year 1785.]

(Confiscated from Charles-Eugène-Gabriel de la Croix, Marquis de Castries.)

141.—*Un forte-piano anglais de Schoene, successor de Johannes Zumpe, Londini fecerunt, estimé 800 francs.*¹²⁰

[An English piano by Schoene, successor to Johannes Zumpe, made in London, estimated 800 francs.]

(Confiscated from Lord François-Thomas Kerry.)

222.—*Un forte-piano de Schoene, fait en 1786 estimé 1 000 francs.*¹²¹

[A piano by Schoene, made in 1786 estimated 1000 francs.]

(Confiscated from Mr de Mayet.)

27. John Henry Schrader (fl. ca 1768–1802).

28. John and James Simpson (fl. ca 1767–95). About 1732, John Simpson established a publishing business at the sign of the Viol and Flute, Sweeting's Alley, Royal Exchange, Cornhill.¹²² (In 1732, *New Remarks of London* makes it evident that the alley was then known indifferently as Swithen's or Seething's Alley. It adjoined Freeman's Yard and ran from the back of the Royal Exchange.)¹²³ John Simpson was also an instrument maker.

117 'XVII Inventaire du 18 Messidor l'an IIe, rue de Grenelle-Saint-Germain, 367' in *ibid.*

118 'XXXV Inventaire du 6 Brumaire l'an IIIe' in *ibid.*

119 'XL Inventaire du 26 Vendémiaire l'an IIIc' in *ibid.*

120 'XL Inventaire du 26 Vendémiaire l'an IIIc' in *ibid.*

121 'LXXV Inventaire du 3 Pluviôse l'an IIIe, rue de Grenelle, faubourg Germain' in *ibid.*

122 See 'Strand', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 30. On Cary's map, the Royal Exchange is designated with the number 83.

123 Kidson, *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers*, pp. 116–17.

'John and James Simpson's (son and grandson of John Simpson?) workshop was located at 14 or 15 Sweetings Alley, opposite the east door of the Royal Exchange, Cornhill.'¹²⁴

A listing of John and James Simpson at this address was first made in 1770 in the *Directory of London*, where they are described as 'musical instrument-makers'.¹²⁵

This listing remained unaltered until 1796, when the *Directory of London* entry reads 'J. Simpson, 14, Sweeting's Alley'. In the *Times* of 12 July 1796, an advertisement mentions that a 'Set of Twelve Hymns, set to music by J. F. Hering' can be purchased from 'Mr. J. C. Simpson, Sweeting's Alley'.¹²⁶

29. William Southwell (1736/37? – 1825).¹²⁷
30. Robert Stodart (fl. ca 1770–96). In 1775, Stodart set up his workshop at Wardour Street, Soho.¹²⁸
31. Charles Trute (fl. 1760–94). Trute's workshop was at 7 Broad Street, Golden Square (Soho).¹²⁹

124 See 'Georgian London Addresses and Locations: Merchants—Music' (n.d.). See also 'Simpson, James and John' (n.d.). See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 287.

125 See 'Georgian London Addresses and Locations'.

126 Kidson, *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers*, p. 117.

127 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 45, fns 2, 95.

128 See 'Wardour Street' in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map References 27 and 28. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 300.

129 See 'Broad Street' in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 315.

Appendix F

David Steel's Salary Scale for Surgeons and Surgeon's Mates (1782)¹

Surgeon's Pay—5l. [£5] per month, besides 20[s?] per man per month for the whole complement of men, from the time of their appearance on-board, agreeably to their warrant.—Also 5l. per ann[um] for every 100 man, in lieu of venereals, & in ships above 50 & under 100 men, 5l. & under 50, 4l. per ann.—Half pay. The first 20, who have served 9 years, 5s per [day.] The next 100, who have served 7 Years, 3s.—The next 200, 5 years, 2s. 6d ... Queen Ann's Free Gift to Surgeons, which is paid to them annually or as often as they pass their accounts, is the following.

War Allowance.

1st Rate	- [£]62	6[s]	10[d]
2nd Rate	- [£]56	1[s]	5[d]
3rd Rate	- [£]43	10[s]	7[d]
4th Rate	- [£]33	9[s]	8[d]
5th Rate	- [£]25	19[s]	6[d]
6th Rate	- [£]43	10[s]	7[d]

Peace All[owance].

1st Rate	- [£]45	11[s]	10[d]
2nd Rate	- [£]41	8[s]	9[d]
3rd Rate	- [£]32	18[s]	1[d]
4th Rate	- [£]26	6[s]	8[d]
5th Rate	- [£]22	18[s]	9[d]
6th Rate	- [£]21	4[s]	9[d]

Surgeons (not below a 4th rate) are superann[uated] according to the highest rate they have served in, subject to a deduct[ion] of 3d in the pound, for sea officers widows.

Pay of Surgeons Mates. In ships of the line. First mates, who have a set of instruments, 5l. per mnth. In othe[r] ships 4l. 2[n]d mates, 3l. 10s 3d, 4th, & 5th, 3l. Surgeons mates, where no surgeon to 50 men, 5l. per mnth. Under 50, 4l.

¹ Steel, 'Surgeons', p. 32.

Appendix G

Selected Publications/Sources Containing 'Foot's Minuet', ca 1750–1835

- ca 1750 *Mr. Foot's Minuet*. Handwritten ms. Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales. Shelfmark: NLW Ms. 12393D.
- ca 1750 *The Delightful Pocket Companion. Volume 2, in 6 Parts*. London: John Simpson.
- ca 1752 [No title.] Handwritten manuscript. London: British Library. Shelfmark: Add. 56487.
- 1755 *The Compleat Tutor for the French Horn*. London: Peter Thompson.
- 1764 J. Regan. *Book of Notes*. Handwritten manuscript. Bandon, Ireland.
- 1765 *The Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany being a Gradation of Proper Lessons from the Beginner to the Tollerable Performer Chiefly Intended to Save Masters the Trouble of Writing for their Pupils*. London: Robert Bremner.
- ca 1765 *A Compleat Tutor for the Flute*. London: R. Bremner.
- 1768 *A Complete Tutor for the English Flute*. London: Thompson & Son.
- ca 1769 *Compleat Instructions for the German Flute*. London: James Longman & Co.
- 1770 *The Compleat Tutor for the Hautboy*. London: C. & S. Thompson.
- 1770 *New and Complete Instructions for the Oboe or Hoboy*. London: Longman, Lukey & Co.
- 1772 S. Hudson and N. Cook. *Gamut for the Violin*. Handwritten manuscript.
- 1782 E. S. van Rensselaer. *Elizabeth van Rensselaer Her Music Book*. Boston: n.p.
- 1784–89 J. Cabot and J. Bartlett. *New Instructions for the German Flute*. Cambridge and Salem, MA: n.p.
- 1785 J. Greenwood. *John Greenwood*. Handwritten manuscript.

- 1785 *New Instructions for the French Horn*. London: Longman & Broderip.
- 1786 H. Beck. *Henry Beck's Flute Book*. Handwritten manuscript.
- ca 1790 H. Livingston. Handwritten manuscript. Poughkeepsie, NY.
- ca 1790 *New and Complete Instructions for the Oboe or Hoboy*. London: T. Cahusac.
- ca 1790 *The Compleat Tutor for the Hautboy*. London: S., A. & P. Thompson.
- 1790 G. White. *The Scale of the Gamut for the Violin*. Cherry Valley, NY: n.p.
- 1794 M. Hawkins. *Micah Hawkin's Book of Notes*. New York: n.p.
- 1797 H. Brown. *Henry Brown's Property*. Handwritten manuscript.
- 1799 J. Miller. *John Miller His Book of Tunes for the Fyfe*. Handwritten manuscript. Perth, Scotland.
- ca 1800 S. Dickinson. *Silas Dickinson's Book*. Amherst, MA: n.p.
- ca 1800 *The Hoboy Preceptor, or Military Pieces*. London: G. Astor.
- ca 1801 *The Clarinet Preceptor*. London: Wheatstone.
- 1807 O. Shaw. *For the Gentlemen. A Favourite Selection of Instrumental Music: Calculated for the Use of Schools and Musical Societies. Consisting Principally of Marches, Airs, Minuets, &c. Written Chiefly in 4 Parts, viz. Two Clarionetts, Flute and Bassoon; Or Two Violins, Flute, and Violoncello. Likewise, the Musical Characters, with the Scales, or Gamuts theSeveral Instruments, to Which the Music is Adapted*. Dedham, MA: Herman Mann.
- 1817 D. H. Huntington. *Preceptor for the Flute*. Onondaga, NY: n.p.
- 1818? *A Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet*. New York: W. Dubois.
- 1833 H. E. Moore. *Merrimack Collection of Instrumental and Martial Musick, Volume I*. Concord, MA: Jacob B. Moore.
- 1835 J. Winder. *Tune Books*. Handwritten manuscript. The Winder Family of Wyresdale, near Lancaster.

Appendix H

Piano Makers and Dealers in London during the 1820s and 1830s¹

In Sydney by the 1830s, not only was private music making a common pastime amongst those who could afford to purchase a piano, but also a ready supply of pianos was available.

Between the late 1820s and early 1840s, information published in the *Sydney Gazette*, and *New South Wales Advertiser* and *The Sydney Herald* suggests the pianos most often purchased in Sydney as new instruments were imported from London, and were made by Broadwood, Clementi (including Collard & Collard), Stodart or Tomkison.

During the 1820s and 1830s, there were 213 piano makers and 10 piano dealers in London from whom Sydney residents could have purchased a piano. These piano makers and dealers are listed below.

Robert Addison	120 Bond Street; 201 Regent Street
Richard Aldrich	3 Castle Street, City Road
William Allen	Catherine Street, Strand
Robert & Thomas Allison	29 Berners Street, Oxford Street; 49 Wardour Street
Charles Ambrose	75 Seymour Street, Euston Square
William Anderson	49 Wigmore Street
Astor & Co.	79 Cornhill
Mary and Edward Ball ^a	27 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square
James Ball & Son	27 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square; 8 Dean Street, Soho
Jacob Barling	34 Hart Street, Bloomsbury
William Baskett	22 White Hart Place, Kensal Lane
Bateman & Roe	18 Dean Street, Soho

¹ Sources for this information: Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*; Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, Vol. 2 ; Kidson, *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers*; Laurence, *Five London Piano Makers*; www.oocities.com/threesixesinarow/engmanu.htm.

Theodore Bates	6 Ludgate Hill
James Bell	Duke Street, Grosvenor Square
John Bell	4 Little Russell Street, Drury Lane
John Bennett	1 Finsbury Square
Litchfield Binckes	10 Frederick Place, Old Kent Road
Henry Brehmner	36 Canon Street, Ratcliff
Henry Brinsmead	3 Upper Grafton Street, Fitzroy Square
John Brinsmead	40 or 46 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road
John Broadwood & Sons	33 Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square
John Browne	27 Soho Square
John Bruce	52 Crawford Street; 19 London Street
George Brysson	18 Bridgehouse Place, Newington
Thomas Buchan	147 Whitechapel Road; 11 Mount Place; 1 Whitechapel Road
Joshua Buchinger	22 Lisle Street
George Buckwell	30 Hackney Road
Thomas Butcher	41 Great Titchfield Street
Button, Whitaker & Co.	75 St Paul's Churchyard
Charles Cadby	21 Alfred Street, Tottenham Court Road, Bedford Square
Isaac Carter	16 Oxford Street
William Challen	16 Clipston Street, Fitzroy Square; 41 Great Titchfield Street
J. Challenger (piano dealer)	Margaret Street, Cavendish Square
Chappell & Co.	124 New Bond Street
J. Chase	18 Bridge House Place, Borough
John Chase	8 Crosby Row, Walworth
Charles Chesterman	114 Crawford Street, Portman Square
Daniel Child	Brunswick Place, Old Kent Road
Samuel Childs	1 Lower Phillimore Place, Knightsbridge; 9 Terrace, Kensington
Clark & Boothby	112 Great Portland Street, Oxford Street
Clementi & Co.	26 Cheapside

Clementi, Collard & Collard	195 Tottenham Court Road
Charles Combe	26 Leonard Street, Tabernacle Walk
John Compton	45 Upper John Street, Fitzroy Square
William Compton	66 Newman Street, Oxford Street
Frederick Cons	36 Brill Road, Somers Town
T. Cooper	53 Southampton Row, Russell Square, Bloomsbury
Coventry & Hollier	
Henry Curtis	56 Carnaby Street, Golden Square
Daniel Dale	6 Surrey Grove, Old Kent Road
Thomas Dale	2 Devonshire Square, Bishopsgate
d'Almaine & Co.	20 Soho Square
Frederick Danchell	Great Marlborough Street
Joseph Davis	11 Catherine Street, Strand; 92 Great Surrey Street, Blackfriars Road
Henry Dawson	5 Nassau Street, Soho
Thomas Day	16 Bartholomew Close
John Dean	8 Wilmot Street, Russell Square
George Dettmer & Son	50 Upper Marylebone Street, Fitzroy Square
John Dick	64 Newman Street, Oxford Street
Abraham & James Dimoline	5 Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road
Edward Dobinson	32 Robert Street, Hampstead Road
Benjamin Dobson	22 Swan Street, Minorities
Edward Dodd	3 Berners Street; 62 Berwick Street
Henry Dodd	92 Dean Street, Soho
George Dunn	77 Great Titchfield Street; 36 London Road, Fitzroy Square
Joseph Eastman	89 St John Street Road
Eavestaff & Son	66 Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury
William Edmeades & Co.	32 Walbrook
Richard Edwards	1 Seymour Street, Euston Square
William Henry Edwards	17 Bridge Road, Lambeth

Ferdinand Ellimer	6 Seymour Street, Euston Square
William Emeny & Co.	14 Brighton Place, Kent Road
Érard	18 Great Marlborough Street
Joseph Eveleigh	21 Swan Street, Minories
Evenden & Sons	
Henry Ewen	125 St John Street, Clerkenwell
William Farlow	112 Great Surrey Street; Great Waterloo Street
Pierre-Frédéric Fischer	Chester Place, Regent's Park; Great Marlborough Street
George Gange	15 Romney Terrace, Horseferry Road, Westminster
Christopher Gerock	79 Cornhill
Gerock, Astor & Co.	79 Cornhill
John Gibbs	23 Clarence Place, Camberwell Road
John Godwin	Cumberland Street, Hackney Road
M. O. Gorman	12 Gresse Street, Rathbone Place
John Gray (piano dealer)	4 New Road, near Portland Road
John Green	33 Soho Square
Henry Gunter	27 Tottenham Court Road; 13 Little Queen Street, Holborne
Gunter & Horwood	13 Little Queen Street, Holborne
Robert Hack	22 Bedford Street, Bedford Row
John Haig & Co.	18 Bentinck Street; 13 Brighton Place, Kent Road; Bridge House Place, Newington
Haines	1 London Terrace, Hackney Road
John Hammond	7 Polygon, Clarendon Square
Frederick Hauck (piano dealer)	High Holborne
J. Henderson	Little James Street, Bedford Row; 58 Castle Street, East Oxford Street
John Hills	9 London Road; 38 London Road; 5 Harleyford Place, Kensington Road
John Hingston	41 Cirencester Place, Fitzroy Square
George Hulton	8 Barton Street, Westminster
Henry Inderman	13 Upper Cleveland Street, Fitzroy Square

James Jackson	3 Duke Street, Manchester Square
William Jenkins	10 London Street, Fitzroy Square
Richard Jones	27 Bedfordbury, Covent Garden
Keith, Prowse & Co. (piano dealers)	131 Cheapside; 48 Cheapside
Joseph Kirckman	19 Broad Street, Golden Square; 6 and 67 Frith Street, Soho
John Kirkland	4 Alfred Street, Tottenham Court Road
Justus Langhans	20 Wardour Street, Soho
John Leslie	108 Broadwall, Blackfriars
Joseph Lidel	Arundel Street, Panton Square
David Loeschman	82 Newman Street, Oxford Street; 26 Norfolk Street, Middlesex Hospital
Longman & Bates	6 Ludgate Hill
George Luff & Co.	92 Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury
Richard Lyster	8 Porter Street, Soho
William Mardon	15 Great Portland Street, Oxford Street
T. Mayer (piano dealer)	Eve Terrace, Pentonville
George Metzler & Co.	105 Wardour Street, Soho
Jas Miles	17 Howland Square
Friderick Miller (piano dealer)	12 Henry Street, Fitzroy Square
Mills & Milne	44 Tottenham Street
Monro & May	60 Skinner Street, Snow Hill; 11 Holborn Bars
John Moore	138 Bishopsgate Without
Robert Morrison	26 Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road
Isaac Henry Robert Mott	92 Pall Mall; 27 Poultry; 135 Oxford Street
William Mowbay	7 High Street, Newington Butts
Robert Neslin	18 Hamilton Place, King's Cross
Samuel Noble	13 Abingdon Street, Westminster
James Nutting & Co.	92 Dean Street, Soho; 230 Oxford Street
Henry Oakey	2 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square
Henry Owen	125 St John's Street, Clerkenwell

Richard Owen & Co.	23 Hackney Road, Shoreditch; 4 Frederick Place, Old Kent Road
Owen & Stodart Oxley ^b	36 Red Lion Square, Holborn
Jean-Henri Pape	67 Frith Street, Soho; 21 Little Newport Street, Leicester Square; 106 New Bond Street
George Peachy	31 Wormwood Road, Bishopsgate; 73 Bishopsgate Street Within
Robert Perkins ^c	1 Hackney Road Crescent; 9 Clarence Place, Hackney Road
George Pether	9 Crown Street, Walworth
William Phillips	9 Manor Row, Little Tower Hill
Phillips, Mayhew & Co.	17 Old Bond Street
Joseph Pickett	28 Charlotte Street, Portland Place
William Pinnock	267 St Clement's Church Yard, Strand
T. S. Powell	47 Poland Street, Oxford Street
John Price	94 Charlotte Street, Rathbone Place; 91 Charlotte Street, Rathbone Place
Archibald Pringle	3 Clerkenwell Close
Thomas Prowse	13 Museum Street, Bloomsbury
James Pynder	38 Museum Street, Bloomsbury
James Pynock	38 Museum Street, Bloomsbury
Charles Rachmacher	6 Charles Street, Soho
Adam Reid	54 Poland Street
John Rhodes	3 King Street, Westminster
James Rigg (piano dealer?)	Providence Row, Finsbury Square
William Robertson	3 Frederick's Place, Tottenham Court Road
William Rolfe & Co. (& Sons)	28, 31 and 32 London Wall; 112 Cheapside
Charles Ross	19 Green Street, Leicester Square
Charles Rowed	7 Frederick Place, Hampstead Road
John Rudd	4 Circus Street, New Road, Marylebone
Richard Russell	44 Broad Street, Golden Square
John Rutherford	55 Grosvenor Street, Pimlico

C. Sarle	5 Duke Row, Pimlico
Thomas Sawers	18 Little Marylebone Street
Henry Schmidt	30 City Road, Finsbury Square
Schwieso & Co.	11 Soho Square; 263 Regent Street
Thomas Scotcher	14 Seymore Street, Euston Square
John Scott	26 New Road, Sloane Street
Scott & Co.	29 Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square
George Searle	20 Grosvenor Street, Westminster; 5 Duke Row, Pimlico
George Shade	21 Soho Square
John Sharp	1 Princes Place, Westminster; 93 Leadenhall Street
Aaron Shepherd	17 Sloane Square, Chelsea; 30 Sloane Square, Chelsea
Henry Smart	27 Berners Street; 9 Upper Marylebone Street
Charles Smith & Co.	17 Upper Rathbone Place; 12 Charles Street, Middlesex Hospital
William Southwell	12 St James's Place, Hampstead Road; 9 Marlborough Street; 54 Exchequer Street
John Spademan	31 William Street, Hampstead Road
William Speak (piano dealer)	Queen's Place
William Sprague	7 Finsbury Pavement, Finsbury
William Squire	76 George Street, Euston Square
Thomas Statham	31 Goswell Road, Clerkenwell
William Steed	54 Goswell Road, Clerkenwell; 26 Goswell Road, West Side, Clerkenwell
James Stephens	5 Sussex Street, Bedford Square
James Stewart	George Street, St Pancras; Store Street, Euston Square
William Stodart & Son	1 Golden Square; 27 Berners Street; 401 Strand; 57 Wells Street
Lewis Sugden	20 Crawford Street, Portman Square
Henry Symondson	13 Robert Street, Hampstead Road
Henry Talbot	49 Castle Street East, Oxford Street

William Tarry	42 Hampden Street, Somers Town; 7 Theberton Street, Islington; 3 Theberton Street, Islington
Edward Tate	16 Bridge House Place, Newington Causeway
William Theobald	314 Oxford Street
William Tierney	10 Rolls' Buildings, Fetter Lane
Henry Tolkien	27 and 28 King William Street, City; 64 Great Marlborough Street
Thomas Tomkison	77 Dean Street, Soho
William Tomlinson & Co.	Bond Street
Thomas Towns	2 Pollen Street, Hanover Square; 20 Oxford Street
Thomas Tuck	33 Hyde Street, Bloomsbury
John Tucker	17 London Road, Southwark
John Turner	79 Leadenhall Street
George Voigt (Voight)	10 Clarence Place, New Road, Pentonville
John Waite & Co.	116 Crawford Street, Portman Square
John Wales & Co.	41 Foley Street, Portland Place
Robert Wales	33 Charles Street, Hampstead Road
Richard Walker	2 Portsmouth Place, Lower Kennington Lane
William Walter	118 Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury
James Wansell	20 Howland Street, Fitzroy Square
Cornelius Ward	36 Great Titchfield Street
George Warren	Belgrave Place, Wandsworth Road
John Warren	75 Hackney Road; 42 Bishopsgate Within; 5 Whites Row
John Warren	5 Oxford Street, Mile End; 1 Liverpool Street, Finsbury Circus; Whites Row, Spitalfields; Mare Street, Hackney, Old Town
John Watlen ^d	13 Leicester Place, Leicester Square; 106 New Bond Street
John Watson	28 Dover Place, New Kent Road
George Watts	32 Queen Street, Bryanston Square
John Whitaker & Co. ^e	75 St Paul's Churchyard
Thomas White (piano dealer)	

Benjamin Wicking & Son (piano dealers)	48 Kingsland Road, Dalston
George Wilkinson	315 Oxford Street; 41 New Bond Street; 12 Percy Street; Russell Mews, Fitzroy Square
Benjamin Williams	19 Cloth Fair
Richard Williams	90 Great Surrey Street
Isaac Willis & Co.	55 St James Street; Royal Musical Repository, Egyptian Hall
Witton, Witton & Co.	22 Norfolk Street, Islington
Robert Wolf & Co.	79 Cornhill
Skelton Wolfenden	44 Little Grosvenor Street
John Wood	81 Wells Street, Oxford Street
James Wood & Son	50 New Compton Street, Soho
T. Woodman	6 White Hart Place, Lower Kennington Lane
Robert Wornum, jr	42 Wigmore Street; 3 Welbeck Street
Herman(n) Wrede	15 St John's Square, Clerkenwell; 35 Whitecross Street
Jacob Zeitter	4 and 5 New Cavendish Street, Portland Place
Zeitter & Perkins	5 New Cavendish Street, Portland Place

^a In 1822, Mary and Edward Ball insured their stock and utensils for £1200. See Barnett, *The Structure of Industry in London 1775–1825*, p. 237.

^b '(fl. c.1837?) ... One of his square pianos (ser. no. 47169) was found in Australia.' Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, Vol. 2, p. 276.

^c 'A piano by Perkins & Fielding on Hackney Road, London, was located recently in Australia.' *Ibid.*, p. 286.

^d 'An Australian piano [ca 1828?] points to an early partnership between John Watlen and William Challen.' *Ibid.*, p. 393.

^e John Whitaker (fl. 1819–26) sold pianos made by Robert Wales (fl. 1819–43), with whom he was in partnership. A square piano, dated 1819, with a nameboard inscription *Robert Wales / Whitaker & Co. / 75 St Paul's Churchyard, London* (housed in the Stewart Symonds Collection, Ermington, Sydney, NSW), has 'R. W' punched into the wrest-plank. This piano is listed in *ibid.*, p. 390.

Appendix I

An Anecdote Concerning the Parianware Sculpture of Hebe Once Owned by William Bradshaw

In 1924, Elliot's antiques shop (near Wynyard, Sydney) was home to a Parianware statue of the goddess of youth, Hebe (Ἥβη) (Zeus's daughter and cup-bearer to the gods and goddesses of Mount Olympus). The words of the thirteenth-century English cleric and university magister Gregorius (Master Gregory) of Oxford are apposite: the statue had been made 'with such wonderful and intricate skill that' it seemed 'more like a living creature than a statue'.¹

In mid-June 1924, the diva Dame Nellie Melba (1861–1931) gave a triumphant Australian tour with the nearly 60 performers comprising the Melba–Williamson² opera company. (Dame Nellie 'never had the slightest doubt that many thousands of Australians wanted to hear her sing, and on the evidence she was right.' Two years earlier, in 1922, '35,000 people heard her in fifteen Melbourne concerts and more than 36,000 in ... fourteen Sydney concerts'.)³ Melba 'had scarcely arrived in Sydney'—having travelled from Melbourne by train—'when she developed bronchitis and was unable to sing. For four weeks she coughed in her apartment at 52 Macleay Street', Potts Point.⁴ The building within which Dame Nellie languished has recently been redesigned and rebuilt as a high-end apartment development; the elegant and inviting street-level entrance foyer once familiar to Melba has been converted into two retail outlets: the Grass Roots Urban Butchery, a butcher's shop, and Paws Point Pet Deli and Boutique, purveyors of designer accessories for dogs and cats.

Just prior to her return to Melbourne from Sydney, and having recovered from her illness, Melba entered the antiques shop of her friend Mr Elliot, who, upon recognising the famous singer, showed his delight in her presence by greeting her with a flamboyant arm-waving bow (Dame Nellie may have become friends with Elliot through Tom Patterson, the auctioneer and businessman husband of her sister Belle).⁵

1 Magister Gregorius, *Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Romae* [*The Marvels of Rome*]. See G. McN. Rushforth, 'Magister Gregorius de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae: A New Description of Rome in the Twelfth Century', in *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 9 (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1919), p. 26.

2 Between 1874 and 1907, James Cassius Williamson (1845–1913) was Australia's foremost impresario.

3 J. Hetherington, *Melba: A Biography* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995), p. 219.

4 A. Blainey, *I Am Melba* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2008), p. 320.

5 See *ibid.*, p. 195.

Dame Nellie, forgetting that she was holding her furled parasol, responded to Elliot's theatrical gesture with an even deeper and more flamboyant bow. In the process, and amidst the ensuing flurry of parasol and taffeta, she accidentally knocked the statue of Hebe to the floor. The statue's left arm broke off near the shoulder, and Hebe's pitcher—containing the ambrosia served at the heavenly feast—shattered into a multitude of un-mendable fragments. Hebe's right hand still holds all that remains of the pitcher's handle (Plate 401).

Elliot refused Dame Nellie's offer to pay for the damage, insisting that he would instead keep and treasure the statue as a memento of her visit. He glued the arm back onto the statue, and for many years 'dined out' on the story of Melba's visit to his shop.

When Elliot went out of business, William Bradshaw⁶—fully aware of the statue's connection with the illustrious diva—bought the piece at the clearance sale with the intention that it should function as his shop mascot (Plates 401–3).

Bradshaw had the good taste to place the statue on the top of a square piano made in 1830 by the Zürich-based piano maker Heinrich Huni (1798–1866). This instrument (serial number 292) had belonged to a Swedish family who fled to Australia during the horrors of the 1940s, and who returned to their home country after World War II; Bradshaw acquired the piano from the family (at auction) in 1946.

The piano was permanently located in the drawing room (in the corner near the entrance) in Bradshaw's home at 96 Queen Street, Woollahra (Plates 2 and 3). The instrument made a perfect location upon which to display Hebe's beauty: the piano was veneered in olivewood, and had four columnar legs with beautiful brass capitals; each leg sat on an individual square block base; with its fallboard closed, the instrument functioned as an attractive side table.⁷ The beauty of the piano's cabinetwork matched the exquisite beauty of the statue of Hebe.

Stewart Symonds, having been informed by Bradshaw of the statue's noteworthy history,⁸ purchased it at Bradshaw's estate auction.

The statue now resides in Symonds' single-storey sandstone Georgian home, in Ermington, Sydney, where the sculpture has been known to make a fleeting appearance on the dining room table, for the delectation of a certain visiting researcher into the history of the First Fleet piano.

6 See 'Discovery', in the Introduction, Volume 1 of this publication.

7 This piano is listed in Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, Vol. 2, p. 195.

8 I am indebted to Stewart Symonds for the anecdotal information presented in this appendix.

Symonds' Parianware statue is identical to Bertel Thorvaldsen's (1770–1844) Biedermeier-style⁹ marble sculpture *Hebe* (1816)¹⁰ (being one of many reduced-size copies of Thorvaldsen's masterpiece that were mass-produced during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries):

1. In eighteenth and nineteenth-century art, Hebe is usually depicted wearing a sleeveless dress;¹¹ this is the case with both Thorvaldsen's *Hebe* and Symonds' statue.
2. The garment of Symonds' Parianware figure is indistinguishable from that of Thorvaldsen's sculpture. With its high neckline—an early nineteenth-century conscious reduction of the potential for sensual appeal—the garment comprises voluminous folds that completely conceal the load-bearing leg.
3. As with Thorvaldsen's statue, the corporeality of Symonds' Parianware sculpture is diminished by the drapery's planar extension: adjacent to the outside of the statue's unseen right leg (all that is visible of the right leg are the toes), the cloth appears to 'stand' on the floor like a solid wall.
4. The arms of Thorvaldsen's *Hebe* and of Symonds' statue lie close to the torso; their curve is echoed by drapery folds. In true Biedermeier fashion, nothing projects beyond, or disturbs, the tranquil, closed overall contour.
5. The poses of Thorvaldsen's sculpture and of Symonds' Parianware statue are the same: both figures are serene, lacking a certain spontaneity.¹²

Not ostentatious, status enhancing, heroic, innocuous or sentimental, both Thorvaldsen's *Hebe* and Symonds' Parianware statue are suffused with the beauty, restraint and rigorous simplicity of the Biedermeier aesthetic.¹³

9 See 'Biedermeier Style', in Appendix Q.

10 See photograph in G. Himmelheber, *Biedermeier 1815–1835: Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, Decorative Arts, Fashion* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1989), Figure 29, 'Bertel Thorvaldsen, Hebe, 1816. Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen', p. 23.

11 See 'Hebe (Mythology)', in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (Last modified 25 August 2012).

12 See Himmelheber, *Biedermeier 1815–1835*, p. 23.

13 See *ibid.*, p. 7.



Left: Plate 401 William Bradshaw's Parianware statue of Hebe, the goddess of youth.
Right: Plate 402 William Bradshaw's Parianware statue of the goddess Hebe (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photos by the author.



Plate 403 William Bradshaw's Parianware statue of the goddess Hebe: a broken arm mended (detail).

Appendix J

Grand Piano by Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, Serial Number 526)

This instrument is the only extant Clementi ‘Russian model’ grand piano (Plate 404). It was owned by the British ambassador to St Petersburg, a diplomat of Irish origin who, just prior to the Napoleonic invasion of 1812, took the instrument (along with a Russian sleigh)¹ out of Russia to his residence in Ireland. The piano remained in Ireland, where it was purchased at auction by William Bradshaw.² The instrument is currently part of the Ralph Schureck Collection, Berowra Heights, Sydney.

The piano was restored a few years ago by Bernhard Balas, Märzstraße 103, A-1150, Vienna.

The serial number, 526, is handwritten, in ink, on the wrest-plank, at the bass end near the spine (Plate 405).

The instrument has metal-strengthened corners—deemed necessary during the early nineteenth century because of the expansion and contraction resulting from overheated Russian salons (Plates 406–8). In the palaces and great houses of England, large rooms were usually heated by an open fireplace that was fed by a strong updraft, which catalysed the movement of air throughout the room. In the palaces and great houses of Russia, however, rooms were usually heated by a large tile-covered closed stove that stood out from the wall. The stove had only a metal flue, which meant that although the temperature of the room could be raised rapidly, there was nothing to catalyse a constant circulation of air throughout. As a result, the air in Russian salons was often oppressively still and overheated—a lethal combination for pianos.

¹ The sleigh was complete with its fur coverings and hanging light. During the twentieth century, the sleigh fetched a princely sum and was taken back to Russia as a rare, perfect and complete example of an early nineteenth-century sleigh. This information is derived from a conversation held on Sunday, 3 June 2012 between the author and Stewart Symonds.

² It is not known exactly when William Bradshaw purchased the piano at auction in Ireland. Ralph Schureck purchased the piano shortly after Bradshaw had acquired it. This information is derived from a conversation held on Sunday, 3 June 2012 between the author and Stewart Symonds.



Plate 404 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526).

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 405 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): serial number.

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 406 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): intersections of the treble cheek and bentside, and the bentside and tail—metal-strengthened corners for the expansion and contraction caused by overheated Russian salons.

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 407 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): intersection of the treble cheek and bentside (detail)—metal-strengthened corner for the expansion and contraction caused by overheated Russian salons.

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 408 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co.(London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): tail, and the intersection of the bentside and tail—metal-strengthened corners for the expansion and contraction caused by overheated Russian salons.

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

The instrument has a 68-note (5.5 octaves) compass (FF–c⁴).

The fortepiano is triple-strung throughout. The three strings of each note have identical sounding lengths.

A divided ('split') bridge (Plate 409) breaks in the bass between the last brass string (G[#]) and the first steel string (A). As a result, the highest brass (G[#]) strings are considerably shorter than the adjacent iron (A) strings (the next note above). Consequently, the brass strings have a lower tension, which prevents drawing them too near their breaking point, whilst the iron strings have a higher tension, which improves their tone. Dividing the bridge so that the highest brass strings are shorter than the adjacent iron strings makes the transition between the brass and iron strings less aurally noticeable, and produces a richer, more sonorous tenor octave.³ Clementi copied the split-bridge concept from John Broadwood, who invented it.



Plate 409 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): divided ('split') bridge.

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

³ See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 136.

A plain veneered mahogany case with cross-banded edges and an inlaid yellow boxwood or maple(?) line (Plate 406) creates the effect of a series of outlined panels along the sides of the instrument. This decorative device is derived from the harpsichords of Hermann Tabel (d. 1738), and is a distinctive feature of late eighteenth-century English grand pianos.

The golden satinwood nameboard has a border of stained fruitwood⁴ stringing (Plate 410). The nameplate, in English, painted in gold against a black background, is contained in a painted oval cartouche, with a decorative border depicting a string of pearls (Plate 411). The inscription reads: *Muzio Clementi & Co - / Cheapside, London*.

The nameboard is embellished with exquisitely painted polychrome swags on either side of the central inscription (Plates 410 and 412–15). The identity of the artist is a mystery.⁵



Plate 410 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): the nameboard has a stained fruitwood border.

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

4 Fruitwood is 'the wood of any of several fruit-bearing trees, such as the apple, cherry or pear'. 'Fruit-Wood', in *The Free Dictionary by Farlex* (Huntingdon Valley, Pa: Farlex Inc., Last updated 2009); Editors of The American Heritage Dictionaries, *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th edn (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2009).

5 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 108.



Plate 411 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): nameboard (detail)—painted oval cartouche, with the inscription ‘Muzio Clementi & Co—Cheapside, London’.

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 412 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): nameboard (detail)—painted swags.

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 413 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): painted swags (detail).

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 414 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): painted swags (detail).

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 415 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): nameboard (detail).

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

The keyboard has ivory naturals (Plate 416); the heads and tail plates are made from separate pieces of ivory. The sharps are solid ebony. The key fronts are finished with a varnished sycamore⁶ ovolo moulding with a protruding front lip placed in the upper half (Plate 416).

⁶ 'Wood from the trees of the genus *Acer* ... The European species *Acer pseudoplatanus* is called "sycamore" in England.' Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 331.



Plate 416 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): keyboard (detail)—e¹–a¹.

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

The instrument sits on a separate, solid mahogany trestle stand with four plain tapered legs, each leg terminating in a castor. The bolt head holding the stand together at the centre of the front cross-member is concealed by a brass patera.

Two mahogany pedals are suspended from the centre of the front cross-member of the trestle stand (Plate 417). Actuating rods are concealed inside the woodwork. The configuration of the pedals is: damper lift (right pedal) and *una corda* (left pedal). Normally, the hammer for any given note strikes that note's three unison strings. When the *una corda* pedal is depressed, the keyboard (and therefore the action) is laterally realigned. The extent of the pedal's depression allows the player to choose between having the hammer strike only one or two of each note's three strings.



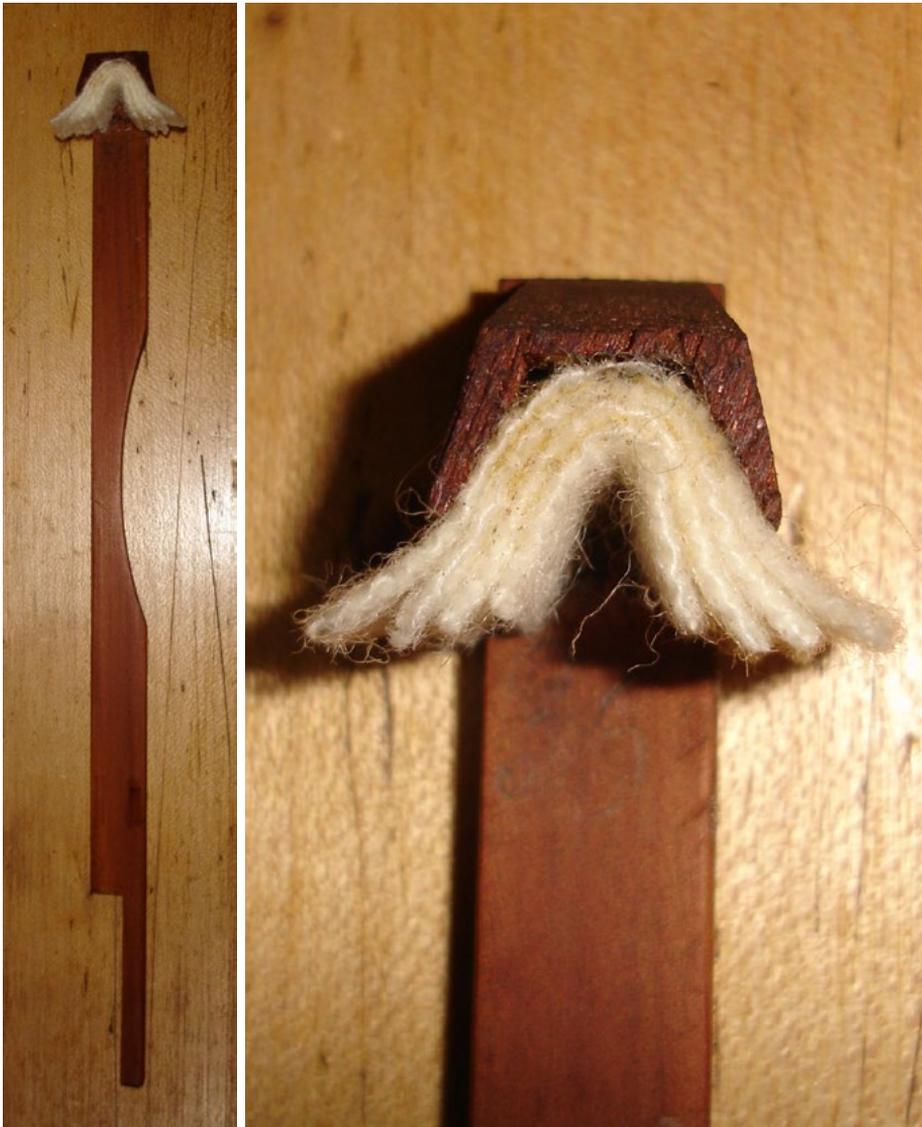
Plate 417 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): pedals.

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Typically for Clementi's pianos, and commonly for the grand piano as an instrumental type, the instrument has up-striking hammers.⁷

Each note throughout the 5.5-octave compass has an individual damper. Each damper comprises a thin wooden slip (jack) guided in harpsichord-style register (Plate 418); four layers of white woven cloth, stitched together, hang from the underside of a wooden block (damper compartment) on the side of each damper jack (Plate 419). The dampers of late eighteenth-century English fortepianos are purposely inefficient, resting relatively lightly on the strings (Plate 420). Depending on the dynamic level and register, the inefficient dampers result in a 'glow' of overtones around each note, which late eighteenth-century English pianists found desirable, and equated with resonance.

7 See 'Up-Striking Hammers', in Appendix Q, this volume.



Left: Plate 418 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): damper jack.

Right: Plate 419 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): damper c³ (detail)—damper compartment.

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photos by the author.

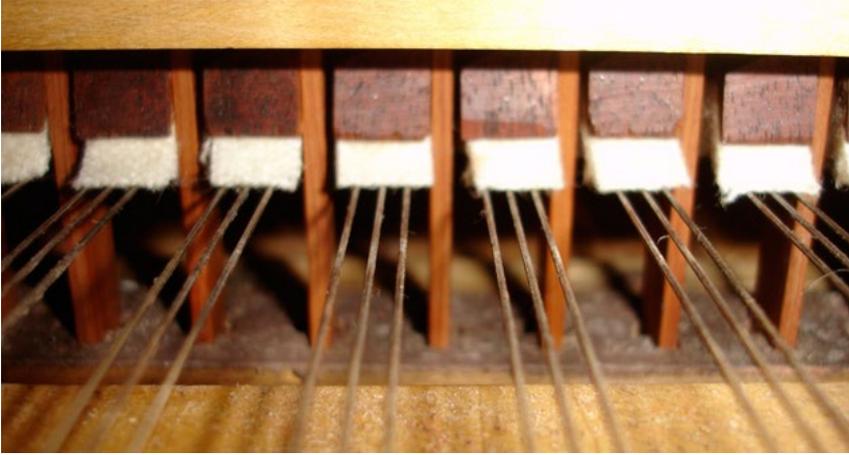


Plate 420 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): middle dampers (detail)—the dampers rest relatively lightly on the strings.

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

There are four iron gap spacers (Plate 421). The space between the wrest-plank and the soundboard—through which the hammers rise to strike the strings—is an inherently weak point in a grand piano. In order to compensate for this weakness, makers incorporated iron brackets between the edge of the wrest-plank and the belly rail (Plate 422). These iron brackets (gap spacers) look like arches that rise up and over between the strings.



Plate 421 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): four iron gap spacers.

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 422 Grand piano by Muzio Clementi & Co. (London, ca 1806–10, serial number 526): bass-end gap spacer.

Source: Ralph Schureck Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

By the mid-twentieth century, the only other extant Clementi ‘Russian model’ grand piano had belonged to the composer Mikhail Glinka (1804–57); Glinka’s piano was destroyed by the SS during World War II.⁸

Clementi judged the Russians somewhat harshly. In a letter dated Wednesday, 17 August 1803, Clementi, whilst on tour in Dresden, wrote to his business partner Frederick William Collard (1772–1860): ‘Remember once for all that the Russians in general possess good ears for sound tho’ they have none for sense and style.’⁹

⁸ This information is derived from a conversation held between the author and Ralph Schureck. See ‘Protective Measures for Pianos’, in Chapter 7, Volume 1 of this publication.

⁹ Letter from Muzio Clementi to Frederick William Collard, Wednesday, 17 August 1803. Quoted in Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 72.

Appendix K

The First Harpsichord Brought to Australia: An apocryphal tale

Late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century sources discussing or depicting music-making at Sydney Cove are meagre. As a consequence, it is not always possible to arrive at conclusions with certainty. Myths abound, some of which have been repeated reverently by eminent researchers as truth. One such myth concerns the first harpsichord to be brought to Australia.

According to the Australian harpsichordist Elizabeth Anderson, Australia's first harpsichord arrived with its gentleman-convict owner John Grant (1776–?) on the convict ship *Coromandel*¹ in May 1804.² McQueen supports Anderson's view, stating that 'at least one convict, John Grant, brought a harpsichord with him into exile'.³ The evidence supporting the arrival of Grant's harpsichord is, however, spurious, at best.

John Grant had been sentenced to death for shooting Spencer Townsend—a family solicitor and the guardian of the finances of Miss Anna Maria Ward, the daughter of Viscount Dudley and Mrs Anna Maria Ward—'in the hams'.⁴

In a preview of her book *This Beauteous, Wicked Place: Letters and Journals of John Grant, Gentleman Convict*,⁵ Yvonne Cramer provides an account of events associated with Grant's conviction:

Grant was a young London merchant obsessively in love with the daughter of Viscount Dudley and Ward. In order to gain the family's approval to marry his beloved he attempted to make a quick fortune by speculating on cargoes from the West Indies, but was ruined when his ships were lost at sea.

Following Grant's bankruptcy, Ward's lawyer [Spencer Townsend], hoping to turn Miss Ward against her lover, told her that Grant ['wanted

1 In the mid-1820s, the *Coromandel* was established as one of four infamous prison hulks at Ireland Island, Bermuda. See W. Branch-Johnson, *The English Prison Hulks* (London: Christopher Johnson, 1957), pp. 165–73.

2 See www.elizabethanderson.org/grant.html.

3 McQueen, *A New Britannia*, p. 112.

4 That is, in the buttock. See W. S. Hill-Reid, *John Grant's Journey: A Convict's Story 1803–11* (London: Heinemann, 1957), p. 8.

5 Y. Cramer, 'Preview: This Beauteous, Wicked Place: Letters and Journals of John Grant, Gentleman Convict', in *NLA News*, Vol. 10, No. 6 (March) (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2000).

men and not women'.]⁶ In a frenzy of frustration and rage Grant filled two pistols with swan shot⁷ [in order that no-one be seriously injured]⁸ ... and accosted the lawyer [on the steps of his home in St James's Place]⁹ ... threatening to shoot him unless he apologised and 'corrected this gross calumny with Miss Ward'.

When Townsend's apology was not forthcoming, Grant discharged his swan shot into Townsend's coat,¹⁰ inadvertently wounding him in the buttock.

Grant was seized, tried for attempted murder and convicted. The trial [held at the Old Bailey in May 1803] was widely considered to be a disgraceful travesty of justice¹¹ and ... [38] eminent businessmen signed [Grant's own] ... petition to King George [III] pleading for [his] ... life.¹² Grant's sister Matilda wrote a beautifully-worded petition to the king's daughters seeking their intervention on behalf of her brother.¹³

Twelve hours before [Grant] ... was due to hang, his death sentence was commuted to transportation to the colony at New South Wales¹⁴ ['for the term of his natural life'].¹⁵

In October 1803, after spending five months in Newgate Prison, Grant was transferred to the *Coromandel* as it lay at anchor at Portsmouth. Grant later remarked that he was displeased to find himself amongst the '199 abominable villains whom the British Government [had] ... given [him as] companions'.¹⁶

In 1803, at the time of the *Coromandel's* scheduled departure, England was at war with France. 'The Convoy Laws of 1798 stipulated that no ship was to leave

6 Ibid., p. 7.

7 Swan shot is made by pouring molten lead through a mesh or screen into a cooling medium, such as water. The shot often hardens with a small tail on each pellet, and is irregular in shape rather than round like regular shot.

8 Cramer, 'Preview', p. 7.

9 See 'St. James's Pla.', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 35.

10 Cramer, 'Preview', p. 7.

11 The trial is scrupulously reported in the *Sessions Records*, housed in the Guildhall Library, London. See Hill-Reid, *John Grant's Journey*, p. 9.

12 This petition is housed in the National Library of Australia: MS 737; and mfm 462: *Papers of John Grant*, Item 9.

13 The petition is housed in the National Library of Australia: MS 737; and mfm 462: *Papers of John Grant*, Item 10.

14 Cramer, 'Preview'.

15 Hill-Reid, *John Grant's Journey*, p. 16.

16 Cramer, 'Preview', p. 28. 'Grant's letters and journals were discovered by W. S. Hill-Reid, a banking historian, in the vaults of a London bank in 1955, where they had lain for some 150 years.' N. S. Lynravn, 'Grant, John (1776-?)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University) [First published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1966], Vol. 1.

a British port without convoy.¹⁷ Consequently, the *Coromandel* remained at anchor at Portsmouth for three months whilst a convoy of military and merchant ships was formed to protect it on its voyage to Sydney Cove.

While the ship lay at anchor, Grant went ashore ‘a number of times on little forays for newspapers and for coffee’¹⁸ at the India Arms in Portsmouth, and busied himself carefully stowing ‘food, seeds, wines and his furniture’¹⁹ as well as other personal effects into the small cabin he was to share with a young and penniless Dr Fielding, who was sailing to New South Wales in the hope of restoring his fortunes.²⁰

Yvonne Cramer remarks:

A possible explanation for Grant’s apparent freedom and casual attitude while waiting to sail from Portsmouth was his family’s connection with Mr. Lane, one of the owners of the *Coromandel*, and with Vice-Admiral John Hunter [1737–1821], who had been the previous Governor of New South Wales. Hunter provided Grant with information and advice concerning the young colony, and letters of introduction to prominent men there.²¹

Just before his departure from Portsmouth for New South Wales (on Monday, 5 December 1803), Grant may have reflected upon how fortunate he was not to have been forced to endure an extended period of incarceration in Newgate Prison. In 1777, John Howard’s book *The State of Prisons in England and Wales: With Preliminary Observations, and an Account of Some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals*²² painted a devastating picture of the reality of prisons, ‘and brought into the open much of what had been out of sight and out of mind to genteel society’.²³ Howard concluded that disease and the lack of sanitation in prisons resulted in ‘more prisoners [being] ... destroyed ... in gaols than were put to death by all the public executions in the Kingdom’.²⁴ The inmates of English prisons were usually ‘malnourished, debilitated, cold, inadequately clothed, and infested with disease-bearing lice ... cells were a happy home for typhus ... [During] the 1780s ... gaols went into crisis each winter and generally staggered through until spring providing nothing terrible happened’.²⁵

17 Cramer, ‘Preview’, p. 19.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

20 See *ibid.*, p. 28.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

22 J. Howard, *The State of Prisons in England and Wales: With Preliminary Observations, and an Account of Some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals* (Warrington, UK: William Eyres, 1777).

23 Hill, 1788, p. 9.

24 Howard, *The State of Prisons in England and Wales*, pp. 8–9. Quoted in Hill, 1788, p. 9.

25 S. Rees, *The Floating Brothel* (Sydney: Hachette Australia, 2006), p. 43.

The appalling conditions found in prisons were amplified on prison hulks. John Howard declared:

I think it will be admitted that the mode of confinement and labour in the hulks is too severe for the far greater number of those who are confined in them. At the same time, there is no proportion of punishment to the several offences, and consequently no distinction of guilt ... such an assemblage is entirely destructive to the morals of young convicts: the profaneness of the prisoners is not properly checked; and some of the guards set them a bad example.²⁶

In a letter dated Friday, 2 December 1803,²⁷ written by Grant to his mother only three days before he sailed from Portsmouth, he intimates that the furniture he brought aboard the *Coromandel* may have included a harpsichord:

I had almost forgot to say, the Screws to my Lock with hinges on [the] Harpsichord Box are too large for [the] holes, but we make them do; but three small Screws are wanting to fasten [the] Hasp on [the] Lid and I cannot do without some. Pray send me a few of different sizes, some very small.²⁸

A passage from the same letter, however, brings into question the supposition that Grant brought a harpsichord with him. Grant wrote: 'there were only 2 Parcels for Mr. Fielding in [the] Harpsichord Box, but he expected something more I believe.'²⁹ We do not know the size of these two parcels.

It may be 'that the "Harpsichord Box" in question was being used as a convenient storage space for general luggage rather than an instrument itself'.³⁰

It may also be that the term 'harpsichord box' was used to denote a specific type of box. Either the design and function of the harpsichord box were directly connected with the storage and protection of a harpsichord or the design and function of the box were not directly associated with any type of musical instrument at all. Perhaps it was simply a large box (possibly one with an unusual shape).

Earlier in the same letter, Grant writes: 'The 2 boxes [of] seeds are packed away. It leaves me much room in [the] large box, which now having [a] lock on, will for

26 Quoted in Branch-Johnson, *The English Prison Hulks*, p. 29.

27 National Library of Australia: MS 737, Item 11.

28 Y. Cramer, *This Beauteous, Wicked Place: Letters and Journals of John Grant, Gentleman Convict* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2000), p. 18.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

30 D. Irving, 'Early Music Performance in Australia: Cultural and Historical Perspectives', in *Aesthetics and Experience in Music Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005), p. 58. Irving takes the quotation from: B. Ralph, 'This Beauteous, Wicked Disc', [Review of *The Convict Harpsichordist*], in *Early Music*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (February) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 169–70.

years be of infinite utility.’³¹ It is not clear whether or not Grant’s large box is his harpsichord box or another large box. Nor is it clear whether the two parcels for ‘Mr. Fielding’³² in the harpsichord box were the two boxes of seeds.³³

Grant reveals that, following the arrival of ‘two ... boxes [of] valuables of all kinds’,³⁴ the ‘large one, after being altered, was fitted into the recess’. Grant does not reveal to what extent the large box was altered in order that it could fit, presumably, into his cabin.

If the altered large box was Grant’s harpsichord box, he makes no mention of it containing a musical instrument. Instead, he lists some of its contents as being ‘black sattin waistcoats and breeches ... shirts [and a] ... white hat’.³⁵ If the large box was Grant’s harpsichord box, and it contained a harpsichord, this would explain why his white hat was ‘rather squeezed, as well as [the] box which contained it’.³⁶ Alternatively, and given appropriate dimensions, the box need not necessarily have contained a harpsichord for Grant’s white hat to have been ‘rather squeezed’.

Even if John Grant did travel with a harpsichord, and it was in the form of an English bentside spinet—one of the harpsichord’s cheaper and smaller incarnations³⁷ (Plates 423 and 424)—it is unlikely that his cabin would have been large enough to comfortably accommodate the instrument.

Not much is known about the maker of the bentside spinet shown in Plates 423 and 424. He may be the ‘Furley Hawkins’ described in *The London Gazette* of Tuesday, 13 May 1755 as being one of the unfortunate ‘prisoners for debt in Ludgate, in the City of London’, having been ‘formerly of the Parish of Christ Church Newgate Street, and late of Black Swan Court, in the Parish of St. Gregory, Joyner’.³⁸

31 Cramer, *This Beauteous, Wicked Place*, p. 16.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

37 An English bentside spinet could be purchased for between £5 and £10. This was substantially less than a large harpsichord, which could be purchased for £70 or more. During the 1780s, the usual top price for a Broadwood harpsichord, for example, was £73 10s; an instrument with elaborate case decoration could be almost £90, whilst at the opposite end of the spectrum, a plain single-manual instrument could cost as little as 15 guineas. See Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, pp. 16, 47.

38 *The London Gazette*, 13 May 1755, p. 13. On Tuesday, 20 November 1714, Furley Hawkins was apprenticed to the harpsichord maker Thomas Barton (1685–1731). See L. Whitehead and J. Nex, *Sun insurance policies 1710–79, A to D*, fn. 24. Barton had learned his trade as the penultimate apprentice of the master spinet maker Stephen Keene (ca 1639–1712). See P. G. Mole, *The English Spinet with particular reference to The Schools of Keene and Hitchcock*, PhD dissertation (The University of Edinburgh, 2009), p. 86.



Plate 423 Bentside spinet by Furley Hawkins (fl. ca 1725 – ca 1747) (London, 1736). This is the only extant spinet by Furley Hawkins.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 424 Bentside spinet by Furley Hawkins (fl. ca 1725 – ca 1747) (London, 1736).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

The dimensions of a bentside spinet, or of a single-manual English harpsichord—let alone a double-manual harpsichord—would have precluded such an instrument being housed in John Grant's cabin. It is also unlikely that the novel presence of a bentside spinet or a harpsichord on board ship would have gone unmentioned in any of the documents linked with the voyage; concerning the presence of a harpsichord, extant documentation remains silent.

Grant's social position, business contacts and engaging personality, together with presumed financial influence of his family and friends, ensured his privileged passage to New South Wales. During the voyage Grant was befriended by Captain George Robinson and invited to share the Officers' Mess [ward room]. He kept five logs for the Captain and occupied himself with learning navigation.³⁹

Grant was 'invited to share the Officers' Mess'.⁴⁰ Did sharing involve the use of the officers' ward room for the storage of his spinet or harpsichord? The small dimensions of the officers' ward room would have made housing a bentside spinet (or a harpsichord) both difficult and inconvenient.

Following a six-month voyage, the *Coromandel* anchored at Sydney Cove in the late afternoon of Monday, 7 May 1804. 'Grant leant towards the mildly radical politics of the English Whigs and was totally incautious in his enthusiasms.'⁴¹ In May 1805, a year after his arrival at Sydney Cove, Grant

wrote attacking Governor Philip Gidley King for his lack of justice and was deported to Norfolk Island next month ... it was for his outspoken criticism of Captain John Piper that, after other drastic punishments failed to curb him, he was finally banished to the uninhabited neighbouring Phillip Island. Here, after four months of isolation and near starvation, he broke down physically and mentally, and was brought back to Norfolk Island. He was returned to Sydney in 1808 completely subdued and with his health restored; for a period he obtained a post as chaplain in Newcastle. He was later pardoned by Lachlan Macquarie.

Grant's persistent championing of his fellow sufferers was courageous and praiseworthy but it was done recklessly and with an entire lack of finesse, and the punishments he incurred were severe. His utter foolhardiness suggests an unbalanced mind.⁴²

If Grant did bring a harpsichord with him to Sydney Cove, it is not known what became of the instrument upon his arrival. Had a harpsichord been brought

39 Cramer, *This Beauteous, Wicked Place*, p. 14.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

41 Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840*, p. 106.

42 Lynravn, 'Grant, John (1776–?)'.

ashore, there can be little doubt that someone would have made a comment about it. There is no documentary evidence describing the offloading of a harpsichord at Sydney Cove, nor can any mention of a harpsichord or spinet be found in Grant's own journals. In fact, there is no mention in any source of there being a harpsichord anywhere in the fledgling colony.

The only conclusion that can be reached with certainty is that John Grant's letter of 2 December 1803, written prior to his departure for Sydney Cove, contains the first use of the word 'harpsichord' written within a context that is strongly connected with a defining period in Australian history.

Appendix L

Gallery

This appendix contains photographs of selected square pianos by Frederick Beck. The criterion for selection was simple: photographs that were available to the author at the time this book went to press.

Selected Square Pianos by Frederick Beck

ca 1772–73 (Longman, Lukey & Co., reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck)

This instrument is dated ca 1769–73 (a date towards the end of the range seems most likely—ca 1772–73). Made for Longman, Lukey & Co., the piano has been reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck. The attribution to Beck is largely based on the absence of dampers after c^3 . The undamped top five notes are characteristic of Beck's instruments; no other maker of square pianos followed this damping pattern. Both the damping pattern and the nameboard inscription (Plate 425b) of this instrument suggest that in ca 1772–73, Beck was in business with Longman, Lukey & Co. It is not known what Beck's obligations to Longman, Lukey & Co. were, nor is it known for how long the business relationship was maintained.

On Thursday, 11 November 2010, the piano was offered for sale at auction by Serrell's of Malvern, UK. The instrument was described as a 'square piano by Songman'. The sale price was estimated at between £150 and £200. The piano sold for an astonishing £2700. Six months later, in May 2011, the instrument was again offered for sale.¹

By April 2012, the piano had been sensitively restored by David Hackett. The instrument is currently owned by Albert Bil, Scotland.

¹ See D. Hackett, 'Restoration Diary for Longman Lukey & Co Square Piano: November 2010–April 2012', in *Restoration Diaries* (n.d.).

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View



Plate 425 Square piano by Longman, Lukey & Co., reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1772–73).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Albert Bil. Photo by David Hackett.



Plate 425a Square piano by Longman, Lukey & Co., reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1772–73).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Albert Bil. Photo by David Hackett.



Plate 425b Square piano by Longman, Lukey & Co., reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1772–73): nameboard.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Albert Bil. Photo by David Hackett.

1773

Alan Rubin, of Pelham Galleries Ltd., London, UK, acquired this instrument from the widow of the eminent musicologist H. C. Robbins Landon (1926–2009). The instrument is in fine condition, and currently plays very nicely.² The piano can be heard on *Claviers mozartiens* (Lyrinx, 2006), CD, LYR 2251, tracks 11–13 (inclusive); the instrument is played by the virtuoso scholar-musician Pierre Goy.



Plate 425c Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1773).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Pelham Galleries, London.

² I am indebted to Alan Rubin for this information (Email from Alan Rubin to the author, 9 April 2013).

1774



Plate 426 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1774).

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Bachhaus, Eisenach/Neue Bachgesellschaft e.V. Inv. no. 1. 4. 1. 12., I 86.



Plate 427 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1774): nameboard inscription.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Bachhaus, Eisenach/Neue Bachgesellschaft e.V. Inv. no. 1. 4. 1. 12., I 86.



Plate 427a Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1774): round-tapered, fluted screw-in leg—the moulded circular boss lends a touch of ornament to the round capitals, a variant of the French style.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Bachhaus, Eisenach/Neue Bachgesellschaft e.V. Inv. no. I. 4. I. 12., I 86.

1776

The distinguished fortepiano dealer and aficionado Andrew Lancaster restored this square piano ‘a few years ago’.³ The piano eventually passed into the hands of Graham Walker, who acquired it in the United Kingdom at ‘a provincial auction a couple of weeks ago. Against an estimate of £200 (no reserve) it was knocked down for £4,000 (+ premium) to ... Graham Walker.’ I am indebted to David Hackett for this information (Email from David Hackett to the author, 24 November 2013). Graham Walker subsequently sold the instrument to Luke Bradley, Lausanne, Switzerland. In ca March 2014, Bradley offered the instrument for sale for £7000. The piano was purchased by its current owner, Michael Borgstede, Germany. The instrument is in excellent condition.



Plate 428 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1776).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Michael Borgstede.

³ Email from Graham Walker to the author, 22 December 2013.

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View



Plate 428a Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1776): nameboard.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Michael Borgstede.



Plate 428b Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1776).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Michael Borgstede.



Plate 428c Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1776).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Michael Borgstede.

1777



Plate 429 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1777).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Carleton University, School for Studies in Art and Culture (Music), Ottawa. Photo by James Park.



Plate 429a Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1777).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Carleton University, School for Studies in Art and Culture (Music), Ottawa. Photo by James Park.



Plate 430 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1777): nameboard inscription.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Carleton University, School for Studies in Art and Culture (Music), Ottawa. Photo by James Park.



Plate 431 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1777): characteristically for Beck, the top five dampers are omitted.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Carleton University, School for Studies in Art and Culture (Music), Ottawa. Photo by James Park.

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View

1778



Plate 432 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1778) .

Source: Reproduced with permission of Thomas Strange.



Plate 433 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1778): nameboard inscription.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Thomas Strange.



**Plate 434 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1778): hammers, bass end—FF–B.**

Source: Reproduced with permission of Thomas Strange.

Often, Frederick Beck's key fronts comprise an ovolo form with a protruding lip placed in the lower half. The 1778 piano stands apart from this, as the protruding lip is placed in the upper half (Plate 433).

1780/86?



**Plate 435 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1780/86?)**

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 435a The single-storey sandstone Georgian house in Ermington, Sydney, within which sits the 1780/86? Beck square piano (detail).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Stewart Symonds. Photo by the author.

1782



Plate 436 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782): nameboard inscription.

Source: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, Germany.

1782/87?, Serial Number 5008



Plate 437 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798), (London, 1782/87?, serial number 5008): lid open—the backwards-slanting outside face of the front-half of the lid acts as a music desk.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA.



Plate 438 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?, serial number 5008): lid open—the backwards-slanting outside face of the front-half of the lid acts as a music desk.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA.



Plate 439 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?, serial number 5008): nameboard inscription.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA.



Plate 440 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1782/87?, serial number 5008).

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA.

1. Alteration of the Serial Number and/or Date?

The Frederick Beck piano number 5008 is owned by the Norfolk Charitable Trust, in Sharon, Massachusetts, USA. The Trust's 'museum records give a date of 1782, but without explanation'.⁴ Clinkscale also dates piano number 5008 as 1782.⁵

a) *Calligraphic Inconsistencies*

At first sight, inconsistencies in the calligraphic style of the nameboard inscription subtly suggest that the nameboard inscription cartouche, if not perhaps the entire nameboard, may have been replaced (Plate 439).

Although the overall calligraphic style of '5008' 'is reminiscent of 18th century work', the number of formations is uncharacteristically irregular and inconsistent with the high-quality penmanship revealed by the inscriptions on extant Beck pianos dating from the 1770s and 1780s.⁶ The top of the '8' is markedly higher than the preceding numerals; the dimensions of the '8', however, act as a visual balance in relation to the height of the 'N' at the beginning of the serial number inscription. Furthermore, the '8' sits at a conflicting angle (Plate 439).

Aesthetically, the serial number does not sit easily in the top section of the nameboard inscription cartouche. The serial number has been crammed against the inscription's infills, suggesting that the number may have been added sometime after the completion of the nameboard inscription. Not only do the 'N' and '8' overlap the infills of penwork scrolls and dots, but also the entire serial number sits slightly off-centre. The impression is created that the serial number has been awkwardly forced to fit into the small space that exists between the top of the inscription cartouche and the infills (Plate 439).

The nameboard inscription's lower-case letters are irregular:

1. beginning with the 'o' in 'Broad', 'Broad Street' increases in size
2. the first 'o' in 'Soho' is both smaller and misshapen in relation to the second 'o'
3. the 'k' in 'Beck', the 'N' in the lower 'No', the '0' of the street number '10', and the 'r' in 'Street' sit at a conflicting angle (Plate 439).

4 'English Square Pianoforte by Frederick Beck, London, circa 1782', in Norfolk Charitable Trust records. I am indebted to Elisabeth McGregor, Curator/Archivist of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, for this information.

5 See Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

6 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 168.

Compared with the nameboard inscriptions of other Beck pianos, the ornamentation associated with the upper-case pseudo-Gothic letters is unsubtle and lacking in both delicacy and intricacy. As a consequence, a sense of awkwardness and lack of skill permeate the inscription.

In some instances, the ink used to write the pseudo-Gothic lettering has bled into the surrounding wood, creating indistinct edges. No other Beck nameboard inscription presents an equivalent lack of clarity.

The nameboard inscription lacks the quality, proportional serenity, calligraphic uniformity, visual clarity and confident handwriting that are consistently found on the nameboard inscriptions of other extant Beck pianos. The entire inscription appears to have been 'written by someone who was not well practiced in the art'.⁷

b) *The Absence of a Date*

The nameboard inscription of piano number 5008 does not contain a date (Plate 439). Of the 32 extant Frederick Beck pianos, the author is aware of the wording in 25 nameboard inscriptions

- 1772 (owner(s): unknown): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1772 / Broad Street, Golden Square*
- 1773 (owner: Pelham Galleries, London): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1773 / No 4 Broad Street, Golden Square*
- 1774 (owner: Bachhaus, Eisenach, Germany): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1774 / No 4 Broad Street Golden Square*
- 1774 (owner(s): unknown): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1774 / No 4 Broad Street, Golden Square*
- 1775 (owner: Musée de la Musique, Cité de la Musique, Paris): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1775 / No. 4 Broad Street, Golden Square*
- 1776 (owner: Michael Borgstede, Germany): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1776 / No 4, Broad Street, Golden Square*
- 1777 (owner: Carleton University, Ottawa): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1777 / No 4 Broad Street, Golden Square*
- 1777 (owner: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1777 No. 4 and 10 Broad Street Golden Square*
- 1778 (owner: Musée instrumental de Bruxelles, Brussels): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1778 / No 4 and 10 Broad Street, Golden Square*
- 1778 (owner: Thomas Strange, Easley, SC, USA): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1778 / No. 4 and 10 Broad Street Golden Square*
- 1778? (estimate) (owner(s): unknown; serial number 3091): *Fredericus Beck No. 3091, 10, Broad Street, Soho*

- 1780 (owner: Musikinstrumenten-Museum, Berlin): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1780 / No 4 and 10 Broad Street, Golden Square*
- 1780/86? (George Worgan's piano) (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1780 / No. 4 and 10 Broad Street, Soho*
- 1782 (owner: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1782 / No 10, Broad Street Soho*
- 1782 (owner(s): unknown): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1782 / No 10, Broad Street Soho*
- 1782/87? (owner: Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA; serial number 5008): *No 5008 / Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit No 10 Broad Street Soho*
- 1782/90? (owner: Osaka College of Music Museum, Japan; 'tangent action' instrument): *Fredericus Beck Fecit 1782 / No 10 Broad Street, Soho*
- 1783 (owner: Sibeliusmuseet, Turku, Finland): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1783 / No 10, Broad Street Soho*
- 1785 (owner: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, USA): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1785 / No 10 Broad Street Soho*
- 1786 (owner: Stockholm Music and Theatre Museum, Sweden): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1786 / No 10 Broad Street Soho*
- 1788 (owner(s): unknown; serial number 1941): *No 1941 Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit 1788 / No 10 Broad Street Soho*⁸
- ca 1790 (estimate) (owner: private collection, England; 'tangent action' instrument): *By the King's Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit Patent / No 10 Broad Street Soho*⁹
- ca 1790? (owner(s): unknown, in Germany; serial number 2505): *No 2505 / F Beck et G Corrie Londini Fecerunt / No 10 Broad Street Soho* (sometime during the Victorian or Edwardian period, the case was painted with neo-classical decoration;¹⁰ in the light of this decorative alteration, it is reasonable to entertain the notion that the nameboard decoration, cartouche and inscription may also have been altered)
- ca 1790 (owner(s): unknown; serial number 2580):¹¹ *No 2580 / Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit / No 10 Broad Street Soho*
- ca 1795 (estimate)¹² (owner(s): unknown): *Fredericus Beck Londini Fecit No 10 Broad Street Soho.*

8 See Cranmer, 'Beck, Frederick', (2007–13).

9 I am indebted to Malcolm Rose for this information. Giovanni Paolo di Stefano also quotes the nameboard inscription in 'The *Tangentenflügel* and Other Pianos with Non-Pivoting Hammers', p. 100, fn. 89. Di Stefano inadvertently spells 'Fredericus' as 'Friedericus', and omits the 't' in 'Street'.

10 I am indebted to Graham Walker for this information (email to the author, 15 March 2013).

11 I am indebted to Andrew Snedden for this information (email to the author, 12 December 2013).

12 Because of this instrument's extended keyboard compass (FF–c4), Kenneth Mobbs proposes a date of 1795. See Watson, *Clinkscale Online*.

Eleven of the listed nameboard inscriptions originate from the 1770s, 10 from the 1780s, and four from the 1790s. Piano number 5008 (1782/87?) is one of six instruments listed above whose nameboard inscription does not contain a date (one piano dates from 1778?, and the remaining four date from the 1790s). It is reasonable to assume that Beck's usual practice was to include the date as part of his nameboard inscriptions. Given Beck's consistency in this regard, the absence of a date in the nameboard inscription of piano number 5008 is inexplicable.

2. The Nameboard Inscription Cartouche

The style of nameboard inscription cartouche on piano number 5008 is both markedly and unaccountably different from those found on other extant Beck pianos dating from the 1780s.

Beck's 1780s nameboard inscription cartouches almost invariably comprise an elongated rectangular form, either with ogee pointed ends (for example, Plate 17a) or with convex rounded ends (for example, Plates 20a, 436, 442, 444, 445). The nameboard inscription cartouche on piano number 5008 (Plate 439) has none of these elements.

Of the 32 extant Beck pianos, the author is aware of the style of nameboard inscription cartouche on 21 instruments

- ca 1772–73, made for Longman, Lukey & Co., reasonably attributed to Frederick Beck (owner: Albert Bil, Scotland): elongated rectangular form, ogee pointed ends
- 1772 (owner(s): unknown): elongated rectangular form, ogee pointed ends
- 1773 (owner: Pelham Galleries, London): elongated rectangular form, ogee pointed ends
- 1774 (owner: Bachhaus, Eisenach, Germany): elongated rectangular form, ogee pointed ends
- 1775 (one of two instruments with exquisitely beautiful casework of astonishing quality, made by Beck in conjunction with Christopher Fuhrloh) (owner: Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight Village, Wirral, UK): elongated rectangular form, ogee pointed ends
- 1775 (owner: Musée de la Musique, Cité de la Musique, Paris): elongated rectangular form, ogee pointed ends
- 1776 (owner: Michael Borgstede, Germany): elongated rectangular form, ogee pointed ends¹³
- 1777: (owner: Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada): elongated rectangular form, ogee pointed ends

13 See Plate 428a.

- 1777 (owner: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto): elongated rectangular form, ogee pointed ends
- 1778 (owner: Musée instrumental de Bruxelles, Brussels): elongated rectangular form, ogee pointed ends
- 1778 (owner: Thomas Strange, Easley, SC, USA): elongated rectangular form, ogee pointed ends
- 1780/86? (George Worgan's piano) (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney): elongated rectangular form, ogee pointed ends
- 1782 (owner: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg): elongated rectangular form, convex rounded ends
- 1782/87? (owner: Norfolk Charitable Trust, Sharon, MA, USA; serial number 5008): stylised small rectangular form
- 1782/90? (owner: Osaka College of Music Museum, Japan; 'tangent action' instrument): plain elongated rectangular form
- 1783 (owner: Sibeliusmuseet, Turku, Finland): elongated rectangular form, convex rounded ends
- 1785 (owner: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, USA): elongated rectangular form, convex rounded ends
- 1786 (owner: Stockholm Music and Theatre Museum, Sweden): elongated rectangular form, convex rounded ends
- ca 1790 (estimate) (owner: private collection, England; 'tangent action' instrument): plain rectangular form, occupying the entire length of the nameboard¹⁴
- ca 1790? (owner(s): unknown, in Germany; serial number 2505; the nameboard inscription, cartouche and decoration may not be original): elliptical form¹⁵
- ca 1790 (owner(s): unknown; serial number 2580): elliptical form.¹⁶

Of the 32 extant Beck pianos, 15 date from the 1770s; of these, the author is aware of the form of nameboard inscription cartouche on 11 instruments. Each of these 11 instruments from the 1770s has a cartouche comprising an elongated rectangular form with ogee pointed ends.

Of the 32 extant Beck pianos, 11 date from the 1780s; of these, the author is aware of the form of nameboard inscription cartouche on seven instruments:

1. one has a cartouche comprising an elongated rectangular form with ogee pointed ends

¹⁴ See Plate 449.

¹⁵ See Plates 453 and 454.

¹⁶ I am indebted to Andrew Snedden for this information (email to the author, 12 December 2013).

2. four have a cartouche comprising an elongated rectangular form with convex rounded ends
3. one has a cartouche comprising the stylised small rectangular form¹⁷
4. one (1782/90?) has a plain elongated rectangular form.¹⁸

Of the 32 extant Beck pianos, five date from the 1790s; of these, the author is aware of the form of nameboard inscription cartouche on three instruments:

1. ca 1790? (serial number 2505): an elliptical form
2. ca 1790 (serial number 2580): an elliptical form
3. ca 1790 (estimate) (a 'tangent action' instrument): a rectangular form that occupies the entire length of the nameboard.

It becomes clear from these data that the elongated rectangular form is the most commonly occurring cartouche style. For pianos dated during the 1780s, variety is evidenced in the design of the ends of the elongated rectangular form.

Typically for the time, decisions regarding the decorative style of an instrument were made in response to what a customer could afford. It may be that a customer specifically requested the form of cartouche found on the nameboard of piano number 5008 (1782/87?).

3. The Nameboard Veneer and Inlay

Consistently, the nameboard veneer and inlay found on Frederick Beck's square pianos are of the highest quality. This cannot be said of piano number 5008.

The nameboard (Plates 437 and 439) comprises a wide central band of high-quality vertical-grained, light-coloured, golden veneer (possibly satinwood or 'fiddle-back' sycamore),¹⁹ surrounded top and bottom by a band of darker-coloured veneer with conspicuous grain running vertically. Although there is no horizontal-grained veneer, the overall impression is created of cross-banding. This decorative approach to proportion, colour and grain (excluding the direction of the grain) can also be seen on the nameboard of a 1786 Beck square piano (Plates 20a and 445).

On piano number 5008, the wide satinwood central band is separated from the conspicuously vertically grained darker-coloured veneer by a dark-coloured stringer. The stringer runs parallel with, and slightly below the edge of, the

17 See Plates 437 and 439.

18 See photograph in di Stefano, 'The *Tangentenflügel* and Other Pianos with Non-Pivoting Hammers', p. 90, Figure 8. This instrument is owned by the Osaka College of Music Museum, Japan.

19 'Sycamore: the English name for *Acer Pseudoplanatus*, the prevalent maple species in England.' *ibid.*, p. 120.

wide light-coloured, golden central band (Plate 439); this creates the impression that two contrastingly coloured stringers lie adjacent to one another. Such a decorative conceit is consistent with the usual quality and sophistication of Beck's cabinetwork.

The high quality of the wood used for the wide satinwood central band is also consistent with Frederick Beck's usual practice. On the other hand, the darker-coloured veneer at the top and bottom of the wide satinwood central band is roughly executed, and the nameboard inscription cartouche—both in form and in execution—is a surprising disappointment; Beck's usually high standards are simply not in evidence.

The nameboard inscription cartouche of piano number 5008 is fundamentally rectangular, the edges of which are delineated by a bipartite stripe comprising two thin stringers placed directly against one another (Plate 439). The visual form of the bottom long side of the cartouche is indented upwards, creating the effect of a protruding 'foot' at either end of the rectangle. This style of cartouche is not found on any other extant Beck piano from the 1770s or 1780s. Moreover, the 'rectangle' comprising the cartouche is small and proportionally unattractive compared with the exquisitely proportioned elongated rectangular form found on Beck's 1770s and 1780s instruments.

Uniquely for Beck, the nameboard inscription cartouche is made of the same plank of wood as the nameboard's wide satinwood central band. The bipartite stripe delineating the edge of the cartouche is clumsily inlaid into the stainwood plank (Plate 439). In fact, no other Beck nameboard reveals such inferior workmanship. The cartouche itself is simply stained a darker colour. This is uncharacteristic of Frederick Beck, and such an obvious and unsophisticated approach to creating a nameboard leads one to suppose that Beck played little, if no, part in the process.

Both bands of conspicuously vertically grained darker-coloured veneer show signs that segments have split, loosened and come away from the nameboard (Plate 439). (Could this have happened, perhaps, when the original nameboard was altered by the forceful incorporation of a 'new' plank of satinwood containing the current inscription cartouche?)

4. The Lid

During the 1770s and 1780s, many square pianos by English makers had no internal 'sideways-folding music desk fitted to the back of the name board',²⁰ which, when extended, held the lid open. Often, 'the only provision for music sheets was a ledge fitted to the inside face of the lock board, to be used with

²⁰ Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 91.

the lock board opened and standing in its vertical position'²¹ (Plates 426, 435, 444). This meant that when a music score was used, the main part of the lid of many square pianos had to remain closed, the upright lockboard serving as a convenient prop for the score.

Piano number 5008 reveals a notable exception to this design (Plate 437). Rather than being split into discrete hinged parts by a longitudinal cut over the nameboard (extending the length of the instrument) and a short lateral cut over the right-hand cheek (Plates 361 and 362), the lid is cut in the middle along its entire length. This forms two large rectangular segments, which are hinged to one another.

The lockboard is hinged to the inside face of the front-half segment of the lid (Plate 440). The front-half segment of the lid can be folded backwards to lie flush against the back-half segment. When the front-half segment of the lid is in this state, the hinged lockboard may be brought to its vertical position and used as a music desk. The 'half-open' lid, however, does not fully expose the soundboard or the strings. As a consequence, the closed back-half segment of the lid acts as a damper, inhibiting the effect of action noise and suppressing some upper partials of the sound. The result is a 'warmer', 'darker-sounding' instrument.

When the lid is fully opened, the outside face of the front-half segment of the lid acts as a music desk (Plates 437 and 438). With a fully opened lid, space is created along the entire length of the instrument for sound to be liberated. The fully opened lid, however, does not fully expose the soundboard or strings. Once again, the lid acts as a damper, blocking out intrusive action noise and some overtones; a 'smoother', 'richer' and slightly more 'distant' timbre emerges.

The disadvantage of this remarkable design lies in the fact that the player is limited to the sonic character resulting from the influence of either a 'half-open' or a fully opened lid; the player is never allowed to exploit the piano's unadulterated volume or character of sound.

Visually, the fully opened lid is beautiful. For the time, its proportions are exotic: inlaid lines (stringing) of satinwood form an ornamental rectangular panel that emphasises the shape of the instrument's case, and the elaborate patterns of the grain of the lid's yellow mahogany²² are clearly visible (Plate 438).

21 Ibid., p. 90.

22 See 'English Square Pianoforte by Frederick Beck, London, circa 1782' in Norfolk Charitable Trust records. I am indebted to Elisabeth McGregor, Curator/Archivist of the Norfolk Charitable Trust, for providing me with this information.

1783



Plate 441 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783).

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Sibelius Museum, Turku, Finland. Inv. no. 0171.



Plate 442 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783): nameboard.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Sibelius Museum, Turku, Finland. Inv. no. 0171.

The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View



Plate 443 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1783): French frame—the square-tapered legs are original; the apron is not.

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Sibelius Museum, Turku, Finland. Inv. no. 0171.

1785



Plate 444 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, 1785).

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, USA.
Photo by John R. Watson.



**Plate 444a Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1785).**

Source: davidandemilyblog.blogspot.com.au/2012/11/day-6-museums-of-williamsburg.html (retrieved 30 October 2013).

1786



**Plate 445 Square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798)
(London, 1786).**

Source: Reproduced with permission of the Stockholm Music and Theatre Museum. Inv. no. N61230. Photo by Dan Andersson.

ca 1790 (estimate) ('Tangent Action' Square Piano)

In the manner of some harp-shaped southern German keyboard pantalons, in this piano, the soundboard covers 'the entire surface of the case (excluding the wrestplank) instead of ending to the right of the keyboard as in ordinary eighteenth century clavichords and square pianos'²³ (Plate 447).

Until a few years ago, this instrument was located in Brighton, East Sussex, England, and was owned by the distinguished Oscar-winning cinematographer David Watkin (1925–2008),²⁴ whose illustrious career included movies such as *Catch-22* (1970), *The Boyfriend* (1971), *The Devils* (1971), *The Homecoming* (1973), *Jesus of Nazareth* (1977), *Chariots of Fire* (1981), *Yentl* (1983), *Out of Africa* (1985), *Moonstruck* (1987) and *Tea with Mussolini* (1999). Watkin passed away on Tuesday, 19 February 2008.

During the late 1970s, the instrument was restored to playing condition by Bronislaw (Bron) Roguski.²⁵ Restoration took four years to complete. In a letter written by Roguski to Watkin, Roguski stated: 'Dear Mr Watkin, There is a date on the sound board; your Fredericus was born in 1790.'²⁶

The location and current owner(s) of the instrument are unknown.



Plate 446 Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Malcolm Rose. Photo by Malcolm Rose.

²³ di Stefano, 'The *Tangentenflügel* and Other Pianos with Non-Pivoting Hammers', p. 101; and see also fn. 90.

²⁴ I am indebted to Malcolm Rose for this information (email to the author, 27 February 2013).

²⁵ See N. Roguski's response, posted on Wednesday, 22 August 2012 at 11.55 pm, to 'The Pianos at the Mews (from David's Autobiography)', in 'David Watkin: Oscar-Winning Cinematographer', *Watkin* (UK: The David Watkin Society, 2013).

²⁶ 'The Pianos at the Mews (from David's Autobiography)'.



Plate 447 Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): the soundboard covers the entire surface of the case (excluding the wrest-plank)—each note of the fully chromatic five-octave double-strung compass (FF–f³) has a damper located beneath the strings. Each damper compartment is made of red cloth.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Malcolm Rose. Photo by Malcolm Rose.



Plate 448 Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): the soundboard covers the entire surface of the case (excluding the wrest-plank) (detail)—each of the top five notes ($c^{\#3}$ – f^3) has a damper beneath the strings. Each damper compartment comprises red woven cloth, positioned like an open book with the pages facing upwards (see the top left-hand corner of the image).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Malcolm Rose. Photo by Malcolm Rose.



Plate 449 Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): nameboard.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Malcolm Rose. Photo by Malcolm Rose.



Plate 450 Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): nameboard (detail).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Malcolm Rose. Photo by Malcolm Rose.



Plate 451 Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): handwritten inscription on the soundboard—'A. F. Beck. 1790 Patent' (see also Plate 448).

Source: Reproduced with permission of Malcolm Rose. Photo by Malcolm Rose.



Plate 452 Tangent action square piano by Frederick Beck (fl. ca 1756 – ca 1798) (London, ca 1790 – estimate): French frame, treble-front corner—the bolt head holding the frame together is concealed by the treble-end brass patera (only the side of this patera can be seen). A matching, purely ornamental brass patera has been added at the treble front.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Malcolm Rose. Photo by Malcolm Rose.

ca 1790?, Serial Number 2505

On Monday, 28 June 2010, this instrument was offered for sale (Auction 18096) in London by Bonhams. The instrument was offered as Lot 8, and sold for £240.²⁷

²⁷ See m.bonhams.com/auctions/18096/lot/8/.



Plate 453 Square piano by Frederick Beck and George Corrie (London, ca 1790?, serial number 2505): sometime during the Victorian or Edwardian period, the case was painted with neo-classical decoration.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Graham Walker. Photo by Graham Walker.



Plate 454 Square piano by Frederick Beck and George Corrie (London, ca 1790?, serial number 2505): nameboard inscription.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Graham Walker. Photo by Graham Walker.

Square Piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (London, late 1766/67?)

Certain features of this instrument suggest it may be one of the earliest extant Zumpe square pianos, perhaps dating from late in the first year of his production, 1766, or from 1767 (Plates 455 and 456).²⁸ There are four extant pianos from Zumpe dated 1766, excluding this instrument.

During the early nineteenth century, the case has been severely reworked: each front corner at the treble and bass ends has been rounded—rather than right-angled, as was the English tradition—and the mouldings altered (Plate 455).

A possum which had the good taste to expire upon this rare instrument caused the circular stain on the top of the lid at the treble end (Plate 455).

The instrument is in a poor state of preservation.

²⁸ I am indebted to Michael Cole (email to the author, 5 December 2012) for his reinforcement of this proposition.



Plate 455 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 456 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): nameboard cartouche and inscription (following the instrument's 'modernisation' during the early nineteenth century).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

A single hand-lever engages and disengages the damper-raising mechanism. 'Zumpe's 1766 pianos are distinct from his subsequent output because, whereas most of his instruments have two hand stops to raise the dampers, the sustaining stop on the earliest ones is activated only by a single lever'²⁹ (Plate 457).

²⁹ Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 55.



Plate 457 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): a single hand-lever in a compartment at the bass end operates all the dampers—lever over dampers articulate on a metal rod, rather than on vellum hinges, a design feature of Zumpe's pianos dating from 1766 or early 1767 (after which time Zumpe altered the damper design and added a second hand-lever).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Zumpe's early

soundboard barring consisted of two or three short [pine] ribs crossing under the bridge more or less at right angles. Later, when he lengthened his soundboards ... he adopted the pattern of two ribs running parallel

to the bridge, the longer one beyond the bridge, passing under the hooked treble end, and being thereafter lapped into the liner at the back left corner.³⁰

Plate 458 shows that the angle of the mortice cut into the top of the belly rail, and of the two mortices cut into the top of the treble-end front liners, into which one end of each of three soundboard ribs are recessed, is consistent with Zumpe's early soundboard barring. Furthermore, the single mortice cut into the top of the liner at the back right corner is consistent with Zumpe's early design (Plate 459).

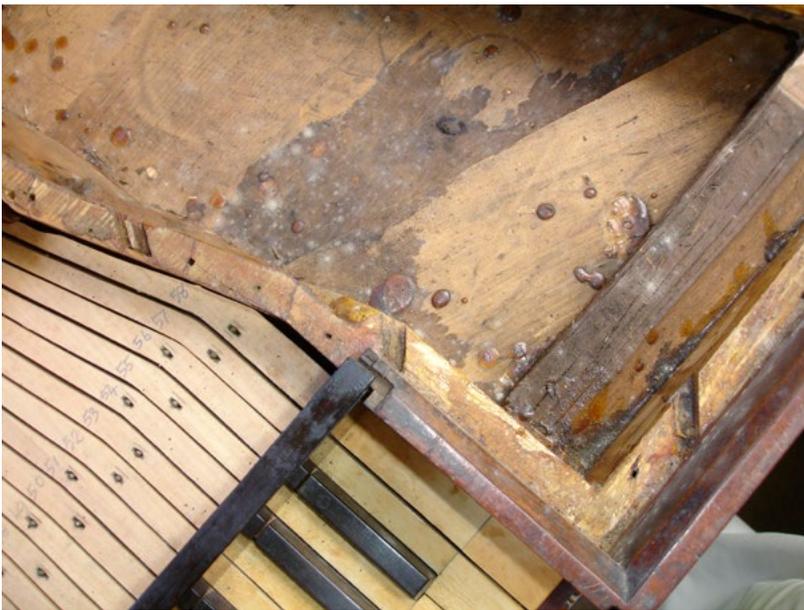


Plate 458 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): the angle of the mortice cut into the top of the belly rail, and of the two mortices cut into the top of the treble-end front liners, into which one end of each of three soundboard ribs are recessed, is consistent with Zumpe's early soundboard barring.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

³⁰ Cole, 'Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker', (n.d.).



Plate 459 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): the angle of the single mortice cut into the top of the liner at the back right corner is consistent with Zumpe's early soundboard barring design.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

The wrest-pins, carefully spaced in four rows, are original (Plates 460–2).

The hole drilled through the wrest-pin for one of the two unison strings comprising the lowest-sounding note is not original (Plate 462).



Plate 460 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): original wrest-pins.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 461 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): original wrest-pins (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 462 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): original bass-end wrest-pins (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

The J-form bridge is of beech, and is 'not thin and serpentine like that of a five-octave clavichord [Plate 463], but shorter and more massive, terminating in a straight tenor and bass section'³¹ (Plate 464).

The bridge has a heavy, truncated triangular cross-section (Plate 464). There is no undercutting at the bass end (Plate 465).



Plate 463 Clavichord in the Saxon style (ca 1770). Copy by Joris Potvlieghe (2007): serpentine bridge, with a curve at both the treble and the bass ends.

Source: ANU School of Music Keyboard Institute Collection, Canberra. Photo by the author.

31 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 58.



Plate 464 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): beech J-form bridge with a truncated triangular cross-section.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 465 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): the sculpted bass end of the J-form bridge (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

There are 58 separate key levers. The key lever for GG is permanently joined to a dummy GG[#] (Plates 466–8); however, 59 hammers hang from the hammer rail. The 'extra hammer' (Plates 469 and 470) associated with the dummy GG[#] key lever 'has never struck a string, and remains unused and untouched to this day ... Zumpe's keyboards for years ... retained this distinctive peculiarity, having a dummy sharp and a compass of 58 notes, but with the correct number of hammers'.³²



Plate 466 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): the key lever for GG, with a permanently joined dummy GG[#].

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 467 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): the key lever for GG, with a permanently joined dummy GG[#] (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

³² Ibid., p. 55.



Plate 468 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): the key lever for GG, with a permanently joined dummy GG# (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 469 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90)(London, late 1766/67?): the first hammer sounds the note GG; the second hammer is for show only, as it belongs to the GG key lever's dummy GG#.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 470 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): the first hammer sounds the note GG; the second hammer is for show only, as it belongs to the GG key lever's dummy GG#.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Zumpe's key levers provide 'evidence of clavichord inspiration': the tail (distal end) of each key lever is guided by a whalebone fillet (Plate 471), 'working in a simple rack composed of saw cuts under the hitchpin block'.³³



Plate 471 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): representative key lever—rear rack-guided with a whalebone fillet (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

³³ Ibid., p. 55.

The key levers are ‘carved underneath at the balance rail. Given that Zumpe had worked for Shudi prior to setting up his own workshop, this is a very strange feature, wholly foreign to English harpsichord making’³⁴ (Plates 472 and 473).



Plate 472 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): representative key lever—carved underneath at the balance rail (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 473 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): key lever for GG—carved underneath at the balance rail (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

The key plates of the natural keys are ivory. There are no keyhead score lines (Plate 474).

The key fronts comprise a spruce(?) moulding (Plate 474).

The pearwood sharps are stained black and topped with ebony (Plate 474).

³⁴ Ibid., p. 58.



Plate 474 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): key plates and key front (detail).

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Hammerhead leather appears to be original, comprising 'a thin layer of bookbinder's leather, a smooth goat skin or similar material, light brown in colour', tightly overlaid with approximately 1 millimetre of firm, fibrous buff leather (Plates 469, 470 and 475). 'On his earliest pianos Zumpe used just one layer [of leather], but from 1767 onwards two.'³⁵ In Plates 469 and 470, the fibrous buff leather that once covered the thin layer of bookbinder's leather on the third and fourth hammerheads (AA and BB) is missing.



Plate 475 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): hammerhead leathering.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 53.

There is a rectangular hole in the belly rail (Plates 476 and 477).



Plate 476 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): rectangular hole in the belly rail.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.



Plate 477 Square piano by Johann Christoph Zumpe (1726–90) (London, late 1766/67?): rectangular hole in the belly rail.

Source: Stewart Symonds Collection, Sydney. Photo by the author.

Appendix M

Tangent Action Square Piano by Frederick Beck (London, ca 1790 – estimate): Measurements

Until a few years ago, this instrument (Plate 446) was located in Brighton, East Sussex, England, and was owned by the Oscar-winning cinematographer David Watkin (1925–2008),¹ whose illustrious career included movies such as *Catch-22* (1970), *The Boyfriend* (1971), *The Devils* (1971), *The Homecoming* (1973), *Jesus of Nazareth* (1977), *Chariots of Fire* (1981), *Yentl* (1983), *Out of Africa* (1985), *Moonstruck* (1987) and *Tea with Mussolini* (1999). Watkin passed away on Tuesday, 19 February 2008.

Whilst in the custodianship of Watkin, the instrument was restored to playing condition by Bronislaw (Bron) Szczepan Roguski, of West Harrow, Middlesex.²

The location and current owner of the instrument are unknown.

Case

Length

- Treble-edge front corner to bass edge front corner (including main lid overhang): 1504 millimetres.
- Right-hand side front (from the treble-end cheek to the right-hand outside edge): 511 millimetres.
- Left-hand side front (from the bass-end cheek to the left-hand outside edge): 146 millimetres.
- Keywell: 847 millimetres.

Width

- Outside measurement from the front to back: 542 millimetres.

Height

- From the bottom of the instrument: 198 millimetres.

¹ I am indebted to Malcolm Rose for this information (email to the author, 27 February 2013). I am further indebted to Rose for the ensuing measurement data.

² See N. Roguski's response to 'The Pianos at the Mews (from David's Autobiography)'. See also 'Roguski, Bronislaw Szczepan', *The London Gazette*, 3 May 1960, p. 3135.

Soundboard

In the manner of some harp-shaped southern German keyboard pantalons, the soundboard covers 'the entire surface of the case (excluding the wrest-plank) instead of ending to the right of the keyboard as in ordinary eighteenth century clavichords and square pianos'.³

Action

Hammers

- Wood.
- Non-pivoting.
- Vertical.
- Two intermediate levers are pivoted at the rear of each key lever:⁴ 'one for the hammer (left) and the other one for the damper (right)'.⁵ The intermediate levers are oriented towards the player.⁶

Hammerhead Covering

- Leather.⁷

Keyboard

Compass

- Fully chromatic: FF–f³ (61 notes).
- Keyboard width at natural fronts: 834 millimetres.
- Three-octave span (F–f²): 486.5 millimetres.

Key Plates

Naturals

- Length of key head: 41 millimetres. This represents the almost invariable standard for most late eighteenth-century London piano-making workshops.

Sharps

- Length: 79 millimetres.

3 di Stefano, 'The *Tangentenflügel* and Other Pianos with Non-Pivoting Hammers', p. 101; see also fn. 90.

4 See *ibid.*, pp. 91, 100.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 100–1.

6 See photograph in *ibid.*, p. 101, Figure 19.

7 See *ibid.*, p. 101.

Stringing

- Double-strung throughout.

Speaking String Lengths

The speaking string length is measured from the longest of the unison strings—that is, the one on the left—measuring from bridge-pin to nut-pin.

- f^3 : 112 millimetres.
- c^3 : 146 millimetres.
- f^2 : 223 millimetres.
- c^2 : 300 millimetres.
- f^1 : 435 millimetres.
- c^1 : 554 millimetres.
- f : 721 millimetres.
- c : 840 millimetres.
- F : 1101 millimetres.
- C : 1135 millimetres.
- FF : 1327 millimetres.

Appendix N

Advertisements Published in British Newspapers between 1777 and 1831 for the Sale of Second-Hand Frederick Beck Pianos

The number of second-hand Frederick Beck pianos advertised for sale in British newspapers between 1777 and 1831 (inclusive) suggests not only that Beck's output was considerable, but also that his instruments were popular—in some instances, remaining so for many years after they were made. Several advertisements reveal that members of high society purchased Beck's pianos, which is testament both to his good reputation and to the quality of his instruments.

The earliest advertisement published in a British newspaper announcing the sale of a second-hand Frederick Beck piano appears in *The Daily Advertiser* of Monday, 25 August 1777.

During the nineteenth century, the last advertisement published in a British newspaper in which a second-hand Beck piano is offered for sale appears in *The Bury and Norwich Post* of Wednesday, 27 April 1831.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, there were only three piano makers with the surname of Beck in the world:

1. Carl Friedrich Beck (1790–1839),¹ who worked in Berlin between ca 1820 and 1839
2. Johannes Beck (1817–63),² who worked in Ebingen, Germany, between 1817 and 1863, making six-octave square pianos (no surviving instruments are known)
3. an unidentified Beck, possibly Joseph Beck (1777–1848) who worked in Paris between 1819 and 1822.³

As far as is known, these makers never worked or had a sales outlet either in London or anywhere in the British Empire. During the 1820s and 1830s there were more than 220 piano makers and dealers in London.⁴ Not one of these

1 See Henkel, *Lexicon Deutscher Klavierbauer*, p. 45.

2 See *ibid.*, p. 45.

3 See de Place, *Le Piano-forte à Paris entre 1760 et 1822*, p. 180.

4 See Appendix H, this volume.

London piano makers has the surname of Beck—or anything that resembles it. In fact, there had not been a piano maker named Beck in London since Frederick Beck established his workshop at 4 Broad Street, Golden Square, in ca 1771.

Late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century newspaper advertisements were consistently specific when identifying a grand piano for sale; when appropriate, the word 'grand' was always included. An advertisement published in *The Whitehall Evening Post* of 14–16 August 1794 describes 'a capital grand piano forte by Beck'. To the author's knowledge, this is the only known reference to a Beck grand piano. Sometimes a square piano was referred to as 'small'—or, more infrequently, as 'square'. Most commonly, however, a square piano was identified as a 'piano forte', 'piano-forte', 'forte piano' or 'forte-piano'.

Each advertisement identified below is the first published in relation to the sale of a particular second-hand Beck piano; it was customary to publish several advertisements leading up to the sale of an instrument.

1777

- *The Daily Advertiser*, [London], 25 August, No. 14587, p. 4. Owned by 'a gentleman, going abroad': 'a forte piano by Beck.'

1779

- *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* [London], 24 February, No. 1985, p. 3. Auction of Baron Olivier's estate: 'a forte piano by Beck.'
- *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 15 March, No. 3063, p. 4. Offered for sale by 'Henry Thorowgood, No. 6, North-Piazza, Royal Exchange': 'an excellent second hand forte piano, by Beck, price ten guineas.'
- *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, [London], 19 April, No. 15657, p. 4. Owned by 'Mrs. Charlotte and Jane Backwell, retired to the country.'

1780

- *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 29 January, No. 3338, p. 4. Auction of William Herbert's estate: 'a piano forte, by Beck.'

1784

- *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, [London], 21 June, No. 17324, p. 4. Owned by 'a merchant, leaving off housekeeping': 'a piano forte by Beck.'

1787

- *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, [London], 28 April, No. 18216, p. 3. Auction of William Lewis's estate: 'a piano forte, by Beck.'

1788

- *The Morning Herald*, [London], 30 June, No. 2399, p. 4. '[L]ate in the possession of His Excellency the Marquis del Campo, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the Court of Madrid': 'a piano forte, by Beck.'

1791

- *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, [London], 19 February, No. 19408, p. 4. Auction of Thomas King's estate: 'a fine toned piano forte by Beck.'

1793

- *The Morning Herald*, [London], 15 February, No. 4343, p. 4. 'Taken by distress for rent', owned by an eminent professor in music, under misfortunes': 'a piano-forte by Beck.'
- *The Morning Herald*, [London], 18 July, No. 4476, p. 5. Owned by 'Mr. J. H. Wilkinson, upholster and cabinet-maker, removing into the wholesale line, to No. 25, Budge-row, Cannon street': 'a fine-toned piano-forte, by Beck.'

1794

- *The World*, [London], 22 January, No. 2206, p. 4. Owned by 'a gentleman, retiring from housekeeping, at his house, No. 56, Conduit-street, Hanover-square': 'a fine toned piano forte, by Beck.'
- *The Whitehall Evening Post*, [London], 14–16 August, No. 7449, p. 1. Owned by 'Mr. James Brown, upholster and cabinet maker, retiring from business': 'a capital grand piano forte by Beck.'

1795

- *The Times*, [London], 28 February, No. 950228, p. 4. Owned by T. Barron: 'a good piano forte, by Beck.'
- *The Morning Post and Fashionable World*, [London], 13 July, No. 7316, p. 4. '[T]he property of a gentleman': 'a fine-toned piano forte, by Beck.'

1796

- *The Morning Post and Fashionable World*, [London], 13 April, No. 7525, p. 4. The 'valuable effects of a gentleman, at his house, No. 1, Lisson-street, Paddington': 'a fine-toned piano forte, by Beck.'
- *The Morning Chronicle*, [London], 21 April, No. 8277, p. 4. Owned by 'a gentleman going to India': 'a handsome fine toned piano forte by Beck.'
- *The Daily Advertiser*, [London], 12 December, No. 21226, p. 4. '[T]he property of a lady': 'a piano-forte by Beck.'

1797

- *The Morning Chronicle*, [London], 5 May, No. 8600, p. 4. '[T]he stock and trade of an artist': 'capital piano-forte by Meck [Beck?].'

1798

- *The Times*, [London], 13 November, No. 4331, p. 5. 'Effects, High Wycombe, Bucks': 'a piano forte, by Beck.'
- *The Oracle and Daily Advertiser*, [London], 1 December, No. 21843, p. 4. The effects of 'No. 3, Adelphi Terrace', owned by 'a gentleman quitting that residence': 'a fine-toned piano forte, by Beck.'

1799

- *The Morning Herald*, [London], 2 September, No. 5914, p. 4. 'To be sold by private contract, or half their real value, (the property of a person of fashion, going abroad)': 'A fine-toned piano-forte, by Fredericus Beck, in a mahogany case, with French frame. Price [£]8 8s.'

1800

- *The Star*, [London], 5 July, No. 3628, p. 1. Auction of the estate of 'the Right Hon. the Countess of Strathmore': 'a piano-forte, by Beck.'
- *The Derby Mercury*, 13 November, No. 3582, p. 2. 'Effects of Colonel McCarthy, who is leaving the country': 'a beautiful inlaid fine ton'd piano forte, by Beck.'

1804

- *The Morning Chronicle*, [London], 27 April, No. 10901, p. 4. Auction of the estate of 'that ingenious artist, r. Thomas Malton': 'A piano forte, by Beck.'

1808

- *The Derby Mercury*, 24 March, No. 3957, p. 2. Sale of 'Kedleston Inn, three miles from Derby': 'a pleasant toned piano forte, (by Beck).'

1809

- *The Morning Post*, [London], 21 June, No. 11980, p. 4. The 'effects, of a lady quitting her house, 33, Surrey-street, Strand': 'a piano-forte, by Beck.'

1812

- *The Morning Post*, [London], 29 July, No. 12951, p. 4. Auction of Frederick Augustus Walter's estate: 'A fine-toned forte-piano, by Beck.'

1815

- *The Times*, [London], 15 July, No. 9574, p. 4. 'Genteel household furniture': 'piano-forte by Beck.'

1831

- *The Bury and Norwich Post: Or, Suffolk and Norfolk Telegraph, Essex, Cambridge, & Ely Intelligencer*, [Bury Saint Edmunds], 27 April, No. 2548, p. 3. 'Household furniture, &c.': 'piano-forte, by Beck.'

The list above contains advertisements for the sale of 30 second-hand Beck pianos. Of these, 29 are square pianos; one is a (now lost) grand piano.

An Advertisement Published by Christie's in 1786 Regarding the Sale of a Frederick Beck Piano

A catalogue of all the capital musical instruments, extensive and valuable collection of manuscript, and other music, by the most eminent composers, late the property of John Stanley, Esq; M. B. dec.:⁵ 'A fine-toned piano forte with a pedal, by Beck'.

5 J. Christie, *A Catalogue of all the Capital Musical Instruments, Extensive and Valuable Collection of Manuscript, and Other Music, by the Most Eminent Composers, Late the Property of John Stanley, Esq; M. B. dec. Consisting of a Fine-Ton'd Double-Key'd Harpsichord, by Kirckman; A Singular Full-Ton'd Ditto, Undoubted, by O. Rucker; A Piano Forte; A Clarichord; Several Capital Violins; Tenors; And a Variety of Musical Instruments, by Amati, and Other Eminent Makers; Three Remarkable Fine Busts of Milton, Shakespear, and Handel, Exquisitely Modell'd by Roubilliac, &c. &c. &c. which will be Sold by Auction, (by Order of the Executrix) by Mr. Christie, at His Great Room in Pall Mall, on Saturday the 24th of June, 1786. To be Viewed on Thursday and Friday Preceding the Sale, which will Begin at Twelve O'Clock. Catalogues May be Had as Above* (London: n.p., 1786), p. 4, in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online: Gale Cengage Learning* (Canberra: National Library of Australia).

Appendix O

Advertisements Published in British Newspapers between 1774 and 1820 for the Sale of Second-Hand Pianos Made during the Late Eighteenth Century by Eminent London Piano Makers

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, many second-hand pianos were advertised for sale in British newspapers. The list below contains a number of second-hand pianos advertised for sale in British newspapers between 1774 and 1820 (inclusive). Although the list is not exhaustive, it is representative.

Data are derived using only the advertisements that are the first published in relation to the sale of a particular piano (it was customary to publish several advertisements leading up to the sale of an instrument). Twenty-one makers are represented.

In relation to the listed makers, the earliest advertisement published in a British newspaper announcing the sale of a second-hand piano appears in *The Daily Advertiser* of Tuesday, 18 January 1774: ‘a harpsichord and a piano forte, both by Kirckman.’¹

Late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century newspaper advertisements were consistently specific when identifying a grand piano for sale; when appropriate, the word ‘grand’ was always included. A claviorganum was identified with the word ‘organized’. Sometimes a square piano was referred to as ‘small’—or, more infrequently, as ‘square’. Most commonly, however, a square piano was identified as a ‘piano forte’, ‘piano-forte’, ‘forte piano’ or ‘forte-piano’.

Between 1774 and 1810, a surprising number of second-hand pianos—grand, square and organized—were advertised for sale without the maker’s name; these instruments are not included in the list below.

The list below includes second-hand instruments by Frederick Beck.² The number of second-hand Beck pianos advertised not only reinforces the notion

1 *The Daily Advertiser*, 18 January 1774, No. 13440, p. 5.

2 See also Appendix N, this volume.

that his output was as substantial as that of some eminent late eighteenth-century London piano makers, but also suggests that Beck's instruments did not fade into obscurity for at least several decades after his death. From the very early nineteenth century, Beck's pianos would have been regarded as old-fashioned.

Between 1774 and 1800 (inclusive), the number of second-hand Beck square pianos advertised for sale (23) is exceeded only by those made by: Longman & Broderip (30), and Christopher Ganer (37).

Between 1801 and 1810 (inclusive), the number of second-hand Beck square pianos advertised for sale (three) is exceeded by those made by: Jacob Kirckman (four); William Rolfe (four); Christopher Ganer (six); Longman & Broderip (11); and John Broadwood (24).

Between 1811 and 1820 (inclusive), the number of second-hand Beck square pianos advertised for sale (two) is exceeded by those made by: Christopher Ganer (three); Robert Stodart (eight); William Rolfe (nine); Longman & Broderip (15); Muzio Clementi (19); and John Broadwood (52).

1774–1800 (Inclusive)

- George Astor: None.
- James Ball: Five square pianos.
- Frederick Beck: 23 square pianos; one grand piano.
- Adam Beyer: Five square pianos (one of which was a claviorganum)—
All the capital and peculiarly excellent musical instruments, scarce manuscript, and printed music, &c. late the property of a distinguished personage, of high rank, deceased: consisting of a fine-toned organized piano forte, by Green and Beyer.³
- John Broadwood: Six square pianos; six grand pianos (one of which was a claviorganum)—
Organized grand piano forte.

To be sold, by private contract, a combined instrument, of which it is presumed to be only necessary to add the names of the constructors; the grand piano forte being by Broadwood, and the organ by Samuel Green; and as the latter, from the multiplicity of his business on a large scale, has declined making organs of this kind in future, it is an opportunity that will never again occur. It was finished in April 1789, has been two years the property of a

3 *The World*, [London], 17 February 1791, No. 1289, p. 4.

gentleman in the country, and is to be seen at Mr. Broadwood's, Great Pulteney-street, Golden-square, where every satisfactory information may be had.

To prevent unnecessary trouble, the price will be 120 guineas.⁴

- Gabriel Buntebart: Two square pianos.
- Bury & Co.: One grand piano (a claviorganum)—'The modern genteel furniture, a brilliant-toned harpsichord by Joshua Done, a fine toned grand piano forte organized, by Bury and Co.'⁵
- Christopher Ganer: 38 square pianos (one of which was a claviorganum): 'All the elegant household furniture, china, a fine toned organized piano forte, by Gainer.'⁶
- George Garcka: Four square pianos (one of which was a claviorganum)—
A valuable museum of natural and artificial curiosities, the property of James Walker, Esq: F. A. S. Deceased.

Late Marshall of the King's Bench. Who has collected them at a great expence.

Comprising shells, moths, minerals, fossils, models carved in wood, carvings in ivory, organized piano forte, by Garcka and Holland.⁷

- John Crang Hancock: Five square pianos.
- Henry Holland: Three square pianos (one of which was a claviorganum)—'The genteel, neat, and excellent household furniture, china, fine table and bed linen, a capital organized piano forte, by Holland';⁸ one grand piano.
- Jacob Kirckman: Six square pianos; two grand pianos.
- Longman & Broderip: 38 square pianos (eight of which were claviorgana); three grand pianos.
- George Pether: Four square pianos (one of which had: 'three pedals, and buff-stop with pedal');⁹ five grand pianos.
- Johannes Pohlman(n): One square piano.
- Robert Stod(d)art: Two square pianos; 11 grand pianos.

4 *The World*, [London], 14 April 1791, No. 1337, p. 1.

5 *The Oracle and Daily Advertiser*, [London], 15 May 1800, No. 22287, p. 5.

6 *The World*, [London], 12 March 1792, No. 1622, p. 4.

7 *The World*, [London], 24 May 1791, No. 1371, p. 4.

8 *The Times*, [London], 6 May 1793, No. 2603, p. 4.

9 *The Morning Chronicle*, 9 July 1800, No. 9713, p. 5.

1801–1810 (Inclusive)

- George Astor: Two square pianos.
- James Ball: Two square pianos; four grand pianos.
- Frederick Beck: Three square pianos.
- Adam Beyer: One square piano.
- John Broadwood: 24 square pianos; 14 grand pianos.
- Muzio Clementi: Two square pianos; one upright grand piano.
- Christopher Ganer: Six square pianos.
- George Garcka: One square piano.
- Jacob Kirkman: Four square pianos; five grand pianos.
- Longman & Broderip: 11 square pianos; two grand pianos.
- George Pether: One grand piano.
- William Rolfe: Four square pianos; two grand pianos (one of which was a claviorganum)—

[O]ne of the most brilliant-toned and complete instruments ever made in this country, consisting of an organ and grand piano-forte (with additional keys up to D.), fitted to each other, and forming one elegant instrument. The organ has nine stops, and is built by Allen: and the piano-forte is made by Rolfe. There are two rows of keys, and the simplicity observed in the construction of the movements, cause them to act with great facility. Those who love to extemporise, and indulge in the effusions of fancy, will find in this instrument an infinite variety.¹⁰

- Frederick and Christian Schoene: One square piano.
- John Henry Schrader: One square piano (by 'Schrader and Hart').
- Robert Stodart: Three square pianos; 21 grand pianos; two upright grand pianos.
- Charles Trute: One square piano.

1811–1820 (Inclusive)

- George Astor: One square piano.
- James Ball: One square piano; three upright grand pianos.
- Adam Beyer: One square piano.
- John Broadwood: 52 square pianos; 44 grand pianos; two upright grand pianos.

¹⁰ *The Morning Post*, 21 November 1808, No. 11799, p. 1.

- Muzio Clementi: 19 square pianos; two grand pianos; three upright grand pianos.
- Christopher Ganer: Three square pianos.
- Henry Holland: One square piano; one grand piano.
- Longman & Broderip: 15 square pianos; seven grand pianos; one upright grand piano.
- John Preston (probably only a dealer): One square piano.
- William Rolfe: Nine square pianos; one grand piano; one cabinet piano.
- Frederick and Christian Schoene: One square piano.
- Robert Stodart: Eight square pianos; 32 grand pianos; 12 upright grand pianos; one cabinet piano.

Appendix P

Makers of the Piano, Harpsichord, Organ and Musical Instruments, and Music Sellers Listed in *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce* (1790)

In 1790, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*¹ identified 11 piano makers, five harpsichord makers, 10 organ builders, 15 musical instrument makers and 17 music sellers residing in London.

Each entry given in the list below is worded and italicised according to its appearance in *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*.

Each of the five listed harpsichord makers also made pianos.

Piano Makers

Adlam John	<i>Piano Forte Maker</i>	40, King-street [p. 51]
Beck Francis	<i>Piano Forte-maker</i>	10, Broad-str[reet] Golden sq[uare]. [p. 68]
Buntlebart [Buntebart] and Seivers [Sievers]	<i>Piano-forte-maker to her Majesty</i>	7, Prince's-street, Hanover-square. [p. 92]
Done Joshua	<i>Piano-forte-maker</i>	30, Chancery-lane [p. 129]
Ganer Christopher	<i>Piano-forte-maker</i>	Broad-street, Golden-sq[uare]. [p. 151]
Garbutt J	<i>Piano-forte-maker</i>	8, Bolsover-st[reet] Oxford- st[reet]. [p. 151]
Garke [Garcka] George	<i>Piano-forte-maker</i>	Stephen-ln [Lane] Rathbone- pl[ace]. [p. 152]

¹ P. Barfoot and J. Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce; Comprehending Lists of the Inhabitants of London, Westminster, and Borough of Southwark; And of All the Cities, Towns, and Principal Villages, in England and Wales; With the Mails, and Other Coaches, Stage-Waggons, Hoys, Packets, and Trading Vessels* (London: C. Stalker, 1790).

Kir[c]kman Jacob and Abr[aham].	<i>Grand Piano-forte- makers to their Majesties</i>	10, Broad-str[ee]t]. Golden- sq[ua]re. [p. 203]
Schoene and Co.	<i>Piano-forte-makers</i>	Cavendish-square [p. 280]
Trute Charles	<i>Piano-forte-maker</i>	7, Broad-str[ee]t] Golden-sq[ua]re]. [p. 315]
Weston Thomas	<i>Piano-forte-maker</i>	John-street, Golden-square [p. 329]

Harpichord Makers

Broadwood and Shude [Shudi]	<i>Harpichord-makers</i>	32, Great Poultene]y-street [p. 86]
Pether George	<i>Harpichord-maker</i>	61, Oxford-street [p. 252]
Plenius John	<i>Harpichord-maker</i>	89, Holbourn [p. 256]
Pohlman John	<i>Harpichord and Piano-forte maker</i>	113, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury [p. 256]
Stoddart Robert	<i>Harpichord-maker</i>	Wardour-street [p. 300]

Organ Makers

Davy William	<i>Organ-builder</i>	Crown-court, Covent-gar[den] [p. 123]
Elliot Thomas	<i>Organ-builder</i>	Wharton's-court, Holborn [p. 137]
Flight and Kelly	<i>Organ-builders</i>	Exeter [ex]Change [p. 146]
Gray Robert and William	<i>Organ-Builders</i>	New-road, Portland-road [p. 161]
Handcock James	<i>Organ-builder</i>	White-lion-co[urt] Drury-la[ne]. [p. 168]
Holland Henry	<i>Organ-builder</i>	Piccadilly [p. 183]
Holloway Joseph	<i>Organ-builder</i>	Gerrard-street, Soho [p. 183]
Lincoln John	<i>Organ builder</i>	196, Holborn [p. 213]
Okerblom John	<i>Organ Builder, &c.</i>	Goodge-st[reet] Tottenh[am] co[urt] ro[ad] [p. 242]
Russell Hugh	<i>Organ-builder</i>	39, Theobald's-road [p. 275]

Musical Instrument Makers

Astor	<i>Musical- instrument Maker</i>	Wych-street [p. 345]
Barnes and Norris	<i>Musical- instrument & Violin-bow-maker to his Majesty</i>	Coventry-street [p. 64]
Betts John	<i>Musical instrument maker</i>	11, Prince's-str[ee]t Lothbury [p. 73]
Broderip Francis	<i>Musical Instrument-maker</i>	Bedford-str[ee]t Bedford-row [p. 86]
Bury Samuel and Co.	<i>Musical Instrument-makers</i>	113, Bishopsgate within [p. 94]
Collier and Davis	<i>Musical Instrument-makers</i>	7, Fish-street-hill [p. 109]
Duke R.	<i>Musical Instrument-maker</i>	42, Holborn [p. 132]
Longman and Broderip	<i>Musical Instrument- makers, and Music-sellers</i>	26 Cheapside, and 13, Haymarket, St James's [p. 215]
May Charles	<i>Musical instrument-maker</i>	87, Blackman-street, Boro' [p. 226]
Millhouse William	<i>Musical Instrument-maker</i>	100, Wardour-street, Soho [p. 230]
Preswick Ann	<i>Musical Instrument-maker</i>	Manor-row, Tower-hill [p. 259]
Satchell John and Co.	<i>Musical Instrument-makers to the Prince of Wales</i>	25, Great Pulteney-street [p. 278]
Simpson James and John	<i>Musical Instrument-makers</i>	15, Sweetings-alley, Cornh[ill] [p. 287]
Smart George	<i>Musical Instrument-maker and Music-seller</i>	331, Oxford-street [p. 289]
Thompson Samuel & Co	<i>Musical Instrument-makers</i>	75, St. Paul's Churchyard [p. 309]

Music Sellers

Bell John	<i>Music-seller</i>	2, Back of the Exchange [p. 70]
Birchall Robert	<i>Music-seller</i>	129, New Bond-street [p. 75]
Bremner Robert	<i>Music-seller</i>	337, Strand [p. 84]
Buckinger Joseph	<i>Music-seller</i>	443, Strand [p. 91]
Cahusac Thomas	<i>Music-seller</i>	196, Strand [p. 95]
Campbell William	<i>Music-seller</i>	11, New-street, Cov[ent] Gar[den] [p. 96]
Dale Joseph	<i>Music Warehouse</i>	Oxford str[reet] and Cornhill [p. 120]
Fentum John	<i>Music-seller</i>	78, Strand [p. 143]
Goulding George	<i>Music-seller</i>	6, James-str[reet] Bloomsb[ury] sq[ua]re [p. 160]
Harrison and Co	<i>Music-sellers</i>	141, Cheapside [p. 172]
Hawthorne Peter	<i>Music-seller</i>	9, Marylebone-street [p. 174]
Napier William	<i>Music-shop</i>	374, Strand [p. 236]
Noell George	<i>Music-seller</i>	24, Broad-str[reet.] Golden-sq[ua]re [p. 240]
Norris and Barnes ^a	<i>Music-sellers</i>	34, Coventry-st[reet] Haymark[et]. [p. 241]
Preston John and Son	<i>Music-sellers</i>	97, Strand [p. 259]
Skelton Thomas	<i>Music-seller</i>	St Martin's church-yard [p. 288]
Voyez John	<i>Music-seller</i>	Blackmore-st[reet] Clare-mark[et]. [p. 319]

^a The same as 'Barnes and Norris Musical-instrument & Violin-bow-maker to his Majesty Coventry-street [p. 64]' in 'Musical Instrument Makers', above.

Appendix Q

Glossary

Action

In pianos, 'the system of levers, comprising ... the hammers, keys, and any additional levers or moving parts, by which the' energy of the downward 'movement of the finger on the key is transmitted to the hammer which sounds the string'.¹ 'The function of the action is to transform a lower velocity of the key into a higher one for the hammer.'²

Argand Lamp

A domestic oil lamp with a gravity-fed oil reservoir mounted above a cylindrical wick, devised 'so that air can pass both through the centre of the wick and also around the outside of the wick before being drawn into a cylindrical'³ 'glass chimney above'.⁴ The Argand lamp was invented and patented about 1782, in Geneva, by Aimé Argand (1750–1803).⁵ An Argand lamp produces 'a light output of 6 to 10 candlepower'.⁶

Arris

In furniture, the sharp edge or ridge formed by the intersection of two surfaces meeting at an angle.

Balance Rail

In stringed keyboard instruments, the lateral member of the wooden 'key frame that holds the balance' rail pins 'and serves as a fulcrum for the key levers'.⁷

1 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 377.

2 W. Pfeiffer, *The Piano Hammer*, p. 98.

3 'Argand Lamp', in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (Last modified 17 April 2012).

4 'Argand Lamp or Quinquet' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 29.

5 'Argand Lamp', in *Wikipedia*.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 333.

Balance Rail Pin

In stringed keyboard instruments, a vertical metal pin fixed into and 'protruding from the balance rail, which' passes through a mortice 'near the middle of a key lever', thus defining its pivot point 'to hold and guide the lever'.⁸ Commonly, balance rail pins are made of plated brass wire.

Baluster Leg

'In furniture, a leg in the form of a column with [an] elliptical or pear-shaped bulge' either towards the base or towards the top.⁹

Basso Continuo

See 'Thoroughbass', below.

Bassoon Stop

In pianos, 'a mutation ... in which a semi-cylindrical roll of parchment' or silk-covered paper—'fixed to the underside of a wooden bar'¹⁰ near the bass and tenor strings—is engaged 'by means of a knee lever ... pedal' or hand-stop,¹¹ to lightly 'touch the strings, producing a buzzing sound'.¹²

Belly Rail

In harpsichords and grand pianos, a heavy wooden transverse bar, 'which acts as a support for the [keyboard-end] ... edge of the soundboard',¹³ whose ends are 'attached to the spine and cheekpiece, under and parallel to the front edge of the soundboard. In most instruments there is both an upper belly rail, to which the edge of the soundboard is glued, and a lower belly rail, which is attached to the bottom' boards of the instrument.¹⁴ In square pianos, a heavy wooden bar supports and is located under 'the left-hand edge of the soundboard'.¹⁵ 'In some square pianos, as in most Viennese ... grands, the treble part of the soundboard may project beyond the belly rail.'¹⁶

8 Ibid., p. 333.

9 'Baluster' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 38.

10 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 377.

11 Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 200.

12 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 377.

13 Ibid., p. 377.

14 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 333.

15 Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 201.

16 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 377.

Bentside

‘The curved case wall of a harpsichord, spinet, or grand piano.’¹⁷

Bentside Spinet

A stringed keyboard instrument ‘with [a] harpsichord ... action, almost always with a single keyboard’—projecting from the case front, with slanted cheeks—and one set of strings (one string per note), ‘the shape and internal arrangement of which are similar to that of the harpsichord’,¹⁸ but where ‘the spine, instead of being at a right angle to the [nameboard] ... is at an angle of approximately twenty-five degrees. There is usually a bentside.’¹⁹ The bentside was ‘usually, but not necessarily, curved at the tail, and the left hand side of the case often curved to the spine as well’.²⁰ Bentside spinets were especially popular in England during the second half of the seventeenth century. In England during the eighteenth century, the bentside spinet ‘was the middle-class harpsichord of both choice and necessity. Not nearly as expensive as a grand, but still an attractive instrument with a five-octave compass, it could play almost anything that could be done on a large double’ manual harpsichord.²¹ ‘It’s tempting to assume that spinets were a kind of “poor man’s harpsichord”, but their prevalence among the British gentry and musical elite ... proves otherwise ... They stayed fairly well in tune; were stylish, affordable, and compact; and possessed a sweet tone suitable for domestic music making.’²²

Bi-Chord (Double-Strung)

In stringed keyboard instruments, having two adjacent unison strings—that is, two adjacent strings tuned to the same pitch—per note.

Biedermeier Style

In furniture and the decorative arts, an aesthetic that flourished between 1815 and about the 1850s. It originated in Germany, and was characterised by restraint, functionality, rigorous simplicity and uncomplicated elegance. The Biedermeier style had more to do with ‘comfort rather than ostentation, and was popular with the prosperous bourgeoisie’.²³

17 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 333.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 340.

19 Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 210.

20 Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, p. 377.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 377.

22 Watson, *Changing Keys*, p. 16.

23 ‘Biedermeier Style’ in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 49.

Bottom Boards

In stringed keyboard instruments, adjoining wooden planks comprising the bottom of the instrument 'to which the case sides and other members are attached and which forms an important part of the structure'.²⁴

Bridge

In stringed keyboard instruments, a long, narrow 'wooden structure',²⁵ 'commonly of serpentine design',²⁶ 'usually made from a deciduous hardwood such as beech, maple, walnut, or fruitwood',²⁷ and 'fastened to the soundboard, on which the strings'²⁸—which are kept in their 'correct lateral position'²⁹ by bridge pins—bear. The bridge 'serves both to define one end of the speaking length of each string and to transmit its vibration to the soundboard'.³⁰ 'There is some evidence that the bridge also acts as a filter, dampening certain vibrations while allowing others to pass through' to the soundboard. Another 'function of the bridge is to act as a brace for the soundboard, strengthening the soundboard around and under it against the downward pressure exerted by the strings'.³¹ In English square pianos, the bridge is typically J-form, with the curve at the treble end.

Bridge Pin

In stringed keyboard instruments, a 'small piece of brass or other metal wire (effectively a headless nail) driven [part-way] into the bridge so as to determine the ['correct lateral position']³² ... of the string bearing on the bridge'.³³ 'The bridge pin ... serves to delimit one end of that string's speaking length'.³⁴

24 Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 200.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 201.

26 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 377.

27 Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 201.

28 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 377.

29 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 334.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 333.

31 E. J. Kern, *Harpichord Design and Construction* (New York: van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1980), p. 33.

32 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 334.

33 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 377.

34 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 395.

Buhl (*Bouille*)

In furniture, 'marquetry of tortoise-shell' in combination with brass and or other metals such as pewter.³⁵ Named 'after the eighteenth-century French cabinet maker who was its most celebrated exponent'.³⁶ In early nineteenth-century English piano case decoration, elaborate '*bouille* work' commonly comprises 'intricate scrolling shapes cut from sheet brass inlaid into rosewood veneer'.³⁷

Cabinet Piano

A piano in upright form, whose grand piano length strings extend from the floor. The action is located in front of the string plane. The instrument is effectively 'a grand piano ... turned vertically so that the wrest[-plank] ... is at the top and the tail rests on the base, which sits directly on the floor'.³⁸ The instrument's external form is 'a symmetrical, rectangular cabinet starting at floor level. The front usually has silk-covered doors concealing the soundboard and strings'.³⁹ 'Two legs serve to support the [protruding] keyboard and offer stabilization to the instrument itself.'⁴⁰

Cabriole Leg

In furniture, a tapered 'leg of double-curved form, convex at the top and concave below, which came into use towards the end of the 17th century and generally disappeared with the advent of Neo-classicism towards the end of the 18th' century.⁴¹ Its shape is 'based on the stylized hind leg of [an] animal'.⁴²

Cartouche

In furniture, an 'ornamental device ... suggesting [a] partly opened scroll or [the] volute of [an] Ionic capital', sometimes 'oval, rectangular or square in shape, used as [a] surround [and] ... space ... for [an] inscription'.⁴³

35 'Bouille or Buhl Work' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, pp. 58–9.

36 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 86.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

38 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 395.

39 Kottick and Lucktenberg, *Early Keyboard Instruments in European Museums*, p. 259.

40 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 395.

41 Richard Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 202.

42 'Cabriole or Bandy Leg' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 69.

43 'Cartouche' in *ibid.*, p. 78.

Check (Back Check)

In pianos, the 'action element (not always present) usually consisting of a leather pad', commonly 'supported by' a standing, sloping wire, which 'catches the returning hammer head to prevent its rebounding to strike the string an unwanted second time'.⁴⁴

Cheek (Cheekpiece)

In English harpsichords and grand pianos, the short, rectangular-shaped 'case wall at the ... treble' and bass end 'of the keyboard, wrest plank, and soundboard', running parallel to the spine.⁴⁵ In a square piano, the 'side part of the casework' at the treble end of the instrument.⁴⁶

Classic Era

In a widely accepted and commonly encountered periodisation schema of Western civilisation's music history, the period between ca 1750 and ca 1830. The term 'Classical' is broader in its meaning, and is often used colloquially when referring to a particular tradition of Western music.

Clavichord

A horizontal 'stringed keyboard instrument, sounded by means of upright', up-striking brass 'blades [tangents] fixed at the distal part of the key lever',⁴⁷ comprising a fairly shallow rectangular box, open at the top (closed by a lid), with an inset keyboard at the front long-side of the instrument, a soundboard at the treble end, and horizontal strings running obliquely from the back of the instrument at the bass end to the front at the treble end (the bass strings being nearest to the player), the strings passing over the tangents and the soundboard.⁴⁸ Clavichords are usually double-strung. Commonly, 'until circa 1700, clavichords were "fretted"—that is, 'more than one note'⁴⁹ can be obtained from a string course (two or more adjacent strings tuned to the same pitch) by having the possibility for each of several adjacent key levers to strike a string course at different places (each adjacent key lever produces a different note from its neighbour). Clavichords in which each string course is only ever struck by a single key lever are designated as 'unfretted'.⁵⁰ Unfretted clavichords were the norm after ca 1700.

44 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 334.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 334.

46 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 378.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 378.

48 This definition is based on one given in Clarke, 'The English Piano', pp. 254–5.

49 Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 202.

50 See Brauchli, *The Clavichord*, p. 4.

Clavicytherium

'A harpsichord designed to stand up vertically. The resulting instrument features an upright soundboard', strings oriented vertically above the keys (key levers, as in harpsichords, are horizontally oriented), thereby taking 'up less space than [a] conventional' harpsichord.⁵¹

Claviorganum

A harpsichord or piano integrated with an organ (combined in the same case). Accordingly, a claviorganum may sound as a harpsichord, piano or organ, or as a simultaneous combination of both, and may have either a single keyboard or two keyboards (one for the harpsichord or piano, the other for the organ).

Combination Piano

A piano integrated with another keyboard instrument (combined in the same case), such as: a piano-harpsichord (a design patented by Robert Stodart in 1777); a clavichord-piano (an instrument made by John Geib in 1792); two (upright) pianos (an instrument made by Matthias Müller in 1801).⁵²

Commode

A 'low cabinet or chest of drawers, often with elaborate decoration and usually standing on cabriole legs or short feet ... Commodes were meant to stand against the wall and had greater width than height.'⁵³ Commodes were introduced in France 'toward the end of the seventeenth century'.⁵⁴

Compass (Keyboard Compass)

The gamut of a keyboard.

51 C. Benson, 'Clavicytherium', in I. Kipnis (ed.), *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 81.

52 See A. W. J. G. Ord-Hume and F. J. de Hen, 'Combination Pianos', in R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 91.

53 A. Abbas, 'What is a Commode? Is it a Chest of Drawers or a Toilet?', in *About.com Furniture* (New York: The New York Times Company, 2012).

54 'Commode' in S. Chadenet (ed.), *French Furniture from Louis XIII to Art Deco* (Boston: Bulfinch Press, Little Brown & Company, 2001), p. 9.

Consecutive Fifths

In musical composition, the 'simultaneous duplication of the melodic line ... by another at the interval of a perfect 5th', the resultant interval (comprising two musical parts) being immediately followed, within the same two musical parts, by another simultaneous duplication of the melodic line at the interval of a perfect fifth. During the eighteenth century, the rules of harmony, counterpoint and musical grammar dictated that consecutive fifths were strictly forbidden.⁵⁵

Continuo

See 'Thoroughbass', below.

Cottage Piano

A piano in upright form, whose height is about 1.5 metres, 'with vertical strings extended to the floor; invented by Robert Wornum' in 1811.⁵⁶ The action is located in front of the string plane.

Counterpoint

In musical composition, 'the technique of combining two or more' simultaneously sounding 'melodic lines in such a way that they establish' an interdependent 'relationship while retaining their ... individuality' in relation to rhythm and contour.⁵⁷

Cranked Key Lever

In square pianos, because the curved treble part of the J-form bridge is placed near the belly rail edge of the soundboard, the soundboard edge is not a straight line. As a result, some treble key levers are not straight, but deviated ('cranked').

Crescendo

In music, the Italian term '*crescendo*' is a performance instruction denoting 'becoming louder'.⁵⁸

55 Drabkin, 'Consecutive Fifths, Consecutive Octaves', p. 666.

56 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, Vol. 2, p. 470.

57 'Coun-ter-point', in *TheFreeDictionary* (Huntingdon Valley, Pa: Farlex Inc., 2012).

58 See R. Donington, 'Crescendo', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 5, p. 32.

Cross-Banding

In furniture, the ‘decorative use of thin cross-grained strips of veneer’.⁵⁹ The ‘grain of the veneer is perpendicular to the length of the strip’.⁶⁰

Cut-Off Bar

In stringed keyboard instruments, a ‘long straight piece of wood glued to the underside of the soundboard, usually in a diagonal direction from about the centre of the soundboard front edge to about the centre of the soundboard edge along the spine. It supposedly cuts off or delimits the active area of the soundboard.’⁶¹

Cyma

In architecture, a profile comprising ‘one continuous double curve’ composed of two quarter-circles.⁶²

Damper

In stringed keyboard instruments, a ‘discrete mechanical part in the action whose function is to quell the vibration of the strings when the finger releases the key ... The agent used to quell the vibrations is generally [woven cloth,] a soft pad of cloth or [soft] leather. Felt dampers as seen on modern pianos are a 19th century invention.’⁶³

Damper Compartment

In pianos, the portion of the damper that contains the damping agent.

Diminuendo

In music, the Italian term ‘*diminuendo*’ is a performance instruction denoting ‘becoming softer’.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ ‘Cross-Banding’ in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 109.

⁶⁰ Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 334.

⁶¹ M. Latcham, ‘Cut-Off Bar’, in I. Kipnis (ed.), *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 112.

⁶² ‘Cyma’, in *Encyclopædia Britannica Online* (Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012).

⁶³ Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, pp. 378–9.

⁶⁴ See D. Fallows, ‘Diminuendo’, in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 5, p. 480.

Double-Manual

See 'Manual', below.

Double-Pinned

The bridge of a stringed keyboard instrument is 'double-pinned' when there is a 'small piece of brass or other metal wire (effectively a headless nail) ... driven part way into the rear of the bridge whose purpose is to divert or deflect the string from its natural path between the bridge pin and the hitch-pin, so as to increase the side bearing or to firmly seat the string on the bridge without increasing the down bearing'.⁶⁵

Double-Strung (Bi-Chord)

In stringed keyboard instruments, having two adjacent unison strings—that is, two adjacent strings tuned to the same pitch—per note.

Dovetail Joint

In woodworking joinery, a joint comprising interlocking wedge-shaped elements. A dovetail joint is 'used to attach two pieces of wood so that they form a corner, without using nails ... Glue is used between the' interlocking wedge-shaped elements 'to ensure that the two pieces of wood stay together'.⁶⁶

Down-Striking Hammers

In a piano, hammers that strike the strings from above. The majority of grand and square 'pianos have their actions below the strings, so that the hammers strike upwards against the strings, which tend to move the string away from the bridge. This has certain disadvantages, and several makers decided to overcome these by designing pianos with the action *above* the strings so that the hammers struck downward onto the strings.'⁶⁷

8' (8-foot)

In stringed keyboard instruments, the term '8" (8-foot) is used to describe a set of strings, each of which sounds at a normal point of pitch reference. For

65 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 377.

66 K. Swan, 'What are Dovetails?', in N. Foster (ed.), *WiseGeek: Clear Answers for Common Questions* (Sparks, Nev.: Conjecture Corporation, 2003–12).

67 C. F. Colt and A. Miall, *The Early Piano* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1981), p. 155.

example, at a pitch standard of $a^1 = 430$ Hz, the string for the note a^1 (the note nine semitones above middle-C) sounds at 430 Hz. An 8' set of strings sounds an octave lower than a 4' (4-foot) set of strings.

Empire Style

In furniture, a 'style popular in France' from ca 1804 to 1830.⁶⁸ Traditional classical 'forms and ornament, already seen in the Louis XVI style, blended with' imperial Napoleonic symbols of fame and victory, 'which included the bee ... laurel wreath, stars, the eagle, and exotic ... motifs culled from' Egypt (such as palm leaves, mummies and caryatids).⁶⁹ 'Furniture was characterized by clear-cut silhouettes and symmetry in decoration ... The staple wood was mahogany, solid or veneer; brass and ormolu mounts were the chief embellishments.'⁷⁰

Endblocks

In stringed keyboard instruments, the wooden 'blocks found between the cheeks and the first and last keys'.⁷¹

Engine-Turning

In furniture and decorative arts, 'the tracing of an ornamental pattern using a machine or lathe attachment',⁷² 'applied to a wide variety of materials, developed in [the] 1760s. Used initially in France to decorate gold work.'⁷³ Ornamental patterns are created by removing fine threads of whatever material is being decorated.

English Square Piano

A stringed keyboard instrument whose design, touch and sound are consistent with square pianos made at any time between the mid-1760s and the 1860s by London-based piano makers—beginning with the pianos of Johann Christophe Zumpe.

68 'Empire Style' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 132.

69 C. Gontar, 'Empire Style, 1800–1815', in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–04).

70 'Empire Style', in *Infoplease* (London: Pearson Education, 2000–12), definition taken from *The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*, 6th edn (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

71 Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, p. 471.

72 'Engraving' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 136.

73 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

Entablature

'In architecture, [an] assemblage of horizontal mouldings and bands' comprising, from lowest to highest: architrave, frieze and cornice, 'supported by and located immediately above' a column.⁷⁴

Equal Temperament

'Any system of temperament that divides the octave into ... [intervals] which are all equal in size.' In Western music, the commonly encountered 'equal temperament divides the octave into 12' intervals of equal size, each of which is called a semitone.⁷⁵

Escapement

'A contrivance in many piano actions by which the element that impels the hammer toward the string ceases to do so by pivoting away from the hammer shortly before the hammer head reaches the string.'⁷⁶ This allows for a 'disengagement of the hammer from the impelling force provided by the finger on the key'.⁷⁷ An escapement provides the player with comfortable, reliable and subtle control over dynamics.

Escutcheon

A protective material—such as metal or ivory—fixed around a keyhole as an ornament to protect it or the surrounding surface.

Fallboard

In stringed keyboard instruments, a hinged segment of the instrument's lid designed to protect the keywell and the exposed portion of the key levers (keyboard). When the fallboard is 'closed', so too is the instrument's case, and access to the keywell and the keyboard is prevented.

Fermata (Pause Sign)

In Western music notation, a symbol comprising a dot with an arch-like semicircle around it. The fermata symbol is commonly placed above a note, a

⁷⁴ 'Entablature', in *Encyclopædia Britannica Online* (Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012).

⁷⁵ Jorgensen, *Tuning*, p. 771.

⁷⁶ Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 336.

⁷⁷ Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 379.

chord, a rest or a bar line. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the performative meaning of a fermata was determined by its musical context, ranging from the elongation or reduction of the rhythmic value of a note, chord or rest, and the negation of a related pulse between two consecutive movements of a musical work, to an indicator of improvised ornamentation.

Forte

In music, the Italian term '*forte*' is a performance instruction denoting 'loud', 'strong'.

Fortepiano

A widely used term⁷⁸ denoting the eighteenth to mid-nineteenth-century wooden-framed touch-sensitive stringed keyboard instrument whose strings are sounded by pivoted hammers.⁷⁹ The frame may include iron gap spacers and/or tension bars.

Fortissimo

In music, the Italian term '*fortissimo*' is a performance instruction denoting 'very loud'.

Fretted Clavichord

A clavichord built with the possibility for each of several adjacent key levers to strike a string course (two or more adjacent strings tuned to the same pitch) at different places, each adjacent key lever producing a different pitch from its neighbour.⁸⁰

Front Guide-Pin

In stringed keyboard instruments, a vertical metal pin 'protruding from the front [touch] rail of a key frame', which guides the lateral alignment of a key by fitting into a mortice 'cut into the underside' near the front of the key lever.⁸¹

78 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 397.

79 See 'The Term "Piano"', in the 'Descriptive Conventions' at the beginning of Volume 1 of this publication.

80 See Brauchli, *The Clavichord*, p. 4.

81 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 336.

Key levers with a front guide-pin are commonly called 'front-guided' keys. This type of key lever was the most common 'arrangement after 1790 for all kinds of pianos'.⁸²

Fruitwood

'The wood of any of several fruit-bearing trees, such as the apple, cherry or pear.'⁸³

Galant Style

In music, an eighteenth-century European aesthetic evidenced by easily accessible, agreeable, flowing music, in which the melody predominates—commonly comprising predictable, symmetrically balanced phrase lengths—and accompaniment plays a subordinate role. Galant-style music avoids contrapuntal textures and compositional complexity, and makes no stringent demands on the intellect or emotions of the listener.⁸⁴

Gap

'In harpsichords and grand pianos, the space between the wrest plank and the soundboard.'⁸⁵ In conventional grand pianos, the gap is the space through which up-striking 'hammers rise to strike the strings'.⁸⁶

Gap Spacer

'In ... grand pianos, an iron [bracket] reinforcement, shaped like an inverted U', incorporated between the edge of the 'wrest plank and the upper belly rail', which rises up and over between the strings.⁸⁷

Gilding (Gilt)

In furniture and decorative arts, an 'ornamental gold coating on glass, ceramics, metals, furniture, etc., used ... to cover whole articles, or in conjunction with other forms of decoration'.⁸⁸

82 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, pp. 379–80.

83 'Fruit-Wood', in *The Free Dictionary*.

84 See Berg, *The Correspondence of Christian Gottfried Krause*, pp. xvii–xviii.

85 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 336.

86 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 380.

87 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 337.

88 'Gilding' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 160.

Grand Piano

'A large horizontal wing-shaped' stringed keyboard instrument, 'the form of which is directly derived from that of the harpsichord',⁸⁹ comprising a fairly deep case, open at the top (closed by a lid), with a protruding horizontal keyboard (whose bass end meets the left-hand edge of the instrument's spine at a right angle) and 'a bentside following the line of the bridge'.⁹⁰ Horizontal strings run parallel with each other and the spine, and pass over up-striking hammers (rare exceptions have down-striking hammers) and the soundboard.⁹¹

Hammer

In pianos, the part of the action that comprises the hammerhead and hammer shank. 'The hammer is the primary part that distinguishes the piano from all other stringed keyboard instruments.'⁹²

Hammer Butt

In pianos, the 'part of the ... hammer furthest from the' hammerhead,⁹³ which 'is hinged to the hammer rail and touched by the jack'.⁹⁴

Hammerhead

In pianos, the wooden structure at one end of a hammer shank, 'usually covered with leather', which 'strikes the string'.⁹⁵

Hammer Rail

In pianos, the 'lateral wooden bar to which the hammers are [hinged]. In square pianos ... the hammer rail may be quite thin, the hammers articulated from it on leather hinges.' Generally, in grand pianos, 'the hammers are pivoted on axles which are fastened to a more substantial hammer rail'.⁹⁶

89 Ripin, 'Grand Pianoforte', p. 635.

90 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 379.

91 See Clarke, 'The English Piano', pp. 254–5.

92 K. Kean, 'Hammer', in R. Palmieri (ed.), *Piano: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 161.

93 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 380.

94 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 334.

95 *Ibid.*, p. 337.

96 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 380.

Hammer Rest Rail

In pianos, the 'rail upon which the hammer heads (or part of the [hammer] shanks near the hammer heads) rest'.⁹⁷

Hammer Shank

In pianos, the 'long and thin' portion of a hammer between the hammer butt or hammer pivot axle and the hammerhead.⁹⁸

Hand-Lever (Hand-Stop; Stop)

In pianos, a pivoted 'lever, often terminating in a decorative knob',⁹⁹ 'moved by the player's hand',¹⁰⁰ used to engage or disengage a mutation.

Harp Stop (Buff Stop)

In square pianos, a hand-stop or pedal-operated mutation, comprising a leather-covered wooden batten, which, when engaged, presses against the underside of the strings 'near to the extremity of their sounding lengths' (that is, near to the nut-pins).¹⁰¹ This causes 'the upper partials' of the sound 'to be restricted'.¹⁰² Simultaneously, the lingering attenuation of the sound is cut short. To late eighteenth-century listeners, the resultant sound would most probably have resembled a gut-strung harp or a lute.

Head

In keyboard instruments, the short, wide portion of the playing surface 'of a natural key' situated forward 'of the sharps'.¹⁰³ The playing surface is often made of a precious material, such as ebony or ivory.

97 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 337.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 340.

99 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 380.

100 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 337.

101 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, pp. 377–8.

102 *Ibid.*, p. 378.

103 *Ibid.*, p. 337.

Historically Inspired Performance Practice

The conventions of performance that appear to have been prevalent among knowledgeable performers before our time, including those customs that were so commonly understood that they were not notated, as well as aspects of performance that were too subtle to notate.¹⁰⁴

Hitch-Pin

In stringed keyboard instruments, the metal pin ('effectively a headless nail, usually brass) over which the eye'¹⁰⁵ 'at the end of a string opposite the end held by the wrest pin'¹⁰⁶ 'is hitched; therefore the anchor point'.¹⁰⁷

Hitch-Pin Block

In square pianos, the 'heavy wooden block that holds the hitch pins', usually situated 'behind the keyboard and attached to the left and back case walls'.¹⁰⁸

Hitch-Pin Rail

'In harpsichords, spinets, and grand pianos, the [wooden] rail that holds the hitch-pins (at the edge of the soundboard along the bent side and tail, often with a moulding cut into its front edge).'¹⁰⁹

Hitch Plate

In pianos, 'an iron plate ... into which the hitch-pins are inserted'.¹¹⁰

Hertz (Hz)

'Hz is the International Standard symbol for Hertz, the unit of frequency, defined as the number of cycles per second of a periodic phenomenon ... Sound is a travelling wave which is an oscillation of pressure. Humans perceive frequency of sound waves as pitch. Each ... note [sounding pitch in music] corresponds to

104 See Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music*, p. xvii.

105 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 380.

106 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 337.

107 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 380.

108 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 337.

109 *Ibid.*, p. 337.

110 Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 207.

a particular frequency which can be measured in Hertz.¹¹¹ The term was named in honour of the German physicist Heinrich Rudolf Hertz (1857–94), who was ‘the first to conclusively prove the existence of electromagnetic waves’.¹¹²

Inlay

In furniture and decorative arts, a ‘decorative technique in which pieces of wood, ivory, metals, mother-of-pearl, etc., contrasting in colour with the background material, are fitted into chiselled-out areas ... forming patterns or pictures’.¹¹³

Interval

The sounding distance between two pitches as it is perceived by the mind.

Jack

1) In pianos, ‘the ... lever articulating from, or attached’ directly to the ‘key lever, which transmits the motion of the key lever to the hammer’ butt¹¹⁴ (‘or sometimes to intermediate elements acting on the hammer butt’).¹¹⁵ ‘Also called the “hopper” in escapement actions of the English type.’¹¹⁶ 2) In pianos, the upright rectangular hardwood slip from which protrudes—at the upper end of one of its two wide faces—the damper compartment.

Key

In keyboard instruments, the section of a key lever delineated by the area of the playing surface.

Keyboard Compass (Compass)

See ‘Compass (Keyboard Compass)’, above.

111 ‘Hertz’, in *Wikipedia*.

112 ‘Heinrich Hertz’, in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (n.d.).

113 ‘Inlaying’ in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 187.

114 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 381.

115 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 337.

116 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 381.

Keyboard Pantalon

‘A stringed keyboard instrument with hammer action invented in north Germany in the early 18th century, probably before any knowledge of the invention of the piano ... in Italy had been disseminated there. Typically provided with bare wooden hammers, [no dampers, and] with the alternative of a softer tone produced either by a moderator¹¹⁷ ... or an additional set of softly voiced leathered hammers.’¹¹⁸

Key Character

‘Temperament as practiced on keyboard instruments during the 19th century and before was unequal temperament; that is, the [interval between] various semitones differed in’ size or ratio, ‘and each of the 24 major and minor scales contained its own unique interval relationships. This in turn caused each tonality ... to have special’ emotional and aesthetic qualities known as key character.’¹¹⁹

Key Dip

In keyboard instruments, a measurement of the vertical displacement of ‘the front end of a key’ lever¹²⁰ ‘when it reaches the limit of its [downward] movement’.¹²¹

Keyframe

In stringed keyboard instruments, the wooden framework ‘upon which the key levers rest’.¹²² In late eighteenth-century pianos, the keyframe commonly comprises transverse members of identical length (running parallel both with each other and with the keyboard): a ‘back [touch] rail, a balance rail and [a] front [touch] rail’, joined at each end (and sometimes in the centre) with a single shorter bar running from the front to the back.¹²³

117 See ‘Moderator’, below.

118 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 382.

119 Jorgensen, *Tuning*, p. 769.

120 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 337.

121 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 381.

122 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 337.

123 Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 208.

Key Lever

In keyboard instruments, a pivoted wooden lever, on the top of the exposed portion of which is the playing surface.

Key Plate

In keyboard instruments, a thin covering glued to the top of a key lever that comprises the playing surface as well as the exposed portion of the key lever. A key plate is often made of a precious material, such as ebony or ivory.

Keywell

In stringed keyboard instruments, the 'vertical surroundings of' a recessed keyboard,¹²⁴ 'bounded by the interior portions of the spine and cheek piece and the nameboard'.¹²⁵

Keywell Cheek

In stringed keyboard instruments, the 'short wall ... or the front part of the spine or cheek' near 'the end of the keyboard'.¹²⁶

Knee-Lever

In pianos, a vertically acting 'lever, mounted beneath the keyboard area of the piano, operated by raising the player's knee',¹²⁷ which controls a mutation.¹²⁸

Lap Joint (Lapping)

In joinery, a technique for joining two pieces of wood by partially overlapping the pieces and fastening them together.¹²⁹

Lapped Dovetail Joint

In joinery, a dovetail joint that is concealed from the front view.

124 Ibid., p. 208.

125 Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, p. 472.

126 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 337.

127 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 381.

128 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 337.

129 See M. R. Anglin, 'What is a Lap Joint', in B. Harris (ed.), *WiseGeek: Clear Answers for Common Questions* (Sparks, Nev.: Conjecture Corporation, 2003–12; Last modified 17 June 2012).

Listing Cloth

In stringed keyboard instruments, a strip of cloth located near the hitch-pin rail, whose function is to dampen the sympathetic vibrations of the non-sounding portion (between the bridge pin and the hitch-pin) of each string.

Lockboard

In stringed keyboard instruments, the 'board that closes the case ... in front of the keyboard'.¹³⁰

Machine Engraving

In furniture and decorative arts, 'the tracing of an ornamental pattern',¹³¹ 'applied to a wide variety of materials',¹³² using a machine or lathe attachment.¹³³ Ornamental patterns are created by removing fine threads of whatever material is being decorated.

Manual

Another word for keyboard. 'Single-manual instruments have one keyboard; double-manual ... two.'¹³⁴

Marquetry

In furniture and decorative arts, a 'decorative technique' applied to flat surfaces, 'by which various woods or other materials (ivory, bone, metals, tortoise-shell) are inlaid in [a] sheet of veneer'.¹³⁵

Medallion

'In ceramics, [a] small round or elliptical tablet with [a] decorative motif [or scene] painted or in relief.'¹³⁶

130 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 338.

131 'Engine-Turning' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 136.

132 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

133 See *ibid.*, p. 136.

134 M. S. Waitzman, *Early Keyboard Instruments: The Benton Fletcher Collection at Fenton House* (London: The National Trust, 2003), p. 97.

135 'Marquetry' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, pp. 225–6.

136 'Medallion' in *ibid.*, p. 229.

Mode

In music, a scale comprising a set of consecutive pitches arranged in a specific sequence of tones and semitones. In Western music, between the ninth and mid-sixteenth centuries, eight modes were commonly used.

Moderator

In pianos, a mutation comprising a batten¹³⁷ 'situated closely below the strings',¹³⁸ 'with projecting pieces of [woven] cloth or [soft] leather that can be interposed—by means of a hand stop, knee-lever, or pedal—between the hammer[heads] and strings'.¹³⁹

Moulding

In furniture, 'a long ornamental element, either projecting or recessed, of continuous profile (flat, round, concave, convex, etc.)',¹⁴⁰ 'used to cover transition between surfaces or for decoration'.¹⁴¹

Mutation

In stringed keyboard instruments, a mechanical device incorporated into the instrument that, when engaged, alters or modifies the timbre of the sound.

Nag's Head Swell

In pianos, a mutation operated by a pedal—or sometimes by a knee-lever—which modifies the piano's volume by lifting either a hinged segment of or the entire lid.

Nameboard

In stringed keyboard instruments, the removable rectangular wooden 'board, often resembling a case wall', fitted 'immediately behind the playing surfaces of the keys'.¹⁴²

137 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 338.

138 Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 208.

139 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 338.

140 'Molding' in Chadenet, *French Furniture from Louis XIII to Art Deco*, p. 11.

141 'Molding (Decorative)', in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (Last modified 17 September 2012).

142 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 338.

Natural

In keyboard instruments, the playing surface of a key lever, at the front of, between and lower than the playing surface of a sharp ('accidental') key.

Neo-Classical

In furniture and decorative arts, an anti-Rococo style 'derived from forms and decorative motifs of ... [ancient] Greece and Rome ... straight lines replaced rococo curves, and classical motifs were used, e.g. draperies and swags ... fluting ... medallions'.¹⁴³ The style is characterised by symmetry, simplicity, delicacy and restraint.

Newel Post

The larger upright post at the bottom of a flight of stairs, which supports the handrail of a stair banister.

Nut

In harpsichords, spinets and grand pianos, the 'long, narrow, and sometimes curved' strip or bar 'of hardwood attached to the wrestplank, that supports the strings at the end opposite to the soundboard bridge'.¹⁴⁴ In square pianos, the nut is 'of one piece with the hitch-pin' block.¹⁴⁵

Nut-Pins

In stringed keyboard instruments, small metal pins 'driven part way into the nut'.¹⁴⁶ 'Nut pins keep an individual string in its correct lateral position [and] ... define ... precisely one end of its speaking length.'¹⁴⁷

143 'Neo-Classical Style or Classical Revival' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 244.

144 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 382.

145 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 400.

146 *Ibid.*, p. 400.

147 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 338.

Octave

The sounding distance ('interval') between two pitches, where the sound of the higher pitch is produced by vibrations that are double the frequency of the lower pitch; the sound of the lower pitch is produced by vibrations that are half the frequency of the higher pitch.

Ogee

A moulding profile (shaped somewhat like an 'S') comprising a concave arc flowing into a convex arc—that is, two arcs that curve in opposite senses, so that the ends are parallel.¹⁴⁸

Open-Covered String

In late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century square pianos, an overspun 'string in which the adjacent loops of the' thin wire helical covering (commonly brass or copper) wound around the straight core (usually brass or iron) 'do not touch each other'.¹⁴⁹

Organized Piano (Claviorganum; Piano Organisé)

A piano integrated with an organ—combined in the same case. An organized piano may sound as a piano, an organ or as a simultaneous combination of both, and may have either a single keyboard or two keyboards (one for the piano, the other for the organ). The organ's pipework is usually 'contained in a cabinet underneath'¹⁵⁰ the piano.

Ormolu

In furniture and decorative arts, 'brass or bronze objects or mounts' that are 'gilded or covered with gold-coloured lacquer'.¹⁵¹

Overspun String (Covered String)

In late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century square pianos, a bass string 'consisting of a straight core around which a [thin wire] helical covering'¹⁵²

148 See 'Ogee', in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (n.d.).

149 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 338.

150 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 378.

151 'Ormolu' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 253.

152 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 334.

‘of soft metal, such as copper’¹⁵³ is ‘wound ... to add weight and mass’.¹⁵⁴ The adjacent loops of the thin wire helical covering touch each other. If plain brass wire is used for the strings of approximately the two bottom octaves in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century square pianos, the tone produced is hollow and musically unsatisfactory. Overspinning produces a heavier and yet supple string (the string is not stiffened by an increase in mass) that produces a richer tone.

Pantalon

See ‘Keyboard Pantalon’ above.

Parianware

‘Fine-grained hard-paste porcelain, usually unglazed ... resembling marble in appearance.’¹⁵⁵

Patera

In furniture and decorative arts, a small flat, circular or oval cast applied ornament.

Peau de buffle

In harpsichords, soft quills of buffalo leather.

Piano

1) See ‘Cottage Piano’; ‘Fortepiano’; ‘Grand Piano’; and ‘Organized Piano’ above. See also ‘Square Piano’ and ‘Upright Piano’ below. 2) In music, the Italian term ‘*piano*’ is a performance instruction denoting ‘soft’.

Pianissimo

In music, the Italian term ‘*pianissimo*’ is a performance instruction denoting ‘very soft’.

153 Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 209.

154 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 400.

155 ‘Parian Ware’ in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 257.

Pilaster

The vertical structural part of a building that takes the form of a decorative shallow rectangular column (with a base, shaft and capital) projecting slightly from a wall.

Pitch

'The particular quality of ... an individual musical' note's sound, which 'fixes its position in the' gamut, 'determined by what the ear judges as being the most fundamental wave-frequency' of that sound.¹⁵⁶

Pitchpipe

A small, usually wooden, end-blown square-bodied wind instrument without finger holes, 'fitted with a moveable', graduated 'wooden plunger or piston, on which a scale of notes with a range of about an octave [is] ... marked'.¹⁵⁷ When blown, a pitchpipe sounds the note of the scale as marked on the plunger. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, pitchpipes were often used to fix the basic pitch of stringed keyboard instruments.

Pizzicato

'A playing technique that involves plucking the string(s) of a' generally bowed string instrument with the fingers.¹⁵⁸

Rear Rack-Guide

In clavichords, keyboard pantalons, square pianos by Johann Christoph Zumpe and in English square pianos whose action design is modelled on that of Zumpe, a wooden rack located at the interior rear of the case under the hitch-pin block and immediately behind the distal end of the key levers, whose function is to prevent any lateral deviation of the rear of each key lever.

156 M. Lindley, 'Pitch', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 14, p. 779.

157 Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, p. 19.

158 'Pizzicato', in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (Last modified 28 July 2013). See also S. Monosoff, 'Pizzicato', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 14, p. 799.

Reeding

In furniture, a decorative ornament comprising a ‘series of thin, parallel convex ribs’.¹⁵⁹

Regency Style

In furniture, a ‘general term for several ... styles found in Britain c1795–1820’.¹⁶⁰ The term ‘is derived from the regency (1811–20) of George Augustus, prince of Wales (later George IV)’. The style ‘encompasses a number of differing influences—including Greek, Roman, Chinese and rococo ... ornament on the flat surfaces of Regency furniture derived from the rich contrast of exotic wood veneers and application of metals or painting rather than extensive carving or complicated contours’.¹⁶¹

Rib

In stringed keyboard instruments, a relatively small ‘wooden reinforcing bar’, commonly with tapered ends, and made of spruce or other light wood ‘glued to the underside of the soundboard’.¹⁶² Soundboard ribs: 1) support the soundboard against downward pressure exerted by the bridge; 2) encourage sections of the soundboard to expand upwards in response to increases in humidity; and 3) assist in the transmission of vibration.¹⁶³

Rococo

1) In furniture, a ‘decorative, curvilinear style characterized by light, delicate, asymmetrical motifs based mainly on rock, shell, floral, and leaf shapes’.¹⁶⁴ The style, ‘which was both a continuation of and a reaction against that of the ... baroque era which preceded it’,¹⁶⁵ evolved in early eighteenth-century ‘France ... and rapidly spread throughout Europe, then to England where it reached its peak c1750–70’.¹⁶⁶ 2) In a widely accepted and commonly encountered periodisation schema of Western music history, the ‘Rococo’ era is defined as the period between ca 1725 and ca 1775. Rococo music is usually light and

159 ‘Reeding’ in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 284.

160 ‘Regency style’ in *ibid.*, p. 284.

161 ‘The Regency Style’, in *Restorations Network* (The Restorations Network, 1997–2008).

162 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 339.

163 See R. Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 2nd edn (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1973), p. 20.

164 ‘Rococo Style’ in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, pp. 289–90.

165 Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 209.

166 ‘Rococo Style’ in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, pp. 289–90.

graceful rather than grand and/or profound, and commonly contains a melodic line that is excessively overlaid with 'little note' ornaments—appoggiaturas, lower mordents, slides, trills, turns, and so on.

Romantic Era

In a widely accepted and commonly encountered periodisation schema of Western music history, the period between ca 1830 and ca 1880.

Sash Window

'A window that slides vertically.'¹⁶⁷

Scale

In music, a set of consecutive pitches.

Scaling

In a stringed keyboard instrument, 'the system or systems of string lengths used in its design'.¹⁶⁸ Scaling 'is determined by the desired pitch' range of the instrument 'and string material, whether iron, steel, or copper alloy'.¹⁶⁹

Semitone

In keyboard instruments, the octave is commonly divided into 12 notes. The distance ('interval') between each adjacent note is called a semitone.

Sforzando

In Western music, for most nineteenth-century composers the Italian term '*sforzando*' denotes a dynamic accent within the prevailing dynamic. For many twentieth and twenty-first-century composers, the term denotes a sudden, strong dynamic emphasis, irrespective of dynamic context.¹⁷⁰

167 Yorke, *Georgian & Regency Houses Explained*, p. 126.

168 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 340.

169 Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 209.

170 See 'Sforzando', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 17, pp. 210–11.

Sharp

In keyboard instruments, the playing surface of a key lever at ‘the rear of, and higher than’ the playing surface of a natural key.¹⁷¹ Sometimes referred to as an ‘accidental’ key.

Shellac

A resinous substance secreted by the female lac bug (*Kerria lacca*). The resin is processed and sold as dry flakes, which are dissolved in methyl alcohol to make liquid shellac, which is used in the process of French polishing.¹⁷²

Short Octave

In keyboard instruments, an ‘arrangement of the lowest octave of keyboards in which certain accidental [sharp] notes are missing and several keys sound notes other than their appearance would suggest’.¹⁷³

Single-Manual

See ‘Manual’, above.

Soffit

The underside of a structural component of a building, such as an arch, beam, cornice, overhang, staircase or vault.

Soundboard

In stringed keyboard instruments, ‘the thin wooden plate that transmits the vibration of the strings to the air’.¹⁷⁴ The thickness of the soundboard varies—‘according to the type and date of the instrument, from approximately two to [approximately] seven millimetres. In almost all surviving’ eighteenth and early nineteenth-century examples, ‘the wood used is spruce, fir, pine or

171 Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 214.

172 See ‘Shellac’, in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (n.d.).

173 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 340.

174 *Ibid.*, p. 340.

cypress. It is usually quartersawn (growth-rings approximately at right angles to the surface)';¹⁷⁵ this maximises 'the acoustic properties and minimize[s] any shrinkage that might cause the board to crack'.¹⁷⁶

Speaking Length (Sounding Length)

In stringed keyboard instruments, the portion of a string between the bridge and nut-pins—or between the pins on the two bridges of a virginal, or between the tangent and bridge of a clavichord—which vibrates to produce a sounding note.¹⁷⁷

Spigot

A 'peg or pin turning through a right angle controlling [the] flow of liquid through [a] tap'.¹⁷⁸

Spine

The rear case wall of a square piano or the long straight 'case wall of a harpsichord', bentside spinet or grand piano.¹⁷⁹

Spinet

'A diminutive [single-strung] harpsichord which can be triangular or pentagonal in shape', and which has a single keyboard. 'The strings are usually at an angle to the keyboard.'¹⁸⁰

Square Piano

A horizontal stringed keyboard instrument, superficially similar to a clavichord, comprising a fairly shallow rectangular box, open at the top (closed by a lid), with an inset keyboard towards the left at the front long-side of the instrument, a soundboard at the treble end, and horizontal strings running obliquely from the back of the instrument at the bass end to the front at the treble end (the

175 Burnett, *Company of Pianos*, p. 210.

176 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 82.

177 See Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 340.

178 'Spigot' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 320.

179 See Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 340.

180 Cobbe, *Composer Instruments*, p. xv.

bass strings being nearest to the player), the strings passing over up-striking hammers and the soundboard.¹⁸¹ Square pianos usually have dampers (unlike keyboard pantalons).

Stichmaß (Three-Octave Span)

In keyboard instruments, the distance from the left-hand side of the F key to the left-hand side of the f² key—that is, the width of the three octaves in the centre of the keyboard. The three-octave span measure is taken as the standard reference when comparing various keyboards, rather than a single-octave span, since old keyboards can be slightly variable, owing either to the maker's lack of precision or to subsequent distortion of the wooden keys in varying conditions of humidity. 'The 3-octave span is a fairly reliable parameter, and will usually remain constant for any given maker over a period of many years. It can be used to distinguish between the work of different makers when the instruments are either unsigned or possibly fraudulently inscribed. An accurate single-octave span is obtained by dividing the 3-octave span by three.'¹⁸²

Stretcher

A 'strengthening and stabilizing rail, running horizontally between the legs of [a] piece ... of furniture'.¹⁸³

String Course

In stringed keyboard instruments, two or more adjacent strings tuned to the same pitch.

Stringing

1) In furniture and decorative arts, a 'long narrow strip of decorative' inlaid wood or metal.¹⁸⁴ 2) In stringed keyboard instruments, the 'system of ... strings, including their number', dimensions and metal type.¹⁸⁵

181 This definition is based on one given in Clarke, 'The English Piano', pp. 254–5.

182 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 384.

183 'Stretchers' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 329.

184 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 402.

185 *Ibid.*, p. 402.

Stucco

'A plaster used to render, imitate stonework', or to 'form decorative features'.¹⁸⁶

Swag

In furniture and decorative arts, a painted, moulded or embossed 'ornamental' garland 'of fruit, flowers, [or] drapery'.¹⁸⁷

Tail

1) 'In harpsichords ... and grand pianos, the short case wall between the bent side and the spine.' 2) The narrow 'portion of the playing surface of a natural key behind the head and between the sharps'.¹⁸⁸ The playing surface is often made of a precious material, such as ivory.

Tangent

'The upright [up-striking] brass blade, near the distal end of a clavichord key lever, that strikes the string and not only causes the string to sound but also determines one end of its speaking length'.¹⁸⁹

Tangent Action

In pianos, a tangent action has non-pivoting vertical rebounding hammers, rather than pivoted rebounding hammers. 'The distinguishing feature of the so-called tangent action is that the vertical hammers are not attached to any other part of the action but move up and down in a guide similar to the jack guide of the harpsichord ... The non-pivoting vertical hammers are propelled towards the strings from below, either by the keys on which they rest or by intermediate levers interposed between the keys and the hammers.'¹⁹⁰ 'The intermediate levers can be mounted on the key lever or hinged above the keys. Both these types of intermediate levers can face towards the player or away from the player.'¹⁹¹

186 Yorke, *Georgian & Regency Houses Explained*, p. 126.

187 'Swag' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 332.

188 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 341.

189 *Ibid.*, p. 341.

190 di Stefano, 'The *Tangentenflügel* and Other Pianos with Non-Pivoting Hammers', p. 80.

191 *Ibid.*, p. 80, fn. 4.

Tangentenflügel

A tangent action keyboard instrument. The term '*Tangentenflügel*' 'came into use about 1791 when an instrument made by Franz Jacob Spath and Christoph Friederich Schmahl of Regensburg, was described using this name in the *Musikalischer Korrespondenz der deutschen Filarmonischen Gesellschaft* [*Musical Correspondence of the German Philharmonic Society*].¹⁹² All the *Tangentenflügel* made by Spath, Schmahl and those other builders who were clearly their followers include the following features: 1) a wing-shaped ('grand') form; 2) a tangent action with bare wooden hammers (without any top covering) and intermediate levers; 3) a damper-raising mechanism activated by a knee-lever; 4) an *una corda* mechanism usually activated by a knee-lever; 5) a mutation mechanism that inserts cloth or leather between the strings and the hammers; and 6) a mutation whereby a fringe of tasselled cloth presses against the strings from below, close to the nut.¹⁹³

Tanning

'The treatment of skin with tanning agents to render it durable, resilient, hard-wearing, and soft. There are two main types of tanning. 1. Vegetable tanning, in which skins are tanned in pits with plant extracts such as spruce, oak, or alder wood; oak galls, pomegranates, or acorn seed husks. 2. Mineral tanning [adopted in the early twentieth century], in which skins are tanned in drums with alum or chromium salts, the latter shortening the otherwise protracted tanning period to six or seven weeks.'¹⁹⁴ 'Lanolin oil and brains are used to make softer leathers, while vegetable tanning produces a firm leather.'¹⁹⁵

Teapoy

A 'small pedestal or three-legged table'.¹⁹⁶

Temperament

'A ... scale in which the sizes of one or more of its ... intervals has been altered ... so that all or at least a large portion of its intervals can be made to fit within ... [a] man-made pattern.'¹⁹⁷

192 Ibid., p. 80.

193 See *ibid.*, p. 82.

194 Vass and Molnár, *Handmade Shoes for Men*, p. 210.

195 'Materials' in Strange, 'Restoration of a Longman & Broderip Square Piano'.

196 'Teapoy' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, pp. 338–9.

197 Jorgensen, *Tuning*, p. 777.

Tension Bar

In grand pianos, a long metal bar, commonly positioned in the direction of the strings, which augments the strength of the case. In square pianos, a metal bar passing over the strings that augments the strength of the case.

Thoroughbass (Basso Continuo; Continuo)

In music, 'a largely practical discipline ... in which ... [a] keyboardist' or, within some contexts, a player of a strummed instrument such as a guitar or theorbo, or a bowed string instrument such as a viola da gamba or violoncello, plays or 'realises' 'chords ... encoded in figured-bass notation ... One of the most salient features of thoroughbass is that it asks us to think of music in terms of a series of successive chords. These chords are encoded in a notation of Arabic numerals ... that indicate their interval structure above a ... continuo bass line.'¹⁹⁸

Three-Octave Span (*Stichmaß*)

See '*Stichmaß* (Three-Octave Span)', above.

Tonality

In music, a system 'in which specific hierarchical pitch relationships are based on' a specific note or 'tonic'.¹⁹⁹ Commonly (within a performative context), tonality preserves 'the psychological feeling of rest ... when the tonic ... is reached'.²⁰⁰

Tone

In keyboard instruments, the octave is commonly divided into 12 notes. The distance ('interval') between each adjacent note is called a semitone. A tone is the interval comprising two adjacent semitones.

Triple-Strung (Tri-Chord)

In stringed keyboard instruments, having three adjacent unison strings—that is, three adjacent strings tuned to the same pitch—per note.

198 Christensen, 'Thoroughbass as Music Theory', pp. 9–10.

199 See 'Tonality', in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (n.d.).

200 Jorgensen, *Tuning*, p. 778.

Tunbridgeware

In furniture and decorative arts, an inlay design comprising a ‘diamond, star, or square mosaic pattern’. It is ‘made by gluing together slim shafts of wood, in various colours, so that the required ... pattern appears at [the] end of [the] cluster of sticks. [The] cluster is then sliced thinly, across [the] design, to form [a] veneer.’²⁰¹

Tuning

‘The skill of adjusting ... pitches so that they produce the ... [required] frequencies.’²⁰²

Tuning Fork

An small ‘acoustic resonator in the form of a two-pronged fork with the prongs formed from a U-shaped bar of elastic metal’,²⁰³ ‘which when struck will always resonate’ at the same specific and constant pitch.²⁰⁴

Tuning Hammer (Tuning Key)

‘The T-shaped metal tool applied, like a clock key, to turn the wrestpins’ of a stringed keyboard instrument, thereby altering the tension of the strings, ‘and so tune the instrument. So called because the cross-piece or handle [is] ... shaped like a hammer and [can] ... be used as such to knock the wrest pins firmly into the’ wrest-plank.’²⁰⁵

Una Corda

In pianos, a device that enables the keyboard (and therefore the action) to be laterally realigned, causing the hammers to strike only one string of double or triple-strung notes.

201 ‘Tunbridge Ware’ in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, pp. 353–4.

202 Jorgensen, *Tuning*, p. 778.

203 ‘Tuning Fork’, in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (n.d.).

204 Colt and Miall, *The Early Piano*, p. 158.

205 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 384.

Unfretted (Fret-Free) Clavichord

A clavichord in which each string course—two or more adjacent strings tuned to the same pitch—is only ever struck by a single designated key lever.²⁰⁶

Upright Grand

A piano in upright form, usually standing 2.1 metres high. The instrument is arranged like a grand piano set on end, the soundboard and strings oriented vertically above the keys; key levers (as in grand pianos) are horizontally oriented. The hammers are located behind the string plane.

Up-Striking Hammers

In typical grand and square pianos, hammers located below the strings, which 'strike upwards against the strings'.²⁰⁷

Veneer

In furniture and decorative arts, a 'thinly-sliced sheet ... of wood, notable for [its] colour and grain, glued to the surface' of a 'less fine wood'.²⁰⁸

Venetian Swell

A wooden frame holding tightly fitting horizontal wooden louvres '(resembling those of Venetian blinds) that can be opened and closed by a pedal to control the volume of sound. It covers the soundboard [and strings] of many late eighteenth century English harpsichords.'²⁰⁹ A Venetian swell 'is rarely found on early pianos'.²¹⁰

Volute

The ornamental 'spiral scroll on [the] capital of [an] Ionic column'.²¹¹

206 See Brauchli, *The Clavichord*, p. 4.

207 Colt and Miall, *The Early Piano*, p. 155.

208 'Veneering' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 360.

209 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 342.

210 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 403.

211 'Volute' in Cameron and Kingsley-Rowe, *Collins Encyclopedia of Antiques*, p. 364.

Well Temperament

In keyboard instruments, the 'leading ... temperament of the 18th and 19th centuries ... a temperament in which one can modulate freely through all the ... [tonalities] without encountering ... an interval that is considered far too out of tune ... [for] use'.²¹²

Wrest-Pin

In stringed keyboard instruments, the upright 'iron pin (about 4 mm to 6 mm. in diameter; sometimes called "tuning pin") held by the wrest plank around which a string is wound. The head of the pin is shaped so that it can be gripped by a special wrench, the tuning hammer ["tuning key"], by which the pin can be rotated to change the tension and therefore the sounding pitch of the string.'²¹³

Wrest-Plank

In stringed keyboard instruments, the heavy hardwood 'block that holds the wrest pins' (tuning pins).²¹⁴ In harpsichords, spinets and grand pianos, the wrest-plank also provides the surface to which the nut is attached.

212 Jorgensen, *Tuning*, p. 779.

213 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 343.

214 *Ibid.*, p. 343.

Index

- Locators comprise volume number followed by page number(s).
- Abel, Carl Friedrich 1.58–9, 1.291
gambist 1.58–9, 1.305, 1.451
harpsichordist 1.58
orchestral director 1.59
'scientific' composer 1.238
 see also style, English—scientific (modern German style)
 see also Stevens, Richard John Samuel—describes scientific style as 'modern German style'
- accidental, *see* key lever(s)—sharp
- action, *see* piano
- adagio* 1.65, 1.237, 1.451
- Adam
 Robert 1.187, 1.188
 Street (Portman Square, London, UK) 1.443
- Adams
 Francis William 1.21
 John 1.88
 Michael 1.205, 1.208
 Sarah 1.623
 Samuel
 sandwiches, how to cut 1.623
- Addison, Robert (piano maker) 2.299
- additional keys 1.663, 1.664, 1.665
 requested by Dussek, Jan Ladislav 1.664
 Dussek's Opus 24 1.665
- on pianos by
 Bolton, T. 1.666, 1.674, 2.196–7
 see also Bolton, T.
 Broadwood, John 1.664, 1.665, 1.666, 1.178, 2.196n.304
 see also Broadwood, John—compass extension
 Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow 1.665
 Longman & Broderip 1.665
 Rolfe, William (claviorganum) 2.394
 Southwell, William 1.664, 1.665
 on Thomas Laycock's piano, *see* Laycock, Thomas
 works written for instruments with 1.665
 see also keyboard, compass—square piano(s)
- Adelaide (South Australia) 1.592–3
- Adlam, John (piano maker) 2.397
- Adlung, Jacob (music theorist) 1.xxxvi
- Admiral Gambier*, *see* ship
- Affiches, annonces et avis divers* 1.81
- Ah Vousdirais* 1.19
- air(s) 1.19n.15, 1.21, 1.65, 1.237, 1.300, 1.390, 1.413, 1.417, 1.424–5, 1.426, 1.429, 1.447, 1.489, 1.682, 2.298
- Albanèse, Antoine (composer; singer) 1.82
- Alberti, Domenico (composer) 1.83
- Albion*, *see* ship
- Albrecht, Charles (piano maker) 1.88
- Aldergate Street (London, UK) 2.281
- Aldrich, Richard (piano maker) 2.299
- Alfred Street (Sydney, Australia) 1.373
- Alken, Sefferi (carver, London, UK) 1.105
- Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 1.683
- allegro* 1.65, 1.237
- Allen, William (piano & organ maker) 1.682, 1.683, 2.299, 2.394
- Allie Street (Whitechapel, London, UK) 1.47
- Allison, Robert & Thomas (piano makers) 2.299
- Almack's dance club 1.418
 Pain, James 1.418
- Altree, John Turnpenny (surgeon) 1.333
- Amaranth, *see* decoration—materials
- Amati, Nicolò (violin maker) 1.81, 2.160
- Ambrose, Charles (piano maker) 2.299
- America, 1.88, 1.89, 1.263, 1.282, 1.349, 1.351, 2.196, 2.277, 2.285
 Astor, John in, *see* Astor, John Jacob first
 piano made in 1.86–7

- public performance of Mozart
 - work in 1.88
 - public piano performance in 1.85
- Geib, John in, *see* Geib, John (piano maker)—in America
- War of Independence 1.196, 1.263, 1.273, 1.462, 1.500
- ancien régime* 1.73, 1.142
- ancient style, *see* style, English—ancient
- andante* 1.65, 1.237
- Anderson
 - Elizabeth (contemporary) 2.327
 - Small, Bruce & Co. (piano makers) 1.681
 - see also* Small, Bruce & Co. (piano makers)
 - see also* Bruce, John (piano maker)
 - William (piano maker) 1.679, 1.681, 2.299
- Andrews, Lucy, *see* women—as concert pianists
- Angibault ('citizen') 1.77
- Antigua 1.474
- Antipodean 1.415, 1.437, 1.474, 1.483, 1.499, 1.655, 2.202
- Antipodes 1.92, 1.335, 1.359
- apprenticeship(s) 1.63, 1.97, 1.201, 1.202, 2.291
- Argand lamp 1.6, 2.401
- Arne, Thomas Augustine (Dr; composer; organist) 1.30, 1.88, 1.240, 1.291, 1.305, 1.308
 - catches 1.303
 - glees 1.303
- Anna Josepha*, *see* ship
- Arnold
 - Joseph (surgeon) 1.663
 - Samuel (Dr) 1.240, 1.292, 1.443, 1.483, 1.489
 - The Prodigal Son* 1.489
- Arouet, François-Marie, *see* Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet)
- arpeggio(s)* 1.445
 - fingering of 1.444, 1.488
 - in English piano style 1.296
 - played with dampers raised 1.50
- arpicembalo che fa il piano e il forte*, *see* Cristofori, Bartolomeo (piano maker)—*arpicembalo che fa il piano e il forte*
- arris 1.131, 2.401
- Artaria & Co. (music publishers) 1.300, 1.440
- Ascanio in Alba*, *see* Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus
- Ashton (piano maker) 1.682, 1.683
- Assistant*, *see* ship
- Astley, Philip 1.525
- Astor
 - & Co. (piano makers) 1.50, 2.277, 2.299, 2.399
 - George Peter (piano maker) 1.88, 1.258, 2.277, 2.298, 2.392, 2.394, 2.399
 - Gerock, Astor & Co. (piano makers) 2.302
 - John Jacob 1.88, 2.277
 - piano with nag's head swell 1.50
- Astrolabe*, *see* ship
- Atlantic (ocean) 1.283, 1.362, 1.381, 1.504
 - mid- 1.381
 - Narrows 1.349
 - North 1.301
 - South Atlantic Gyre 1.334
- Atrevida*, *see* ship
- Attwood, Thomas (composer) 1.292
- auctioneers
 - Bevin, David 1.662, 1.666
 - sale
 - 1810 of 'elegant' piano 1.666
 - 1814 of 'excellent' piano 1.674, 1.720
 - 1816 of Broadwood piano made for 'a hot climate' 1.409
- Blackman, John
 - sale
 - 1838 of piano by Beck, Frederick 1.678, 1.679, 1.683–4, 1.685, 1.690, 1.691, 1.693, 1.695, 1.702, 1.720, 1.721, 1.722
 - Windsor (New South Wales) 1.693

- Jenkins, Robert 1.674
 1813 sale of Bolton piano 1.674
- Lord, Simeon 1.671–2
 1817 sale of piano by Beck,
 Frederick 1.677, 1.684n.79,
 1.720
 McQueen & Atkinson 1.425
- Auld Lang Syne* 1.285
- Aurora* 1.653n.188, 2.202n.326
- Austen
 Caroline (Jane Austen's niece) 1.638
 Jane 1.68
 owns piano by Ganer, Christopher
 1.638, 2.284
 pianistic skills 1.638
Pride and Prejudice 1.68, 1.438,
 1.445, 1.645
 Bingley, Charles 1.438, 1.645
 Catherine (Lady) 1.445
 Darcy (Mr) 1.68, 1.445, 1.646
Sense and Sensibility 1.68n.306
- Austin
 John Gardner 1.571n.14
 Richard, *see* Liskeard (Cornwall,
 UK)—Austin, Richard
- Australasian*
Antique Collector 2.144, 2.161, 2.166,
 2.170, 2.211
Chronicle 1.579n.64, 1.579n.66,
 1.583n.90, 1.584, 1.584n.94,
 1.585n.104, 1.586n.115
- Australian National University School of
 Music (Canberra) 1.11, 1.254n.22
- Avison, Charles (composer) 1.243
- Aylward, Theodore (composer) 1.292
- Babb, S. (music publisher) 1.292, 1.297
- Bach-Abel concerts, *see* Bach, Johann
 Christian—Bach-Abel concert series
- Bach
 Carl Philipp Emanuel (composer) 1.61,
 1.88, 1.276, 1.294, 1.314
Battle of Bergen, The 1.281n.48
 enthralling improvisations 1.276
 flexible attitude regarding choice
 of keyboard instrument 1.291
 inspires Johann Christian Bach
 1.61
 playing memorised pieces in the
 dark 1.314
 works for *Kenner* 1.290
see also sonata(s), Bach—Carl
 Philipp Emanuel
 Johann Christian (composer) 1.56,
 1.56n.234, 1.59, 1.61, 1.62, 1.73,
 1.74, 1.238, 1.280, 1.290, 1.457
 agent for Zumpe 1.62, 1.73
 Bach-Abel concert series 1.58,
 1.59, 1.61
 Zumpe's pianos in, *see* Zumpe,
 Johann (John) Christoph
 (piano maker)—pianos in
 Bach-Abel concerts
 house 1.59–60
 keyboard sonatas 1.63, 1.290
see also sonata(s), Bach—
 Johann Christian prefers
 piano over harpsichord 1.61
 Master of the Queen's Musick
 1.56–7
 'scientific' composer 1.238
 Johann Sebastian (composer) 1.41,
 1.56, 1.58
- Bachhaus* (Eisenach) 1.xxx, 1.157,
 1.160, 1.164, 2.8n.18, 2.9n.23, 2.10,
 2.109n.87, 2.350, 2.352
- back check (check), *see* piano—action
- Backers, Americus (piano maker)
 1.xxxvi, 1.xxxvii, 1.87
- back touch rail, *see* key, frame, square
 piano(s)—Beck, Frederick (1780/86?)
see also key, frame, square piano(s)—
 Longman & Broderip (1785/86?)
- Bacon, Richard Mackenzie 1.195, 1.215,
 1.221, 1.222, 1.232, 1.237, 1.239,
 1.242, 1.246, 1.248
- badger-baiting, *see* Liskeard (Cornwall,
 UK)—badger-baiting
- Badura-Skoda, Eva 1.41
- bagpipes 1.18
 used by Captain Cook, *see* fifes &
 drums—bagpipes, fife & drum
 (used by Captain Cook)

- Bahrent (Behrent; Brent), John (Johann)
 (piano maker), *see* Behrent (Bahrent;
 Brent), John (Johann) (piano maker)
- Baildon, Joseph (composer; organist)
 catches 1.304
 glees 1.304
- Bailey's Directory* 1.102
- Baker
 Street (Windsor, New South Wales)
 1.693
 Thomas (music publisher) 1.297
- balance rail 2.6, 2.95, 2.109–10, 2.112,
 2.114, 2.246, 2.249, 2.377, 2.401
see also key, frame, square piano(s)—
 Beck, Frederick (1780/86?)
see also key, frame, square piano(s)—
 Longman & Broderip (1785/86?)
 pin 2.109–10, 2.136, 2.249, 2.402
- Baldwin, Richard, *see* Worgan, Worgan,
 John (Dr; George Bouchier Worgan's
 father), composer—publishers of his
 music
- baleen 1.49, 2.91
- ball (social activity) 1.420, 1.431, 1.432,
 1.477
 1795 (Southampton, UK) 1.418
 1810 (Sydney, Australia) 1.429
 1818 (Sydney, Australia) 1.432
 1819 (Government House, Sydney,
 Australia) 1.433–4
 1822 (*Bellmont*, New South Wales)
 1.430
 1823 (*Clarendon*, near Windsor, New
 South Wales) 1.419
 1824 (Sydney, Australia) 1.419
 1826 (Government House, Sydney,
 Australia) 1.421
 1829 (Royal Hotel, Sydney, Australia)
 1.421
 1840 (Government House, Sydney,
 Australia) 1.583
 Henry Lidgbird (Lieutenant) 1.501
- Ball
 James (piano maker) 1.39, 1.258,
 2.278, 2.392, 2.394
 & Son 2.299
 Keith (interior designer) 2.275
- ballad 1.284, 1.424, 1.429, 1.578, 1.579,
 1.587n.123, 1.682
 opera 1.280
- Ballarat*, *see* ship
- baluster leg 1.7, 2.402
- band 1.284, 1.413, 1.414, 1.417, 1.419,
 1.420, 1.426, 1.427, 1.428, 1.430,
 1.431, 1.432, 1.540, 1.575
- at
 St Mary's Cathedral (Sydney,
 Australia) 1.434–5
 Windsor (New South Wales) 1.430
- base violin 1.345
see also violoncello *below*
- bassoon 1.79, 1.81, 1.414, 1.432,
 1.435, 1.541
- clarinet 1.414, 1.430, 1.431, 1.432,
 1.433, 1.434, 1.435, 1.541
- cornet 1.541
- double bass 1.541
- flute 1.81, 1.280, 1.319, 1.345, 1.420,
 1.425, 1.432, 1.433, 1.434, 1.435,
 1.486, 1.541
- French horn(s) 1.29, 1.414, 1.432,
 1.435, 1.646
- harmonie*, *see* wind *below*
- King's 1.90
- oboe (hautboy) 1.81, 1.345, 1.414,
 1.431, 1.432
- pandean pipe 1.421, 1.433–4
- regimental 1.394, 1.414, 1.421, 1.429,
 1.430, 1.431, 1.432, 1.433, 1.435,
 1.494–5, 1.659
- serpent (scorpion) 1.432, 1.435, 1.541
- trumpet 1.432
 tune 1.246
- viola (tenor violin) 1.244, 1.435
- violin(s) 1.79, 1.81, 1.108, 1.211,
 1.231, 1.238, 1.245, 1.280, 1.305,
 1.311, 1.315, 1.318, 1.345, 1.420,
 1.431, 1.432, 1.433, 1.434, 1.435,
 1.541
- violoncello 1.280, 1.346, 1.435
- wind (*harmonie*) 1.431–2, 1.433
- bandaleon*, *see* pantalon
- Banister, John, *see* concert(s), public—
 first commercial series in England

- Banks, Joseph (Sir) 1.338, 1.383, 1.385,
1.521, 1.634, 1.672
- banlony*, see piano
- Barling, Jacob (piano maker) 2.299
- Barnes, Charlotte 1.688
- Baroque 1.xxvii, 1.1n.4, 1.187, 1.246,
2.427
- barracks, see Hyde—Park Barracks
(Sydney, Australia)
see also Sydney (Australia)—barracks
at
- barrel organ, see organ
- Barrow, Brian (contemporary) 1.xxxi,
1.697, 1.704, 1.705, 2.137, 2.141,
2.143, 2.144, 2.151, 2.155, 2.161n.94,
2.162, 2.163, 2.167, 2.171, 2.172,
2.173, 2.174, 2.175, 2.204, 2.205,
2.208, 2.214, 2.215
- conversation(s) with author
28 July 2012 2.144, 2.174
29 November 2012 2.172
19 June 2013 2.151, 2.205, 2.206,
2.208
- documents held by
Berners Street on Google map
1.213, 2.173
certificate by Richard d'Apice
2.144–5
'Longman & Broderip Piano 1781'
signed and dated by Bradshaw
2.144, 2.145, 2.167, 2.170,
2.172, 2.193
Longman & Broderip provenance
handwritten by Brian Barrow
2.144
selected entries from Bradshaw's
business records transcribed
by Paul Kenny 2.151
'Square Piano No 604 Longman
& Broderip. C 1781' signed by
Bradshaw 2.144, 2.145, 2.167,
2.170, 2.187, 2.188n.237, 2.193
William Bradshaw's stock
book entry for Beck piano
(1780/86?) acquisition 2.151
see also Beck, Frederick (piano
maker) piano(s), extant
pianos, extant Beck square
pianos, 1780/86? (owner:
Stewart Symonds, Sydney,
Australia)—Bradshaw's
stock book entry for
acquisition of
- gilding skills 2.161
home 2.137
drawing room in 2.138, 2.140
- Longman & Broderip square piano
(1785/86?) 1.xxxi, 1.22, 1.702,
1.703, 1.709, 2.137, 2.141,
2.143n.29, 2.144, 2.145, 2.155,
2.161, 2.163, 2.171, 2.172, 2.187,
2.188, 2.190, 2.193, 2.194, 2.196,
2.198, 2.200, 2.203, 2.204, 2.207,
2.209, 2.210, 2.211, 2.214, 2.215,
2.217, 2.276n.6
damper raising on 2.240, 2.243
decorative stringing on, see
decoration, inlay—stringing
description and measurements of
2.217–60
photo in *Australian Antique
Collector, The* 2.144, 2.161,
2.166, 2.170
proposed informed dating of
2.167–70
provenance
as First Fleet piano 2.137,
2.141, 2.145, 2.162, 2.171,
2.217, 2.193, 2.204
as Thomas Laycock's piano
2.143, 2.194, 2.196, 2.203
Elizabeth Macarthur's piano
2.143, 2.159, 2.162, 2.163,
2.164, 2.193, 2.194, 2.209,
2.217
in 1865 acquired by the
Mat(t)hews family 2.142,
2.143
in 1942 Bradshaw purchases
from Mat(t)hews family
2.142, 2.144, 2.155, 2.159,
2.171, 2.209, 2.210, 2.211
in ca 1943–9 Bradshaw sells to
Albert Briskie 2.142, 2.144,
2.159, 2.164, 2.209, 2.210,
2.211

- in early 1969 Bradshaw repurchases from Albert Briskie 2.143, 2.144, 2.161, 2.164, 2.208, 2.209, 2.210, 2.211
 - in May 1969 Brian Barrow purchases from Bradshaw 2.143, 2.144, 2.161, 2.161n.96, 2.208n.352, 2.209, 2.210, 2.211, 2.214, 2.258, 2.276n.6
 - in ca 2006–7 Bradshaw attempts to re-acquire from Brian Barrow 2.162, 2.204, 2.205, 2.210, 2.211
- trestle stand on 2.187–8, 2.190, 2.193
- William Bradshaw describes trestle stand as campaign furniture 2.193
- William Bradshaw's 1780 dating 2.166, 2.170, 2.211, 2.217, 2.161n.96, 2.166n.113
- William Bradshaw's 1781 dating 2.144, 2.145, 2.161, 2.166, 2.167, 2.170, 2.172, 2.187, 2.193, 2.211, 2.217
- proposes that Beck piano (1780/86?) was owned by Varney Monk 1.711, 1.712, 1.713, 2.206, 2.212, 2.217
- purchases Longman & Broderip (1785/86?) piano from William Bradshaw, *see* Longman & Broderip piano (1785/86?), provenance—in May 1969 Brian Barrow purchases from Bradshaw *above*
- recalls William Bradshaw purchasing Worgan's piano in London (Provenance Version Two) 1.696, 2.162, 2.204, 2.205, 2.217
- from someone who purchased the piano in London (Provenance Version Three) 1.698, 1.699, 1.712, 1.713, 2.206, 2.207, 2.209, 2.211, 2.212, 2.217
- Barrow
 - Charles, *see* Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow (piano makers)
 - Phillip (contemporary) 1.xxxi, 1.697
- Barthélemon
 - Cecilia Maria, *see* women—as concert pianists
 - François-Hippolyte (composer) 1.292
- Barton, Thomas (harpsichord maker) 2.331n.38
- Bas, Louis (piano maker) 1.146
- Basingstoke (Hampshire) 1.638, 2.284
- Baskett, William (piano maker) 2.299
- basso continuo*, *see* continuo
- bassoon
 - see* band
 - stop, *see* mutation
- Baston(?), Eleanor, *see* Worgan, John (Dr)
- Bateman & Roe (piano makers) 2.299
- Bates, Theodore (piano maker) 2.300
 - Longman & Bates 2.303
 - Mrs 1.99
- Bathurst Street (Sydney, Australia) 1.581
- Battishill, Jonathan (composer; organist) 1.227, 1.305, 1.488
- battle
 - of Prague (in the Seven Years War) 1.282n.51
 - pieces 1.51
 - Battle of Bergen, The*, *see* Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel—*Battle of Bergen, The*
 - Battle of Prague, The* (Kocžwara) 1.282, 1.286
 - first performance 1.283
 - Miss Hoffmann performs, June 1792 1.283
 - popularity of 1.282–3
 - Battle of Trenton, The* (Hewitt) 1.282
- Baudin, Nicolas 1.371
- Bauer
 - Ferdinand (botanical artist), *see* Lhotsky, John (Dr)
 - Julian (contemporary) 1.xxix
 - Katy (contemporary) 1.xxix
- Beard, John (singer) 1.305

- Beauchamp (Francis Ingram-Seymour-Conway; Lord) 1.610
- Beck
- Carl Friedrich (piano maker) 1.678, 2.385
 - Francis 1.102, 1.105, 2.397
- Beck, Frederick (piano maker) 1.13, 1.23, 1.92, 1.107
- birthplace of 1.40, 1.94–5
 - English guittar(s) 1.92, 1.97, 1.110
 - marries
 - Coles, Mary 1.98, 1.99n.43, 1.101, 1.110
 - Shudi, Rose Ann 1.101, 1.110
 - piano(s) 1.75
 - action in
 - absence of top five dampers 1.100–1, 1.159n.283, 1.192, 2.61, 2.62, 2.335
 - hammer(s)
 - head
 - cores 2.69–70, 2.79
 - coverings 1.328, 1.329, 1.330–1, 2.70
 - rail, *see* hammer—rail
 - shank(s) 1.353, 2.69, 2.72, 2.73, 2.79
 - jack 2.69, 2.79
 - extant Beck square pianos
 - ca 1770 (estimate; owner: Michael Günther Collection, Germany) 1.157, 1.158n.a, 1.160, 1.163, 1.164
 - ca 1769–73 (probably ca 1772–73) (attribution) (owner: Albert Bil, Scotland) 1.100–1, 1.132, 1.159, 1.160, 1.163, 1.164, 2.335
 - 1772 (owner: Mr Tidstrom, Netherlands) 1.xxx, 1.30, 1.157, 1.160, 1.164, 1.165n.a, 2.10
 - 1772 (owner(s): unknown) 1.157, 1.160, 1.163, 1.164, 1.181, 2.350, 2.352
 - 1773 (owner: Pelham Galleries Ltd., London, UK) 1.xxx, 1.100, 1.160, 1.163, 1.164, 1.181, 2.10, 2.337, 2.350, 2.352
 - 1774 (owner: *Bachhaus*, Eisenach, Germany) 1.xxx, 1.117, 1.118, 1.157, 1.160, 1.164, 1.181, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.8n.18, 2.9n.23, 2.10, 2.109, 2.350, 2.352
 - 1774 (owner(s): unknown) 1.157, 1.160, 1.164, 2.8n.14, 2.8n.20, 2.10n.38, 2.11n.41, 2.350
 - 1775 (Beck/Fuhrloh; owner: Lady Lever Art Gallery, Wirral, UK) 1.125, 1.126, 1.157, 1.161, 1.164, 1.175, 1.185–6, 1.187, 1.189, 1.191, 2.8, 2.9, 2.352
see also decoration—marquetry
 - 1775 (owner: *Musée de la Musique, Cité de la Musique*, Paris, France) 1.132, 1.157, 1.161, 1.163, 1.164, 1.181, 2.3, 2.10, 2.11n.41, 2.189, 2.350, 2.352
 - 1776 (owner: Michael Borgstede, Germany) 1.xxx, 1.117, 1.118, 1.157, 1.161, 1.163, 1.164, 1.181, 2.1, 2.2, 2.8n.14, 2.8n.18, 2.8n.20, 2.9n.23, 2.10, 2.11n.41, 2.339, 2.350, 2.352
 - 1777 (Beck/Fuhrloh; owner: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada) 1.106n.97, 1.157, 1.161, 1.164, 1.185, 1.187–8, 1.189, 1.191, 2.350, 2.353
see also decoration—marquetry
 - 1777 (owner: Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada)

- 1.xxx, 1.106n.97, 1.117,
1.118, 1.132, 1.157, 1.161,
1.163, 1.164, 1.181, 2.1,
2.2, 2.189, 2.341, 2.350,
2.352
- 1778 (owner: *Musée
instrumental de Bruxelles,
Belgium*) 1.106n.97,
1.157, 1.161, 1.164, 2.10,
2.11n.41, 2.350, 2.353
- 1778 (owner: Thomas Strange,
Easley, SC, USA) 1.xxx,
1.92, 1.106n.97, 1.117,
1.118, 1.157, 1.161, 1.163,
1.164, 1.181, 1.257,
1.328, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.10,
2.11n.41, 2.344, 2.345,
2.350, 2.353
- 1778? (estimate; owner(s):
unknown; serial number
3091) 1.128, 1.160, 1.161,
1.163, 1.164, 2.8, 2.9, 2.10,
2.11n.41, 2.350, 2.352
- 1780 (owner:
*Musikinstrumenten-
Museum, Berlin, Germany*)
1.157, 1.161, 1.163, 1.164
- 1780/86? (owner: Stewart
Symonds, Sydney,
Australia) 1.xxx, 1.13,
1.14, 1.22, 1.23, 1.91,
1.117, 1.129, 1.130, 1.131,
1.141, 1.158, 1.161, 1.164,
1.179, 1.257, 1.270,
1.328n.240, 1.331n.248,
1.410n.295, 1.647, 1.652,
1.663, 1.674, 1.677, 1.696,
1.697, 1.699, 1.701, 1.702,
1.703, 1.704, 1.705, 1.707,
1.710, 1.711, 1.713, 1.715,
1.716, 1.720, 1.722, 2.141,
2.145, 2.162n.99, 2.165,
2.171, 2.191, 2.196, 2.203,
2.204, 2.208, 2.209, 2.210,
2.211, 2.212, 2.213, 2.214,
2.215, 2.217, 2.345
- advertised for sale
six times in 1815 1.180,
1.674–6, 1.720
see also Charters
(Chartres), George
1817 1.677, 1.684n.79,
1.720
1838 1.678–9, 1.683,
1.684, 1.685, 1.690,
1.693, 1.702, 1.720,
1.721, 1.722
see also sold in 1838 to
owners of a farm 30
miles from Sydney
below
- cabriole legs, *see* hinged
cabriole legs *below*
- campaign-furniture-
inspired stand on 1.13,
1.23, 1.91, 1.117, 1.147,
1.149, 2.165, 2.190,
2.216
- case decoration 1.178,
1.180, 1.181, 1.191,
1.335, 1.675
- damper cover rail 2.93
- dampers on 1.353, 2.37,
2.80
absence of dampers
c^{#3}–f³ 2.86
damper length 2.86–7
damper lever push-up
rods 2.86, 2.135
damper lever springs
2.90–1, 2.93
damper pads 2.86
- damper raising on 2.61–2,
2.104, 2.108
- description and
measurements of
2.1–136
- effects of weather on 1.351,
1.397, 1.411, 1.482
- dovetail joint(s) on
1.129, 1.143, 2.17,
2.47, 2.67, 2.410,
2.420

- George Worgan gives as
a gift to Elizabeth
Macarthur in 1791 1.12,
1.479, 1.481–3, 1.495,
1.497, 1.504, 1.542,
1.615, 1.709, 1.719,
2.194
- hinged cabriole legs 1.23,
1.141, 1.146, 1.147,
1.149, 1.176, 1.650
- inlay, *see* decoration,
inlay—
Tunbridgeware
- in 1791, located in
Elizabeth Macarthur's
home 1.477, 1.478,
1.491, 1.493, 1.494,
1.615, 1.617, 1.719
- in 1793, located in
Elizabeth Farm cottage
1.622, 1.624, 1.631,
1.637–8, 1.641, 1.652,
1.656, 1.661–2, 1.667,
1.673, 1.709, 1.719,
1.720
- in 2010, placed in Elizabeth
Farm cottage 1.647
- nameboard inscription
cartouche on 2.353
- nameboard inscription
on 1.22, 1.106, 1.117,
1.118, 1.251, 2.351
- owned by Varney Monk
2.208, 2.212
see also Barrow, Brian
(contemporary)—
proposes that Beck
piano (1780/86?)
was owned by
Varney Monk
- sold in 1838 to owners of
a farm 30 miles from
Sydney 1.690, 1.691,
1.693, 1.695, 1.696,
1.702, 2.217
- stand on, *see* campaign-
furniture-inspired
stand on *above*
see also hinged cabriole
legs *above*
- Stewart Symonds purchases
from Bradshaw 1.13–14,
1.692, 1.700, 1.707,
1.708, 1.709, 1.721,
1.722, 2.162, 2.166,
2.212
- William Bradshaw believes
is the First Fleet piano,
see Bradshaw, William
Frederick, square piano
by Frederick Beck
(1780/86?)—Bradshaw
believes is the First
Fleet piano
- Tunbridgeware inlay on,
see decoration, inlay—
Tunbridgeware
- William Bradshaw owns
the First Fleet Piano
2.206–7, 2.209
- William Bradshaw
purchases at a farm
30 miles from Sydney
(Windsor, New South
Wales) (Provenance
Version One) 1.690–2,
1.696, 1.697, 1.699,
1.700, 1.702, 1.705,
1.708, 1.709, 1.711,
1.713, 1.714, 1.720,
1.721, 2.171, 2.205,
2.206, 2.217, 2.135,
2.162, 2.162n.99, 2.206,
2.208, 2.209, 2.213,
2.217
- William Bradshaw
purchases from Adam
Barber 1.686, 1.688,
1.689, 1.705, 1.710,
1.713, 1.714, 1.721,
1.722, 2.210, 2.212,
2.213, 2.217
see also Bradshaw's
stock book entry for
acquisition of *below*

- William Bradshaw
purchases from Ian
Monk 2.211
- William Bradshaw
purchases from
Macarthur-Onslow
family 1.700, 1.703,
2.217
- William Bradshaw
purchases in London
(Provenance Version
Two) 1.696, 2.162,
2.204, 2.205, 2.217
- William Bradshaw
purchases from
someone who
purchased the piano in
London (Provenance
Version Three) 1.698,
1.699, 1.711, 1.712,
1.713, 1.714, 2.206,
2.207, 2.209, 2.211,
2.212, 2.217
- William Bradshaw sells
to Stewart Symonds,
see Stewart Symonds
purchases from
Bradshaw *below*
- William Bradshaw's
stock Book entry for
acquisition of 1.685–6,
1.688, 1.689, 1.690,
1.692, 1.699, 1.704,
1.708, 1.710, 1.711,
1.713, 2.151
- 1782 (owner: *Museum für Kunst
und Gewerbe*, Hamburg,
Germany) 1.117, 1.118,
1.160, 1.161, 1.163, 1.164,
1.181, 2.1, 2.2, 2.10, 2.60,
2.61n.58, 2.86, 2.93, 2.109,
2.132, 2.133, 2.351, 2.353
- 1782 (owner(s): unknown)
1.132, 1.158, 1.161, 2.11,
2.351
- 1782/87? (owner: Norfolk
Charitable Trust, Sharon,
MA, USA; serial number
5008) 1.xxxi, 1.127–8,
1.158, 1.161, 1.163, 1.164,
1.310, 2.11, 2.349, 2.351,
2.352, 2.353, 2.354
- 1782/90? (tangent action;
owner: Osaka College of
Music Museum, Osaka,
Japan) 1.92, 1.158, 1.161,
1.163, 1.164, 1.184n.349,
2.11, 2.351, 2.353, 2.354
- 1783 (owner: *Sibeliusmuseet*,
Turku, Finland) 1.xxxi,
1.117, 1.118, 1.158, 1.161,
1.163, 1.164, 1.183, 1.184,
1.257, 2.1, 2.2, 2.351,
2.353, 2.357
- 1784 (owner: Eberhard
Brünger, Bielefeld,
Germany) 1.158, 1.161,
2.11
- 1785 (owner: Colonial
Williamsburg Foundation,
Williamsburg, VA, USA)
1.xxxi, 1.158, 1.161, 1.163,
1.164, 1.183, 1.184, 2.3,
2.11, 2.351, 2.353, 2.358
- 1786 (owner: Stockholm Music
and Theatre Museum,
Sweden) 1.117, 1.118,
1.158, 1.161, 1.163, 2.1,
2.2, 2.11, 2.351, 2.353,
2.354, 2.359
- 1788 (owner(s): unknown;
serial number 1941) 1.125,
1.158, 1.161, 1.163, 1.165,
2.11, 2.72, 2.351
- 1790 (tangent action; owner:
Osaka College of Music
Museum, Osaka, Japan), *see*
1782/90? (tangent action;
owner: Osaka College of
Music Museum, Osaka,
Japan) *above*
- ca 1790 (estimate; tangent
action; owner: private
collection, UK) 1.xxxi,

- 1.158, 1.159n.n, 1.161,
1.163, 1.165, 1.183, 1.184,
1.192n.398, 1.257, 2.351,
2.353, 2.354, 2.360, 2.381
damper compartment
1.192n.398
description and
measurements of
2.381–3
under-dampers on
1.192n.398
ca 1790? (owner(s): unknown,
Germany; serial number
2505) 1.105, 1.127, 1.128,
1.128n.181, 1.160, 1.161,
1.163, 1.165, 1.183, 1.184,
2.8, 2.9, 2.351, 2.353,
2.354, 2.364
ca 1790 (owner(s): unknown;
serial number 2580) 1.xxxi,
1.128, 1.160, 1.162, 1.163,
1.165, 2.3, 2.9, 2.351,
2.353, 2.354
ca 1795 (estimate; extended
compass FF-c⁴; owner(s):
unknown) 1.158, 1.159n.t,
1.162, 1.163, 1.165, 2.8n.16,
2.9, 2.10, 2.11, 2.351
ca 1795 (estimate; owner(s):
unknown) 1.158, 1.162,
1.163, 1.165, 2.8
date unknown (owner: Halton
Henderson, Dallas, TX,
USA) 1.158, 1.162
date unknown (converted to a
dressing table) (owner(s):
unknown) 1.162
grand piano 1.162
listed in *Inventaire sous La Terreur*
1.78, 1.189
nameboard 1.92, 1.104, 1.118,
1.180, 1.184n.349, 2.2, 2.352,
2.353, 2.354, 2.403, 2.420,
2.422
on extant Beck square pianos
ca 1770 (estimate) 1.158n.a
1773 1.100
ca 1769–73 (probably
ca 1772–73) 1.101, 2.335
1774 (*Bachhaus*) 1.117, 2.1
1776 1.117, 1.118, 2.1, 2.2
1777 (Beck/Fuhrlohg)
1.106n.97
1777 1.106n.97, 1.117, 2.1
1778 (*Musée instrumental
de Bruxelles*) 1.106n.97
1778 1.106n.97, 1.117, 2.1,
2.3
1778? (estimate; serial
number 3091)
1.128n.183
1780 1.117, 2.1
1780/86? 1.118, 1.130,
1.251, 1.257, 1.675, 2.1,
2.2, 2.17, 2.41, 2.46,
2.63, 2.120
1782 (*Museum für Kunst
und Gewerbe*) 1.117, 2.1
1782/87? (serial number
5008) 1.128, 1.310,
2.349–50, 2.352,
2.354–5, 2.356
1782/90? (tangent action)
1783 1.117, 1.183, 1.184,
2.1
1785 1.183, 1.184
1786 1.117, 1.118, 2.2,
2.354
1788 1.125
ca 1790 (estimate; tangent
action) 1.159n.n, 1.183,
1.184, 2.354
ca 1790? (Beck & Corrie;
serial number 2505)
1.xxx, 1.104, 1.105,
1.106, 1.128n.181,
1.160, 1.183, 1.184,
2.351
ca 1790 (serial number
2580) 2.3
square piano advertised by
Christie's in 1786 2.389
rushed cabinet-work 1.148, 1.176
signature 1.92–4

- wife of, *see* marries *above*
workshop/address
 in London
 Glassonbury Court 1.97n.28,
 1.98, 1.110
 Broad Street 1.22, 1.99–100,
 1.102, 1.103, 1.104, 1.105,
 1.106, 1.107, 1.110, 1.113,
 1.125, 1.160, 1.678, 1.719,
 2.1, 2.3, 2.178, 2.349,
 2.350–1, 2.386
 as it appears today 1.111–
 12
 in Paris (conjectural) 1.96–7,
 1.110, 1.111, 1.141
workshop process 1.115, 1.116
- Beck
 Johannes (piano maker) 1.678, 2.385
 Joseph (piano maker) 1.96, 1.160,
 1.678, 2.385
 ? (spinet maker) 1.95
- Becker, John Conrad (piano maker)
 1.95–6
- Beckford
 Elizabeth 1.274
 Peter 1.346
- Beckman, Nicholas (harpsichord & spinet
maker) 1.95
- Beckwith, John (composer) 1.292
- Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer, The*
 1.505, 1.611
- Beethoven, Ludwig van (composer) 1.21,
 1.300, 1.321n.199, 1.440
 Emperor concerto 1.458
 mention in colonial press 1.427n.75,
 1.440, 1.449
- Beggar's Opera, The* 1.390
- Behrent (Bahrent; Brent), John (Johann)
 (piano maker) 1.86–8
- Bell
 Andrew (Dr)
 educational system 1.538–9
 James (piano maker) 2.300
 John (music seller; piano maker) 2.300
- Bellmont* 1.430
- Bell System, The, see* Bell, Andrew—
educational system
- Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer*
 1.589
- belly rail 1.116, 2.17, 2.19, 2.22, 2.34,
 2.119, 2.222, 2.324, 2.369, 2.379,
 2.402, 2.408, 2.414
- Benda, Georg Anton (composer) 1.294
- Benedict XIII (Pope) 1.28
- Benezech, Pierre 1.77
- Benham, John (maker of the first
Australian-made piano) 1.580, 1.656,
 1.679, 1.681, 2.203
workshop/address 1.580
- Bennet
 Joseph 1.608
 Samuell 1.321
- Bennett, John (piano maker) 2.300
- Benser, J. D. (composer) 1.292
- bentside 1.715, 1.721, 1.722, 2.417, 2.432
 spinet 1.317n.182, 1.145, 2.331,
 2.333, 2.403, 2.430
 price 2.331n.37
 see also harpsichord—spinet(s)
- Berg, George (composer) 1.292,
 1.303n.127
- Berger (Beyer), Adam (piano maker), *see*
Beyer—Adam (piano maker)
- Berger, Ludwig (composer) 1.294, 1.300
- Bergère Street (Paris, France) 1.75n.355
- Berlin (Germany) 1.61, 1.145, 1.157,
 1.161, 1.164, 1.427n.75, 1.678, 2.351,
 2.385
- Berners (Berner; Berner's) Street
 (Westminster, London, UK) 1.213–5,
 2.172–5, 2.177, 2.178, 2.179, 2.299,
 2.301, 2.305
- Berwick, see* ship
- Berwick Street (Soho, London, UK) 1.103,
 2.301
- Bessemer
 converter, *see* Bessemer, Henry
 Henry 1.327
- Betts, John (piano dealer) 2.399
- Bevin, David, *see* auctioneers
- Bevington & Sons, Henry (organ makers),
 see Cathedral, St Mary's (Sydney,
Australia)—organ
- Bew, John (music publisher) 1.297

- Beyer
 Adam (piano maker) 1.40, 1.64,
 1.75, 1.78, 1.124, 1.126, 1.132,
 1.191, 1.258, 2.100, 2.225, 2.267,
 2.278–9, 2.392, 2.394
 piano(s)
 1775 2.100, 2.267
 1775 (claviorganum) 1.78,
 2.279
 1778 1.132, 2.189
 1780 1.132, 2.189
 1788 2.190
 1788 (claviorganum) 1.78,
 1.133, 2.190 n.d. 2.392
 Lorence (piano maker; younger
 brother of Adam Beyer) 1.258,
 2.279
bienfort, *see* piano
 Bigge, John Thomas (Commissioner)
 1.640
 Bil, Albert (contemporary) 1.100n.61,
 1.159, 1.160, 1.164, 2.335, 2.352
 Billington, Thomas (composer) 1.292
 Binckes, Litchfield (piano maker) 2.300
 Bingham, Tony (contemporary) 2.272
 Bingley, Charles, *see* Austen, Jane
 Birchall
 & Andrews (music publishers) 1.297
 Robert (music seller) 2.400
 Birmingham (UK) 1.584
 Bishop, James Chapman (organ maker)
 1.541
 Bisset, Catherine, *see* women—as concert
 pianists
 Blackburn, David (Master on *Supply*)
 1.372
 Blackman, John, *see* auctioneers
 bladder stones 1.xxix, 1.216, 1.217
 Blanchet, François-Etienne (harpsichord
 maker) 1.xxxv
 Bland, John (music publisher) 1.133,
 1.147n.266, 1.297, 2.190, 2.215
 Blankenburg, Quirinus van (music
 theorist; organist) 1.319
 Bligh, William (Governor) 1.429
 Blond, William Le (piano maker) 1.258,
 2.286
 Blue Bottles, *see* marine(s)—regiments
 Blundell, James (music publisher) 1.297
 Blunt, Wilfrid 1.449
 Board of Sick and Wounded Seamen
 1.506, 1.507
see also Commissioners of Sick and
 Wounded
 boatmen, *see* port regulations for Sydney
 boatmen
 Boccherini, Luigi (composer) 1.50, 1.63,
 1.74
 Bock, Thomas (artist; engraver) 1.681
 Bodenham, Thomas Wall (Revd) 1.587
 Bodleian Library 1.260n.48, 2.179, 2.261
 Bodmin (Cornwall, UK), *see* Worgan,
 George Bouchier—farms
 Bohak, Johann (clavichord maker &
 tuner) 1.145
 Bolgioni, Antonio (harpsichord maker)
 1.25
 Bolsover Street (St Marylebone, London,
 UK) 2.284, 2.397
 Bolton, T. (piano maker) 1.666, 1.674,
 2.197
 Bomtempo, João Domingos 1.294, 1.300
 Bonaparte, Napoléon, *see* Napoléon
 Bonds, Mark Evan (contemporary) 1.288
*Bonnie Wee Thing, I Hae Laid a Herring
 in Salt* 1.426
 Boot Necks, *see* marine(s)—regiments
 Borgstede, Michael (contemporary)
 1.157, 1.159n.f, 1.161, 1.164, 2.10,
 2.339, 2.350, 2.352
 Bortniansky, Dmytro Stepanovic
 (composer) 1.79
 Bösendorfer (modern piano makers) 2.125
 Boston (MA) 1.85, 1.146, 1.283, 2.297
 Boswell
 Annabella 1.18
 James (diarist) 1.519
 Botany Bay 1.11, 1.14, 1.22, 1.23, 1.90,
 1.130, 1.156, 1.178, 1.195, 1.198,
 1.251, 1.252, 1.253, 1.260, 1.261,
 1.263, 1.264, 1.266, 1.269, 1.274,
 1.276, 1.333, 1.347, 1.350, 1.351,
 1.354, 1.357, 1.358, 1.359, 1.362,
 1.369, 1.370, 1.376, 1.378, 1.380,

- 1.391, 1.398, 1.400, 1.411, 1.464,
1.482, 1.485, 1.499, 1.521, 1.611,
1.614, 1.630, 1.685, 1.715, 1.719,
1.721, 1.722, 2.101, 2.141, 2.179,
2.181, 2.192, 2.193, 2.206, 2.215,
2.216, 2.263, 2.272
La Pérouse at 1.364–8
bottom boards 1.139, 2.33–4, 2.95, 2.168,
2.231, 2.232, 2.402, 2.404
Boucher
 alternative spelling of 'Bouchier'
 1.596, 1.598, 1.599, 1.604
 François (painter) 1.30
Bougainville, Louis Antoine de (Captain)
 1.415, 1.501
boulle work, *see* buhl
Boulton, Matthew 1.9, 1.142
 see also tea, pot—Boulton, Matthew
Bourguignon, Hubert-François, *see*
 Gravelot
Bourke
 Anne Maria 1.494, 1.494, 1.681
 Richard (Sir; Governor) 1.494, 1.681,
 1.682
Boussole, *see* ship
Bowes Smyth, *see* Smyth, Arthur Bowes
boxwood, *see* decoration—materials
Boyce, William (composer; organist)
 Master of the King's Musick 1.226
Bradford
 Thomas (of Charleston) 2.196n.304
 Thomas (piano maker) 1.258,
 2.195n.296, 2.279, 2.281, 2.285,
 2.286
Bradley
 James (astronomer royal) 1.213, 2.173
 Luke (contemporary) 1.159n.f, 2.339
 William (Lieutenant) 1.349, 1.403,
 1.504
 map of Sydney Cove by 1.364,
 1.371–3, 1.376
 makes daily temperature
 measurements 1.348, 1.354,
 1.398, 1.400–1
 watercolour drawings by
 1.301n.117, 1.334n.13,
 1.363n.17, 1.379
Bradshaw, William Frederick 1.xxvii, 1.1,
 1.2, 1.7, 1.10, 1.11, 1.14, 2.141, 2.156,
 2.158, 2.159, 2.160, 2.163, 2.164,
 2.165, 2.166, 2.205, 2.215, 2.272,
 2.275, 2.276
 acquires cottage piano by Goulding,
 d'Almaine & Potter (ca 1820)
 1.681n.63
 antiques shop/home at 12 Market
 Street, Sydney 1.2, 1.686n.3,
 2.155
 see also 2.159n.76
 antiques shop/home at 96 Queen
 Street, Woollahra 1.2, 1.7, 1.688,
 1.689, 1.700, 1.704, 1.705, 1.710,
 1.711, 1.721, 2.155n.96, 2.158,
 2.213, 2.310
 first-floor drawing room in 1.2–7,
 2.310
 grand pianos
 Broadwood, John
 1802 1.2, 1.4
 1834 1.7
 Broadwood & Sons
 1815 (upright grand) 1.4
 harp by Érard, Sébastien 1.4
 Parianware sculpture of Hebe, *see*
 Hebe
 portrait of Franz Liszt signed by
 Liszt 1.7n.34
 square pianos
 Broadwood & Son ca 1805 1.3
 Huni, Heinrich (1830) 1.6,
 2.310
 Nunns, Robert & William
 (1828) 1.3
 teapot by Boulton, Matthew 1.9,
 1.710
 ferocious salesman 2.171
 Beck square piano (1780/86?), *see*
 square piano by Beck, Frederick
 (1780/86?) *below*
 death 1.10, 2.167n.118
 obituary in *Sydney Morning*
 Herald 1.10
 dementia 1.692, 1.715, 2.167, 2.172
 Frederick Beck square piano

- (1780/86?), *see* square piano by Beck, Frederick (1780/86?) *below*
 furnishes Elizabeth Bay House
 1.686n.4
 gives friends nicknames 1.710, 2.160, 2.161n.94
 grand piano by Clementi & Co. (ca 1806–10), *see* Clementi, Muzio (piano maker), piano(s), grand—Russian model (ca 1806–10; serial number 526)
 lives on fruitcake 1.9, 1.9n.35
 surrogate wedding cake 1.9n.35
 mother (Ruby Florence) 2.155, 2.158
 sells square piano by Broadwood, John (1783), *see* Broadwood, piano(s)—1783
 sells square piano by Longman & Broderip (1785/86?), *see* Barrow, Brian (contemporary)—Longman & Broderip piano (1785/86?)
 square piano by Beck, Frederick (1780/86?)
 Bradshaw believes is the First Fleet piano 1.14, 1.691, 1.692, 1.697, 1.700, 1.703, 1.704, 1.705, 1.711, 1.713, 1.714, 1.715, 1.721, 2.205, 2.145, 2.171, 2.206, 2.208, 2.209, 2.213
 Bradshaw owns, *see* Beck, Frederick (piano maker), piano(s), extant Beck square pianos—1780/86? (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney, Australia)
 provenance
 Bradshaw purchases at a farm 30 miles from Sydney (Windsor, New South Wales) (Provenance Version One), *see* Beck, Frederick (piano maker), piano(s), extant Beck square pianos—1780/86? (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney, Australia)
 Bradshaw purchases from Adam Barber, *see* Beck, Frederick (piano maker), piano(s), extant Beck square pianos—1780/86? (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney, Australia)
 Bradshaw purchases from Macarthur-Onslow family, *see* Beck, Frederick (piano maker), piano(s), extant Beck square pianos—1780/86? (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney, Australia)
 Bradshaw purchases in London (Provenance Version Two), *see* Beck, Frederick (piano maker), piano(s), extant Beck square pianos—1780/86? (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney, Australia)
 see also Barrow, Brian (contemporary), recalls Bradshaw purchasing Worgan’s piano—in London (Provenance Version Two)
 Bradshaw purchases from someone who purchased the piano in London (Provenance Version Three), *see* Beck, Frederick (piano maker), piano(s), extant Beck square pianos—1780/86? (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney, Australia)
 see also Barrow, Brian (contemporary), recalls Bradshaw purchasing Worgan’s piano from someone who purchased the piano in London (Provenance Version Three)

- Bradshaw sells to Stewart Symonds *see* Beck, Frederick (piano maker), piano(s), extant Beck square pianos, 1780/86? (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney, Australia)—Symonds purchases from Bradshawstock book entry for acquisition of *see also* Beck, Frederick (piano maker) piano(s), extant pianos, extant Beck square pianos, 1780/86? (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney, Australia)—Bradshaw's stock book entry for acquisition of
- Branston, R. (music publisher) 1.297
- brass
- inlay 1.3, 1.7, 2.405
 - string(s) 1.320, 1.327, 2.130, 2.131, 2.133, 2.135, 2.317, 2.424, 2.425
 - tangent, *see* clavichord
 - under-dampers 1.192n.398, 2.269
- Bray (Cornwall, UK), *see* Worgan, George Bouchier—farms
- Brazil 1.571
- Current 1.349
 - tobacco 1.673
 - Viceroy of 1.340
- Brehmner, Henry (piano maker) 2.300
- Breitkopf & Härtel (music publishers) 1.300
- Bremner, Robert (music publisher; music seller) 1.297, 2.297, 2.400
- Brennan, Philomena (Dr; contemporary) 1.xxix
- Brent (Bahrent; Behrent), John (piano maker), *see* Behrent (Bahrent; Brent), John (Johann) (piano maker)
- Brewer
- Francis Campbell 1.21
 - Henry (Governor Phillip's clerk) 1.363, 1.372
- bridge 1.2n.8, 1.45, 1.46, 1.116, 1.159n.n, 1.347, 2.368, 2.372, 2.404, 2.410, 2.415, 2.423, 2.427, 2.430
- divided (split) 2.317
 - double-pinned 2.24, 2.410
 - J-form 2.130, 2.228, 2.404, 2.408
 - on English guitar 1.92
 - on English harpsichord, *see* harpsichord, English—bridge
 - on square piano(s) by Beck, Frederick
 - in general 1.193
 - 1780/86? 1.351, 1.397, 1.411, 1.482, 2.19, 2.22, 2.24–30, 2.119
 - Zumpe, Johann (John) Christoph 1.193, 2.368, 2.369, 2.372
 - Longman & Broderip (1785/86?) 2.225, 2.228–9
 - on pantalon 1.45, 1.46
 - pin(s) 1.115, 1.116, 2.383, 2.404, 2.421
 - recurring U-shape by Southwell, William 1.664
 - serpentine 2.24, 2.372, 2.404
 - single-pinned 2.228, 2.230
- Bridge Street (Sydney, Australia) 1.19n.15, 1.475, 1.671, 1.719, 2.142
- Bridgerule (Cornwall, UK), *see* Macarthur, Elizabeth
- Bridle Lane (London, UK), *see* Great—Pulteney (Pulteny; Poulteney) Street
- Brillon de Jouy, Anne Louise (Madame) composer 1.50
- one of Europe's greatest harpsichordists 1.50
 - owns English square piano 1.73–5
 - use of raised dampers 1.50
- Brinsmead
- Henry (piano maker) 2.300
 - John (piano maker) 2.300
- Briskie, Albert George 1.91n.1, 2.142, 2.159–61, 2.164, 2.208
- purchases Longman & Broderip square piano (1785/86?) from William Bradshaw, *see* Barrow, Brian (contemporary), Longman & Broderip square piano (1785/86?),

- provenance—in ca 1943–9
 Bradshaw sells to
 shop of
 in Catherine Street, Leichardt,
 Sydney, 2.143, 2.144, 2.160
 in King Street, Sydney 2.160
 in Parramatta Road, Leichhardt,
 Sydney, 2.161
 sells Broadwood & Sons square piano
 (1837) to Stewart Symonds 1.91,
 2.160n.80
 William Bradshaw repurchases
 Longman & Broderip square piano
 (1785/86?) from, *see* Barrow, Brian
 (contemporary), Longman &
 Broderip square piano (1785/86?),
 provenance—in early 1969
 Bradshaw repurchases from Albert
 Briskie
- British
 Antique Dealers' Association 1.696,
 1.698, 1.699, 2.162, 2.205, 2.206,
 2.217
 cruel character 1.519–20
 East India Company, *see* East India
 Company
 music
 characteristics of 1.248, 1.424
 see also style, English—
 compositional
 supercilious attitude 1.484–5, 1.585
Britomart, *see* ship
- Broadbent, James (contemporary) 1.652,
 2.194, 2.200
- Broad Street (Carnaby Market; Golden
 Square; Soho) 1.22, 1.99–100, 1.102,
 1.103, 1.104, 1.105, 1.106, 1.107,
 1.110, 1.111, 1.113–4, 1.125, 1.160,
 1.678, 1.719, 2.1, 2.3, 2.178, 2.179,
 2.283, 2.284, 2.286, 2.293, 2.303,
 2.304, 2.349, 2.350–1, 2.386, 2.397,
 2.398
- Beck, Francis 1.105, 2.397
- Beck, Frederick workshop/address,
see Beck, Frederick (piano
 maker)—workshop/address
- Corrie, George workshop/address
 1.104
- Ganer, Christopher workshop/address
 1.107, 2.178, 2.283, 2.284, 2.397
 house numbers changed in 1777
 1.100, 1.106, 1.110
- Ince, William workshop/address
 1.105
- Kirckman, Jacob & Abraham
 workshop/address 1.100, 1.107,
 2.178, 2.286, 2.303, 2.398
- Mayhew, John workshop/address
 1.105
- Noell, George 2.400
- Oakley, John workshop/address 1.105
- Russell, Richard workshop/address
 2.304
- Trute, Charles workshop/address
 1.107, 2.179, 2.293, 2.398
- Broadwood 1.42, 1.216, 1.260, 1.409,
 1.653, 1.660, 1.665, 1.666, 1.679,
 1.681, 1.682, 1.683, 2.180, 2.194,
 2.262, 2.265, 2.266, 2.267, 2.268,
 2.269, 2.272, 2.280, 2.299
 archives, *see* Journal(s) *below*
 Barbara (wife of John Broadwood)
 1.42, 1.98, 1.99
 grave obliterated in 1945 by V2
 rocket 1.42n.174
 Books/records/workbook(s), *see* John
 (piano maker)—journal(s) *below*
 cabinet piano 1.653, 2.202
 chance trade 1.115n.136
 compass extension 1.664
 Dussek requests additional keys, *see*
 additional keys
 harpsichord(s)
 price during the 1780s 2.331n.37
 revenue from in 1784 2.268
 1789 1.190–1
 James Shudi (piano maker; son of
 John Broadwood) 1.139, 1.259,
 2.196n.304, 2.278
 John (piano maker) 1.42, 1.64, 1.78,
 1.107, 1.115n.136, 1.124, 1.127,
 1.131, 1.133, 1.178, 1.190–1,
 1.258, 1.614, 1.653, 1.664, 2.70,
 2.120, 2.123, 2.178, 2.179, 2.180,
 2.181, 2.252, 2.256, 2.261, 2.263,

- 2.264, 2.267, 2.269, 2.272, 2.280,
2.317, 2.392, 2.394
& Son 1.2, 1.3, 1.4
& Sons 1.4, 1.7, 1.91, 1.679, 2.300
grave obliterated in 1945 by V2
rocket 1.42n.174
journal(s) 1.260, 2.179, 2.272,
2.179, 2.180, 2.181, 2.261,
2.262, 2.263, 2.266, 2.268,
2.272
piano(s)
cabinet 1.653, 2.202
grand
additional keys on 1.664
begins making grand
pianos in 1784 2.261
1789 1.78
1789 (claviorganum)
2.392–3
1796 1.192n.399
1802 1.2, 1.4
1815 (upright grand) 1.4
1823 1.192n.399
1834 1.7
1848 1.192n.399
n.d. (claviorganum) 2.392
key front moulding on 1780s
pianos 2.120, 2.252
solid ebony sharps 2.123
square
additional keys 1.665, 1.666,
2.196
advertised for sale in 1816
1.409
elegant 1.660
output 1780–95 2.267–8
sofa table piano, *see* ca 1805
(sofa table piano) *below*
voicing in 1790s pianos
2.70n.66
1774 1.132, 2.189
1780 2.269
1783 1.xxxi, 2.269
George Worgan
purchases 1.260,
1.614, 2.179–80,
2.181, 2.261–72
owner: Dr Turner
1.xxxi, 1.132, 2.189,
2.269, 2.270
owner: Stewart
Symonds 1.xxxi,
2.269, 2.272
square piano patent of
1783, *see* patent
1784 2.261n.1
serial number 200 2.268
serial number 204 2.268
serial number 206 2.268
serial number 219 2.268
serial number 229
2.268n.56
serial number 283 2.268
1786 1.133, 2.190
1791 1.133, 2.190
1793 1.139n.240
1795 1.133, 1.139n.240,
2.190
1804 1.458n.100
ca 1805 (sofa table piano)
1.3
1837 1.91n.1, 2.160n.80
marries Barbara Shudi 1.98n.39
price of a square piano by in mid-
1780s 2.263
square piano patent of 1783, *see*
patent
workshop/address 1.107,
1.115n.136, 2.178, 2.264,
2.280, 2.300, 2.393, 2.398
Broderip
Francis Fane (piano maker) 1.258,
2.167, 2.286, 2.287, 2.399
Robert 1.292
Brooks, Christiana 1.423
Denham Court (Liverpool, New South
Wales) 1.423
Broschi, Carlo Maria, *see* Farinelli (singer)
Brown
John (M.D.) 1.524
John (servant of the Scott family)
1.569
Browne, John (piano maker) 2.300
Bruce, John (piano maker) 2.300

- see also* Anderson—Small, Bruce & Co. (piano makers)
see also Small, Bruce & Co. (piano makers)
- Brünger, Eberhard (contemporary) 1.158, 1.161, 2.11
- Bruni, Antonio Bartolomeo (composer; violinist) 1.75, 1.76, 1.78, 2.279, 2.283, 2.290, 2.291
- Brunswick* (ship), *see* ship
- Brysson, George (piano maker) 1.706, 2.300
- Buchan, Thomas (piano maker) 2.300
- Buchinger, Joshua (piano maker) 2.300
- Buckinger, Joseph (music seller) 2.400
- Buckland, J. (music publisher) 1.297
- Buckwell, George (piano maker) 2.300
- buff stop, *see* mutation
- buhl (boulle) work 1.660, 2.197, 2.405
- bull-baiting 1.520
- Buntebart, Gabriel Gottlieb (harpsichord & piano maker) 1.39, 1.48, 1.63, 1.94, 1.95, 1.258, 2.393, 2.397
- connection with Bach, Johann Christian 1.62
- harpsichord & grand piano maker to Queen Charlotte 1.56, 2.280
- makes grand piano for Queen Charlotte 1.62
- partnership with Zumpe, Johann Christoph 1.62, 2.280
- square piano(s)
 1770 1.131, 2.189
 1775 1.132, 2.189
- Burney
 Charles 1.27n.60, 1.36n.124
 agent for Zumpe, Johann (John) Christoph 1.6
 brokers sale of a Zumpe piano to Denis Diderot 1.80, 1.254
 concerning:
 Brillon, Madame Anne Louise de Jouy 1.50, 1.73, 1.74
see also Brillon de Jouy, Anne Louise (Madame)
 concerts and performers in London 1.30
- continuously raised dampers 1.50
- countryside 1.30
- Crisp, Samuel
 piano 1.28, 1.31
- Festing, Michael 1.577
- Francesco Geminiani's directorial unpredictabilities 1.243–4
- Frederick the Great and music 1.41
- Gladwin, Thomas
 first organist at Vauxhall Gardens 1.209
- Händel, Georg Friedrich
 blindness 1.36
 pitchpipe, *see* owns Georg Friedrich Händel's pitchpipe *below*
- harpsichord's inadequacies 1.90
- Hawkins, Sir John rivalry 1.244
- Hebenstreit, Pantalon
 dulcimer 1.46, 1.47
- Madame Anne Louise Brillon de Jouy, *see* Brillon, Madame Anne Louise de Jouy *above*
see also Brillon de Jouy, Anne Louise (Madame)
- Manzoli, Giovanni
 voice 1.222n.145
- Merlin, John Joseph
 pianos 1.109
- Plenius, Rutgerus
 piano copy 1.31
- Pohlmann, Johannes 2.289
- Scarlatti, Domenico 1.221
- Schroeter, Johann 1.451
- Shudi, Burkat 1.41
- Worgan, John (Dr)
 composer 1.242
 compositional style ruined by his studying under Francesco Geminiani

- 1.242–3
organist 1.227
death 1.216
loves works by Domenico Scarlatti 1.220
morals of 1.542
on provincial organists 1.232
Zumpe, Johann (John) Christoph 1.74
pianos 1.61, 1.72, 2.289
entertains Captain James Cook 1.415
Fulke Greville's music-master-in-residence 1.29
harpsichordist 1.30, 1.32
music teacher to Captain John Hunter 1.276–7
owns Georg Friedrich Händel's pitchpipe 1.321
use of prefix 'Dr' in relation to John Worgan 2.180n.196, 2.262n.7
violinist 1.30
Fanny (daughter of Charles Burney) 1.457
James (eldest son of Charles Burney) 1.415
Burton, John (composer) 1.292
Bury, Samuel (piano maker) & Co. (piano makers) 2.393, 2.399
claviorganum 2.393
organized grand piano 2.393
Busby, Thomas (composer) 1.108, 1.240, 1.292, 2.180n.196, 2.262n.7
Busoni, Ferruccio (composer) 1.705n.82
Butcher, Thomas (piano maker) 2.300
Butler, Thomas (composer) 1.292
Button, Whitaker & Co. (piano makers) 1.300
Byrd, William (composer) 1.233
- cabbage-tree palms, *see* Sydney—Cove (Port Jackson)
cabin dimensions 1.270, 2.191
cabinet piano, *see* Southwell, William (harpsichord & piano maker)
cabriole leg, *see* stand—leg
Cadby, Charles (piano maker) 1.300
Cahusac, Thomas (music publisher; music seller) 1.297, 2.298, 2.400
Calcutta (India) 1.410, 1.411, 1.435n.107, 1.494, 1.631
Caley, George (botanist) 1.521
Callcott, John Wall (composer) catches 1.303
glees 1.303
objectives of the Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Catch Club 1.304
Cambridge
England 1.203, 2.389
Massachusetts 2.297
University 1.211, 1.215, 2.180, 2.261
Camden Park, *see* Macarthur, John
Camidge, John (composer) 1.292
campaign furniture 1.155–6, 1.176, 1.715, 2.187–8, 2.190
see also Beck, Frederick (piano maker), piano(s), 1780/86? (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney, Australia)—campaign-furniture-inspired stand on
see also Longman & Broderip (piano makers), piano(s), ca. 1790 square piano (owner: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)—campaign-furniture-inspired stand on
see also Trute, Charles (piano maker), piano(s), ca 1771?—campaign-furniture-inspired stand on
see also Weber, Ferdinand (piano maker), piano(s), 1772—campaign-furniture-inspired stand on
see also Weber, Ferdinand (piano maker), piano(s), date unknown—campaign-furniture-inspired stand on
Campbell
Colin (contemporary) 1.69
R. (writer & publisher) 1.101, 1.199, 1.201, 1.203, 1.219, 1.235
Robert (cabinet-maker, London, UK) 1.105

- Robert (merchant, Sydney, Australia)
1.496, 1.656, 2.203
- Robert (music-retailer, Sydney,
Australia) 1.420, 1.496
- Street (Hobart Town, Tasmania)
1.681n.63
- William (music-seller, London, UK)
2.400
- Campion, François (Abbé Carbasus)
criticises the harpsichord 1.84–5
viola da gamba inappropriate for
women 1.346
- Campioni, Carlo (composer) 1.294
- Canary
Current 1.348
Islands 1.301, 1.333, 1.334
- candelabra, *see* Thomire, Pierre-Philippe
- Cannon Street (London, UK) 2.265, 2.387
- Canon, *see* Trouflant (Mr)
- canon
musical genre 1.220, 1.302, 1.304,
1.307, 2.182
compositional structure 1.302–3
of repertoire 1.237
- cantabile* 1.230
- Canterbury
Archbishop of 1.521
Auction Galleries (Kent, UK) 1.162
(New Zealand) 1.17, 1.494,
- Cape
Horn 1.262n.61, 1.381
of Good Hope 1.334, 1.350, 1.380,
1.381, 1.502, 1.503, 1.591, 1.615,
1.673
Town 1.310, 1.334, 1.350, 1.351,
1.359, 1.380, 1.381, 1.382, 1.502,
1.503, 1.504, 1.617
Verde Islands 1.349
- Carbasus (Abbé), *see* Campion, François
- Cardinham (parish; Cornwall, UK) 1.513,
1.615
- Carey, George Saville (Marquis of Halifax)
1.484
- Carleton University (Ottawa, Canada)
1.xxx, 1.157, 1.161, 1.164, 2.350,
2.352
- Carlisle
House 1.108
Street (Soho Square, London, UK)
1.59
- Carnot, Lazare 1.77
- Caroline*, *see* ship
- Carter
Charles (composer) 1.292
Isaac (piano maker) 2.300
Robert (Colonel) 1.86
- Carteret, Philip (Captain) 1.501
- cartouche*, *see* decoration—nameboard
- Casteel, Henricque van (piano maker) 1.72
- Castle
Garden (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK), *see*
Liskeard
(Cornwall, UK), Castle—Garden
Hill
Liskeard, Cornwall, UK, *see*
Liskeard (Cornwall, UK),
Castle—Hill
New South Wales 1.639, 1.642
Street (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK), *see*
Liskeard
(Cornwall, UK), Street—Castle
- Castlereagh Street (Sydney, Australia)
1.419, 1.581, 2.156n.62, 2.156n.65
- Castrucci, Pietro (composer; violinist)
1.426
- catch
club(s) 1.304, 1.306
musical genre 1.302, 1.303, 1.305,
1.306, 1.307
composed by
Arne, Thomas, *see* Arne,
Thomas (Dr; composer;
organist)—catches
Baildon, Joseph, *see* Baildon,
Joseph (composer;
organist)—catches
Callcott, John Wall, *see*
Callcott, John Wall
(composer)—catches
Earl of Abingdon 1.303n.131
Hayes, William, *see* Hayes,
William (composer;
organist)—catches
Warren, Thomas, *see* Warren,

- Thomas)—catches
- Wesley, Garret Colley, *see*
 - Wesley, Garret Colley (1st Earl of Mornington)—ribald catch
- Worgan, John (Dr), *see*
 - Worgan, John (Dr; George Bouchier Worgan's father), composer, vocal music—catches
- compositional structure 1.303
- interpretation of 1.306–7
- see also* London (UK)—Catch Club
- see also* Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club
- see also* Nottingham Catch Club
- Cat Harmonicon, *see* musical absurdities
- Cathedral
 - Lincoln, *see* Lincoln Cathedral
 - Nevers, *see* Nevers Cathedral
 - St Mary's (Sydney, Australia) 1.435, 1.583, 1.585, 1.586–7
 - band at, *see* band
 - building destroyed by fire in 1865 1.584–5
 - choir at 1.584
 - Davis, Charles Henry (Bishop) 1.584
 - improves the choir with egg-flip 1.584
 - organ
 - made by Bevington, Henry & Sons 1.584–5
 - description 1.584
 - destroyed by fire in 1865 1.584–5
 - falls into disrepair 1.584
 - independent pedal department 1.584
 - made of unseasoned wood 1.584, 1.585
 - workshop/address 1.584
 - made by Bridson, Thomas V. (1865) 1.585
 - destroyed by fire in 1869 1.585
 - St Patrick's (Dublin, Ireland) 1.282n.55
- St Paul's (London, UK) 1.308
 - Churchyard 2.290, 2.300, 2.306, 2.399
 - organ at 1.223, 1.584
 - Westminster Abbey (London, UK) organ at 1.584
 - York Minster (York, UK) organ at 1.584
- Catherine (Lady), *see* Austen, Jane
- Street
 - Leichhardt (Sydney, Australia) 2.143, 2.144
 - Strand (London, UK) 1.32, 1.33, 2.160, 2.299
 - II (Empress of Russia) 1.480
- Cave, Edward, *see* Worgan, John (Dr)—composer
- Cavendish
 - Square (London, UK) 1.62, 2.291, 2.300, 2.305, 2.398
 - Street (London, UK) 2.307
- Cecil, Richard (Revd) 1.228, 2.180n.196, 2.262n.7
- cembalo*
 - à martellino*, *see* piano
 - di forte piano*, *see* piano
- Challen, William (piano maker) 2.300, 2.307n.d
- Challenger, J. (piano dealer) 2.300
- Champness, Samuel (singer) 1.305
- chance trade, *see* Broadwood—chance trade
- Chapel 1.222, 1.527
 - Holyrood (UK) 1.590
 - of
 - Lock Hospital (London, UK) 1.240
 - the Asylum for Female Orphans 1.229
 - Our Ladye of the Park (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK) 1.549n.265
 - Royal (UK) 1.305, 1.324
 - St John's 1.211 (Millman Street, Bedford Row, London, UK) 1.212, 1.226, 1.228, 2.175, 2.176, 1.179
 - Street (near Bedford Row, Holborn,

- London, UK) 1.212, 2.176
 Wesleyan Methodist Association
 (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK) 1.541
 Whitechapel (London, UK) 1.47
 Road (London, UK) 1.225, 2.300
 Whitefield's (Tottenham Court Road,
 London, UK) 1.42n.74, 2.289
 Chappelle Royal 1.82
 Chappell & Co. (piano makers) 2.300
Charlotte, *see* ship
 Charlotte
 Barnes, *see* Barnes, Charlotte
 Elizabeth (mother of Charles Parsons
 Worgan), *see* Worgan, Charlotte
 Elizabeth
 Godley 1.494, 1.495
 Neubauer, *see* Neubauer—Charlotte
 (daughter of Friedrich Neubauer)
 Papendeik 1.62
 Queen of England (wife of George III)
 1.56–8, 1.59, 1.62, 1.354
 Sophia (George Bouchier Worgan's
 younger sister), *see* Worgan,
 Charlotte Sophia
 Street
 Bedford Square, London, UK 1.443
 Fitzroy Square, London, UK 2.303
 Portland Place, London, UK 2.304
 Rathbone Place, London, UK
 2.304
 Charters (Chartres), George 1.674, 1.676,
 1.677, 1.720
 Chase
 Dale & Co. (piano makers) 1.681
 John (piano maker) 2.300
 Chatham Chest 1.202, 1.255
 check, *see* piano—action
 cheek(s) (cheekpiece[s]), 2.402, 2.403,
 2.406, 2.411, 2.420
 on square pianos by
 Beck, Frederick
 1780/86? 2.7, 2.14, 2.17, 2.41,
 2.61, 2.63–4
 1782/87? (serial number 5008)
 1.310, 2.356
 ca 1790 (estimate; tangent
 action) 2.381
 Longman & Broderip (1785/86?)
 2.234, 2.240, 2.242
 Chesterfield, Philip Dormer (4th Earl of
 Stanhope; Lord) 1.636
 Chesterman, Charles (piano maker) 2.300
 Child, Daniel (piano maker) 2.300
 Childs, Samuel (piano maker) 2.300
 Chippendale, Thomas (furniture maker,
 London, UK) 1.141, 1.686, 1.689
 Chopin, Frédéric (composer) 1.705n.82
 Christ Church Spitalfields 1.223
 Church Street (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK),
 see Liskeard (Cornwall, UK), Street—
 Church
 Cimarosa, Domenico (composer) 1.79
 Cincinnati (USA) 1.285
 circus 1.525
Cité de la Musique (Paris) 1.76n.360,
 1.157, 1.158, 1.159n.282, 1.161,
 1.164, 2.10, 2.350, 2.352
Conservatoire National de Musique
 1.75, 1.76n.360, , 1.77, 1.157,
 1.158, 2.10
Institut National de Musique 1.75,
 1.76
Musée de la Musique 1.157, 1.158,
 1.161, 1.164, 2.10, 2.350, 2.352
 Clappisson, Louis 1.76
 Clarence River (New South Wales) 1.423
Clarendon 1.419, 1.430
 clarinet, *see* band
 Clark
 & Boothby (piano makers) 2.300
 Ralph (First Lieutenant) 1.268, 1.358,
 1.361, 1.372, 1.378, 1.391, 1.401,
 1.499
 journal 1.268, 1.378, 1.391
 Clarke
 Heather (contemporary) 1.710–13,
 2.206–8, 2.209,
 2.10, 2.11, 2.12, 2.13
 Robert (contemporary) 1.xxx
 Classical, *see* Classic era
 Classic era 1.xxxii, 1.1, 1.3, 1.291, 1.218,
 2.129, 2.406
clave piano, *see* piano
clavecín, *see* harpsichord

- clavecin à maillets*, see piano
- clavecin à marteau*, see piano
- clavecin anglais*, see piano
- clavecin roial*, see piano
- clavessins a piano e forte*, see piano
- clavi cembalo d'espessione*, see piano
- clavicimbel de amour*, see piano
 see also Friedrich (Frederick)
 (harpsichord & piano maker)
- clavichord 1.3n.15, 1.22, 1.26, 1.44, 1.45,
 1.145, 1.147, 1.291, 2.12, 2.24, 2.41,
 2.215, 2.234, 2.360, 2.372, 2.376,
 2.382, 2.406, 2.407, 2.426, 2.430
 fretted 1.22n.30, 2.12, 2.406, 2.413
 fret free, see *unfretted below*
 tangent 2.432
 unfretted (fret free) 1.22, 1.34, 2.12,
 2.406, 2.436
- clavicordio de piano*, see piano
- clavicytherium, see harpsichord—
 clavicytherium 2.407
- claviorganum, see piano, combination
 piano—claviorganum
- Clement XI (Pope) 1.28
- Clementi, Muzio (piano maker) 1.290,
 1.291, 1.300, 1.346, 1.440, 1.450,
 1.457, 1.592, 1.683, 2.299, 2.392,
 2.394, 2.395
 & Co. (piano makers) 1.680, 1.681,
 2.280n.19, 2.287, 2.300, 2.313
 businessman 1.291, 1.300
 pianist/composer in London
 Pianoforte School 1.457
 polymath 1.291
 teacher 1.442–3, 1.480
- Clementi, Collard & Collard (piano
 makers) 2.301
 daughters taught by Cramer, John
 Baptist 1.592
 marries one of his piano students
 1.450
 piano(s)
 grand
 Russian model (ca 1806–10;
 serial number 526) 1.409,
 2.120, 2.313–25
 damper(s) 2.322
 compartment 2.322
 metal-strengthened
 corners 1.409, 2.313
 pedal-operated 2.321
 square
 for hot climates 1.409
 piano sonatas
 Opus 2 1.290–1
 Opus 7 1.440
 Opus 9 1.440
 Opus 10 1.440
 Opus 40 1.440
 Opus 41 1.440
 popularity of his piano music in
 Vienna 1.440
 purchases Longman & Broderip 1.300,
 2.287
 Clerkenwell (London, UK) 1.241, 2.302,
 2.303, 2.305, 2.307
 Close 2.304
 Green 1.211, 2.175
 Clive, Edward (Lord) 1.176, 1.777
 Clonard, Robert Sutton de (Captain) 1.365
 Coad, Lucy (contemporary) 1.xxxi
 Coal River (Newcastle, New South Wales)
 1.676
 Cobb & Watlen (music publishers) 1.297
 see also Watlen, John (piano maker)
 Cobrabad River (New South Wales) 1.423
 Cochon, Charles, see Lapparent, Charles
 Cochon de
 cockfighting 1.519
 see also Liskeard (Cornwall, UK)—
 cockfighting
 Cockin, William 1.539
Coelestin d'Amour 1.47
 see also piano
 see also Viator (Viator?), Herman
 (Harman) Bernard (piano maker)
 Coke, Jane (Lady) 1.546
 Cole, Michael (contemporary) 1.xxxii,
 1.xxxvn.1, 2.72, 2.195, 2.268, 2.269,
 2.282
 Coles, Mary (wife of Frederick Beck)
 1.98, 1.99, 1.101, 1.110
 Collard
 & Collard (piano makers) 1.581, 2.299,

- 2.301
 Frederick William (piano maker)
 2.287, 2.325
 partner in Clementi & Co. 2.287
 partnership with Longman, Clementi,
 Hyde, Banger and Davis 2.287
 William Frederick (piano maker)
 1.660, 1.680, 1.681, 1.683
- College
 St
 Andrew (Cambridge, UK) 1.200
 Eton (Berkshire, UK) 1.212, 1.449,
 1.592n.146
 John (Cambridge, UK) 1.211
 Emmanuel (Cambridge, UK) 1.49n.216
 English (Rome, Italy) 1.28
 Eton (Berkshire, UK), 1.212, 1.449,
 1.592n.146, 2.176
 Exeter (Oxford, UK) 1.461
 High School, *see* Rennie, Miss—
 College High School (Sydney,
 Australia)
 Osaka College of Music 1.92n.7,
 1.158, 1.161, 1.164, 1.184n.349,
 2.8n.14, 2.9n.25, 2.10n.38, 2.11,
 2.12n.41, 2.351, 2.353, 2.354n.18
 Pembroke (Cambridge, UK) 1.34n.107
 Royal
 College of
 Music (London, UK)
 1.145n.260
 Surgeons (London, UK) 1.xxix,
 1.217n.126
 Northern College of Music
 (Manchester, UK) 1.321n.204
 Sion (London, UK) 1.484n.114
 Collier & Davis (piano makers) 2.399
see also Davis, Joseph (piano maker)
 Collins, David (Captain) 1.338, 1.394
 account of the first eight years of the
 colony 1.388–9, 1.571
 appearance 1.388
 concerning:
 appointment of John Macarthur to
 run the colony 1.618
 First Fleet
 arrives at Port Jackson 1.359
 close bond with Governor
 Phillip 1.388n.166, 1.389
 convict rations at Rio de
 Janeiro 1.338
 sails Santa Cruz to Rio de
 Janeiro 1.349
 respect for the officers of La
 Pérouse's expedition 1.368
 speaks with La Pérouse at
 Botany Bay 1.366
 King's birthday celebrations
 4 June 1789 1.388
 convict performance of
 Farquhar's *The Recruiting
 Officer* 1.389
 reduced rations at the colony
 1.382
 weather at the colony 1.398
 late January and February
 1788 1.402
 6 February 1788 1.401
 11 February 1791 1.404
 January 1795 1.406
- depicted in
 Adams' engraving 1.205, 1.208
 Hunter's vignette 1.204, 1.205
Colonial Observer 1.585
 Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
 (Williamsburg, VA) 1.xxxi, 1.158,
 1.161, 1.164, 2.11, 2.351, 2.353
 Combe, Charles (piano maker) 2.301
 combination piano, *see* piano—
 combination piano
Commission temporaire des arts, see
Inventaire sous La
Terreur
 Commissioners of Sick and Wounded
 1.201
see also Board of Sick and Wounded
 Seamen
see also Surgeons
 commode 1.175, 1.188, 2.407
 Company of Barbers and Surgeons 1.198
 compass, *see* keyboard
 Compton
 John (piano maker) 2.301
 Southampton (UK) 2.282

- Street (Soho, London, UK) 1.35, 2.279, 2.289, 2.307, 2.289
- William (piano maker) 2.301
- concert(s)
- aristocratic cultivation of in London 1.238–9, 2.280
 - Charles Burney observes in London 1.30
 - given by women 1.454–9
 - gramophone (Eton College) 1.449
 - private 1.308, 1.445, 1.447, 1.455, 1.456, 1.589, 1.645
 - at Dr John Worgan's home, 1787 1.241–2
 - Frederick the Great
 - at Sanssouci 1.61
 - clandestine concerts in the forest 1.41
 - George Worgan on the *Sirius*, see Worgan, George Bouchier (Dr John Worgan's second surviving son)—plays piano on the *Sirius*
 - given by
 - Jonathan Battishill 1.488
 - 'Little Fatty', see Little—Fatty
 - public 1.86, 1.238, 1.291, 1.303, 1.306, 1.341, 1.342, 1.428, 1.451, 1.453, 1.455, 1.456, 1.645, 2.280, 2.309
 - at a butcher's 1.341
 - at a public-house 1.341
 - Bach-Abel series 1.58, 1.61
 - Boston, March 1771 1.85
 - Cincinnati 1.285
 - see also musical absurdities—
Cat Harmonicon (Cat Piano)
 - see also musical absurdities—
Porco-Forte
 - Clerkenwell (London, UK), 1743 1.241
 - Concert Spirituel* 1.82
 - Covent Garden Theatre 1.222–3
 - Dublin 1.681
 - first commercial series in England 1.52
 - halls
 - Assembly Rooms, Turnham Green (London) 1.283
 - Miss Hoffmann performs *The Battle of Prague* in June 1792, see musical absurdities
 - see also battle, pieces—
Battle of Prague, The (Koczwara)
 - Hanover Square Music Rooms (London) 1.52
 - Johann Peter Salomon's series at 1.52
 - in a hay-loft 1.341
 - Joseph Haydn in London 1.52, 1.238
 - Liskeard (Cornwall, UK) 1.525
 - Philadelphia (PA, USA), 14 December 1786 1.88
 - Sydney (Australia)
 - Vincent Wallace 1.681–2 1818
 - Lieutenant-Governor Erskine, see Erskine,
 - James (Lieutenant-Governor)
 - 1836
 - Vincent Wallace, February 1.682
 - 1838
 - 11 October, at the Saloon of the Royal Hotel 1.578
 - 21 November, at the Saloon of the Royal Hotel 1.578
 - 1839
 - 23 January, at the Saloon of the Royal Hotel 1.579
 - 20 February, at the Saloon of the Royal Hotel 1.579
 - 2 October, at the Royal Victoria Theatre 1.579
 - 13 November, at the Saloon of the Royal Hotel 1.579
 - 1840
 - 26 May, at the Theatre Royal 1.582
 - 1841
 - at St Mary's Cathedral

- 1.583
- 1842
- 31 August, at the Royal Victoria Theatre 1.585
- 1845
- 30 May, organised by Maria T. Hinckesmann 1.587n.123
- 17 December, at the Royal Hotel 1.587
- 23 December, at the Royal Victoria Theatre 1.587
- 1846
- 17 June, at the Saloon of the Royal Hotel 1.587
- 1850
- 7 June, at the Saloon of the Royal Hotel 1.588
- 1922
- Dame Nellie Melba Vauxhall Gardens (London, UK) 1.239
- Concert of Ancient Music ('King's Concert') 1.233, 1.234, 1.235, 1.236, 1.237, 1.238, 1.241, 1.245
- Geminiani's directorial unpredictabilities in, *see* Geminiani, Francesco
- concert pitch 1.321
- conduct books 1.345, 1.439, 1.441, 1.480
- Conduit Street (Hanover Square, London, UK) 2.387
- Connoisseur* 1.32, 1.195, 1.288, 1.432
- musical *Kenner* 1.278, 1.287, 1.289, 1.290, 1.423, 1.428
- newspaper 1.450
- Cons, Frederick (piano maker) 2.301
- Conservatoire National de Musique*, *see* *Cité de la Musique*
- continuo 1.221, 1.434
- convertible bedroom piano, *see* piano—convertible bedroom
- convict(s) 1.180, 1.262, 1.273, 1.349, 1.358, 1.366, 1.375, 1.376, 1.416, 1.464, 1.465, 1.472, 1.476, 1.482, 1.494, 1.500, 1.611, 1.618, 1.633, 1.635, 1.637, 1.658, 1.684, 2.330
- at Port Jackson
- carpenters 1.363
- letter written by distressed female convict 1.472
- location of tents 1.372, 1.373
- perform
- Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer* 1.389–91, 1.395
- size of hut within which performance took place 1.395
- Forde's *The Miraculous Cure* 1.396
- Rowe's *Jane Shore* 1.396
- The Wapping Landlady* 1.396
- rations 1.363
- Reverend Johnson's religious pamphlets 1.377
- secularism amongst 1.378
- set up tents 1.361, 1.363
- ward in hospital for 1.373
- wooden pegs for roof shingles cut by 1.374
- British opinion of Irish convicts 1.435
- 'croppies', *see* uprising *below*
- during voyage to Botany Bay 1.351
- at Rio de Janiero
- exercise 1.340
- rations 1.338
- death rate amongst 1.362
- emotional response during departure from England 1.275
- endure the cold 1.353
- endure the heat 1.357
- fear during a storm at sea 1.352, 1.356
- loaded onto First Fleet ships 1.274
- First Fleet transport ships 1.273
- Lady Penrhyn*, *see* ship
- Francis Girard (convict) 1.421
- introduces quadrille to Sydney 1.423
- opens coffee-room *à la Francaise* 1.422
- proprietor of the Sydney Hotel 1.423
- supplies military and convicts

- with bread 1.422
- depicted in 'pantomimical interlude' 1.485
- John Grant 2.327
- Lieutenant Lugard referred to as 'the lobster' by 1.583
- on *Elizabeth* 1829–30 1.570
- on *Sirius* at Norfolk Island 1.267, 1.268
- Roman Catholic 1.435, 1.639, 1.640
- servitude to private settlers 1.619–20
- ship(s)
 - Coromandel*, see ship
 - Elizabeth*, see ship
- uprising
 - of 1804 1.638, 1.644, 1.652, 1.658, 1.719, 2.142
 - brutal defeat of 1.641–2
 - 'croppies' 1.639
 - Cunningham, Philip (convict leader) 1.642, 1.643
 - Johnston, William (convict leader) 1.642, 1.643
 - Laycock, Thomas 1.642, 1.643, 1.658
 - martial law declared 1.644
 - narrative painting of 1.643
 - potential for during colony's early days 1.371
- work for John Macarthur
 - at Cowpastures 1.634
 - at Elizabeth Farm
 - build Elizabeth Farm cottage 1.619
 - work at Elizabeth Farm 1.627
 - at Parramatta 1.618
- Cook, James (Captain) 1.262, 1.264, 1.304, 1.338, 1.356, 1.366, 1.368, 1.369, 1.415
- at Dusky Sound (New Zealand) 1.415
- Captain Lieutenant Tench's
 - disillusionment with 1.368–9
- Endeavour Journal* 1.369
 - Hawkesworth's inaccurate version 1.370
- Tahitian expedition 1.338
- timekeeper 1.399
- renames St George's Island 'Tahiti' 1.617
- visits Charles Burney, see Burney, Charles
- Cooke
 - Benjamin (Dr; composer; organist) 1.226
 - Martha, see Worgan, John (Dr)
 - Matthew (composer) 1.292
- Cooper, T. (piano maker) 2.301
- Coote, J. (music publisher) 1.297
- Corelli, Arcangelo (composer, violinist) 1.211, 1.233, 1.242
- Corista Veneto*, see pitch
- Cornelys, Theresa 1.108
- cornet, see band
- Cornwall Agricultural Society 1.529, 1.533, 1.534, 1.616
 - Fraser, Robert 1.529
- Cornwallis, Charles (Lord) 1.500
- Coromandel*, see ship
- Corri, Domenico (composer) 1.280
 - Lunardi's Flight* 1.280
- Corrie, George (piano maker) 1.104, 1.110, 1.127, 1.128, 1.160, 1.184, 2.351
- cost of piano lessons
 - in England, see piano—cost of piano lessons
 - in Vienna, see piano—cost of piano lessons
- cottage piano, see upright piano
- counterpoint 1.279, 1.394, 1.415, 1.577, 2.408
- country dance 1.300, 1.417, 1.419, 1.420, 1.429, 2.192
- course (string), see string(s)—course
- Covell, Roger (contemporary) 1.18
- Covent Garden
 - Market 1.98, 1.105, 1.110
 - Theatre 1.223, 1.305, 1.525
- Coventry
 - & Hollier (piano makers) 1.301
 - Street (Haymarket, London, UK) 2.399, 2.400
- Cox
 - Joseph 1.362
 - William (Paymaster) 1.419, 1.430,

- 1.633
- Coyle, Miles 1.292
- Cramer
- Carl Friedrich (violinist) 1.276, 1.459
 - John Baptist (composer) 1.440, 1.457
 - teaches Muzio Clementi's daughters 1.592
 - Wilhelm 1.305n.143
 - Yvonne (contemporary) 2.327, 2.329
- cranked key lever, *see* key lever(s)
- cravo de martelos*, *see* piano
- crescendo*, *see* dynamic(s)—markings
- Cresswell*, *see* ship
- Crisp, Samuel 1.27–30, 1.35, 1.38
- Cristofori, Bartolomeo (piano maker) 1.25, 1.25n.46, 1.26–7, 1.28, 1.31, 1.87
- arpicembalo che fa il piano e il forte* 1.xxxv, 1.25, 1.26, 1.87
 - Maffei's description of, *see* Maffei, Scipione (Marquis)
 - employed by Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici 1.26
 - gravicembalo col piano e forte* 1.xxxv, 1.27
 - influence on Silbermann, Gottfried 1.87
 - influence on Wood (Father) 1.28
- Crittenden, Victor 1.277, 1.278, 1.289, 1.341
- Crockett, Gary (contemporary) 1.xxx
- 'croppies', *see* convict(s), uprising—of 1804
- cross-banding, *see* decoration—inlay
- cross member, *see* stand—cross member
- Crotch, William (composer; organist) 1.237, 1.283
- crotchet(s) 1.425n.63, 1.487
- Culliford
- Thomas (piano maker) 2.281, 2.282
 - contract with Longman & Broderip 2.281
 - Rolfe & Barrow (piano makers) 2.282
 - pianos with additional keys, *see* additional keys
- Cunningham, Philip (convict leader), *see* convict(s), uprising—of 1804
- Curtis, Henry (piano maker) 2.301
- cut-off bar 2.409
- cyma 1.564, 2.409
- cymbal-clavir*, *see* piano
- Czerny, Carl (Charles) (composer)
- Czerny's Grand Mosaic for the Piano Forte Founded on Bellini's Norma* 1.7
- Dale
- Daniel (piano maker) 2.301
 - Joseph (music publisher; music seller) 1.297, 2.400
 - Thomas (piano maker) 2.301
 - William 1.292
 - & Co. (piano makers) 1.680, 1.681
- 'Dally' Worgan, *see* Worgan, George
- Bouchier—known as 'Dally'
- D'Almaine & Co. (piano makers) 2.301
- see also* Goulding, D'Almaine and Potter (piano makers)
 - see also* Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine (piano makers)
 - see also* Potter, John (piano maker)—Goulding, d'Almaine & Potter (piano makers)
- damper(s) 2.72, 2.382, 2.409, 2.431
- absence of in
 - keyboard pantalon 1.3n.15, 1.45, 1.47, 2.419
 - dulcimer by Hebenstreit, Pantalon 1.46
 - square pianos by Beck, Frederick 1.100–1, 1.159n.283, 1.192, 2.86, 2.335
 - tafelklaviere* 1.44
 - see also* Viotor (Viator?), Herman (Harman)
 - Bernard (piano maker)
- cloth 1.117
- compartment 1.192n.398, 2.409, 2.418
- effectiveness on piano(s) by
- Broadwood, John
 - grand
 - 1796 (serial number 875) 1.192n.398
 - 1823 1.192n.398
 - 1848 1.192n.398

- Longman & Broderip
 grand
 ca 1795 1.192n.398
 hand-lever(s), *see* mutation
 lifters 1.116
 Madame Brillon's use of, *see* Brillon de
 Jouy, Anne Louise (Madame)
 made away from workshop 1.115,
 1.116
 on
 English square pianos
 pedal-operated 2.100, 2.266–7
 purposely inefficient 1.192,
 2.322
 grand piano by Clementi, Muzio,
 see Clementi, Muzio (piano
 maker), piano(s), grand—
 Russian model (ca 1806–10;
 serial number 526)
 pianos by Beck, Frederick, *see*
 Beck, Frederick (piano maker),
 piano(s)—extant Beck square
 pianos
 1766/67? square piano by Zumpe,
 Johann Christoph, *see* Zumpe,
 Johann Christoph (piano
 maker), piano(s)—1766/67?
 1780/86? square piano by Beck,
 Frederick, *see* Beck, Frederick
 (piano maker), piano(s)—
 extant Beck square pianos
 ca 1790 (estimate; tangent action)
 tangentenflügel 2.433
 raised dampers, *see* mutation
 under-, *see* under-damper(s)
 Dance, William (composer) 1.292
 dance(s) 1.419, 1.427, 1.430, 1.433, 1.448,
 1.485
 Australian Colonial Dance, *see* Clarke,
 Heather
 cotillion 1.300, 1.417
 in plays 1.392, 1.396
 music 1.7n.34, 1.300, 1.456, 2.266
 on board ship 2.192
 strathspey 1.417
 tunes 1.429, 1.430
 see also country dance
 see also minuet
 see also quadrille
 see also waltz
 Danceney (Chevalier), *see* Laclos,
 Choderlos de—*Les Liaisons*
 dangereuses
 dancer(s) 1.480
 nude, from Armidale, *see* nude dancer
 from Armidale
 tightrope 1.209, 1.525
 Darcy, Mr, *see* Austen, Jane
 Darwin, Charles 1.684
 Davies, James (combination piano &
 harpsichord maker) 1.24n.42
 Davis
 Charles Henry (Bishop), *see*
 Cathedral—St Mary's (Sydney,
 Australia)
 David 2.287
 Gerock & Co. (piano makers) 1.681
 Joseph (piano maker) 1.680, 1.683,
 2.301
 see also Collier & Davis (piano
 makers)
 Dawes
 Point (Sydney, Australia) 1.398
 Point Maskelyne 1.399
 observatory at 1.399–400
 William (Lieutenant) 1.386, 1.473–4
 calculates local time at Rio de
 Janeiro 1.400
 checks chronometer 1.398, 1.400
 inspires Macarthur, Elizabeth
 1.474
 map of 1788 1.376
 searches for a comet 1.400
 weather records 1.398, 1.399,
 1.400–1, 1.403
 barometer
 at Point Maskelyne
 observatory 1.400
 thermometer 1.401
 at Point Maskelyne
 observatory 1.400
 in *Sirius* great cabin 1.398
 Dawkins, Thomas (Purser) 1.506n.31,
 1.507, 1.508–9, 1.510

- Dawson, Henry (piano maker) 1.301
- Day, Thomas (piano maker) 1.301
- Dean
- John (piano maker) 2.301
 - Street
 - Liskeard, Cornwall, UK, *see* Liskeard (Cornwall, UK), Street—Dean
 - Soho (London, UK) 1.59, 1.443, 2.299, 2.301, 2.303, 2.306
- Dear Boy Throw that Icicle Down* 1.426
- de Bougainville, Louis Antoine (Captain), *see* Bougainville, Louis Antoine de
- Debussy, Claude (composer) 1.705n.82
- de Clonard, Robert Sutton (Captain), *see* Clonard, Robert Sutton de
- de Freycinet, Louis-Claude Desaulses, *see* Freycinet, Louis-Claude Desaulses de
- de Krift, William B. (composer) 1.283n.56
- de Laclos, Choderlos, *see* Laclos, Choderlos de
- de Lavradio, *see* Lavradio, Luis d'Almeida Soares Portugal Alarcão Eça e Melo de (Marquis)
- de Saint Aloüarn, Louis François Marie Aleno, *see* Saint Aloüarn, Louis François Marie Aleno de
- decoration
- cartouche*, *see* nameboard *below*
 - case, *see* Tabel, Hermann (harpsichord maker)—case decoration
 - cross-banding, *see* inlay *below*
 - English grand piano, *see* Tabel, Hermann (harpsichord maker), case decoration, English—grand piano
 - engine-turning 1.7, 2.411
 - escutcheon 1.142, 2.57, 2.412
 - see also* key—hole
 - gilding (gilt) 1.3, 1.7, 1.656, 1.686, 1.689, 2.203, 2.161, 2.414, 2.424
 - grand piano, *see* Tabel, Hermann (harpsichord maker), case decoration, English—grand piano
 - inlay 1.141, 1.180, 1.181, 1.184, 1.185, 1.186, 1.191, 1.410n.295, 1.624, 1.660, 2.187, 2.198, 2.354, 2.418
- nameboard, *see* nameboard *below*
- square pianos by Ganer, Christopher 2.283
- stringing 2.431
- grand piano(s)
 - Broadwood, John & Son (1802) 1.2
 - Clementi, Muzio (ca 1806–10; serial number 526) 2.318
 - square piano(s)
 - Beck, Frederick
 - date unknown
 - (converted to a dressing table) 1.162
 - 1780/86? 2.1
 - 1782/87? 1.311, 1.356
 - Ganer, Christopher 2.283
 - Longman & Broderip (1785/86?) 2.187, 2.198, 2.203, 2.242
 - Nunns, Robert & William (1828) 1.3
- Tunbridgeware 1.675n.28, 2.435
- cross-banding in 1.675, 2.63
 - on square piano(s) by Beck, Frederick
 - in general 1.181, 1.183, 1.184, 1.185
 - 1780/86? 1.180, 1.191, 1.675, 2.62, 2.63, 2.93
 - 1782 2.93
- cross-banding 1.409
- in Tunbridgeware, *see* Tunbridgeware *above*
 - grand piano(s)
 - Broadwood, John & Son (1802) 1.2
 - Clementi, Muzio & Co. (ca 1806–10; serial number 526) 2.318
 - harpsichord, *see* Tabel, Hermann (harpsichord maker), case decoration, English—harpsichord

- square piano(s)
 Beck, Frederick
 1782/87? (serial number
 5008) 1.354
 1786 1.354
 Ganer, Christopher 2.283
 Longman & Broderip
 (1785/86?) 2.217
 Nunns, Robert & William
 (1828) 1.3
 harpsichord, *see* Tabel, Hermann
 (harpsichord maker), case
 decoration, English—harpsichord
 inscription *cartouche*, *see* nameboard
 below
 machine engraving 2.421
 marquetry 1.184, 2.405, 2.421
 Fuhrloh, Christopher 1.125,
 1.185, 1.186, 1.187, 1.191
 square piano(s) by Beck/
 Fuhrloh
 1775 1.126, 1.157, 1.161,
 1.164, 1.175, 1.185,
 1.186–7, 1.189, 1.191,
 2.352
 1777 1.157, 1.161, 1.164,
 1.185, 1.187, 1.188,
 1.189, 1.191
 Langlois, Peter (Pierre) 1.186
 Linning, Johann Christian 1.189
 materials
 amaranth 1.188
 boxwood 1.2, 1.162, 1.675n.28,
 2.1, 2.63, 2.64, 2.93, 2.120,
 2.187, 2.198, 2.217, 2.218,
 2.252, 2.318
 ebony 1.3, 1.675n.28, 2.1, 2.63,
 2.64, 2.93, 2.123, 2.124, 2.252,
 2.256, 2.320, 2.377, 2.416,
 2.420
 fruitwood 2.187, 2.198, 2.318,
 2.404, 2.414
 harewood 1.186, 1.188
 kingwood 2.217
 mahogany 1.139, 1.177, 1.256n.28,
 1.409, 1.689, 2.195, 2.388,
 2.411
 handrail at Wadeland House
 1.558
 pitchpipe 1.319
 shipped to England 1.179
 under-tier 1.134
 used on soundboards of Pleyel
 square pianos for hot
 climates 1.409
 veneer on
 grand piano(s)
 Behrent, John (1775)
 1.86–7
 Broadwood, John & Son
 (1802) 1.2
 Clementi, Muzio (ca
 1806–10; serial
 number 526) 2.318,
 2.321
 harpsichord 1.191
 Tabel, Hermann 2.318
 square piano(s)
 Beck, Frederick
 (date unknown;
 converted to a
 dressing table)
 1.162, 1.178, 1.179,
 1.180
 Beck/Fuhrloh (1777)
 1.188
 1780/86? 1.178–80,
 1.675, 2.1, 2.38,
 2.41, 2.42, 2.46,
 2.47, 2.62, 2.63,
 2.64, 2.72, 2.80
 1782/87? (serial
 number 5008)
 1.311, 1.707,
 2.356
 Longman & Broderip
 (1785/86?) 2.187,
 2.198, 2.234, 2.237,
 2.238, 2.242
 Nunns, Robert &
 William (1828) 1.3
 maple 1.2, 1.186, 2.217, 2.318,
 2.354n.19, 2.404
 see also sycamore *below*

- olivewood 1.6, 2.310
 rosewood 1.3, 1.7, 1.188, 2.405
 satinwood 1.2, 1.162, 1.188,
 1.311, 1.689, 2.318, 2.354,
 2.355, 2.356
 sycamore 1.2n12, 1.188, 2.320
 ‘fiddle-back’ 2.354
 moulding(s) 1.142, 2.412, 2.417,
 2.422, 4.424
 on
 anonymous fretted clavichord
 (ca 1750) 2.12
 grand piano(s)
 Clementi, Muzio (ca
 1806–10; serial number
 526) 2.320
 square piano(s)
 Beck, Frederick 1780/86?
 2.12, 2.14, 2.38, 2.42,
 2.120
 Longman & Broderip
 (1785/86?) 2.221, 2.232,
 2.234, 2.252
 Zumpe, Johann Christoph
 (1766/67?) 2.366, 2.377
 tafelklaviere
 Hubert, Christian Gottlob
 (1787) 2.13
 Steinbrück, Johann
 Christoph (1782) 2.12
 Zimmermann, Wilhelm
 l’ainé (1787) 1.12
 trestle stands 1.131
 unfretted clavichord by Fuchs,
 Johann Anton (1781) 2.12
 nameboard 2.422
 inlay 1.675, 2.1, 2.63–4, 2.169,
 2.198, 2.200, 2.318
 inscription 1.xxx, 1.xxxviii
 cartouche
 convex rounded end 1.184,
 2.198, 2.354
 elliptical 1.104–5, 2.354
 ogee 1.184, 2.424
 pointed 2.1,
 1.184n.349, 2.352–3
 oval
 enamel 2.198
 painted 2.318
 rectangular
 elongated 1.184, 2.198,
 2.353, 2.354
 small 1.184n.349, 2.354
 21 Beck nameboard
 cartouches 2.352–3
 on
 bentside spinet 2.403
 grand piano(s)
 Clementi, Muzio (ca
 1806–10; serial number
 526) 2.318
 square piano(s)
 Ball, James 2.278
 Beck, Frederick
 calligraphic style
 1.117–8, 1.257,
 2.1–2
 in general 1.92, 1.118
 25 nameboard
 inscriptions 1.104,
 2.350–2
 ca 1770 (estimate)
 1.158n.a
 1772 2.3
 ca 1769–73 (probably
 ca 1772–73;
 attribution) 1.101,
 2.335
 1773 1.100
 1774 2.3
 1775 2.3
 1777 1.106n.97
 1778 1.106n.97, 2.3
 1778? (estimate; serial
 number 3091)
 1.128n.183
 1780/86? 1.106, 1.118,
 1.128n.183, 1.130,
 1.180, 1.251, 1.675,
 2.1–6, 2.17, 2.41,
 2.46, 2.63, 2.120
 1782/87? (serial number
 5008) 1.128, 1.310,
 2.349–50, 2.354–5,

- 2.356
 1783 1.183
 1785 2.3
 1786 2.354
 1788 (serial number
 1941) 1.125
 ca 1790 (estimate;
 tangent action)
 1.159n.n
 ca 1790? (serial number
 2505) 1.104–5,
 1.128, 1.160
 ca 1790 (serial number
 2580) 2.3
 Broadwood, John 2.261n.1
 1783 2.270
 Buntebart, Gabriel Gottlieb
 2.280, *see* Zumpe,
 Johann Christoph *below*
 Ganer, Christopher 2.283
 Garcka, George 2.284
 Longman & Broderip
 1782–98? 2.275, 2.276
 1785/86? 1.666, 2.166,
 2.167, 2.169–70,
 2.188, 2.198, 2.200,
 2.203, 2.217–20,
 2.234, 2.237, 2.242,
 2.252
 Rolfe, William 2.290
 Schoene, Frederick &
 Christian 1.63, 2.280
 Simpson, John(?) 1.257
 Wales, Robert 2.307
 Zumpe, Johann Christoph
 1768 1.62, 2.280
 ornamentation
 gilt transfers 1.3
 painting 1.184, 2.169, 2.198,
 2.290
 swag 1.183, 2.198
 ormolu 1.2, 1.142, 2.411, 2.424
 on square piano
 Beck, Frederick
 Beck/Fuhrlohg (1775) 1.186
 patera 2.425
 on
 French frame 1.134, 1.140
 grand piano by Clementi,
 Muzio (ca 1806–10; serial
 number 526) 2.321
 square piano by Nunns,
 Robert & William (1828)
 1.7n.34
 piano, *see* Tabel, Hermann
 (harpsichord maker), case
 decoration, English—grand piano
 pilaster 2.426
 reeding 1.7, 1.139, 2.427
 rococo 1.69, 1.141, 1.142, 2.423, 2.427
 soffit 2.429
 at Wadeland House, *see* Wadeland
 House
 stringing, *see* inlay *above*
 stucco 2.432
 at Wadeland House, *see* Wadeland
 House
 swag, *see* nameboard—painting *above*
 Tunbridgeware, *see* inlay *above*
 veneer 2.436
see also mahogany *above*
 Defoe, Daniel 1.66
 Delin, Albert (harpsichord maker) 1.146
 Denham Court (Liverpool, New South
 Wales), *see* Brooks, Christiana
 Derwent River (Van Dieman's Land)
 1.681n.63
Descuiverta, *see* ship
 Dettmer, George (piano maker) 1.683
 & Son (William) 2.301
 Dibdin, Charles (composer) 1.292, 1.447
 Dick, John (piano maker) 2.301
 Diderot, Denis 1.80, 1.254
 Didsbury, John 1.33
 Dieudonné, Carl (piano maker) 1.317,
 1.347
 Dillon, Peter (Chevalier; Captain) 1.370
diminuendo, *see* dynamic(s)—markings
 Dimoline, Abraham & James (piano
 makers) 2.301
 dinner 1.18, 1.36, 1.37, 1.38, 1.73, 1.301,
 1.336, 1.337, 1.339, 1.340, 1.341,
 1.346, 1.347, 1.354, 1.367, 1.387,
 1.388, 1.389, 1.417, 1.418, 1.423,

- 1.426, 1.428, 1.432, 1.455, 1.456,
1.477, 1.692, 1.708, 2.206n.343, 2.266
time (early nineteenth century) 1.624
time (late eighteenth century) 1.446,
1.624
- Directoire exécutif*, see *Inventaire sous La
Terreur*
- Dittersdorf, Karl Ditters von (composer)
1.287n.77
- divided bridge, see bridge
- Dixon, James (Father), see convict(s)—
uprising of 1804
- Dobinson, Edward (piano maker) 2.301
- Dobson, Benjamin (piano maker) 2.301
- Dodd
Edward (piano maker) 2.301
Henry (piano maker) 2.301
- Dodds, Thomas (piano maker) 1.88
- Don Giovanni* (Wolfgang Amadeus
Mozart) 1.480, 1.487
- Done, Joshua (harpsichord & piano
maker) 2.397
harpsichord 2.393
- double bass, see band
- double manual, see manual—double
see also harpsichord—double-manual
- double-pinned, see bridge
- double-strung, see bichord
- dovetail joint 1.139
lapped, see lap joint (lapping)
on square piano by Beck, Frederick
(1780/86?), see Beck, Frederick
(piano maker), piano(s), extant
Beck square pianos—1780/86?
- Dowling, James (Justice; Sir) 1.586
- down-striking hammers, see hammer
- drawn
brass strings, see string(s), drawn—
brass
iron strings, see string(s), drawn—
iron ('steel')
- drawing room 1.xxx, 1.280, 1.326, 1.446,
1.452, 1.454, 1.455, 1.610, 1.677
at Elizabeth Farm cottage, see
Elizabeth Farm cottage—drawing
room in
at Wadeland House, see Wadeland
House—drawing room in
function of 1.622, 1.623
- Green drawing room in Warwick
Castle 1.7
in home of
Barrow, Brian, see Barrow, Brian
(contemporary), home—
drawing room in
Bradshaw, William, see Bradshaw,
William Frederick, antiques
shop/home at 96 Queen Street,
Woollahra—first-floor drawing
room in
placement of furniture in 1.624
- drawing strings, see string(s)—drawn
- Dresden (Germany) 1.46, 1.58, 1.59
- drum, see fifes & drums
- drum bass, see style—English
- Dublin (Ireland) 1.203, 1.282, 1.283n.55,
1.324, 1.676, 1.681
first public performance on a piano in
1.282n.55
- Du Boscq, Jacques 1.441
- Duck Lane (Carnaby Market; Golden
Square; Soho, London, UK) 1.111
- duet(s) 1.300, 1.589, 1.665n.246
- Duke Street
Grosvenor Square, London, UK 2.278,
2.299, 2.300
St James's, London, UK 1.308
- dulcimer, see Hebenstreit, Pantalon
(pantalon maker)
- Dulcken, Louis (harpsichord & piano
maker) 1.78
- Duncombe, William (composer) 1.292
- Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet* 1.86
- Dunn, George (piano maker) 2.301
- Dussek, Jan Ladislav (composer) 1.440,
1.450, 1.457, 1.665
Opus 24 includes additional keys,
see additional keys, requested
by Dussek—Dussek's Opus 24
includes additional keys
Sufferings of the Queen of France, The
1.280–1, 1.282
- Dutch East India Company, see East India
Company

- dynamic(s) 1.24, 1.44, 1.45, 1.49, 1.63, 1.84, 1.89, 1.296, 1.306, 1.425n.63, 1.434, 1.488, 2.322, 2.412, 2.428
 marking(s) 1.85, 1.307
 crescendo 1.83, 1.307, 2.408
 diminuendo 1.83, 1.307, 2.409
 forte 1.45, 2.413
 fortissimo 1.307, 1.589, 2.413
 pianissimo 1.49, 1.307, 2.425
 piano 1.307, 2.425
 sforzando 1.307, 2.428
- Eardley, James 1.320
- East India Company
 British 1.201, 1.263, 1.399, 1.410, 1.444n.29
 Dutch 1.273, 1.350
- Eastman, Joseph (piano maker) 2.301
- Easty, John (Private; marine) 1.352, 1.501
 journal 1.352, 1.501
- Eavestaff & Son (piano makers) 2.301
- Ebingen (Germany) 1.678, 2.385
- ebony, *see* decoration—materials
- Edelmann, Jean-Frédéric (composer) 1.294
- Edgeworth
 Maria 1.69, 1.445, 1.453
 Richard Lovell 1.69n.310, 1.453
- Edinburgh (Scotland) 1.203, 1.324, 1.325, 1.591
- Edinburgh Review* 1.520
- Edmeades & Co. (piano makers) 2.301
- Edward Street (London, UK) 2.285
- Edwards
 Anna Maria
 The Enchantress 1.486
 Christine (contemporary) 1.xxix, 1.386, 1.610
 Colin (contemporary) 1.xxix
 Professor (in 1828, in Sydney, Australia) 1.681
 Richard (piano maker) 2.301
 William Henry (piano maker) 2.301
- Eichner, Ernst (composer; bassoonist) 1.74
- eighth notes, *see* quavers
- eight-foot (8', 8-foot) 1.34, 2.410–11
- elegant, *see* piano—'elegant'
- Elegy written in a Country Churchyard* 1.33
- Eliot, Thomas Stearns ('T. S.' Eliot) 1.193
- Elizabeth*, *see* ship
- Elizabeth
 Bay House 1.10
 Farm 1.619, 1.621, 1.627, 1.631, 1.637, 1.645, 1.658, 1.660–1, 1.669, 1.719, 2.163, 2.194
 cottage 1.xxx, 1.619, 1.620–2, 1.627, 1.641, 1.644, 1.656, 1.667, 1.702, 1.719, 1.720, 2.142, 2.143
 drawing room 1.621, 1.622, 1.626, 1.647, 1.656
 Worgan's piano at 1.622, 1.624 (contemporary) 1.647, 1.649
 1826 dining room 1.647
 fire in the kitchen of 1.652
 garden of 1.627–8
 heritage status of 1.649
 location of 1.620
 verandah added in 1794 1.625
 described by Governor Lachlan Macquarie 1.658
- Elizabeth
 Macarthur, *see* Macarthur—Elizabeth (née Veale)
 Street (Sydney, Australia) 1.585, 2.156n.61
- Ellard, Francis, *see* tuners—Ellard, Francis (Sydney, Australia)
- Ellimer, Ferdinand (piano maker) 2.302
- Elliott & Co. (piano makers) 1.680, 1.681
- Ellis
 Alexander J. 1.321
 Elizabeth (contemporary) 1.xxxx
- El Niño (drought) 1.401, 1.404
- Emeny & Co. (piano makers) 2.302
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo 1.21
- Empire (British) 2.385
 self-belief in 1.484–5
 'empire' style, *see* style—'empire'
- Empire, The* 1.588

- Empress Catherine II, *see* Catherine—II
(Empress of Russia)
- endblock 2.411
- Enchantress, The*, *see* Edwards, Anna
Maria
- Endeavour*, *see* ship
- engine-turned, *see* decoration—engine-
turning
- England
something to be earned in (comment
by Mattheson, Johann) 1.40
- English
action, *see* piano—action
compositional style, *see* style
guitar 1.92, 1.97, 1.110, 1.320, 2.285
see also Beck, Frederick (piano
maker)—English guitar(s)
piano style, *see* style
square piano, *see* square piano
- Enríquez, Antonio (piano maker) 1.72
- entablature 1.554, 2.412
- Eora* people 1.359
- equal temperament, *see* temperament
- equator
First Fleet crosses the 1.349
- Érard, Sébastien (piano maker) 1.78,
2.282, 2.302
claviorganum 1.190, 1.191, 1.258
double-escapement action 1.63
Frères (Sébastien & Jean-Baptiste)
1.78, 1.190
harp 2.282
serial number 273 1.4
piano 1.190
workshop/address
London 2.282
- Erskine, James (Lieutenant-Governor)
concert, September 1818 1.432
- escapement, *see* piano—action
- Esch, Louis von (composer) 1.663
- escutcheon, *see* decoration
see also key—hole
- Essex
John 1.345, 1.441
UK 1.333, 2.389
- Eton College 1.212, 1.449, 1.592n.146,
2.176
- Etruria, *see* Wedgwood, Josiah
- European Magazine, and London Review,*
The 1.439
- Evans
P. (music publisher) 1.297
Richard 1.396
- Eveleigh, Joseph (piano maker) 2.302
- Evenden & Sons (piano makers) 2.302
- Everett, John 1.19, 1.495
- Ewen, Henry (piano maker) 2.302
- Falkener, Robert, *see* Worgan, John
(Dr)—composer
- fantasia(s)
improvised 1.287, 1.310
on *Maritana* (Wallace) 1.682
- Farinelli (singer) 1.xxxv, 1.30
- Farlow, William (piano maker) 2.302
- faro, *see* games
- Farquhar
George 1.389, 1.392
The Recruiting Officer 1.389, 1.391
Robert (Sir) 1.631
Walter (Sir) 1.631, 1.632
- female thermometer, *see* thermometer
- Fentum
Catherine (music publisher) 1.297
John (music publisher; music seller)
2.400
- Ferdinando (de Medici) di Toscana,
(Prince) 1.25–6, 1.28
- fermata* (pause sign) 1.425, 2.412–3
- Ferrini, Giovanni (piano maker) 1.24n.42
- Festing, Michael (violinist) 1.577
- Ficker, Walfried (keyboard pantalon
maker) 1.xxxx
- Field, John (composer) 1.457
- Fielding
& Perkins (piano makers), *see*
Perkins—& Fielding (piano
makers)
Dr (Mr) 2.329, 2.330, 2.331
John (music publisher) 1.298
- fife, *see* fifes & drums
- fifes & drums 1.394, 1.413, 1.414, 1.415,
1.416. 1.430, 1.432, 1.433, 1.484,

- 1.486
 bagpipes, fife & drum (used by
 Captain Cook) 1.415
 Finland 1.xxxi, 1.158, 1.161, 2.351, 2.353
 First Fleet 1.11n.41
 arrives at Botany Bay 1.357, 1.614,
 1.359
 arrives at Sydney Cove, *see* Sydney—
 Cove (Port Jackson)
 convicts loaded onto 1.274
 death rate on voyage 1.362
 departs from Portsmouth 1.252,
 1.253, 1.269, 1.359, 1.614, 1.719,
 1.274, 2.141
 is carefully prepared prior to
 departure from Plymouth 1.273–4
 number of people on 1.362
 the *Sirius* 1.269
 Fischer
 Pierre-Frédéric (piano maker) 2.302
 Uwe (contemporary) 1.xxx
 Fitton, Edward Brown 1.17
 Fitzpatrick, Columbus 1.434
 Fitzwilliam, William (3rd Earl
 Fitzwilliam; Lord) 1.610
 Flackton, William (composer) 1.292
 Fleet Street (London, UK) 1.52, 2.288
 Fleming, Marjorie 1.542
 Flinders, Matthew 1.371, 1.574, 1.662
Investigator, *see* ship
 floods, *see* Hawkesbury River (New South
 Wales)
 Florence (Italy) 1.25, 1.26
 flute, *see* band
 folding legs, *see* stand
Folio 1.285
 Foot, John Strode (Revd) 1.595
Foot's (Footé's) Minuet 1.483, 1.486–8,
 1.490
 Forde, Brownlow
The Miraculous Cure 1.396
Forentia, *see* ship
 Forkel, Johann Nikolaus (music theorist)
 1.44, 1.95
 Forster, William (music publisher) 1.298
fortbien, *see* piano
forte, *see* dynamic(s)—markings
Forte e Piano, *see* piano
 fortepiano, *see* piano
Forte piano, *see* piano
Forte Piano, *see* piano
fortissimo, *see* dynamic(s)—markings
 Fought (Fought), Henric (Henry), *see*
 Worgan, John (Dr), composer—
 publishers of his music
 Foundling Hospital 1.73, 1.212, 1.231,
 1.321, 2.176
 four-foot (4', 4-foot) 1.34n.108, 2.411
 Foveaux, Joseph 1.632, 1.633
 Fowell, Newton Digby 1.204, 1.205,
 1.355, 1.376
 Fowey (Cornwall, UK) 1.510
 River (Cornwall, UK) 1.510n.59
 Fowke
 Elizabeth 1.444
 Joseph 1.444
 Margaret 1.443–4, 1.488, 1.494
 Fowkes
 Francis 1.374–5
 W. 1.396
 France
 adopts the English piano style 1.296
 comparison between French & Italian
 music 1.244–5
 English square piano(s) in 1.75, 1.78,
 1.79–82, 1.189, 2.283, 2.290, 2.291
see also Beck, Frederick (piano
 maker), piano(s)—listed in
Inventaire sous La Terreur
 versus harpsichord 1.82–5
Inventaire sous La Terreur 1.75, 1.78,
 1.79, 1.189, 1.191, 2.279, 2.283
see also Beck, Frederick (piano
 maker), piano(s)—listed in
Inventaire sous La Terreur
see also style, French—compositional
 Franklin, Benjamin 1.74
 Fraser
 Robert, *see* Cornwall Agricultural
 Society
 Simon (Captain) 1.425
 Frederick II ('the Great', King of Prussia)
 1.41, 1.59, 1.61
see also concert(s), private, Frederick

- the Great—at Sanssouci
see also concert(s), private, Frederick
 the Great clandestine concerts in
 the forest
- Freeman
 James (music publisher) 1.298
 Rosemary (contemporary) 1.702
- French
 corners 1.138
 fashion, *see* style, French—fashion
 frame, *see* stand
 horn(s), *see* band—French horn(s)
 J. (music publisher) 1.298
 piano style, *see* style, French—piano
 style
 -polish(ing) 1.2, 1.180
 Revolution 1.73n.347, 1.85, 1.189,
 1.234, 1.306, 1.364n.25, 1.414,
 1.427, 1.632, 2.291
 Reign of Terror 1.75
- Frère Jacques* 1.302
- fret free clavichord, *see* clavichord
- fretted clavichord, *see* clavichord
- Freycinet, Louis-Claude Desaulses de
 1.371
- Freystädtler, Franz Jacob (composer)
 1.294
- Frick, Philipp Joseph (composer) 1.294
- Fricker, Henry 1.378
- Friederici, Christian Ernst (piano maker)
 1.xxxv
- Friedman, Ignaz 1.705n.82
- Friendship*, *see* ship
- Frith Street (Soho, London, UK) 2.289,
 2.304
- Froeschle (Fröschle), George, *see* Fröschle
 (Froeschle), George (harpsichord-
 piano & piano maker)
- front guide-pin(s), *see* harpsichord,
 English, key levers—front guide-
 pin(s)
- Fröschle (Froeschle), George
 (harpsichord-piano & piano maker)
 1.39, 1.107, 1.132, 2.178, 2.189, 2.269
 business partnership with Satchell,
see piano, combination piano,
 harpsichord-piano—Satchell &
 Fröschle
- Frost
 Alan (contemporary) 1.264
 Edward 1.430
- fruitwood, *see* decoration—materials
- fuerte-piano*, *see* piano
- Fuhrloh, Christopher, *see* decoration—
 marquetry
- Fürth (near Nuremberg, Germany)
 1.40n.157, 1.43, 1.63, 2.291
- Fy gar rub her o'er with Straw* 1.426
- Gadd, Graham S. (contemporary) 1.187,
 2.284
- galant* style, *see* style
- Galuppi, Baldassare (composer) 1.63
- gambling, *see* Liskeard (Cornwall, UK)—
 gambling
- games
 faro 1.521
 hazard 1.521
 macao 1.521n.118
- Ganer, Christopher (piano maker) 1.40,
 1.75, 1.78, 1.258, 1.638, 2.283–4,
 2.392, 2.393, 2.394, 2.395
 claviorganum 2.393
 earliest French frame 1.134
 harp stop operated by pedal 2.104,
 2.107, 2.267
 square piano(s)
 ca 1777 1.132, 2.189
 1778 1.134
 1784 2.283
 1785 1.32, 2.190
 ca 1785 1.33, 2.190
 workshop/address 1.107, 2.178,
 2.283, 2.284, 2.397
- Gange, George (piano maker) 2.302
- gap spacer 1.xxxvii, 2.324, 2.413, 2.414
- Garbutt
 J. (piano maker) 2.397
 Thomas (piano maker) 1.258
- Garcka, George (piano maker) 1.258,
 2.284–5
 claviorganum 2.393
 square pianos 2.393, 2.394

- workshop/address 2.178, 2.284, 2.285, 2.397
- gardening 1.701
 - leisure activity for women 1.18, 1.627–8
- Gardom, G. (music publisher) 1.298
- Garth, John (composer) 1.292
- Gawler, William (music publisher) 1.298
- Gazette* 1.81
 - Hobart, *see* Hobart (Tasmania)—*Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser*
 - London, *see* London—*Gazette, The Directory, see* Mortimer, Thomas—*Universal Director, The*
 - Massachusetts, *see* Massachusetts *Gazette*
 - New York, *see* Mercury—*New-York Gazette and Weekly*
 - Sydney, *see* Sydney (Australia)—*Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales Advertiser*
 - Virginia, *see* Virginia *Gazette*
 - Windsor, *see* Windsor and Richmond *Gazette*
- Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, The* 2.386, 2.387
- Geib, John (piano maker) 1.40, 1.258, 2.285
 - in America 2.285
 - square piano(s)
 - combination piano (clavichord-piano) 2.407
 - escapement action in 2.195–6, 2.243, 2.285
 - made for Astor, George 2.277
 - made for Longman & Broderip
 - 1785 (serial number 361) 2.168
 - 1787 (serial number 1134) 2.168
 - 1791 (serial number 2386) 2.168
 - workshop/address 2.285
 - ca 1777 1.132, 2.189
- Geminiani, Francesco 1.211, 1.233, 1.243
 - composer 1.245
 - violinist 1.244–5
- directs
 - concert in London 1.244
 - orchestra in Naples 1.243–4
- teaches
 - Avison, Charles 1.243
 - Worgan, John 1.211, 1.242–3, 1.245
- genouillères, see* knee-lever
- Gentleman's Magazine, The* 1.486–7, 1.539, 1.610
- George
 - Augustus (Prince of Wales; later King George IV) 2.427
 - Street (Sydney, Australia) 1.420, 1.421, 1.472, 1.475, 1.496, 1.581, 1.582, 1.589, 1.660, 1.662, 1.674, 1.675, 1.676, 1.677, 1.681, 1.719, 1.720, 2.142, 2.195
 - II (King of England) 1.689
 - III (King of England) 1.56, 1.57, 1.107n.101, 1.236, 1.276n.18, 1.354, 1.385, 1.601, 2.192, 2.328
 - IV (King of England) 2.427
- Gerock
 - & Co. (piano makers) 1.680
 - Astor & Co. (piano makers), *see* Astor—Gerock, Astor & Co. (piano makers)
 - Christopher (piano maker) 2.302
 - see also* Davis—Gerock & Co. (piano makers)
- Gershwin, George (composer) 1.705n.82
- Giardini, Felice (composer) 1.294, 1.305
- Gibbs, John (piano maker) 1.302
- Gibraltar 1.463, 1.464
- Gibson, Elizabeth Bordley 1.453
- Gilbulla* Stud Farm, Grose Wold 1.701–3
- gilding (gilt), *see* decoration
- Gillen, Mollie 1.213, 2.173, 2.174
- Gilmour* 1.581
- Giordani, Tommaso (composer) 1.292
- Giornale di Letterati d'Italia* 1.27
- Girard, Francis
 - baker 1.422, 1.423
 - sells underweight bread 1.422
 - supplies military with bread 1.422
 - convict 1.421–2, 1.423

- French language teacher 1.418, 1.420, 1.423
- influences the naming of Napoleon Street (Darling Harbour, Sydney, Australia) 1.423
- opens a coffee-room, *à la Française* 1.422, 1.423
- see also* quadrille—in Sydney
- proprietor of the Sydney Hotel 1.423
- quadrille instructor 1.418, 1.420, 1.421, 1.423
- shipping entrepreneur 1.423
- waltz instructor 1.419, 1.420, 1.423
- wine connoisseur 1.423
- Giustini, Ludovico (composer) 1.xxxv
- Gladwin, Thomas (composer; organist) 1.209, 1.292
- see also* Burney, Charles, concerning, Gladwin, Thomas (composer; organist)—first organist at Vauxhall Gardens
- glee(s) 1.302–9
- accompanied 1.308–9, 1.310
- musical genre 1.302, 1.303, 1.305, 1.306, 1.307, 1.426, 1.429
- at Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club 1.305
- club(s) 1.302, 1.304, 1.305, 1.308
- ethos of 1.304
- composed by
- Arne, Thomas, *see* Arne, Thomas (Dr; composer; organist)—glees
- Baildon, Joseph, *see* Baildon, Joseph (composer; organist)—glees
- Callcott, John Wall, *see* Callcott, John Wall (composer)—glees
- Earl of Abingdon 1.303n.131
- Harington, Henry (Dr) 1.308
- Hayes, William, *see* Hayes, William (composer; organist)—glees
- Warren, Thomas, *see* Warren, Thomas—glees
- Worgan, John (Dr), *see* Worgan, John (Dr; George Bouchier Worgan's father), composer, vocal music—glees
- Worgan, Thomas Danvers, *see* Worgan, Thomas Danvers (Dr John Worgan's fifth surviving son)—composer of glees
- compositional structure of 1.302, 1.303
- domestic performance of 1.307, 1.308, 1.309
- edited by Warren, Thomas, *see* Warren, Thomas—editor
- interpretation of 1.306–7
- text
- respectable 1.303, 1.307
- risqué 1.304, 1.305, 1.306
- Gluck, Christoph Willibald (composer) 1.426, 2.289
- plays concerto for 26 drinking glasses 1.284
- glue (glued; gluing) 1.116, 1.131n.194, 1.329, 1.347, 1.348
- Glynn
- Cornwall, UK, *see* Worgan, George Bouchier—farms
- Edmund John 1.513, 1.514
- goat in Great Cabin of *Sirius*, *see* Phillip, Arthur (Captain; Governor), First Fleet, Cape Town to Botany Bay—a goat in the Great Cabin
- God Save the King* 1.415
- pedagogical repertoire 1.484, 1.486, 1.490
- symbol of puissant England 1.484
- at
- reading of Governor Phillip's commission 1.413–4
- 'Subscriber's Ball' 1810 (Sydney, Australia) 1.429
- Elizabeth Macarthur plays 1.483
- nature of compositional setting 1.488
- linked with patriotism & triumphalism 1.485
- played by young Queen Charlotte 1.157
- Godley
- Charlotte 1.494, 1.495

- John Robert 1.494
- Godowsky, Leopold 1.705n.82
- Godwin, John (piano maker) 1.302
- Golden Fleece, The* 1.430
- Golden Grove, see ship*
- Goldsworth, John (piano maker) 1.258, 2.168, 2.195n.296, 2.279, 2.281, 2.285–6
- Goodwin, William 1.292
- Gore, Ann 1.581
- Gorgon, see ship*
- Gorman, M. O. (piano maker) 2.302
- Gossec, François-Joseph 1.296
- Gostelow, Gavin (contemporary) 1.xxix
- Goulding (piano maker)
& Co. (music publishers; piano makers) 1.298
- D'Almaine and Potter (piano makers) 1.681n.63
- George (music seller) 2.400
- Phipps & D'Almaine (music publishers; piano makers) 1.298
- governess 1.442, 1.443, 1.444
- Government House
Rose Hill (New South Wales), *see* Phillip, Arthur
Sydney (Australia), *see* Phillip, Arthur
- Gow, John & Andrew (music publishers) 1.298
- Gower Street (off Bedford Square, London, UK) 1.215, 2.175, 2.177
- Gräbner, Carl August (harpsichord maker)
harpsichord (1782) 1.145
- Graf
Christian Ernst 1.238
Conrad (piano maker) 1.xxxvii
- grand piano, *see piano—grand*
- Grand Tour 1.306
- Grant
John 2.327
banished to Phillip Island 2.333
departs Portsmouth for New South Wales 2.330
comfortable journey 2.333
freedom whilst awaiting transportation 2.329
harpsichord box 2.330, 2.331
journal 2.327, 2.328n.16, 2.334
pardoned by Lachlan Macquarie 2.333
shoots Spencer Townsend 2.327, 2.328
tried for attempted murder 2.328
Matilda (sister of John Grant) 2.328
gravecembalo à martelli 1.xxxv
Gravelot 1.58
gravicembalo col piano e forte, see Cristofori, Bartolomeo (piano maker)—*gravicembalo col piano e forte*
- Gray
John (piano dealer) 2.302
Robert & William (organ makers) 2.398
Thomas 1.33
- Great Britain, see ship—SS Great Britain*
- Great
Marlborough Street (Soho, London, UK) 2.282, 2.301, 2.302, 2.306
Pulteney (Pulteny; Poulteney) Street 1.51, 1.107, 1.115n.136, 2.178, 2.264, 2.280, 2.282, 2.286, 2.393, 2.398, 2.399
Bridle Lane 2.178
Broadwood's workshop at, *see* Broadwood—workshop/
address
Froeschle's workshop at 2.178
Shudi's workshop at 1.51, 2.398
Russell Street (Bloomsbury, London, UK) 2.289, 2.303, 2.306, 2.398
- Greek Street (Soho, London, UK) 1.584
- Green
Bank Road (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK), *see* (Cornwall, UK)—Green Bank Road
Clerkenwell (London, UK) 1.211, 2.175
Hills (New South Wales) 1.694
named Windsor in 1810 1.694
John (piano maker) 2.302
Samuel (organ maker) 2.392
Street (Leicester Square, London, UK) 2.304
Thomas 1.317
Turnham (London, UK) 1.283
see also Richmond—Green

- Greenwood, J. 2.297
- Greville, Fulke 1.29, 1.31, 1.35, 1.38
 Wilbury House 1.29, 1.31
- Grieg, Edvard (composer) 1.705n.82
- Griesinger, Georg August 1.451
- Grocott's Dissolving Views, *see* Worgan,
 George William (George Bouchier
 Worgan's eldest surviving son)—
 pianist for Grocott's Dissolving Views
- Groenhout, Christopher (contemporary)
 1.xxx
- Grose
 Francis (Major; Governor) 1.619
 River (New South Wales) 1.204n.59
 Wold (New South Wales) 1.701
- Guest, Jane Mary, *see* women—as concert
 pianists
- guide-pin(s), *see* harpsichord, English,
 key levers—front guide-pin(s)
- guitar 1.92n.3
 Beck, Frederick
 1763 1.92
 1764 1.97
 1765–66 1.97
 English 1.92, 1.97, 1.110, 2.285
 Goldsworth, John 2.285
 used to fix the basic pitch of a piano
 1.320
- Gunter
 & Horwood (piano makers) 2.302
 Henry (piano maker) 1.680, 1.681,
 2.302
- Günther, Michael (contemporary) 1.43,
 1.157, 1.160
- Gyrowetz, Adalbert (composer) 1.294,
 1.300
- Hack, Robert (piano maker) 2.302
- Hackett, David (contemporary) 1.xxxi,
 2.284, 2.335, 2.339
- Hackwood, William 1.383
- Haig & Co. (piano makers) 2.302
- Haines (piano makers) 2.302
- half notes, *see* minims
- Hall, Charles 1.525
- Hamburg (Germany) 1.34, 1.160, 1.161,
 1.164, 2.10, 2.41, 2.86, 2.234, 2.351,
 2.353
- hammer
 butt 2.69, 2.79, 2.415, 2.416, 2.418
 down-striking 1.2n.8, 2.410, 2.415
 head 1.44, 1.45, 2.415, 2.416
 bare wood 1.44, 1.45, 2.419, 2.433
 leathering of 1.328, 1.331
 in English square pianos 1.328,
 1.330
 pianos by Longman &
 Broderip 2.258
 square pianos
 Beck, Frederick
 1778 1.328
 1780/86? 1.329, 1.330,
 1.331n.248, 2.69,
 2.70
 ca 1790 (estimate;
 tangent action)
 2.382
 Zumpe, Johann (John)
 Christoph 1.328, 1.329
 1766/67? 2.378
- rail 1.115
- rest rail 2.69, 2.73, 2.416
- shank 1.353, 2.69, 2.72–3, 2.79,
 2.415, 2.416
see also Beck, Frederick (piano
 maker), piano(s), action in—
 shank(s)
 up-striking 1.2n.8, 2.415
- Hammerflügel*
 Jean-Henri Silbermann 1.77
- hammer head, *see* hammer—head
- Hämmer-pantalone*, *see* piano—*Hämmer-*
pantalone
- hammer spinet, *see* piano—hammer
 spinet
- Hämmerwerke*, *see* piano—*Hämmerwerke*
- Hammond, John (piano maker) 2.302
- Hampshire (UK) 1.638, 2.284
- Hampshire Chronicle, The* 1.260
- Hancock, John Crang (piano maker)
 1.258
 workshop/address 2.286, 2.393
- Handcock, James (organ maker) 2.398
- Händel (Handel), Georg (George)

- Friedrich (Frederick) (composer)
 1.209, 1.231, 1.233, 1.240, 1.242,
 1.280, 1.426, 1.488
 asked to cease writing Italian opera
 1.234
 at Slaughter's Coffee House 1.58
 blindness 1.36–7
 bust by Roubillac (Roubiliac), Louis-
 François 1.57
 grave 1.57
 his music
 enjoyed by cotton-spinners of
 Cresbrook in 1824 1.120
 preferred by British soldiers in
 America 1.88
 King George III 1.236
 Master of the King's Musick 1.56
Messiah (oratorio) 1.321, 1.585
 arranged by Wolfgang Amadeus
 Mozart 1.587
 organist 1.227, 1.228
 pitch of his opera orchestra 1.321
 plays a piano 1.36–8
 Queen Charlotte plays organ concerti
 by 1.57
Saul (oratorio) 1.217
 Dead March 1.217
 statue by Roubillac (Roubiliac),
 Louis-François 1.57
 tuning fork 1.321
 1784 commemoration celebrations
 1.236
 hand-lever 2.416
 on
 English square pianos 1.87, 2.267
 piano(s) by
 Beck, Frederick
 1780/86? 2.61–2, 2.104,
 2.108
 Behrent (Bahrent; Brent), John
 (Johann) 1.87
 Longman & Broderip
 (1785/86?; serial number
 604) 2.168, 2.221, 2.240
 Silbermann, Gottfried 1.87
 Zumpe, Johann Christoph
 1.49–50
 1766/67? 2.367
 hand-stop, *see* stop
 Hanover (Germany) 1.63
 Street (Hanover Square, London, UK)
 1.52
 Square 1.51, 1.52, 2.280, 2.306, 2.387,
 2.397
 Music Rooms 1.52
 Harewood (Lord) 1.449
 harewood, *see* decoration—materials
 Harington, Henry (Dr) 1.308
 harmonian, *see* organ
Harmonicon, The 1.290
harmonie, *see* band—wind band
 harmonium, *see* organ—harmonium
 harp 1.79, 1.281n.48, 1.303n.131, 1.326,
 1.426, 2.104, 2.180n.194, 2.261, 2.416
 and Crown 2.183, 2.288
 -harpsichord, *see* Cristofori,
 Bartolomeo (piano maker)—
 arpicembalo che fa il piano e il forte
 makers
 Érard, Sébastien, *see* Érard,
 Sébastien (piano maker)—harp
 (serial number 273)
 see also Bradshaw, William
 Frederick, antiques shop/
 home at 96 Queen Street,
 Woollahra—harp by Érard,
 Sébastien
 Southwell, William, *see* Southwell,
 William (harpsichord, piano &
 harp maker)—harp
 played during 1830s in Sydney
 (Australia) 1.681
 stop (buff stop), *see* mutation
 harpsichord 1.xxxvi, 1.1, 1.2n.8, 1.25,
 1.26, 1.27, 1.28, 1.31, 1.38, 1.61,
 1.73, 1.82, 1.83, 1.84, 1.85, 1.86,
 1.87, 1.89–90, 1.146, 1.159n.n, 1.225,
 1.230–1, 1.246, 1.248, 1.290, 1.291,
 1.300, 1.311, 1.317, 1.439, 1.446,
 1.453, 2.297, 2.322
 accompanies glees 1.308–9
 & organ combined 1.407
 & piano combined, *see* piano,
 combination piano—harpsichord-

- piano
- appropriate instrument for women
1.345–6, 1.439
- at eighteenth-century Chinese
Imperial Court 1.28
- belly rail 2.402
- bentside 2.403
- bridge, *see* English *below*
- catalyst for seduction
Haydn's tale 1.451
- clavecin* 1.xxxvi, 1.77, 1.78, 1.90
- clavessin* 1.84
- clavictherium 2.407
- claviorganum, *see* piano, combination
piano, claviorganum—
harpsichord-piano
- concerto, *see* Worgan, John (Dr;
George Bouchier Worgan's father),
as composer, harpsichord works—
concerto (1785)
- decoration
case
Tabel, Hermann, *see* Tabel,
Hermann (harpsichord
maker), case decoration,
English—harpsichord
marquetry 1.187
North & South German styles
1.185
- double-manual 1.72, 1.107n.101,
2.333, 2.389n.5, 2.403, 2.410,
2.421
- instrument of choice for large
houses/rooms 1.271
- emasculates men 1.345
- English 2.114
bridge 2.24
cheek 2.406
key levers 2.377
front guided 2.112
front guide-pin(s) 2.112
Venetian swell 2.436
wrest-pin(s) 2.57
- first to be brought to Australia
2.327–34
- gap 2.414
- harpsichordists
- Abel, Carl Friedrich, *see* Abel, Carl
Friedrich, as—harpsichordist
- Bach, Johann Christian, *see* Bach,
Johann Christian—preference
for piano over harpsichord
- Brillon de Jouy (Madame), *see*
Brillon de Jouy, Anne Louise
(Madame)—one of Europe's
greatest harpsichordists
- London women 1.456
- Queen Charlotte 1.57, 2.192
- talentless players
on voyage to India in 1764
1.446, 2.192
'Little Fatty' 1.447
- Worgan, John (Dr) Worgan,
John (Dr), *see* Worgan,
John (Dr; George Bouchier
Worgan's father)—as
harpsichordist
- hitch-pin rail 2.417
- in India 1.410–11
- Italian style 1.25
- jack 1.34
guide 1.159n.n, 2.322, 2.432
- key levers, *see* English *above*
- listed in *Inventaire sous La Terreur*,
see *Inventaire sous La Terreur*—
seized keyboard instruments
- makers
- Barton, Thomas (harpsichord
maker), *see* Barton, Thomas
(harpsichord maker)
- Beckman, Nicholas (harpsichord
maker), *see* Beckman, Nicholas
(harpsichord & spinet maker)
- Broadwood, John
1789 1.190–1
- Buntebart, Gabriel Gottlieb
as harpsichord maker to
Queen Charlotte, *see*
Buntebart, Gabriel Gottlieb
(harpsichord & piano
maker)—harpsichord
maker to Queen Charlotte
- Done, Joshua (harpsichord maker),
see Done, Joshua (harpsichord

- & piano maker)—harpsichord
- Dulcken, Louis
 - undated 1.78
- Fröschle (Froeschle), George, *see*
 - piano, combination piano,
 - harpsichord-piano—Satchell & Fröschle
- Gräbner, Carl August
 - 1782 1.145
- Kirckman
 - Abraham (harpsichord maker),
 - see* Kirckman—Abraham
 - see also* Kirckman—Jacob (harpsichord maker)
- Laeske, Carl Fredrick 1.146
- Longman & Broderip, *see*
 - Longman & Broderip (harpsichord & piano makers)—harpsichord(s)
- Merlin, John Joseph (harpsichord-piano maker), *see* Merlin, John Joseph (inventor; harpsichord-piano & piano maker)
 - see also* piano, combination piano—harpsichord-piano
- Neubauer, Friedrich (harpsichord maker), *see* Neubauer—Friedrich (Frederick) (harpsichord & piano maker)
- Pether, George, *see* Pether, George (harpsichord & piano maker)
- Plenius (Pleunis), *see* Plenius (Pleunis)—Johann (John) Christian (harpsichord maker; eldest son of Roger Plenius)
 - see also* Plenius (Pleunis)—Joseph (harpsichord maker; son of Roger Plenius)
 - see also* Plenius (Pleunis)—Roger (Rutgerus) (harpsichord & piano maker)
- Pohlmann, Johannes, *see*
 - Pohlmann (Pohlman), Johannes (John) (harpsichord & piano maker)
- Rosenau, Gottlieb
 - 1786 1.145
- Shudi, Burkat, *see* Shudi (Schudi; Tschudi; Tshudi) Burkat (Burkhart; Burkhardt) (harpsichord maker)
- Southwell, William
 - Southwell, William, *see* Southwell, William (harpsichord & piano maker)
- Stodart, Robert, *see* Stodart—Robert (harpsichord & piano maker)
- Tabel, Hermann, *see* Tabel, Hermann (harpsichord maker)
- Taskin, Pascal, *see* Taskin, Pascal (harpsichord & piano maker)
- Thoaner
 - 1772 1.190
- nut 2.423
- peau de buffle* on 1.83, 2.425
- played by talentless players, *see*
 - harpsichordists—talentless players *above*
- price 1.29, 1.72–3
- public performances by women in
 - London, *see* harpsichordists—London women in public *above*
- Queen Charlotte plays, *see*
 - harpsichordists—Queen Charlotte *above*
- shape of 2.415
- single-manual 1.72, 1.73, 2.331n.37, 2.333, 2.421, 2.429
- spine 2.430
- spinnet(s) 1.317, 1.334, 2.417, 2.423, 2.430, 2.437
 - appropriate instrument for women 1.345
 - bentside 2.331, 2.333, 2.403, 2.430
 - price 2.331n.37
 - listed in *Inventaire sous La Terreur* 1.75
- makers
 - Beck, ? 1.95
 - Beckman, Nicholas 1.95
 - Delin, Albert 1.146
 - Hawkins, Furley 2.331
 - Keene, Stephen 2.331

- Silbermann, Jean-Henri 1.145
 owned by Grand Prince
 Ferdinando de' Medici 1.26
 term erroneously synonymous
 with 'square piano' 1.xxxv,
 1.690–1, 1.720
 price 2.331n.37
 status symbol 1.663
 tail 2.432
 tuning of 1.317–8, 1.322, 1.324
 wrest-pins, *see* English *above*
 wrest-plank 2.437
 harpsichordists, *see* harpsichord—
 harpsichordists
- Harrington
 conspirator in convict uprising (1804)
 1.642
 W. (Dr) 1.484
- Harris
 George William (younger brother of
 Thomas) 1.36, 1.37
 James (elder brother of Thomas) 1.36
 John 1.649
 struck by lightning 1.659
 Renuatus (organ maker) 1.223
 organ at
 St Andrew Undershaft 1.218,
 1.223–4
 St Botolph's 1.225
 pitch 1.225
 tuning system 1.225
 Thomas 1.36
- Harrison
 & Co. (music sellers) 2.400
 Arthur Leslie 'Red' 1.700–1, 1.703
 James (music publisher) 1.282, 1.298
 Pamela (wife of Arthur Leslie) 1.703
- Hasse, Johann Adolph 1.59, 1.294
- Hatherley, John, *see* Macarthur, Elizabeth
- Hauck, Frederick (piano dealer) 2.302
- Hawkins
 Furley (spinet maker) 2.331
 John (Sir) 1.65, 1.237, 1.243, 1.245
 John Isaac (piano maker) 1.653, 2.202
 'Patent Portable Grand' 1.653
 M. 2.298
- Hawkesbury River (New South Wales)
 1.204, 1.207, 1.636,
 floods
 1795 1.406–7
 1806 1.695–6
 first half of nineteenth century
 1.695
 nineteenth & twentieth centuries
 1.696
- Hawkesworth, John 1.369
 inaccurate version of Captain Cook's
Endeavour Journal, *see* Cook,
 James (Captain), *Endeavour
 Journal*—Hawkesworth's
 inaccurate version
- Hawthorne, Peter (music seller) 2.400
- Haydn, Franz Joseph (composer) 1.88,
 1.246, 1.248, 1.282, 1.294, 1.300,
 1.303
 clavichord used by 1.145n.260
 embarrassed by Countess Morzin
 1.451
 English grand piano owned by
 1.192n.398
 flexibility regarding choice of
 keyboard instrument 1.291
 first visit to London (1791–2) 1.52,
 1.58
 concerning Queen Charlotte's
 keyboard skills 1.58
 hourly teaching fee 1.479
 Salomon symphonies at Hanover
 Square Music Rooms 1.52,
 1.238
 his 'popular' style 1.288
 'scientific' composer 1.238
 works 1.662
 keyboard sonatas 1.663
 for connoisseurs (*Kenner*) 1.290
 played in Sydney between
 1788–90 1.426
 Salomon symphonies 1.52, 1.238
 used pedagogically 1.447
- Hayes
 Philip (composer) 1.292
 William (composer; organist) 1.304,
 1.306
 glees 1.304

- on performing catches, *see*
 - catch—interpretation of
- Hayman, Susan (contemporary)
 - (descendant of Elizabeth Macarthur)
 - 1.702
- hazard, *see* games
- head
 - section of
 - key lever, *see* key plate—head
 - hammer, *see* hammer—head
- Hebe 1.6, 2.309–12
- Hebenstreit, Pantalon (pantalon maker)
 - 1.46–7
- Hellen, Johann Ludwig (harpsichord & piano maker)
 - harpsichord-piano (1779) 1.145
 - see also* piano, combination piano,
 - claviorganum—harpsichord-piano
- Henderson
 - Graeme (contemporary) 1.263
 - Halton 1.158, 1.162
 - J. (piano maker) 2.302
- Hendra (Cornwall, UK), *see* Worgan, George Bouchier—farms
- Henrion, Henri (piano maker) 1.78
- Hepplewhite, George (furniture maker, London, UK) 1.141, 1.156
- Herbert, Edward (Lord Herbert of Cherbury) 1.29
- Hertz
 - Heinrich Rudolf 1.418
 - unit of frequency 1.34n.108, 1.225n.161, 1.321, 1.417
- Herz, Henri (piano maker) 1.681
- Hewitt
 - D. (contemporary) 1.471n.31
 - James (composer) 1.282
 - S. (contemporary) 1.471n.31
 - Susanne (contemporary) 1.xxxii
- High Street (Sydney, Australia) 1.673, 1.674
- Hill
 - Aaron 1.234
 - Castle
 - Liskeard (Cornwall, UK) 1.538
 - New South Wales 1.639, 1.642
 - Joseph (music publisher) 1.298
 - Street (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK) 1.535
 - William (Captain) 1.403
 - Hillegas, Michael (music dealer) 1.88
 - Hiller, Johann Adam (composer; music theorist) 1.xxxvi, 1.58
 - Hills
 - Green (Windsor, New South Wales) 1.694
 - John (piano maker) 2.302
 - Pennant 1.639
 - Seven 1.639
 - Himmel, Friedrich (composer) 1.294, 1.300
 - Hinckesmann (Hincksman), Maria T. 1.587n.123
 - Hingston, John (piano maker) 2.302
 - Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales 1.649, 1.712
 - hitch-pin(s) 1.27, 1.116, 2.80, 2.130, 2.410, 2.417, 2.421
 - block 1.116, 1.664, 2.417, 2.130, 2.230, 2.244, 2.417, 2.423, 2.426
 - square piano(s)
 - Beck, Frederick (1780/86?) 2.13, 2.14, 2.30, 2.31, 2.37, 2.61, 2.86, 2.93, 2.103, 2.104, 2.130
 - Longman & Broderip (1785.86?) 2.230, 2.244
 - Zumpe, Johann Christoph (late 1766/67?) 2.376
 - plank 2.80
 - rail 2.417, 2.421
 - plate 1.139, 2.417
- Hitler, Adolf 1.42
- Hobart (Tasmania) 1.xxxi, 1.425, 1.574, 1.712, 2.206
 - Courier* 1.569
 - Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser* 1.425, 1.655, 2.202
 - Town (Van Diemen's Land) 1.20, 1.569, 1.570, 1.571, 1.573, 1.574, 1.681
- hocket, *see* style
- Hodgson, P. (music publisher) 1.298
- Hofmann, Josef 1.705n.82
- Hogarth, William (painter; printmaker) 1.58, 1.141

- Holder, Joseph (composer) 1.292
- Holland 1.273, 2.277
- Henry (piano & organ maker) 1.258, 2.398
 - claviorganum 2.393
 - piano(s)
 - grand 2.395
 - square 2.395
 - organized 2.393
 - workshop/address 2.286
 - New 1.262, 1.354, 1.364n.25, 1.366, 1.367, 1.371, 1.651
- Holloway, Joseph (organ maker) 2.398
- Holroyd, Maria Josepha 1.445, 1.446
- Holt, Joseph 1.464, 1.637
- Holywell Street (Strand, London, UK) 2.277
- Holzbauer, Ignaz Jacob (composer) 1.238
- Homburg am Main (Germany) 1.157, 1.160
- Hoogland, Stanley (contemporary) 1.xxx
- Hook, James (composer) 1.292, 1.443, 1.484, 1.663
- Hope*, see ship
- Horne, George (Bishop) 1.241
- Horsfield, Robert (music publisher) 1.298
- Hotel, The*, see Vaughan, Thomas
- house(s)
- eighteenth century west London
 - dimensions 1.271
 - of ill-repute 1.286
- Houston, James Henry (piano maker) 1.133, 2.190, 2.285
- Howard
- John 2.329–30
 - Mary (Duchess of Norfolk) 2.268
 - William (composer) 1.292
- Howitt, William 1.646
- How Sweet those tuneful bells* (cantata), see Worgan, George William (George Bouchier Worgan's eldest surviving son), as—composer
- Hughes, George (Government Printer) 1.396
- Hüllmandel, Nicolas-Joseph (composer) 1.83, 1.85, 1.294, 1.450
- Hulton, George (piano maker) 2.302
- Humble, Maximilian (composer) 1.293
- Hummel, Johann Nepomuk (composer) 1.283, 1.294
- piano concerto in b minor, Opus 89 1.458
- Hummell, A. (music publisher) 1.298
- Huni, Heinrich (piano maker) 1.6, 2.310
- Hunter
- John (Captain) 1.206, 1.571
 - An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island* 1.204, 1.206–7, 1.380–1
 - at
 - Hawkesbury River 1.204, 1.207
 - Norfolk Island 1.268
 - Sydney Cove 1.398
 - circumnavigates the world 1.380–1, 1.382
 - engraved likeness (1793) 1.208
 - ex-pupil of Burney, Charles (Dr) 1.276–7
 - First Fleet voyage 1.336–7, 1.351, 1.355
 - love of music 1.277
 - map of Sydney Cove
 - March 1788 1.364, 1.371–3
 - July 1788 1.376
 - musical *Kenner* 1.289
 - return to England 1.501
 - court-martial 1.500, 1.504–5
 - sketch of expedition to
 - Hawkesbury River (1789) 1.204, 1.207
 - Vice-Admiral 2.329
 - River (New South Wales) 1.580, 1.582
 - coal 1.672
 - Street (Sydney, Australia) 1.422, 1.580
- Hunter*, see ship
- Hurtsthouse, Charles 1.18
- Hyde
- Frederick Augustus 2.287
 - Park Barracks (Sydney, Australia) 1.571, 1.575
 - Museum 1.xxx
 - Street (Bloomsbury, London, UK)

- 1.306
 Hz, *see* Hertz, Heinrich
- Illustrated London News* 1.576
 improvisation 1.221, 1.228, 1.229, 1.246,
 1.276, 1.311n.175, 1.682
 Ince, William (cabinet maker, London,
 UK) 1.105
 Incorporated Society of Musicians
 (London, UK) 1.218–9
 Inderman, Henry (piano maker) 2.302
 infirmary 1.594
 Royal Cornwall Infirmary (Cornwall,
 UK), *see* Royal—Cornwall
 Infirmary (Cornwall, UK)
 inlay, *see* decoration
 inscription, *see* decoration
Institut National de Musique, *see* *Cité de
 la Musique*
 insurance, *see* Sun Fire Office
 intermediate lever, *see* piano—action
 interval 1.221n.143, 1.321n.201, 1.342,
 1.425n.64, 1.430, 2.418, 2.424, 2.428,
 2.434
 in tuning 1.322–3, 1.325, 2.412,
 2.419, 2.433, 2.437
 5th 1.247n.277, 1.325, 2.408
Inventaire sous La Terreur 1.75, 1.189,
 1.190, 1.191, 2.279, 2.283
Commission temporaire des arts 1.75
Directoire exécutif 1.75
 seized keyboard instruments
 harpsichords 1.76, 1.77
 pianos 1.76–7
 grand 1.76, 1.78
 square
 English 1.78, 1.79–81,
 2.283, 2.290, 2.291–2
 organized 1.78–9, 1.81,
 1.189, 1.191, 2.279
 French 1.78, 1.190, 1.191
 German 1.78
 used as firewood 1.76
Investigator, *see* ship
 Irish folk tunes, *see* national airs—Irish
 iron
 bolt 1.131, 1.133, 1.134, 1.140, 1.153,
 1.154, 1.410n.295, 2.188, 2.190,
 2.191, 2.321
 butt hinge 1.146, 1.147–8, 1.176, 2.51
 gap spacer 1.xxxvii, 2.324, 2.413,
 2.414
 hitch plate 1.139, 2.417
 strings, *see* string(s)
 tension bar 1.xxxvii, 2.413, 2.434
- jack, *see* harpsichord—jack
 see also piano, action—jack
- Jackson
 James (piano maker) 2.303
 Port 1.204, 1.207, 1.208, 1.263, 1.264,
 1.358, 1.359, 1.361, 1.364, 1.366,
 1.367, 1.369, 1.372, 1.380, 1.385,
 1.386, 1.396, 1.398, 1.464, 1.485,
 1.501, 1.570, 1.614, 1.615, 1.684
 William 1.305–6
 Jakarta, *see* Batavia (Jakarta)
 Jakobsson-Wärn, Inger (contemporary)
 1.xxxi
- James
 Daphne (contemporary) 1.xxix
 Street (Covent Garden, London, UK)
 1.98
 Philip (contemporary) 1.38, 1.125–6,
 1.175, 1.186, 1.258n.38
- Jamison
 John (Sir) 1.419, 1.426
 Thomas (Surgeon's First Mate) 1.198
- Jane Shore*, *see* Rowe, Nicholas
- Janiewicz, Feliks (composer) 1.294, 1.300
- Jarvis, Samuel (blind organist) 1.231–2,
 1.293
- Jeckel
 C. 1.xxxv
 J. C. 1.xxxv
- Jefferson, Thomas 1.86, 1.365
- Jenkins
 Robert, *see* auctioneers
 William (piano maker) 2.303
- Jennens, Charles 1.36, 1.37–8
- Jensen, Erik 1.10
- Jervis, John (1st Earl of St Vincent; First
 Lord of the Admiralty) 1.507

- Jewin Street (London, UK) 2.281
 John Street (Golden Square) 2.398
 Johnson
 Jay (contemporary) 1.xxix
 John (music publisher), *see* Worgan,
 John (Dr), composer, publishers of
 his music, Johnson—John
 Mrs (music publisher), *see* Worgan,
 John (Dr), composer, publishers of
 his music, Johnson—Mrs
 Richard (Revd)
 character 1.377
 First Fleet voyage
 brings
 Bibles, books & religious
 pamphlets 1.377–8
 kittens on board *Golden
 Grove* 1.351
 wife 1.362
 preaches during 1.310
 frustration with housing at
 Sydney Cove 1.379
 Milbah (daughter) 1.472
 Samuel (Dr) 2.268
 W. J., *see* tuners (piano tuners)—
 Johnson, W. J. (Sydney, Australia)
 Johnston
 George (Major) 1.641, 1.642
 John (First Lieutenant) 1.204, 1.205,
 1.206, 1.208–9
 William
 convict leader, *see* convict(s),
 uprising—of 1804
 Jollies, The, *see* marine(s)—regiments
 Jones
 David (retail store) 1.9n.35
 John Paul 1.365
 Richard (piano maker) 2.303
 William (Revd)
 describes well temperament 1.323
 supports Concert of Ancient
 Music 1.235–6
 journeyman 1.73, 1.114, 1.116
 Plenius, Johann (John) Christian 1.32
 Zumpe, Johann Christoph 1.40n.157
 Just, Johann August (composer) 1.294
 Kandinsky, Vasily (painter; art theorist)
 1.12
 kangaroo 1.331, 1.367, 1.474
 K'ang Hsi (Emperor of China) 1.28
 Kauffman, Angelica 1.186
 Keast, Samuel (Purser) 1.506–7, 1.509,
 1.615
 Keating, Paul (contemporary) 1.10, 2.171
 Keith, Prowse & Co. (piano dealers) 2.303
 Kemp, Anthony Fenn 1.473
 Kenner 1.278, 1.288, 1.289, 1.340
 Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel 1.290
 Haydn, Franz Joseph 1.290
 music for
 characteristics 1.279
 genres 1.287
 Kenny, Paul (contemporary) 1.xxx, 1.686,
 1.688, 1.689, 1.697, 1.699, 1.702,
 1.704–5, 1.710, 2.151, 2.205, 2.272
 Kerpen, John (music publisher) 1.298
 Kerry, François-Thomas (Lord) 1.80,
 2.292
 key 1.19, 1.63, 1.117, 1.130, 1.159n.n,
 1.224, 1.341, 2.69, 2.86, 2.108, 2.109
 as tonality 1.443
 character, *see* temperament
 dip 2.419
 square piano(s)
 Beck, Frederick (1780/86?)
 2.110
 Longman & Broderip
 (1785/86?) 2.246
 frame 1.664, 2.6, 2.72, 2.95, 2.401,
 2.413, 2.419
 square piano(s)
 Beck, Frederick (1780/86?) 2.6,
 2.34, 2.72, 2.95, 2.109–10,
 2.112, 2.124
 back touch rail 2.6, 2.110
 balance rail 2.110, 2.112
 front touch rail 2.112
 Longman & Broderip
 (1785/86?) 2.246
 back touch rail 2.246
 front touch rail 2.246
 front(s) 2.63, 2.120

- piano(s)
- Beck, Frederick
 - square
 - 1774 2.120
 - 1777 2.120
 - 1778 2.120
 - 1780/86? 1.120
 - 1782/87? (serial number 5008) 1.120
 - 1785 2.120
 - 1786 2.120
 - Broadwood, John 2.120
 - Clementi, Muzio
 - grand
 - ca 1806–10 (serial number 526) 2.120
 - head
 - as section of key lever, *see* key—plate
 - hole 1.142
 - lever(s), *see* key lever(s)
 - natural, *see* key lever(s)—natural
 - plate, *see* key plate
 - sharp, *see* key lever(s)—sharp
 - signature 1.444
 - tail
 - section of key lever, *see* key plate
 - well, *see* keywell
 - keyboard 1.xxvii, 1.3, 1.22, 1.46–8, 1.58, 1.87, 1.115, 2.7, 2.24, 2.41, 2.69, 2.72, 2.93, 2.109, 2.124, 2.129–30, 2.168, 2.221, 2.228, 2.244, 2.246, 2.252, 2.256, 2.360, 2.382, 2.402, 2.405–7, 2.412, 2.415, 2.417, 2.419–21, 2.424, 2.429–31, 2.435
 - additional keys, *see* additional keys
 - collection(s) 1.xxix, 1.11, 1.91, 2.164, 2.272
 - compass 1.63, 1.79, 2.166, 2.418
 - grand piano(s)
 - Broadwood, John 1.664
 - in late eighteenth century Europe 2.167
 - in Spain 1.664n.230
 - square piano(s)
 - after 1820 1.139
 - Beck
 - Frederick
 - 1780/86? 1.715, 2.108–9, 2.216
 - ca 1790 (estimate; tangent action) 2.382
 - ca 1795 (estimate) 1.159n.n, 2.8n.16, 2.9, 2.11, 2.351n.12
 - Joseph (ca 1840) 1.159n.282
 - Johannes 1.678
 - Broadwood, John 1.666
 - 1809 1.666, 2.197
 - 1830s 1.664
 - Longman & Broderip 1.666
 - 1785/86? 2.167, 2.196, 2.203, 2.244
 - ca 1790 1.147, 2.216
 - 1796 (serial number 306) 1.665
 - Southwell, William (1784) 1.664
 - Trute, Charles (ca 1771?) 1.146
 - Weber, Ferdinand
 - date unknown 1.147
 - 1772 1.147
 - see also* octave(s)—in keyboard compass
 - English pianos 2.119, 2.252
 - see also* square piano(s) *below*
 - extended 1.653, 1.665, 2.202
 - flap, *see* lid—flap *below*
 - grand piano
 - Clementi, Muzio (ca 1806–10; serial number 526) 2.320, 2.321
 - instrument(s) 1.xxxvii, 1.2n.8, 1.11, 1.24–6, 1.28, 1.32, 1.43–4, 1.45, 1.48, 1.76–7, 1.97, 2.191–2, 2.272, 2.277, 2.280n.19, 2.281, 2.401–4, 2.406–7, 2.409–13, 2.415, 2.416, 2.417, 2.418, 2.419, 2.420–3, 2.426–31, 2.433–5, 2.437
 - enthusiast 1.xxvii, 1.1, 2.272
 - maker(s) 1.xxxvi, 1.34–5, 1.96, 1.101, 1.108, 1.257, 1.258n.38, 1.259n.45, 1.282n.55

- lid
 flap 1.314, 2.14, 2.41, 2.57
 main 2.14
 played with lid closed 1.314–5
 used as firewood 1.76
- manual, *see* harpsichord—double-
 manual
see also harpsichord—single-
 manual
see also piano, combination piano,
 organized
- piano (piano *organisé*), Zumpe,
 Johann
 (John) Christoph—single-manual
 modern piano 2.125
- pantalon 1.xxxxv, 2.425
 keyboard pantalon 1.3n.15, 1.47,
 1.48, 1.145n.260, 2.360, 2.382,
 2.425, 2.426, 2.431
 keys on 1.45
 mutations 1.45–6, 2.419
 upright pantalon 1.34
- pantaleon* 1.45
- pantalone* 1.xxxxv
see also piano—*Hämmer-pantalone*
- repertoire 1.xxxxvi, 1.3, 1.68, 1.85,
 1.211, 2.164, 1.295, 1.692
- composed by
- Bach
 Carl Philipp Emanuel
 1.290, 1.294
 Johann Christian 1.290
- Beethoven, Ludwig van 1.440
- Clementi, Muzio 1.290
- Continental composers 1.294–5
- Cramer, John Baptist 1.440
- Dussek, Jan Ladislav, 1.440
- English or London-based non-
 English composers 1.291–3
- Esch, Louis von 1.663
- French composers 1.295–6
- Händel (Handel), Georg
 (George)
- Friedrich (Frederick) 1.488
- Haydn, Franz Joseph 1.290,
 1.294
- Hook, James 1.663
- Kozeluch, Leopold, 1.440
- Mazzinghi, Joseph 1.663
- Pleyel, Ignaz Joseph, 1.440
- Scarlatti, Domenico 1.220,
 1.221, 1.230, 1.231
- Wanhal (Vanhal), Johan
 Baptist, 1.440
- Worgan, John (Dr) 1.246–9,
 1.291
- single-octave span 2.108, 2.109, 2.431
- square piano(s)
 Zumpe, Johann Christoph 2.374
- stichmaß*, *see* three-octave span *below*
- three-octave span (*stichmaß*) 2.108,
 2.431
- key lever(s) 1.286, 1.325, 1.353, 1.451,
 1.650–1, 2.69, 2.72, 2.79, 2.86, 2.95,
 2.109, 2.110, 2.112, 2.114
- accidental, *see* sharp *below*
- clavichord 1.22n.30
- cranked
 square piano(s)
 Beck, Frederick (1780/86?)
 2.119
 Longman & Broderip
 (1785/86?) 2.249
- English harpsichord, *see* harpsichord,
 English—key levers
- front guide-pin(s) 2.112
 on English harpsichord, *see*
 harpsichord,
 English, key levers—front
 guide-pin(s)
- keyboard pantalon, *see* keyboard,
 keyboard pantalon—keys
- natural 2.416, 2.423, 2.429, 2.432
- grand piano 2.252
 Clementi, Muzio (ca 1806–10;
 serial number 526) 2.320
- square piano(s) 2.119, 2.252
 Beck, Frederick
 1780/86? 1.270n.119, 2.47,
 2.108, 2.112, 2.120,
 2.124, 2.125, 2.126,
 2.127, 2.191
 ca 1790 (estimate; tangent
 action) 2.382

- Longman & Broderip
(1785/86?) 2.252
- Zumpe, Johann Christoph
(1766/67?) 2.377
- sharp 2.112, 2.125, 2.129, 2.416,
2.423, 2.429, 2.432
- grand piano
 - Clementi, Muzio (ca 1806–10;
serial number 526) 2.320
- square piano(s)
 - Beck, Frederick
1780/86? 2.123–4, 2.127
ca 1790 (estimate; tangent
action) 2.382
 - Longman & Broderip
(1785/86?) 2.252, 2.256
 - Zumpe, Johann Christoph
(1766/67?) 2.374, 2.377
- square piano(s)
 - Beck, Frederick (1780/86?)
2.112–19
 - Longman & Broderip (1785/86?)
2.159, 2.161, 2.163, 2.249
- key plate
 - ebony 2.416, 2.420
 - piano(s)
 - Beck, Frederick (1780/86?)
2.123–4
 - Broadwood, John 2.252
 - Clementi, Muzio (ca 1806–10;
serial number 526) 2.320
 - Longman & Broderip
(1785/86?) 2.252
 - Zumpe, Johann Christophe
(1766/67?) 2.377
- head
 - square piano(s)
 - Beck, Frederick (1780/86?)
natural 2.112, 2.114, 2.120
 - Longman & Broderip
(1785/86?) 2.252
- ivory 1.20, 2.119, 2.120, 2.126, 2.252,
2.320, 2.377, 2.412, 2.416, 2.418,
2.420, 2.421, 2.432
- late eighteenth-century England
2.119
- score lines 2.124, 2.136
- tail 2.120
- keywell 1.2, 2.14, 2.63, 2.108
 - cheek(s) 2.63–4
- Kilkhampton Grammar School, *see*
Macarthur, John
- King
 - George II, *see* George—II (King of
England)
 - George III, *see* George—III (King of
England)
 - Matthew Peter 1.293, 1.665n.246
 - Philip Gidley (Second Lieutenant)
1.265, 1.277, 1.353, 1.358, 1.366,
1.502, 2.333
 - journal 1.266, 1.277
 - purchases a chamber organ
1.503–4, 1.617
- Street
 - Covent Garden (London, UK) 1.98
 - Sydney (Australia) 1.684, 1.693,
1.720, 2.145, 2.156n.62,
2.156n.65, 2.157, 2.158n.68,
2.160, 2.284
 - Westminster (London, UK) 2.204,
2.397
- Kingdon
 - Bridget, *see* Macarthur, Elizabeth
 - John (Revd), *see* Macarthur, Elizabeth
 - Thomas, *see* Macarthur, John
- King's
 - Concert, *see* Concert of Ancient Music
 - Cross (London, UK) 2.303
- Kings
 - Cross (Sydney, Australia) 1.422
 - Square (London, UK), *see* Soho
(Sohoe) Square
- Kirckman (harpsichord & piano maker[s])
1.32, 1.90, 1.683, 2.391
- Abraham 1.34, 1.107n.101
 - workshop/address 1.100, 1.107,
2.178
- harpsichord 1.90, 2.389n.5, 2.391
- Jacob 1.107n.101, 1.258, 2.278, 2.392,
2.393, 2.394
- finds music master for Greville,
Fulke 1.29
- workshop/address 1.100, 1.107,

- 2.178, 2.286
 Joseph 2.303
 grand piano (1809) 1.715, 1.721,
 1.722
 workshop/address 2.303
 pianos for hot climates 1.409
 Kirkland, John (piano maker) 2.303
 ‘Kiss my arsel!’ (popular convict phrase)
 1.619
 knee-lever, *see* piano—knee-lever
 Knibb, Thomas (music publisher) 1.298
 koala 1.474
 Koczwara (Kotzwara), František (Francis)
 (composer) 1.282, 1.286
 hangs himself in a brothel 1.286
 The Battle of Prague, *see* battle,
 pieces—*Battle of Prague*, *The*
 (Koczwara)
 Kozeluch, Leopold (composer) 1.295,
 1.440
 Kraft, Mathias Peter (piano maker) 1.71
 Krämer, Georg Ludwig (*tafelklavier*
 maker) 1.44–5, 1.48, 1.49
- Laclos, Choderlos de
 Les Liaisons dangereuses 1.450
 Danceny (Chevalier) 1.450
 Volanges, Cécile (‘rosebud’) 1.450
- Lady
 Lever Art Gallery (Wirral, UK) 1.157,
 1.161, 2.352
 Park Wood, *see* Liskeard (Cornwall,
 UK)—Lady Park Wood
Lady Jane Grey, *see* Rowe, Nicholas
Lady Peel, *see* ship
Lady Penrhyn, *see* ship
- Laeske (Laescke), Carl Fredrick
 (harpsichord maker) 1.146
 Laffer, Athanasius (Revd) 1.537
- Lancaster
 Andrew (contemporary) 1.xxxi,
 2.270, 2.339
 Joseph 1.539
 Lancashire, UK 1.179, 2.298
- Lang
 Frederick 1.95
 Johann Georg 1.295
 John George 1.650–1
 Langhans, Justus (piano maker) 2.303
 Langlois, Peter (Pierre), *see* decoration—
 marquetry
 Langshaw, John 1.215, 1.226
 La Niña (above average rainfall) 1.358,
 1.401
 La Pérouse, Jean-Françoise de Galaup,
 Comte de 1.364, 1.366, 1.367, 1.368,
 1.370
 arrives at Botany Bay 1.364
 lost at sea 1.370
 Louis XVI plans La Pérouse’s
 expedition 1.365
 reason for expedition 1.365, 1.366
 lap joint (lapping) 1.139, 2.225, 2.369,
 2.420
 lapped dovetail joint 2.420, 2.67
 Lapparent, Charles Cochon de 1.77
 Larevellière-Lepeaux, Louis-Marie 1.77
largetto 1.247
largo 1.65, 1.237
L’Avant-coureur [*The Forerunner*]
 1.xxxvi, 1.82, 1.83
 Lavradio, Luis d’Almeida Soares Portugal
 Alarcão Eça e Melo de (Marquis)
 1.428
- Laycock
 Thomas 1.633, 1.652, 1.660, 1.665,
 1.666
 piano
 brings to Sydney 1.665,
 2.143n.28, 2.143n.30,
 2.196, 2.202
 additional keys 1.665–6,
 1.667n.258
 not upright form 1.652,
 2.194, 2.201, 2.202
 ‘elegant’ 1.658, 1.660, 1.661,
 1.662, 1.663, 1.666, 1.667,
 2.197, 2.200, 2.203
 imports to Sydney 1.653, 2.202
 death 1.653–4, 1.659, 2.143n.31
 estate auction 1.495, 1.655, 1.656,
 1.657, 1.659–60, 1.661, 1.665,
 1.666, 1.671, 1.674, 1.712,

- 1.719, 1.720, 2.141, 2.143,
2.194, 2.195, 2.196, 2.200,
2.201, 2.203, 2.207
music books 1.662, 2.197
piano, *see* piano—'elegant'
above
land grant at Parsley Bay 1.658
scandalous behaviour 1.658–9
subdues convict uprising, *see*
convict(s),
uprising, of 1804—Laycock,
Thomas
Thomas (jr)
struck by lightning 1.659
Le Blond, William, *see* Blond, William Le
Le Caton, *see* ship
victualling racket on, *see* Worgan,
George Bouchier
Le Géographe, *see* ship
Le Maire 1.262n.61
Le Naturaliste, *see* ship
Lea, Michael (contemporary), *see*
Powerhouse Museum—Lea, Michael
(contemporary)
Leadenhall Street (London, UK) 1.227,
2.306
leather
bookbinders' 1.64, 2.378
buffalo 2.425
calf 1.64
deer 1.64
goat 1.64
kangaroo 1.331
sheep 1.64
vegetable tanned, *see* tanning
leathering
on
English square pianos, *see*
hammer—head
square pianos
Beck, Frederick, *see* hammer—
head
Zumpe, Johann (John)
Christoph, *see* hammer—
head
replacing hammer head leather 1.328,
1.329–30
Leclerc, Georges-Louis, Comte de Buffon
1.30
legato 1.79, 1.230, 1.296
legs, *see* stand
Leipzig (Germany) 1.99, 1.290, 1.300,
2.283
Lemontey, Pierre-Édouard 1.366
Leslie, John (piano maker) 2.303
Leukfeld, Ludewig Augustus (piano
maker) 1.40
lever
hand, *see* hand-lever
key, *see* key lever(s)
knee, *see* knee-lever
Lewer, J. (music publisher) 1.298
Lewis, Eleanor Parke Custis 1.453
Lhévinne, Josef 1.705n82
Lhotsky, John (Dr)
arrives in Sydney 1.571
meets Worgan, John Parsons
1.571–2
burdened by debt 1.573, 1.574
sells
Ferdinand Bauer's letters to the
Linnean Society 1.574–5
natural history collection to
Mechanic's Institution
1.573
has journal of Worgan, George
Bouchier 1.572–3
Hobart Town
arrives in 1.571
departs from 1.571
farewell lecture 1.574
lid
closed when playing 1.271, 1.310,
1.314, 1.315, 2.237, 2.356
main 1.271, 1.310, 1.340, 2.7, 2.14,
2.38, 2.41, 2.42, 2.57, 2.62, 2.93,
2.95, 2.232, 2.233, 2.234, 2.242,
2.381
prop stick 1.314, 2.38, 2.233
Lidel, Joseph (piano maker) 2.303
Liebhaber 1.278, 1.288, 1.340
music for
characteristics 1.279, 1.287
genres 1.280, 1.287

- Lincoln
 Cathedral 1.223
 John (organ maker) 2.398
- Linholm, Pehr (piano maker) 1.71
- Linnean Society (London, UK), *see*
 Lhotsky, John, burdened by debt—
 sells
- Linning, Johann Christian, *see*
 decoration—marquetry
- Lipscombe, Stanley 2.160
- Liskeard (Cornwall, UK) 1.xxix, 1.xxxii,
 1.510, 1.512–13, 1.514, 1.525–7, 1.529,
 1.535–42, 1.548–50, 1.589, 1.594, 1.595,
 1.600, 1.602–10, 1.615, 1.616, 1.684
 Austin, Richard 1.519
 badger-baiting 1.519, 1.520
 Castle
 Garden 1.537
 Hill 1.538
 Park 1.535
 Street, *see* Street—Castle *below*
- cockfighting 1.519, 1.520
 gambling 1.520, 1.525
 inns at 1.xxxii, 1.521
 Albion 1.522
 Barley Sheaf 1.522
 Fountain 1.522
 Old King's Arms 1.519
 Red Lion 1.522
 The Bell 1.519
 Webb's Hotel 1.521, 1.522
 White Horse 1.522
- Lady Park Wood 1.549
- Moorswater 1.549
- population data 1801–1830 1.515
- professions represented during the
 1830s 1.516–17
- Road
 Green Bank 1.541
 New 1.549
 Plymouth 1.536
- school(s)
 established for the poor 1.537
 Grammar 1.535, 1.536–8
 National Society Boys School
 1.537, 1.538, 1.616
 closure 1.539, 1.540, 1.616
- skittles (kayle) 1.519
- Street
 Castle 1.535, 1.538
 Church 1.519, 1.608
 Dean 1.548, 1.550, 1.616
 Pike 1.515n.82, 1.518n.97
 West 1.548, 1.616
- Tamar River 1.514
- Tavern Hill 1.518n.97, 1.519
- Wesleyan Methodist Association
 chapel (Greenbank) 1.541
- Windsor Academy 1.536
- wrestling 1.519
- Lisson Street (Paddington, London, UK)
 2.387
- listing cloth 2.135, 2.421
- Litchfield Street (Soho, London, UK) 1.35
- Little
 Fatty 1.447–8
 Marylebone Street (Soho, London,
 UK) 1.105
 Russell Street (Drury Lane, London,
 UK) 1.95, 2.300
- Liverpool Street (Sydney, Australia)
 1.580, 1.581
- lockboard 1.310, 1.314, 2.14, 2.41, 2.46,
 2.57, 2.63, 2.161, 2.234, 2.237, 2.356,
 2.421
- Loeschman, David (piano maker) 2.303
- Loftus Street (Sydney, Australia) 1.373
- London (UK)
 Catch Club 1.305–6
 Pianoforte School 1.457n.96
 Vauxhall Gardens 1.57, 1.209, 1.222,
 1.228, 1.239, 1.284, 1.448, 2.184,
 2.185
 window-shopping in 1.114–5
- London*
Chronicle, The 1.242
Directory, see Mortimer, Thomas—
Universal Director, The
Gazette, The 1.52, 1.197, 2.282, 2.331
- Long, John (Second Lieutenant) 1.337
- Longman
 & Bates (piano makers) 2.303
 & Broderip (harpsichord & piano
 makers)
 harps 2.287

- harpsichord(s) 1.127, 2.281, 2.287
 organs 2.287
 piano(s)
 with additional keys, *see*
 additional keys, on pianos
 by—Longman & Broderip
 grand
 ca 1795 (owned by Joseph
 Haydn) 1.192n.399
 storage box made in
 1798 for 1.176–7
 square
 for hot climate
 serial number 435 1.410
 in commodes 1.188
 1782 1.132
 1782–98? (owner:
 Metropolitan Museum
 of Art, New York)
 1.147, 1.156n.278
 1782–98? (owner:
 Powerhouse Museum,
 Sydney) 2.171,
 2.198n.312, 2.200n.316,
 2.275–6
 1785 1.139n.240
 1785/86?, *see* Barrow, Brian
 (contemporary)—
 Longman & Broderip
 square piano (1785/86?)
 ca 1790 (owner:
 Metropolitan Museum
 of Art, New York)
 1.147, 1.156n.278,
 2.216
 campaign-furniture-
 inspired stand on
 1.147, 2.216
 publishers 1.298, 1.299–300
 purchased by Clementi, Muzio
 and business partners
 1.300
 workshop/address
 Cheapside 2.288
 Haymarket 1.213, 2.288
 Tottenham Court Road 2.289
 Clementi & Co. (piano makers) 2.287
 James 1.258
 & Co. (music publishers; piano
 makers) 1.298
 Lukey
 & Broderip (music publishers;
 piano makers) 1.298
 & Co. (music publishers; piano
 makers) 1.298
 piano(s)
 square
 1770 1.132
 ca 1772–73 *see* Beck,
 Frederick (piano
 maker), extant Beck
 square pianos—ca
 1769–73 (probably
 ca 1772–73)
 (attribution) (owner:
 Albert Bil, Scotland)
 Looe (Cornwall, UK) 1.510n.59
 Liskeard-Looe
 Canal 1.550
 Company 1.549
 River valley (Cornwall, UK) 1.514
 Lootens, Willem 1.295
 Lorente, Andres (music theorist) 1.243
 Lord, Simeon, *see* auctioneers
 louis (currency) 1.81, 1.254
 Louis
 XIV (King of France) 1.46–7, 1.365–6
 XV (King of France) 1.82, 1.399
 style, *see* style—Louis XV
 XVI (King of France)
 style, *see* style—Louis XVI
 Lowes (Mr; Surgeon's Mate) 1.198
 Lu, Andrew (Dr; contemporary) 1.xxxiii
 Luff & Co. (piano makers) 2.303
 Lunardi, Vincenzo 1.280
 Lunardi's Flight, *see* Corri,
 Domenico—*Lunardi's Flight*
 Luther, John Christian 1.293
 luxury
 eighteenth-century concerns
 regarding 1.622–3
 Lyneham, James 1.293
 Lyster, Richard (piano maker) 2.303

macao, *see* games

Macarthur

Edward (eldest son of John & Elizabeth Macarthur) 1.464, 1.465n.25, 1.626, 1.631, 1.668, 2.194

Elizabeth (née Veale; wife of John Macarthur) 2.159, 2.162, 2.163, 2.164, 2.193, 2.194, 2.207, 2.208, 2.210, 2.212, 2.217, 2.276

at Sydney Cove

accommodation

initial (1790) 1.472

thatched wattle-and-daub

hut (1791) 1.405, 1.475,

1.476, 1.478, 1.483,

1.491, 1.494, 1.615,

2.142

arrives at Sydney Cove 1.465,

1.471

curiosity 1.474

describes

Sydney Cove 1.471

weather at 1.404

friendship with

Dawes, William

(Lieutenant) 1.473

marines officers 1.473

Piper, John (Captain) 1.637

Tench, Watkin (Captain

Lieutenant) 1.473

Worgan, George Bouchier

1.385, 1.474, 1.477,

1.484

obtains George

Worgan's piano

1.12, 1.437, 1.461,

1.477, 1.478, 1.479,

1.481, 1.482, 1.491,

1.493, 1.494, 1.499,

1.504, 1.542,

1.615, 1.638, 2.142,

2.206–7, 2.209,

2.210, 2.213, 2.217,

2.276

see also piano lessons

below

lacks female company 1.472,
1.473

piano

lessons 1.479, 1.483, 1.490,
1.491, 1.493

purchases Thomas

Laycock's piano in 1810

1.495, 1.652, 1.655,

1.656, 1.657, 1.660,

1.661, 1.665, 1.666,

1.671, 1.673–4, 2.141,

2.143, 2.195, 2.196,

2.200, 2.201, 2.203,

2.206–7

tuned 1.493, 1.494

plays 1.617–8, 1.631, 1.637

Foot's (Foote's) *Minuet*

1.483, 1.486–8, 1.490

nature of compositional

setting 1.488, 1.490

God Save the King 1.483,

1.484, 1.486

nature of compositional

setting 1.488, 1.490

reads the notes (music) 1.483,

1.488

see also voyage to Sydney Cove

below

background

Bridgerule (Cornwall, UK)

1.461, 1.462, 1.463, 1.464

education 1.462, 1.480

Hatherley, John (Elizabeth

Macarthur's maternal

grandfather) 1.461

Kingdon

Bridget (daughter of John

Kingdon) 1.257, 1.385,

1.404, 1.461, 1.462,

1.474, 1.475, 1.478,

1.479, 1.480, 1.483,

1.485, 1.491, 1.493,

1.494, 1.627, 1.638

John (Rev'd) (Elizabeth

Macarthur's foster

father) 1.461, 1.462,

1.463, 1.464, 1.479,

- 1.480, 1.646
 Thomas (son of John Kingdon) 1.462
 Veale (Elizabeth Macarthur's maiden surname)
 Elizabeth 1.461, 1.462, 1.464
 Richard (Elizabeth Macarthur's father) 1.461
 character 1.639, 1.660, 1.667, 1.669
 death 1.669, 2.142, 2.143
 desire to appear cultured 1.646, 1.658, 1.661, 1.663, 1.667
 eclectic taste in reading 1.645, 1.646
 fascinated by Afghanistan 1.645
 gardening 1.627–8
 sees herself as colonial elite 1.491–2, 1.622, 1.635, 1.669
 intelligence 1.474, 1.646
 marries Macarthur, John 1.463, 1.464
 portrait of 1.465–71
 Rose Hill 1.492, 1.617
 voyage to Sydney Cove 1.464–5
 Worgan's piano, *see* friendship with, Worgan, George Bouchier—receives George Worgan's piano *above*
 Elizabeth (eldest daughter of John & Elizabeth Macarthur) 1.617, 1.631
 Elizabeth
 Farm 1.619, 1.621, 1.627, 1.631, 1.637, 1.645, 1.658, 1.660–1, 1.669, 1.719, 2.163, 2.194
 cottage 1.xxx, 1.619, 1.620–2, 1.627, 1.641, 1.644, 1.656, 1.667, 1.702, 1.719, 1.720, 2.142, 2.143
 garden 1.628
 heritage status 1.649
 Worgan's piano at 1.622, 1.624
 (contemporary) 1.647, 1.649
 pressures associated with running 1.660
see also Elizabeth—Farm
 James (4th son of John & Elizabeth Macarthur) 1.462, 1.631, 1.703
 John (husband of Elizabeth Macarthur)
 alleged wealth 1.629
 arrives at Sydney Cove 1.465, 1.471
 at Kilkhampton Grammar School 1.462
 Kingdon, Thomas 1.462
 buys Foveaux's land and stock 1.633
Camden Park
 estate 1.634, 1.667, 1.702
House 1.701, 1.702, 1.703
 archivists of (contemporary) 1.704
 character 1.635, 1.668
 commands many 1.618–9
 death 1.667
 obituary 1.668
 departs for England in 1809 1.470
 duel 1.629–30
 arrested without charge 1.630
 court-martial in England 1.630, 1.631
 buys merinos 1.633, 1.634
 dealings with British government over wool 1.632, 1.633
 land grant from Lord Camden 1.634
 Elizabeth Farm, *see* Elizabeth, Farm *above*
see also Elizabeth—Farm
 joins
 68th Regiment (Gibraltar) 1.464
 102nd Regiment (New South Wales Corps) 1.464
 land grants
 from Lord Camden 1.634

- Cowpastures (renamed
 'Camden') 1.634
 near Parramatta (Elizabeth
 Farm) 1.618
 marries Veale, Elizabeth 1.463,
 1.464
 portrait of 1.465–71
 psychosis 1.667, 1.668
 John (jnr; 2nd surviving son of John
 & Elizabeth Macarthur) 1.465n.25,
 1.627, 1.631
 Mary (daughter of John & Elizabeth
 Macarthur) 1.631, 1.667
 -Onslow 1.700, 1.703, 2.217
 Annette Rosemary 1.703
 Enid 1.702, 1.703
 Gilbulla Stud Farm 1.701, 1.702,
 1.703
 James Arthur 1.702
 James William 1.702
 Pamela 1.701, 1.703
 Sandra 1.701, 1.702, 1.703
 see also Muggleston, Kenneth
 see also Harrison, Arthur
 Leslie 'Red'
 -Stanham
 Edwina 1.704
 John 1.704
 William (youngest son of John &
 Elizabeth Macarthur) 1.631, 1.703
 machine engraving, *see* decoration
 Mackelcan, Sarah, *see* Worgan, John (Dr;
 George Bouchier Worgan's father)—
 Mackelcan, Sarah (Dr John Worgan's
 first wife)
 Mackellar, Neil (Captain) 1.629, 1.632
 Macleay Street (Potts Point, Sydney,
 Australia) 2.160, 2.309
 Macquarie
 Elizabeth Henrietta (Governor
 Lachlan Macquarie's second wife)
 1.178, 1.432, 1.650
 uses piano to frighten indigenous
 trespassers 1.650–1
 Lachlan (Governor) 1.77n.322, 1.432,
 1.433, 1.434, 1.658, 1.693, 2.333
 describes Elizabeth Farm, *see*
 Elizabeth Farm—described by
 Governor Lachlan Macquarie
 founds Windsor 1.694
 Place (Sydney, Australia) 1.671
 Street (Sydney, Australia) 1.420, 1.674
 Macquarie Grove, Camden (New South
 Wales) 1.701
 Madan, Martin (Revd) 1.227
 Maffei, Scipione (Marquis) 1.xxxv,
 1.26–7
 Magazin der Musik 1.276, 1.459
 Mahler, Gustav (composer) 1.705n.82
 mahogany, *see* decoration, materials—
 mahogany
 Maids of Honour Row (Richmond
 Hill, UK), *see* Worgan, John (Dr;
 George Bouchier Worgan's father),
 address(es)—Maids of Honour Row,
 Richmond Hill
 Maitland (New South Wales) 1.580,
 1.581, 1.582, 1.592
 Malaspina, Alexandro 1.370
 manual
 double 1.72, 1.107n.101, 1.271, 2.333,
 2.389n.5, 2.403, 2.410, 2.421
 single 1.72, 1.73, 2.331n.37, 2.333,
 2.421, 2.429
 Manzoli, Giovanni (composer) 1.222
 maple, *see* decoration, materials—maple
 marcato 1.230
 Mardon, William (piano maker) 2.303
 Maria Bárbara (Princess, of Braganza;
 Queen of Spain) 1.xxxv
 marine(s) 1.204, 1.206, 1.267, 1.269,
 1.274, 1.337, 1.339, 1.362, 1.372,
 1.375, 1.388, 1.389, 1.394, 1.413,
 1.414, 1.416, 1.431, 1.464, 1.473,
 1.476, 1.500, 1.501, 1.611, 1.617
 officers' marquees at, *see* Sydney—
 marine officers' marquees at
 regiment(s)
 Blue Bottles 1.414
 Boot Necks 1.414
 Jollies, The 1.414
 New South Wales Corps (102nd
 Regiment), *see* New—South
 Wales Corps (102nd Regiment)

- see also* Port Jackson
 (Australia)—New South
 Wales Corps at
 regimental band 1.394, 1.413–4,
 1.421, 1.429, 1.430, 1.431,
 1.432, 1.433, 1.435, 1.494–5,
 1.659
 3rd Buffs (3rd East Kent Regiment)
 1.434, 1.435n.107
 40th Regiment 1.420, 1.434, 1.435
 68th Regiment 1.464
 73rd Regiment 1.429
 102nd Regiment, *see* New—South
 Wales Corps (102nd Regiment)
- Maritana*, *see* Wallace, Vincent
 (composer)—*Maritana* 1.682
- Marius, Jean 1.xxxv
- Market Street (Sydney, Australia) 1.592,
 1.674, 1.675, 1.676, 2.155
- Mârmol, Juan del (piano maker) 1.72
- marquetry, *see* decoration—marquetry
- Marquis Cornwallis*, *see* ship
- Marsden, Samuel (Revd) 1.639
 attitude towards Catholicism 1.639–40
 breeds sheep 1.633
 ‘flogging parson’ 1.639
 cruelty as magistrate 1.640
- Marsh
 John 1.308, 1.309
- Marshall Street (Golden Square, London,
 UK) 1.103
- Martens, Conrad 1.570
 journal 1.570–1
- Martin
 John 1.352
 Mary Ann 1.591
- Martins & Ouvrier (piano makers) 1.706–7
- Mary*, *see* ship
- Marybone Pass (Westminster, London,
 UK) 1.214, 2.173
- Maskelyne
 Nevill (Dr; Astronomer Royal) 1.400
 Point, *see* Dawes Point (Sydney,
 Australia)
- Mason, William (Revd) 1.33–5
- Massachusetts Gazette* 1.85
- Master of the King's Musick
see Boyce, William (composer;
 organist)—Master of the King's
 Musick
see Parsons, William (Sir)—Master of
 the King's Musick
see Stanley, Charles John—Master of
 the King's Musick
- Master of the Queen's Musick
see Bach, Johann Christian—Master
 of the Queen's Musick
see Schröter (Schroeter), Johann
 Samuel—Master of the Queen's
 Musick
- Mattheson, Johann (music theorist) 1.40,
 1.342
- Maxwell, George William (Third
 Lieutenant) 1.337
- Mayer, T. (piano dealer) 2.303
- Mayhew
 John 1.105
 Phillips, Mayhew & Co. (piano
 makers) 2.304
- Mazzinghi, Joseph (composer) 1.663
- McDonald, John (contemporary) 1.17
- McIntosh, Robert 1.431, 1.496
- McWheeney, Bridget, *see* Worgan, George
 William—public scandal
- meantone temperament, *see* temperament
- Mechanic's Institution (Hobart Town),
see Lhotsky, John, burdened by debt,
 sells—natural history collection to
 Mechanic's Institution 1.573
- medallion 2.421, 2.423
 Beck/Fuhrloh square piano (1775)
 1.186, 1.188
 Wedgwood (1789) 1.383–5
- Medland, Thomas 1.376
- Mein, Thomas (surgeon) 1.506, 1.507,
 1.508, 1.509, 1.510
- Mendelssohn, Felix (composer) 1.458
- Mercer Street (Longacre, Soho, London,
 UK) 1.47
- Mercken, Johann Kilian (piano maker)
 1.71
- Mercury, New-York Gazette and Weekly*
 1.xxxvii, 1.85
- Merino Breed is pure, The* 1.430

- Merlin, John Joseph (inventor;
 harpsichord-piano & piano maker)
 1.108, 2.215n.374
see also piano, combination piano—
 harpsichord-piano
 expensive pianos 1.109
 inventions
 mechanical tea table 1.109
 roller skates 1.108
 self-flicking buggy whip 1.109
 wheelchair 1.109
Messiah (oratorio), *see* Händel (Handel),
 Georg (George) Friedrich (Frederick)
 metal-strengthened corners in grand
 pianos, *see* Clementi, Muzio (piano
 maker)
 Metastasio 1.30
 Methodism 1.217, 1.226
 music of 1.541
 Metzler & Co. (piano makers) 2.303
 Mevagissey (Cornwall, UK) 1.510n.59
 Meyer, Meinke (piano maker) 1.71
 middle class, *see* professional class
 Milbah, *see* Johnson, Richard (Revd)—
 Milbah (daughter)
 Miles, Jas (piano maker) 2.303
 Miller, Friderick (piano dealer) 2.303
 Mills & Milne (piano makers) 2.303
 Milman (Millman; Millmans) Street (near
 Bedford Row, Holborn, London, UK)
 1.195, 1.211–2, 1.215, 1.226, 2.175–7,
 2.264
 Milton, John 1.36n.124, 1.242, 1.275
 minim(s) 1.487
 minuet(s) 1.65, 1.287, 1.488, 2.298
 at social functions 1.417
 Foot's (Foote's) Minuet 1.483, 1.486–8,
 1.490, 2.297–8
 for *Liebhaber* pianists 1.287
 in Longman & Broderip's 1789
 catalogue 1.300
 moderate-tempo 1.487
 'scientific' style 1.237
Miraculous Cure, The, see Forde,
 Brownlow
 Miss Rennie's College High School
 (Sydney), *see* Rennie, Miss—College
 High School (Sydney, Australia)
 moderator, *see* mutation
 modern
 German style, *see* style, English,
 compositional—scientific (modern
 German style)
 piano, *see* piano
 steel strings, *see* string(s)—iron
 ('steel')
- Molenaer, C. R 1.295
 Mollo (music publisher) 1.440
Monitor, The 2.194–5
 Monro & May (piano makers) 2.303
 Montagu, John (4th Earl of Sandwich)
 1.233, 1.623, 2.268
 Monteverdi, Claudio (composer)
 1.321n.199
Monthly Magazine; or, British Register,
The 1.343, 1.666, 2.197
- Moore
 Edward
 The Revenge 1.397
 H. E. 2.298
 John (piano maker) 2.303
 Moorswater (near Liskeard, Cornwall,
 UK), *see* Liskeard (Cornwall, UK)—
 Moorswater
 More, Hannah 1.289, 1.444–5
 Morgan, Chris 2.156n.65
 Morhall
 Christine (contemporary) 1.xxix
 John (contemporary) 1.xxix
- Morning*
 Chronicle and London Advertiser, The
 1.211, 1.256, 1.390, 2.386, 2.387,
 2.388
 Herald, The 2.387, 2.388
 Morrison, Robert (piano maker) 2.303
 Mortimer('s)
 Directory, see Universal Director, The
 below
 Street (Cavendish Square, London,
 UK) 2.305
 Thomas
 Universal Director, The 1.32, 1.34,
 1.211, 2.175
 Morval (parish; Cornwall, UK) 1.513,

- 1.528, 1.604, 1.615
- Mott, Isaac Henry Robert (piano maker)
1.680, 2.303
- Motteux, Peter 1.394
- moulding, *see* decoration—moulding(s)
- Mount Street (North Sydney, Australia)
2.275
- Mount Stuart Elphinstone* (ship), *see* ship
- Mowbay, William (piano maker) 2.303
- Mowle
Mary (wife of Stewart Marjoribanks
Mowle) 1.20
Stewart Marjoribanks 1.19
- Mozart
Nannerl 1.41
plays Shudi harpsichord in
London 1.41
Wolfgang Amadeus 1.246, 1.277,
1.278, 1.427, 1.480
arranges Händel's *Messiah* 1.587
Ascanio in Alba 1.222n.145
Don Giovanni 1.480, 1.487
first public performance in the
United States of a work by,
see America—first public
performance of a Mozart work
in
flexible attitude in relation to choice
of keyboard instrument 1.291
hourly fee for teaching 1.479
in London
child prodigy 1.283
plays Shudi harpsichord 1.41
tempo for moderate-minuet
remembered by Prague Opera
musicians 1.487
- Muggleston, Kenneth 1.700–4, 2.217
- Müller, Matthias (piano maker)
upright combination piano (two
upright pianos) (1801) 2.407
- Murphy, Francis (Bishop) 1.586
- Murray
Terence Aubrey 1.586
William, *see* Worgan, Charlotte
Elizabeth
- Musée de la Musique*, *see* *Cité de la
Musique*
- Musée instrumental de Bruxelles* 1.157,
1.161, 1.164, 2.10, 2.350, 2.353
- Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe*
(Hamburg, Germany) 1.160, 1.161,
1.164, 2.10, 2.86, 2.351, 2.353
- musical absurdities
Cat Harmonicon (Cat Piano) 1.285
used in 1803 to treat Attention
Deficit Disorder 1.285–6
child prodigies 1.283, 1.284–5
concerto for 26 drinking glasses 1.284
eleven Italianate cats 1.283–4
female thermometer 1.450
musical machinery 1.284
mechanical pineapple with singing
birds 1.284
Miss Hoffmann performs *The Battle of
Prague*, June 1792 1.283
musical mice 1.285
Porco-Forte 1.285
Worgan, Thomas Danvers on 1.284–5
- Musical
Directory* 1.102, 1.104
Reformer, The 1.220, 1.233
- music
desk 1.109
on square piano(s) 1.314
Beck, Frederick
1780/86? 2.46
1782/87? (serial number
5008) 1.310, 1.311,
2.355–6
Longman & Broderip
(1785/86?) 2.237
Rolfe, William 2.290–1
written for organized piano (piano
organisé), *see* piano, combination
piano, organized piano (piano
organisé)—music written
specifically for
musicologists 1.12
*Musikalischer Almanach für
1782* 1.95
1784 1.346
Musikinstrumenten-Museum (Berlin,
Germany) 1.157, 1.161, 1.164, 2.351
mutation 1.45–6

- bassoon stop 2.402
 buff stop, *see* harp (buff) stop *below*
 damper raising, *see* raised dampers
 below
 harp (buff) stop 2.95, 2.103, 2.240,
 2.267, 2.416
 hand-lever operated 2.104, 2.416
 pedal operated 2.104, 2.107,
 2.267, 2.416
 square piano(s)
 Beck, Frederick (1780/86?)
 2.107, 2.108
 Broadwood, John (1783)
 2.269
 Ganer, Christopher 2.104,
 2.107, 2.267
 Pether, George 2.393
 ivory plates vibrating on the strings
 1.87
 moderator 1.44, 1.45
 hand-lever operated 2.422
 knee-lever operated, *see* knee-
 lever—moderator
 pedal operated 2.422
 tone quality 1.44
 nag's head swell 1.50, 2.95, 2.102,
 2.107, 2.267, 2.422
 knee-lever operated, *see* piano,
 knee-lever—nag's head swell
 pedal operated 2.95, 2.100, 2.107,
 2.266, 2.267
 square piano(s)
 Astor (1815) 1.50–1
 Beck, Frederick (1780/86?)
 2.95, 2.101–2
 pedal operated 2.100–1,
 2.107, 2.108
 octave swell 1.24
 on keyboard pantalon, *see* keyboard,
 pantalon—mutations
 pedals
 grand piano
 Clementi, Muzio (ca 1806–10;
 serial number 526), *see*
 Clementi, Muzio (piano
 maker), piano(s), grand,
 Russian model (ca 1806–
 10; serial number 526),
 damper(s)—pedal-operated
 in general 2.266
 square piano 1.178
 Pether, George 2.393
 raised dampers
 all simultaneously 1.46, 1.87, 2.80
 continuously 1.50
 hand-lever operated 1.49–50,
 1.87, 2.61, 2.108, 2.240
 in
 English piano style 1.296
 normal playing 2.86
 pedal operated 1.50, 1.87, 2.266
 grand piano
 Clementi, Muzio (ca
 1806–10; serial number
 526) 2.321
 square piano(s)
 Astor (1815) 1.50
 Beck, Frederick
 date unknown 2.389
 1780/86? 2.107
 Beyer, Adam (1775) 2.100,
 2.266–7
 Broadwood, John (1783)
 2.269
 una corda 1.87, 2.435
 knee-lever operated, *see* piano,
 knee-lever—*una corda*
 pedal operated 1.87, 2.321
 swell
 nag's head, *see* nag's head swell
 above
 octave, *see* octave swell *above*
 Venetian, *see* Venetian swell *below*
 Venetian swell 1.72, 2.436
 Shudi's 1.72
 Mütthel, Johann Gottfried (composer)
 1.83
 Muthesius, Hermann 1.71
 Mysliveček, Josef (composer) 1.238
 Nagle, Jacob 1.266
 nag's head swell, *see* mutation—nag's
 head swell
 nameboard
 decoration of, *see* decoration
 grand piano

- Clementi, Muzio (ca 1806–10; serial number 526) 2.318
- inscription, *see* decoration
- inscription *cartouche*, *see* decoration
- square piano(s)
- Ball, James 2.278
- Beck, Frederick, *see* Beck, Frederick (piano maker), piano(s), nameboard—on extant Beck square pianos
- Broadwood, John 2.261n.1 square piano(s) 1783 2.270
- Buntebart, Gabriel Gottlieb 2.280
- Ganer, Christopher 2.283
- Garcka, George 2.284
- Longman & Broderip 2.169, 2.198 1782–98? 2.275–6 1785/86? 2.166, 2.167, 2.169–70, 2.188, 2.198, 2.200, 2.203, 2.217, 2.234, 2.237, 2.242, 2.252
- Rolfe, William 2.290
- Simpson, John(?) 1.257
- Thomas Laycock's piano 1.666
- Wales, Robert 2.307n.e
- Zumpe, Johann Christoph 2.280
- Napier, William (music publisher; music seller) 2.400
- Napoléon
- Bonaparte 1.297
- Land (*Terre Napoléon*) 1.371
- Street (Darling Harbour, Sydney, Australia) 1.423 *see also* Girard, Francis— influences the naming of Napoleon Street (Darling Harbour, Sydney)
- Napoleonic Wars 1.71, 1.409, 1.518n.97, 2.313
- Nares, James 1.324
- national airs 1.424, 1.426, 1.427
- Irish 1.429
- Scottish 1.280, 1.287, 1.424, 1.425, 1.426 ballad 1.424, 1.429 *Bonny Wee Thing* 1.426
- compositional characteristics 1.425
- Dear Boy Throw that Icicle Down* 1.426
- Fy Gar Rub Her o'er with Straw* 1.426
- I Hae Laid a Herring in Salt* 1.426
- Palala, sum, nootka gunza* 1.426
- The Tight Little Fellow that wears the Blue Jacket* 1.426
- Welsh 1.280, 1.287, 1.424, 1.425, 1.426
- National Society Boys School (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK), *see* Liskeard (Cornwall, UK), school(s)—National Society Boys School
- natural, *see* key
- Nelson
- Horatio (Lord) 1.590
- Sefferin 1.105
- Nepean
- Evan (Sir) 1.213, 1.255, 1.403, 2.173
- Nicholas 1.262n.56
- River (New South Wales) 1.204n.59, 1.207, 1.386, 1.426, 1.634
- Neptune*, *see* ship
- Neslin, Robert (piano maker) 2.303
- Neubauer
- Charlotte (daughter of Friedrich Neubauer) 1.34
- Friedrich (Frederick) (harpsichord & piano maker) 1.xxxvi, 1.33, 1.40, 1.48, 1.49
- combination piano-harpsichord 1.34
- harpsichord 1.34
- keyboard *pantelon* 1.34
- upright (*clavicimbel de amour*) 1.34
- piano forte 1.34, 1.49
- pyano forte* 1.35
- unfretted clavichord 1.34
- workshop/address 1.35
- Nevers Cathedral 1.83
- New
- Britain, *see* New Guinea
- Guinea 1.262, 1.501, 1.502

- Britain 1.502
 Ireland 1.502
 Ireland, *see* Guinea *above*
 Road (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK), *see*
 Liskeard (Cornwall, UK), Road—
 New South Wales Corps (102nd
 Regiment) 1.390, 1.429, 1.464,
 1.473, 1.617, 1.618, 1.649, 1.657,
 1.658, 2.201
 John Macarthur joins, *see*
 Macarthur, John
 Street (Covent Garden, London, UK)
 1.98
 York
 Gazette and Weekly Mercury, see
 Mercury, New-York Gazette
 and Weekly
 Mercury, see Mercury
 New York Packet 1.88
 Zealand 1.17, 1.18, 1.19, 1.264, 1.357,
 1.366, 1.415, 1.494, 1.591, 1.592,
 1.682
 newel post 1.558, 2.423
 Newgate
 prison 2.328, 2.329
 Street (Christ Church, London, UK)
 2.331
 Newmans Street (Westminster, London,
 UK) 1.214, 2.174
 Nielson, Lawrence Cornelius 1.293
 Noble, Samuel (piano maker) 2.303
 Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Catch Club
 1.302, 1.303, 1.305, 1.307n.154
 objectives of, *see* Callcott, John Wall
 (composer)—objectives of the
 Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Catch
 Club 1.304
 Noell, George (music seller) 2.400
 Norfolk
 Charitable Trust, The (Sharon, MA)
 1.xxxi, 1.127, 1.158, 1.161, 1.164,
 2.11, 2.349, 2.351, 2.353
 Duchess of 2.268
 Island 1.204, 1.207, 1.380, 1.406,
 1.472, 1.502, 1.633, 2.333
 barrel organ on 1.504, 1.617
 Sirius wrecked on 1.267–8, 1.380,
 1.385, 1.386, 1.500, 1.501
 timber on 1.264
 Street
 Islington (London, UK) 2.307
 Middlesex Hospital (London, UK)
 2.303
 Norris & Barnes (music sellers) 2.400
 North, Roger 1.xxix
 Nottingham Catch Club 1.309
 nude dancer from Armidale 2.156n.65
 Nunns
 Robert (piano maker) 1.3, 1.7n.34
 William (piano maker) 1.3, 1.7n.34
 nut 2.30, 2.230, 2.423, 2.433, 2.437
 pins 1.116, 2.416, 2.423, 2.430
 on square piano(s)
 Beck, Frederick
 1780/86? 2.30, 2.104, 2.132
 ca 1790? (tangent action)
 2.383
 Longman & Broderip
 (1785/86?) 2.230
 Nutting & Co. (piano makers) 2.303

 Oakey, Henry (piano maker) 2.303
 Oakley, John 1.105
 oboe (hautboy), *see* band
 observatory, *see* Dawes Point (Sydney
 Australia), Point Maskelyne—
 observatory at Point Maskelyne
 see also Dawes, William (Lieutenant),
 barometer—in observatory at
 Point Maskelyne
 see also Dawes, William (Lieutenant),
 thermometer—in observatory at
 Point Maskelyne
 O'Connell
 Maurice (Lieutenant-Colonel;
 Lieutenant-Governor) 1.429
 Mary (wife of Maurice O'Connell)
 1.429
 octave(s) 1.222, 1.225, 1.433, 1.584,
 2.130, 2.403, 2.411, 2.424, 2.425,
 2.431, 2.434
 consecutive 1.447
 in English piano style 1.296
 in keyboard compass

- grand piano(s)
 Broadwood, John 1.664
 Clementi, Muzio (ca 1806–10;
 serial number 526) 2.317,
 2.322
 square piano(s) 1.139, 2.197
 Beck
 Frederick
 1780/86? 1.147, 1.715,
 1.722, 2.108–9,
 2.108–9, 2.128–9,
 2.165, 2.196, 2.203,
 2.216
 ca 1790 (estimate;
 tangent action)
 2.382
 ca 1795 (estimate)
 1.159n.n, 2.8n.16,
 2.9, 2.11, 2.351n.12
 Johannes 1.678, 2.385
 Joseph (ca 1840)
 1.159n.282
 Bolton, T. 1.666
 Broadwood, John 1.665, 1.666,
 2.196
 1795 2.190n.267
 Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow
 (1793) 1.665
 Longman & Broderip 1.666,
 2.196
 1785 (serial number 361)
 2.168
 1785? (serial number 289)
 2.168
 1785/86? 2.167, 2.196,
 2.203, 2.244
 1786? (serial number 1025)
 2.168
 1787 (serial number 1049)
 2.168
 1787 (serial number 1072)
 2.168
 1787 (serial number 1134)
 2.168
 1789 (serial number 2416)
 2.168
 ca 1790 1.147, 2.216
 1796 1.665, 2.167n.119,
 2.216
 1791 (serial number 2386)
 2.168
 1792 (serial number 2707)
 2.168
 Southwell, William (1784)
 1.664
 Trute, Charles (ca 1771?)
 1.146–7, 2.215
 Weber, Ferdinand
 date unknown 1.147, 2.215
 1772 1.147, 2.215
 Zumpe, Johann Christoph 1.63
 1766/67? 2.372
 in tuning 1.318, 1.319, 1.322, 1.323,
 2.412, 2.426, 2.428, 2.434
 short octave 2.429
 swell, *see* mutation—octave swell
ogee, *see* decoration, nameboard—
cartouche
ogee pointed gutters at Wadeland House,
see Wadeland House
 oilcloth coverings for pianos 1.408
 Okerblom, John (organ maker) 2.398
 open covered string, *see* string(s)—open
 covered
 organ
 at
 St Andrew Undershaft (St
 Mary Axe), *see* St Andrew
 ,Undershaft (London, UK)—
 organ at
 St Botolph's, *see* Harris, Renuis—
 organ at St Botolph's
 St Ive (near Liskeard, Cornwall,
 UK), *see* St Ive (near Liskeard,
 Cornwall, UK)—organ at
 St Mary's
 Cathedral (Sydney, Australia),
see Cathedral, St Mary's
 (Sydney, Australia)—organ
 Islington (London, UK), *see* St
 Mary's, Islington (London,
 UK)—organ at
 Rotherhithe (London, UK), *see*
 St Mary's (Rotherhithe,

- London, UK)—organ at
 St Martin's
 Liskeard (Cornwall, UK), *see* St
 Martin's (Liskeard, UK)—
 organ at
 Ludgate, London, UK), *see* St
 Martin's, Ludgate (London,
 UK)—organ at
 St Paul's (London, UK), *see* St
 Paul's (London, UK)—organ at
 Vauxhall Gardens 1.209, 1.239
 Westminster Abbey (London, UK),
see Cathedral, Westminster
 Abbey (London, UK)—organ
 at
 York Minster (York, UK), *see*
 Cathedral, York Minster (York,
 UK)—organ at
- barrel organ 1.503–4
 on Norfolk Island 1.502, 1.504
- harmonian 1.588
- harmonium 1.585, 1.588
 orchestrelle 2.161
 seraphine 1.588
- makers
 Allen, William 1.682, 1.683, 2.299,
 2.394
 Bevington, Henry & Sons 1.584–5
 Bridson, Thomas V. (1865) 1.585
 Davy, William 2.398
 Elliot, Thomas 2.398
 Flight & Kelly 2.398
 Geib, John 2.285
 Gray, Robert & William 2.398
 Green, Samuel 2.392
 Handcock, James 2.398
 Harris, Renuat 1.218, 1.223,
 1.225
 Holland, Henry 2.286, 2.398
 Holloway, Joseph 2.398
 Lincoln, John 2.398
 Longman & Broderip 2.287
 Okerblom, John 2.398
 Russell, Hugh 2.398
 Smith, Bernard 1.223–4
- organists
 Baldon, Joseph 1.304
- Battishill, Jonathan 1.227, 1.305,
 1.488
- Boyce, William 1.226
- Cooke, Benjamin (Dr) 1.226
- Crotch, William 1.237
- Davis, Charles Henry (Bishop)
 1.584
- de Virbès 1.83n.409
- Forkel, Nikolaus 1.95
- Gladwin, Thomas 1.209
- Green, Thomas 1.317
- Händel, Georg Frederic 1.227
- Jarvis, Samuel 1.231–2
- Langshaw, John 1.226
- Mazzinghi, Joseph 1.280
- Nares, James 1.324
- provincial 1.232
- Reinagle, Alexander 1.88
- Roseingrave, Thomas 1.211
- Stanley, Charles John 1.226, 1.227
- Stevens, Richard John Samuel
 1.227, 1.238, 1.241, 1.305,
 1.308, 1.311, 1.447
- Trouflant 1.83, 1.84
- Victor, H. B. 1.86
- Viotor, Herman 1.47
- Vogler, Georg Joseph 1.248
- Walsh, Henry 1.282n.55
- Werkmeister, Andreas 1.323n.218
- Wesley
 Charles (jr) 1.231
 Samuel 1.222
- Worgan
 George
 Bouchier 1.534, 1.540
 William 1.583, 1.585,
 1.586–7, 1.593
 James 1.209
 John (Dr) 1.195, 1.209, 1.211–
 12, 1.215, 1.223, 1.224–5,
 1.226, 1.227–8, 1.231,
 1.232, 1.239, 2.176, 2.178,
 2.180, 2.261
 Mary 1.210
- piano-organ, *see* piano, combination
 piano—organized piano (piano
organisé)

- pipe organ 1.xxxvi, 1.26n.56, 1.28, 1.45, 1.77, 1.209, 1.217, 1.231, 1.502, 1.503–4, 1.584, 2.424, 2.581
on Norfolk Island, *see* barrel organ
above
- ormolu, *see* decoration
- Ormond Street (London, UK) 1.36
- Osaka College of Music Museum (Osaka, Japan) 1.158, 1.161, 1.164, 2.11, 2.351, 2.353
- Ottoboni, Pietro (Cardinal) 1.26, 1.28
- overdrawing strings, *see* string(s)—
overdrawing
- Overend, Marmaduke 1.293
- over-heated Russian salons, *see* Clementi, Muzio (piano maker), piano(s), grand, Russian model (ca 1806–10; serial number 526)—metal-strengthened corners
- overspun string (covered string), *see* string(s)—overspun string (covered string)
- overture(s) (musical genre) 1.300
- Owen, Richard
& Co. (piano makers) 2.304
& Stodart (piano makers) 2.304
Henry (piano maker) 2.303
William (music publisher), *see* Worgan, John (Dr)—composer
- Oxford Magazine* 1.235
- Oxford Street (London, UK) 1.62, 1.103, 1.114–5, 1.213, 1.214, 2.172, 2.173, 2.174, 2.289, 2.306, 2.307, 2.398, 2.399
- Oxley (piano maker) 2.304
piano (serial number 47169) 2.307n.b
- Paddington Street (Marylebone, London, UK) 2.291
- Paine
Daniel 1.476
James, *see* Almack's dance club
- Palala, sum, nootka gunza* 1.426
see also national airs—Scottish
- Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da 1.233
- Palmer, John (Purser of the *Sirius*) 1.337
- pandean pipe, *see* band—pandean pipe
- pandoret*, *see* piano—*pandoret*
- panorama 1.591
- pantaleon*, *see* keyboard—*pantaleon*
- pantalon*, *see* keyboard—*pantalon*
- pantalone*, *see* keyboard—*pantalone*
- Paolucci, Fabrizio (Cardinal) 1.28
- Pape, Jean-Henri (piano maker) 2.304
- Papendeik, Charlotte 1.62
- Papua New Guinea, *see* New—Guinea
- Paradise Lost*, *see* Milton, John
- Parianware 1.6, 2.309, 2.311, 2.425
- Park, Maria Hester, *see* women—as concert pianists
- Parke, Maria F., *see* women—as concert pianists
- Parker
H. Watson 1.669
John (Captain) 1.491
Mary Ann (wife of John Parker) 1.491
- Parliament Street (Westminster, London, UK) 2.286
- Parramatta 1.257, 1.386, 1.395, 1.397, 1.406, 1.422, 1.426, 1.492, 1.493, 1.617, 1.618, 1.621, 1.630, 1.639, 1.640, 1.641, 1.652, 1.702, 712, 1.719, 2.142, 2.144, 2.155, 2.159, 2.163, 2.207
cloth 1.678
derivation of name 1.493
River 1.620
Road (Leichhardt, Sydney, Australia) 2.161
- Parsons
Harry (Sergeant) 1.431
William (Sir)
house 1.601
marries Charlotte Sophia Worgan 1.529, 1.601, 1.608
Master of the King's Musick 1.601
death 1.601
- partials 1.311, 1.314, 1.327
- Pasquali, Nicolo (composer; music theorist) 1.324, 1.325
- patent
Argand, Aimé (ca 1782) 2.401
Barker, Robert (1787) 1.591

- Beck, Arnold Frederick 1.92,
1.159n.n, 2.351
- Broadwood, John (1783) 2.269
- Eardley, James (1862) 1.320
- Garcka, George (1792) 2.284
- Geib, John (1786) 2.195, 2.196, 2.243,
2.285
- Hawkins, John Isaac (1800) 1.653,
2.202
- Hess, Charles (1866) 1.3n.13
- Longman & Broderip 1.177
- Southwell, William
1794 1.665
1798 1.653, 2.202
1811 1.497, 1.653, 2.202
- Stodart, Robert
1777 1.24, 2.407
1795 1.653, 2.202
- tea urn (1774) 1.623
- Wornum, Robert 1.655, 2.203
- patera, *see* decoration
- Paterson
River (New South Wales) 1.582
William (Lieutenant-Governor) 1.632
death 1.635
duel with Macarthur, John
1.629–30, 1.634, 1.637
in decline 1.634
Mrs (wife of William Paterson)
sells square piano 1.657, 2.201
- pause sign, *see* *fermata*
- Peachey, George (piano maker) 2.304
- Peacock, Lucy 2.177
- peau de buffle*, *see* harpsichord
- pedal(s)
department (organ) 1.584
mutation, *see* mutation, pedals—in
general
nag's head swell, *see* mutation, nag's
head swell—pedal operated
point 1.296
- Pedrini, Theodorico (Father)
as harpsichord maker 1.28
- Pennsylvania (USA) 1.86, 1.861, 2.291
- Penrose, Charles Vinnicombe (Vice-
Admiral) 1.530, 1.531, 1.616
- Perkins
& Fielding (piano makers) 1.307n.c
- Robert (piano maker) 2.304
- Péronard, Balthazar (piano maker) 1.71
- Pérouse, Jean-Françoise de Galaup, La
(Comte de), *see* La Pérouse, Jean-
Françoise de Galaup, Comte de
- Perrys Place (Westminster, London, UK)
1.214, 2.174
- Pether, George (harpsichord & piano
maker) 1.259
grand piano 2.393, 2.394
square piano(s) 2.393
1785 2.158, 2.276n.7
workshop/address 2.289, 2.304, 2.398
- Philadelphia (USA) 1.86, 1.88, 1.139,
1.283, 2.285
- Phillip
Arthur (Captain; Governor) 1.207,
1.267, 1.362, 1.387, 1.390, 1.396,
1.398, 1.464, 1.491, 1.501, 1.503,
1.571
celebrates King's birthday
1788 1.417, 1.418, 1.426
1789 1.387–8, 1.389, 1.401,
1.403, 1.428
character 1.205, 1.340, 1.365,
1.136, 1.367, 1.428, 1.492
depiction of 1.204, 1.205, 1.207,
1.208, 1.209
encounters La Pérouse 1.364–6
establishes Rose Hill 1.492
names Rose Hill 'Parramatta'
1.493
- First Fleet
preparation of 1.273, 1.274
Phillip's greyhounds and
horses 1.351
voyage of
death rate during 1.362
on board
Sirius 1.336–7, 1.339,
1.351
Supply 1.351, 1.358
Santa Cruz (Tenerife,
Canary Islands) 1.301
Tenerife to Rio de Janeiro
1.334, 1.361
Cape Town to Botany Bay
1.351, 1.353

- a goat in the Great Cabin 1.357
 - Botany Bay to Port Jackson 1.358
 - Sydney Cove 1.361
 - Government House
 - Rose Hill (New South Wales), *see* Rose, Hill—Government House
 - Sydney Cove (Australia) 1.491
 - dimensions 1.388
 - foundation stone laid 1.387
 - temporary canvas house 1.373
 - journal 1.501
 - not interested in music 1.339, 1.428
 - sends *Sirius* to Cape Town for supplies 1.381
 - Sydney Cove
 - logistical strategies at 1.363, 1.373, 1.570n.8
 - accommodation 1.372, 1.477
 - reading of commission 1.413, 1.414, 1.415
 - sends clay to Banks, Joseph 1.383
 - Banks sends Wedgwood medallions to Governor Phillip 1.385
 - Island (near Norfolk Island, Australia) 2.333
 - Phillips
 - John & Sarah (music publishers) 1.298
 - Mayhew & Co. (piano makers) 2.304
 - William (piano maker) 2.304
 - Philpot, Stephen 1.293
 - Phyfe, Duncan (furniture maker, New York, USA) 1.3
 - pianissimo*, *see* dynamic(s)—markings
 - piano
 - action 2.401
 - check (back check) 1.45, 2.406
 - down-striking 1.2n.8, 2.410, 2.415
 - English 1.xxxvii, 1.63, 2.69, 2.195–6, 2.418
 - escapement 1.44, 2.203, 2.412, 2.418
 - none 1.45, 1.49, 1.193, 2.69, 2.125
 - two-lever escapement action by Geib, John 2.195–6, 2.243, 2.285
 - double 1.63
 - frame
 - action frame
 - Beck, Frederick (1780/86?) 2.1, 2.104, 2.136
 - keyframe 1.664, 2.401, 2.419
 - Beck, Frederick (1780/86?) 2.6, 2.34, 2.72, 2.95, 2.109–12, 2.124
 - Longman & Broderip (1785/86?) 2.246
 - hammer, *see* hammer
 - hammer butt, *see* hammer—butt
 - hammer head, *see* hammer—head
 - hammer head leathering, *see* hammer—head
 - hammer rail, *see* hammer—rail
 - hammer rest rail, *see* hammer—rest rail
 - hammer shank, *see* hammer—shank
 - intermediate lever 1.63, 1.159n.n, 2.432, 2.433
 - in square piano
 - Beck, Frederick ca 1790 (tangent action) 2.382
 - jack 2.69, 2.79, 2.322, 2.415, 2.418
 - key lever, *see* key lever(s)
 - tangent
 - action xxxi, 1.92, 1.99, 1.158, 1.159n.n, 1.161, 1.164, 1.165, 1.184, 1.192n.398
 - see also* *tangentenflügel* below
 - up-striking hammer 1.24
- arpicembalo che fa il piano e il forte*

- 1.xxxv
see also Cristofori, Bartolomeo
 (piano maker)—*arpicembalo*
che fa il piano e il forte
- as sofa table 1.3
- banlony* 1.xxxv
- bienfort* 1.xxxv
- cabinet, *see* upright *below*
- cembalo à martellino* 1.xxxv
- cembalo a piano e forte* 1.xxxvi
- cembalo di forte piano* 1.xxxvi
- cimbalo di piano e forte di martelletti*
 1.xxxv
- clavecin à maillets* 1.xxxv
- clavecin à marteau* 1.xxxv
- clavecin a piano e forte* 1.xxxvi
- clavecin anglais*
- clavecin d'amour* 1.xxxv
- claveçin roial* 1.xxxv
- clave piano* 1.xxxv
- clavessin a piano e forte* 1.xxxvi
- clavi cembalo d'espressione* 1.xxxvi
- clavicimbel de amour* 1.34
see also Neubauer, Friedrich
 (Frederick) (harpsichord & piano
 maker), keyboard *pantelon*—
 upright (*clavicimbel de amour*)
- clavicordio de piano* 1.xxxv
- coelestin d'amour* 1.47
see also Vietor (Viator?), Herman
 (Harman) Bernard (piano
 maker)
- combination piano 1.24, 1.24n.42,
 1.34, 1.78, 1.79, 1.81, 1.108, 2.407
- bed-piano, *see* convertible
 bedroom piano 1.3n.13 *below*
- clavichord-piano
 Geib, John
 1792 2.407
- claviorganum 2.391, 2.407, 2.424
 Beyer, Adam 1.78, 1.191,
 2.279, 2.392
 Broadwood, John 2.392
 Bury & Co. 2.393
 Érard, Sébastien 1.190, 1.191
 Ganer, Christopher 2.393
 Garcka, George 2.393
- Holland, Henry 2.393
- Longman & Broderip 2.393
- Rolfe, William 2.394
- Zumpe, Johann Christoph
 1.78–9, 1.81
- convertible bedroom piano
 1.3n.13
- harpsichord-piano
 Hellen, Johann Ludwig
 1779 1.145
 Merlin, John Joseph
 undated 1.108
 1780 1.108
 Satchel & Fröschle
 1788 2.282–3
 Stodart, Robert
 1777 1.24, 2.407
- organized piano (*piano organisé*)
 1.78–9, 1.81, 1.190, 2.279,
 2.391, 2.394, 2.424
 Beyer, Adam 1.78, 1.191,
 2.279, 2.392
 Broadwood, John 2.392
 Bury & Co., 2.393
 Érard, Sébastien 1.190, 1.191
 Ganer, Christopher 2.393
 Garcka, George 2.393
 Holland, Henry 2.393
 music written specifically for
 1.79
 Rolfe, William 2.394
 Zumpe, Johann (John)
 Christoph 1.78–9, 1.81
pianoforte organizzato 1.79
 single-manual 1.79
- piano *organisé*, *see* organized
 piano (*piano organisé*) *above*
- sofa table piano 1.3
- two upright grand pianos, *see*
 Müller, Matthias (piano
 maker)—upright combination
 piano (two upright pianos)
 (1801)
- cravo de martelos* 1.xxxv
- cymbal-clavir* 1.xxxv
- down-striking hammer, *see* hammer
 during the 1750s, London musicians

- have opportunities to buy pianos
1.32
- 'elegant' 1.660, 1.661, 1.663, 1.673,
1.674, 1.675, 1.677, 1.704, 2.197–
8, 2.200, 2.203, 2.394
- price
Broadwood, John 1.660
Collard & Collard 1.660
Wornum, Robert 1.660
- Thomas Laycock's 'elegant' piano,
see Laycock, Thomas, estate
auction—'elegant' piano
- first two seen in England, *see* grand—
first two seen in England *below*
- folding legs, *see* stand
- fortbien* 1.xxxv
- forté-piano* 1.xxxvi
- forte e piano* 1.xxxxvi
- fortepiano 1.xxxxvi, 1.xxxvii
- forte piano* 1.xxxxvi, 1.xxxvii
- fuerte-piano* 1.xxxxvi
- grand 1.xxxvii, 1.2n.8, 1.35, 1.58,
1.61, 1.76, 1.90, 1.115, 2.391
- Beck, Frederick, *see* Beck,
Frederick (piano maker),
piano(s)—grand piano
- Broadwood, John, *see* Broadwood,
John (piano maker), piano(s)—
grand
- Buntebart, Gabriel, *see* Buntebart,
Gabriel Gottlieb (harpsichord
& piano maker)—grand piano
maker to Queen Charlotte
- combination piano, *see*
combination piano *above*
- Cristofori, Bartolomeo, *see*
Cristofori, Bartolomeo (piano
maker)—*arpicembalo che fa il
piano e il forte*
see also Cristofori, Bartolomeo
(piano maker)—
*gravicembalo col piano e
forte*
- first two grand pianos seen in
England 1.25, 1.27
- modelled on Cristofori's
arpicembalo, *see* Cristofori,
Bartolomeo (piano
maker)—*arpicembalo che fa
il piano e il forte*
- Merlin, John Joseph, *see* Merlin,
John Joseph (inventor;
harpsichord-piano & piano
maker)
- metal-strengthened corners on,
see Clementi, Muzio (piano
maker), piano(s), grand—
Russian model (ca 1806–10;
serial number 526)
- Neubauer, Friedrich, *see*
Neubauer, Friedrich
(Frederick) (harpsichord &
piano maker)—grand piano
- patent portable grand, *see*
Hawkins—John Isaac (piano
maker)
- Plenius (Pleunis), Roger
(Rutgerus), *see* Plenius
(Pleunis), Roger (Rutgerus)
(harpsichord & piano maker)—
copies grand piano by Wood
(Father)
- Silbermann, Gottfried, *see*
Silbermann—Gottfried (piano
maker)
- stands
cabriole legs with no stretchers
1.145–6
- Stodart, Robert, *see* Stodart,
Robert (harpsichord & piano
maker)—grand piano(s)
- term 'grand' piano first used
by, *see* Stodart, Robert
(harpsichord & piano
maker)—first coins the
term 'grand' piano
- touch 1.409
- upright, *see* upright *below*
- Wood (Father), *see* Wood—Father
(piano maker)
- gravecembalo à martelli* 1.xxxv
- gravicembalo col piano e forte*, *see*
Cristofori, Bartolomeo (piano
maker)—*gravicembalo col piano e*

- forte*
Hammerflügel 1.77
Hämmer-pantalone 1.xxxv
hammer spinet 1.xxxv, 1.86
Hämmerwerke 1.xxxv
hand-lever (hand-stop; stop), *see*
 hand-lever
keyboard, *see* keyboard
knee-lever 2.107, 2.420
 damper raising 2.433
 moderator 2.422
 nag's head swell 2.95, 2.422
 on harpsichord 1.83
 genouillères 1.83
 una corda 2.433
lesson(s)
 as musical composition 1.287,
 1.300, 1.311, 1.444, 1.447,
 1.483, 1.484, 1.663, 1.666,
 2.197, 2.297
 cost of piano lessons
 Clementi, Muzio 1.442–3,
 1.480
 in England 1.479–80
 in Vienna 1.479
 McIntosh, Robert (York Street,
 Sydney) 1.431
 on Continent 1.480
 Sarti, Giuseppe 1.480
linked with
 good taste 1.437, 1.459
 women 1.437–8, 1.439, 1.459
maintenance of 1.317, 1.318, 1.325,
 1.326, 1.328, 1.329, 1.331, 1.333,
 1.347, 2.282, 2.284
makers
 Addison, Robert, *see* Addison,
 Robert (piano maker)
 Adlam, John, *see* Adlam, John
 (piano maker)
 Albrecht, Charles, *see* Albrecht,
 Charles (piano maker)
 Aldrich, Richard, *see* Aldrich,
 Richard (piano maker)
 Allen, William, *see* Allen, William
 (piano & organ maker)
 Allison, Robert & Thomas, *see*
 Allison, Robert & Thomas
 (piano makers)
 Ambrose, Charles, *see* Ambrose,
 Charles (piano maker)
 Anderson Small, Bruce & Co., *see*
 Anderson—Small, Bruce & Co.
 (piano makers)
 William, *see* Anderson—
 William (piano maker)
 Ashton, *see* Ashton (piano maker)
Astor
 & Co., *see* Astor—& Co.
 (pianomakers)
 George Peter, *see* Astor—
 George Peter (piano maker)
Ball
 James, *see* Ball—James (piano
 maker)
 & Son, *see* Ball, James
 (piano maker)—& Son
Barling, Jacob, *see* Barling, Jacob
 (piano maker)
Bas, Louis, *see* Bas, Louis (piano
 maker)
Baskett, William, *see* Baskett,
 William (piano maker)
Bateman & Roe, *see* Bateman &
 Roe (piano makers)
Bates, Theodore, *see* Bates,
 Theodore (piano maker)
Beck
 Carl Friedrich, *see* Beck—Carl
 Friedrich (piano maker)
 Beck, Frederick, *see* Beck,
 Frederick (piano maker)
 Johannes, *see* Beck—Johannes
 (piano maker)
 Joseph, *see* Beck—Joseph
 (piano maker)
Becker, John Conrad, *see* Becker,
 John Conrad (piano maker)
Behrent, John, *see* Behrent
 (Bahrent; Brent), John (Johann)
 (piano maker)
Bennett, John, *see* Bennett, John
 (piano maker)
Beyer, Adam, *see* Beyer, Adam

- (piano maker)
see also piano, combination
piano, clavichord—
Beyer, Adam
see also piano, combination
piano, organized piano
(piano *organisé*)—Beyer,
Adam
see also stand, stretcher(s),
square piano—Beyer,
Adam
see also mutation, raised
dampers, pedal operated,
square piano(s)—Beyer,
Adam (1775)
- Blond, William Le, *see* Blond,
William Le (piano maker)
- Bolton, T., *see* Bolton, T. (piano
maker)
- Bradford, Thomas, *see* Bradford,
Thomas (piano maker)
- Broadwood
James Shudi, *see* Broadwood—
James Shudi (piano maker;
son of John Broadwood)
John, *see* Broadwood, John
(piano maker), piano(s)—
square
made for hot climate, *see*
auctioneers, Bevin,
David—sale in 1816 of
Broadwood piano made for
'a hot climate'
- Broderip, Francis Fane, *see*
Broderip—Francis Fane (piano
maker)
see also Longman & Broderip
- Browne, John, *see* Browne, John
(piano maker)
- Bruce, John, *see* Bruce, John
(piano maker)
- Brysson, George, *see* Brysson,
George (piano maker)
- Buchan, Thomas, *see* Buchan,
Thomas (piano maker)
- Buchinger, Joshua, *see* Buchinger,
Joshua (piano maker)
- Buckwell, George, *see* Buckwell,
George (piano maker)
- Buntebart, Gabriel Gottlieb, *see*
Buntebart, Gabriel Gottlieb
(harpsichord & piano maker)
—square piano(s)
- Bury, Samuel, *see* Bury, Samuel
(piano maker)
- Butcher, Thomas, *see* Butcher,
Thomas (piano maker)
- Button, Whitaker & Co., *see*
Button, Whitaker & Co. (piano
makers)
- Cadby, Charles, *see* Cadby, Charles
(piano maker)
- Carter, Isaac, *see* Carter—Isaac
(piano maker) (piano maker)
- Casteel, Henricque van, *see* Casteel,
Henricque van (piano maker)
- Challen, William, *see* Challen,
William (piano maker)
- Chappell & Co., *see* Chappell & Co.
(piano makers)
- Chase
Dale & Co., *see* Chase—Dale &
Co. (piano makers)
John, *see* Chase—John (piano
maker)
- Chesterman, Charles, *see*
Chesterman, Charles (piano
maker)
- Child, Daniel, *see* Child, Daniel
(piano maker)
- Childs, Samuel, *see* Childs, Samuel
(piano maker)
- Clementi, Muzio, *see* Clementi,
Muzio (piano maker), piano(s),
square—for hot climates
- Collard
& Collard, *see* Collard—&
Collard (piano makers)
Frederick William, *see*
Collard—Frederick William
(piano maker)
William Frederick, *see*
Collard—William Frederick
(piano maker)

- Collier & Davis, *see* Collier & Davis
(piano makers)
- Combe, Charles, *see* Combe,
Charles (piano maker)
- Compton
John, *see* Compton—John
(piano maker)
William, *see* Compton—
William (piano maker)
- Cons, Frederick, *see* Cons,
Frederick (piano maker)
- Cooper, T., *see* Cooper, T. (piano
maker)
- Corrie, George, *see* Corrie, George
(piano maker)
- Coventry & Hollier, *see*
Coventry—& Hollier (piano
makers)
- Cristofori, Bartolomeo, *see*
Cristofori, Bartolomeo (piano
maker)
- Culliford,
Thomas, *see* Culliford—
Thomas (piano maker)
Rolfe & Barrow, *see* Culliford—
Rolfe & Barrow (piano
makers)
- Curtis, Henry, *see* Curtis, Henry
(pianomaker)
- Dale
Daniel, *see* Dale—Daniel (piano
maker)
Thomas, *see* Dale—Thomas
(piano maker)
& Co., *see* Dale, Thomas
(piano maker)—& Co.
- D'Almaine & Co., *see* D'Almaine &
Co. (piano makers)
see also Goulding, D'Almaine
and Potter (piano makers)
see also Goulding, Phipps
D'Almaine (piano makers)
see also Potter, John (piano
maker)
- Davis
Gerock & Co., *see* Davis—
Gerock & Co. (piano
makers)
Joseph, *see* Davis—Joseph
(piano maker)
- Dawson, Henry, *see* Dawson,
Henry (piano maker)
- Day, Thomas, *see* Day, Thomas
(piano maker)
- Dean, John, *see* Dean—John
(piano maker)
- Dettmer, George, *see* Dettmer,
George (piano maker)
- Dick, John, *see* Dick, John (piano
maker)
- Dimoline, Abraham & James, *see*
Dimoline, Abraham & James
(piano makers)
- Dobinson, Edward, *see* Dobinson,
Edward (piano maker)
- Dobson, Benjamin, *see* Dobson,
Benjamin (piano maker)
- Dodd
Edward, *see* Dodd—Edward
(piano maker)
Henry, *see* Dodd—Henry
(piano maker)
- Done, Joshua, *see* Done, Joshua
(harpsichord & piano maker)
- Dulcken, Louis, *see* Dulcken,
Louis (harpsichord & piano
maker)
- Dunn, George, *see* Dunn, George
(piano maker)
- Eastman, Joseph, *see* Eastman,
Joseph (piano maker)
- Eavestaff & Son, *see* Eavestaff &
Son (piano makers)
- Edmeades & Co., *see* Edmeades &
Co. (piano makers)
- Edwards
Richard, *see* Edwards—
Richard (piano maker)
William Henry, *see* Edwards—
William Henry (piano
maker)
- Ellimer, Ferdinand, *see* Ellimer,
Ferdinand (piano maker)
- Elliott & Co., *see* Elliott & Co.

- (piano makers)
 Emeny & Co., *see* Emeny & Co.
 (piano makers)
 Érard, Sébastien, *see* Érard,
 Sébastien (piano maker)
 Eveleigh, Joseph, *see* Eveleigh,
 Joseph (piano maker)
 Evenden & Sons, *see* Evenden &
 Sons (piano makers)
 Ewen, Henry, *see* Ewen, Henry
 (piano maker)
 Farlow, William, *see* Farlow,
 William (piano maker)
 Ferrini, Giovanni, *see* Ferrini,
 Giovanni (piano maker)
 Fischer, Pierre-Frédéric, *see*
 Fischer—Pierre-Frédéric
 (piano maker) (piano maker)
 Friederici, Christian Ernst, *see*
 Friederici, Christian Ernst
 (piano maker)
 Froeschle (Fröschle), George, *see*
 Fröschle (Froeschle), George
 (harpsichord-piano & piano
 maker)
 Fröschle (Froeschle), George, *see*
 Fröschle (Froeschle), George
 (harpsichord-piano & piano
 maker)
 Ganer, Christopher, *see* Ganer,
 Christopher (piano maker)
 Garbutt
 J., *see* Garbutt—J. (piano
 maker)
 Thomas, *see* Garbutt—Thomas
 (piano maker)
 Garcka, George, *see* Garcka,
 George (piano maker)
 Geib, John, *see* Geib, John (piano
 maker)
 Gerock
 & Co., *see* Gerock—& Co.
 (piano makers)
 Astor & Co. (piano makers), *see*
 Astor—Gerock, Astor &
 Co. (piano makers)
 Christopher, *see* Gerock—
 Christopher (piano maker)
see also Davis—Gerock & Co.
 (piano makers)
 Gibbs, John, *see* Gibbs, John
 (piano maker)
 Goldsworth, John, *see*
 Goldsworth, John (piano
 maker)
 Gorman, M. O., *see* Gorman, M. O.
 (piano maker)
 Goulding
 & Co., *see* Goulding (piano
 maker)—& Co. (music
 publishers; piano makers)
 D'Almaine and Potter, *see*
 Goulding (piano maker)—
 D'Almaine and Potter
 (piano makers)
 Phipps & D'Almaine, *see*
 Goulding (piano maker)—
 Phipps & D'Almaine (music
 publishers; piano makers)
 Graf, Conrad, *see* Graf—Conrad
 (piano maker)
 Green, John, *see* Green—John
 (piano maker)
 Gunter
 & Horwood, *see* Gunter—&
 Horwood (piano makers)
 Henry, *see* Gunter—Henry
 (piano maker)
 Hack, Robert, *see* Hack, Robert
 (piano maker)
 Haig & Co., *see* Haig & Co. (piano
 makers)
 Haines, *see* Haines (piano makers)
 Hammond, John, *see* Hammond,
 John (piano maker)
 Hancock, John Crang, *see* Hancock,
 John Crang (piano maker)
 Hawkins, John Isaac, *see* Hawkins—
 John Isaac (piano maker)
 Hellen, Johann Ludwig, *see*
 Hellen, Johann Ludwig
 (harpsichord & piano
 maker)
 Henderson, J., *see* Henderson—J.

- (piano maker)
- Henrion, Henri, *see* Henrion,
Henri (piano maker)
- Herz, Henri, *see* Herz, Henri
(piano maker)
- Hills, John, *see* Hills—John (piano
maker)
- Hingston, John, *see* Hingston,
John (piano maker)
- Holland, Henry, *see* Holland—
Henry (piano & organ maker)
- Houston, James Henry, *see*
Houston, James Henry (piano
maker)
- Hulton, George, *see* Hulton,
George (piano maker)
- Huni, Heinrich, *see* Huni,
Heinrich (piano maker)
- Inderman, Henry, *see* Inderman,
Henry (piano maker)
- Jackson, James, *see* Jackson—
James (piano maker)
- Jenkins, William, *see* Jenkins—
William (piano maker)
- Jones, Richard, *see* Jones—
Richard (piano maker)
- Kirckman, *see* Kirckman
(harpsichord & piano maker[s])
- Kirkland, John, *see* Kirkland, John
(piano maker)
- Kraft, Mathias Peter, *see* Kraft,
Mathias Peter (piano maker)
- Langhans, Justus, *see* Langhans,
Justus (piano maker)
- Leslie, John, *see* Leslie, John
(piano maker)
- Leukfeld, Ludewig Augustus, *see*
Leukfeld, Ludewig Augustus
(piano maker)
- Lidel, Joseph, *see* Lidel, Joseph
(piano maker)
- Loeschman, David, *see*
Loeschman, David (piano
maker)
- Longman
& Bates, *see* Longman—&
Bates (piano makers)
- & Broderip, *see* Longman—&
Broderip (harpsichord &
piano makers)
- Clementi & Co., *see*
Longman—Clementi & Co.
(piano makers)
- James & Co., *see* Longman,
James—& Co. (music
publishers; piano makers)
- Lukey
& Broderip, *see* Longman,
Lukey—& Broderip
(music publishers;
piano makers)
- & Co., *see* Longman,
Lukey—& Co. (music
publishers; piano
makers)
- Luff & Co., *see* Luff & Co. (piano
makers)
- Lyster, Richard, *see* Lyster,
Richard (piano maker)
- Mardon, William, *see* Mardon,
William (piano maker)
- Mârmol, Juan del, *see* Mârmol,
Juan del (piano maker)
- Martins & Ouvrier, *see* Martins &
Ouvrier (piano makers)
- Mercken, Johann Kilian, *see*
Mercken, Johann Kilian (piano
maker)
- Merlin, John Joseph, *see* Merlin,
John Joseph (inventor;
harpsichord-piano & piano
maker)
see also piano, combination
piano—harpsichord-piano
- Metzler & Co., *see* Metzler & Co.
(piano makers)
- Meyer, Meinke, *see* Meyer,
Meinke (piano maker)
- Miles, Jas, *see* Miles, Jas (piano
maker)
- Mills & Milne, *see* Mills & Milne
(piano makers)
- Monro & May, *see* Monro & May
(piano makers)
- Moore, John, *see* Moore—John

- (piano maker)
- Morrison, Robert, *see* Morrison, Robert (piano maker)
- Mott, Isaac Henry Robert, *see* Mott, Isaac Henry Robert (piano maker)
- Mowbay, William, *see* Mowbay, William (piano maker)
- Müller, Matthias, *see* Müller, Matthias (piano maker)
- Neslin, Robert, *see* Neslin, Robert (piano maker)
- Neubauer, Friedrich (Frederick), *see* Neubauer—Friedrich (Frederick) (harpsichord & piano maker)
- Nunns
 Robert, *see* Nunns—Robert (piano maker)
 William, *see* Nunns—William (piano maker)
- Nutting & Co., *see* Nutting & Co. (piano makers)
- Oakey, Henry, *see* Oakey, Henry (piano maker)
- Owen, Richard
 & Co., *see* Owen, Richard—& Co. (piano makers)
 & Stodart, *see* Owen, Richard—& Stodart (piano makers)
 Henry, *see* Owen, Richard—Henry (piano maker)
- Oxley, *see* Oxley (piano maker)
- Pape, Jean-Henri, *see* Pape, Jean-Henri (piano maker)
- Perkins
 & Fielding, *see* Perkins—& Fielding (piano makers)
 Robert, *see* Perkins—Robert (piano maker)
- Péronard, Balthazar, *see* Péronard, Balthazar (piano maker)
- Pether, George, *see* Pether, George (harpsichord & piano maker)
- Phillips, Mayhew & Co., *see* Phillips—Mayhew & Co. (piano makers)
- Pickett, Joseph, *see* Pickett, Joseph (piano maker)
- Pinnock, William, *see* Pinnock, William (piano maker)
- Plenius (Pleunis), Roger (Rutgerus), *see* Plenius (Pleunis)—Roger (Rutgerus) (harpsichord & piano maker)
- Pleyel, Ignaz Joseph, *see* Pleyel, Ignaz Joseph (piano maker)
- Pohlmann, Johannes, *see* Pohlmann (Pohlman), Johannes (John) (harpsichord & piano maker)
- Potter, John, *see* Potter, John (piano maker)
- Powell, T. S., *see* Powell, T. S. (piano maker)
- Price, John, *see* Price, John (piano maker)
- Pringle, Archibald, *see* Pringle, Archibald (piano maker)
- Prowse, Thomas, *see* Prowse, Thomas (piano maker)
- Pynder, James, *see* Pynder, James (piano maker)
- Pynock, James, *see* Pynock, James (piano maker)
- Rachmacher, Charles, *see* Rachmacher, Charles (piano maker)
- Rhodes, John, *see* Rhodes, John (piano maker)
- Robertson, William, *see* Robertson, William (piano maker)
- Rolfe, William, *see* Rolfe—William (piano maker) & Co., *see* Rolfe, William—& Co. (piano makers)
- Ross, Charles, *see* Ross—Charles (piano maker)
- Rudd, John, *see* Rudd, John (piano maker)
- Russell, Richard, *see* Russell—Richard (piano maker)
- Rutherford, John, *see* Rutherford, John (music publisher; piano

- maker)
- Sarle, C., *see* Sarle, C. (piano maker)
- Satchell, John & Fröschle, *see* combination piano, harpsichord-piano—Satchell & Fröschle *above*
- Sawers, Thomas, *see* Sawers, Thomas (piano maker)
- Schiedmayer, Johann Lorenz, *see* Schiedmayer, Johann Lorenz (piano maker)
- Schmahl, Christoph Friedrich, *see* Schmahl, Christoph Friedrich (*tangentenflügel* maker)
- Schmidt, Henry, *see* Schmidt, Henry (piano maker)
- Schön (Schoene) (piano makers) & Co., *see* Schön (Schoene) (piano makers)—& Co. Christian, *see* Schön (Schoene) (piano makers)—Christian Frederick, *see* Schön (Schoene) (piano makers)—Frederick
- Schrader, John Henry, *see* Schrader, John Henry (piano maker)
- Schwieso & Co., *see* Schwieso & Co. (piano makers)
- Scotcher, Thomas, *see* Scotcher, Thomas (piano maker)
- Scott
John, *see* Scott—John (piano maker)
& Co., *see* Scott, John (piano maker)—& Co. (piano makers)
- Searle, George, *see* Searle, George (piano maker)
- Sharp, John, *see* Sharp, John (piano maker)
- Shepherd, Aaron, *see* Shepherd, Aaron (piano maker)
- Sheybli, Johann, *see* Sheybli, Johann (organ & piano maker)
- Sievers, Christoph Julius Ludwig, *see* Sievers, Christoph Julius Ludwig (piano maker)
- Silbermann
Gottfried, *see* Silbermann—Gottfried (piano maker)
Johann Heinrich (Jean-Henri), *see* Silbermann—Johann Heinrich (Jean-Henri) (piano maker)
- Simpson
James, *see* Simpson—James (piano maker)
John, *see* Simpson—John (piano maker; music publisher)
- Small, Bruce & Co., *see* Small, Bruce & Co. (piano makers)
see also Anderson—Small, Bruce & Co. (piano makers)
- Smart, Henry, *see* Smart—Henry (piano maker)
- Smith, Charles, *see* Smith—Charles (piano maker)
& Co., *see* Smith, Charles (piano maker)—& Co. (piano makers)
- Southwell, William, *see* Southwell, William (harpsichord, piano & harp maker)
- Spademan, John, *see* Spademan, John (piano maker)
- Späth & Schmahl, *see* Späth—& Schmahl (*tangentenflügel* makers)
- Sprague, William, *see* Sprague, William (piano maker)
- Squire, William, *see* Squire, William (piano maker)
- Statham, Thomas, *see* Statham, Thomas (piano maker)
- Steed, William, *see* Steed, William (piano maker)
- Stein, Johann Andreas, *see* Stein, Johann Andreas (piano maker)
- Steinbrück, Johann Christoph, *see* Steinbrück, Johann Christoph (*tafelklavier* maker)
- Steinway, *see* Steinway (modern piano makers)

- Stephens, James, *see* Stephens, James (piano maker)
- Stewart, James, *see* Stewart, James (piano maker)
- Stodart
Robert, *see* Stodart, Robert (harpsichord & piano maker)
William, *see* Stodart, William (piano maker)
& Son, *see* Stodart, William (piano maker)—& Son
- Sugden, Lewis, *see* Sugden, Lewis (piano maker)
- Symondson, Henry, *see* Symondson, Henry (piano maker)
- Talbot, Henry, *see* Talbot, Henry (piano maker)
- Tarry, William, *see* Tarry, William (piano maker)
- Taskin, Pascal, *see* Taskin, Pascal (harpsichord & piano maker)
- Tate, Edward, *see* Tate, Edward (piano maker)
- Taws, Charles, *see* Taws, Charles (piano maker)
- Theobald, William, *see* Theobald, William (piano maker)
- Tierney, William, *see* Tierney, William (piano maker)
- Tolkien, Henry, *see* Tolkien, Henry (piano maker)
- Tomkison, Thomas, *see* Tomkison, Thomas (piano maker)
- Tomlinson, William, *see* Tomlinson, William (piano maker)
& Co., *see* Tomlinson, William (piano maker)—& Co. (piano makers)
- Towns, Thomas, *see* Towns, Thomas (piano maker)
- Trute, Charles, *see* Trute, Charles (piano maker)
- Tuck, Thomas, *see* Tuck, Thomas (piano maker)
- Tucker, John, *see* Tucker, John (piano maker)
- Viotor (Viator?), Herman (Harman) Bernard, *see* Viotor (Viator?), Herman (Harman) Bernard (piano maker)
- Wachtl und Bleyer, *see* Wachtl und Bleyer (piano makers)
- Waite, John, *see* Waite, John (piano maker)
& Co., *see* Waite, John (piano maker)—& Co. (piano makers)
- Wales
John, *see* Wales—John (piano maker)
Robert, *see* Wales—Robert (piano maker)
- Walker, Richard, *see* Walker—Richard (piano maker)
- Walter, William, *see* Walter, William (piano maker)
- Wansell, James, *see* Wansell, James (piano maker)
- Ward, Cornelius, *see* Ward—Cornelius (piano maker)
- Warren
George, *see* Warren—George (piano maker)
John, *see* Warren—John (piano maker)
- Watlen, John, *see* Watlen, John (piano maker)
- Watson, John, *see* Watson, John (piano maker)
- Watts, George, *see* Watts—George (piano maker)
- Weber, Ferdinand, *see* Weber, Ferdinand (piano maker)
- Weston, Thomas, *see* Weston, Thomas (piano maker)
- Whitaker & Co., *see* Whitaker—& Co. (piano makers)
- Wilkinson, George, *see* Wilkinson, George (piano maker)
- Williams
Benjamin, *see* Williams—Benjamin (piano maker)

- Richard, *see* Williams—
 Richard (piano maker)
- Willis & Co., *see* Willis & Co.
 (piano makers)
- Witton, Witton & Co., *see* Witton,
 Witton & Co. (piano makers)
- Wolfe & Co., *see* Wolfe & Co.
 (piano makers)
- Wolfenden, Skelton, *see*
 Wolfenden, Skelton (piano
 maker)
- Wood
 Father, *see* Wood—Father
 (piano maker)
 James, *see* Wood—James
 (piano maker)
 & Son, *see* Wood, James—&
 Son (piano makers)
 John Slight, *see* Wood—John
 Slight (piano maker)
- Woodman, T., *see* Woodman, T.
 (piano maker)
- Zeitter
 & Perkins, *see* Zeitter—&
 Perkins (piano makers)
 Jacob Frederick, *see* Zeitter—
 Jacob Frederick (piano
 maker)
- Zimmermann, Wilhelm (l'aîné),
see Zimmermann—Wilhelm
 (l'aîné) (*tafelklavier* maker)
- Zumpe, Johann (John) Christoph,
see Zumpe, Johann (John)
 Christoph (piano maker)
- modern 1.xxxvii, 1.270, 1.322, 2.125,
 2.409
- mutations, *see* mutation
- organisé*, *see* combination piano—
 organized piano (piano *organisé*)
above
- organized, *see* claviorganum
- pandoret* 1.xxxv
- pantalon, *see* keyboard—pantalon
- piano et forte* 1.xxxvi
- piano fort* 1.xxxvi
- pianoforte* 1.xxxvi, 1.32, 1.34, 1.39,
 1.73, 1.74, 1.75, 1.82, 1.96, 1.117,
 1.178, 1.277, 1.282n.55, 1.291,
 1.300, 1.317, 1.326, 1.409, 1.420,
 1.439, 1.451, 1.457, 1.478, 1.494,
 1.496, 1.497, 1.577, 1.580, 1.592,
 1.593, 1.656, 1.657, 1.663, 1.666,
 1.672, 1.647, 1.678, 1.681, 1.682,
 2.201, 2.203, 2.269, 2.280, 2.283
- organizzato*, *see* combination
 piano, organized piano
 (piano *organisé*)—*pianoforte*
organizzato above
- piano-forte* 1.xxxvii
- piano forte* 1.xxxvii
- piano organisé*, *see* combination
 piano—organized piano (piano
organisé) *above*
- pianola, *see* reproducing piano rolls
 played at sea 2.192
- practice, *see* practicing a keyboard
 instrument
- pyano forte* 1.xxxvi, 1.35
- rolls, *see* reproducing piano rolls
- serial number(s), *see* serial number—
 on grand piano(s)
see also serial number—on square
 piano(s)
- shipboard 1.147, 2.216
- square, *see* square piano
- status symbol 1.58, 1.66, 1.67, 1.69,
 1.187, 1.452, 1.663
- tafelklavier*, *see* Krämer, Georg
 Ludwig (*tafelklavier* maker)
see also square piano, North
 German—(*tafelklavier*)
- tangent, *see* action, tangent—tangent
 action *above*
see also clavichord
see also *tangentenflügel*
- tangentenflügel* 1.146, 2.433
see also Beck, Frederick (piano
 maker), piano(s), extant Beck
 square pianos—1782/90?
 (tangent action; owner: Osaka
 College of Music Museum,
 Osaka, Japan)
see also Beck, Frederick (piano
 maker), piano(s), extant Beck

- square pianos—ca 1790
 (estimate; tangent action;
 owner: private collection, UK)
- tuning tours, *see* tuners (piano tuners)
- upright
 cabinet piano, *see* Broadwood—
 cabinet piano
see also Southwell, William
 (harpsichord, piano & harp
 maker)
- combination piano (two upright
 pianos), *see* Müller, Matthias
 (piano maker)—upright
 combination piano (two
 upright pianos) (1801)
- cottage piano 1.285, 2.408
 Benham, John (1835) 1.580,
 1.656, 2.203
- depicted in Robert Campbell's
 portrait 1.656, 2.203
- invented by Robert Wornum,
see Wornum, Robert (piano
 maker)
- grand
 Broadwood, John, *see*
 Broadwood, piano(s)—
 grand
- patent portable grand, *see*
 Hawkins—John Isaac
 (piano maker)
- Stodart, Robert, *see* Stodart,
 Robert (harpsichord &
 piano maker)—'upright
 grand piano-forte in the
 form of a bookcase' (1795)
- keyboard pantalon (*Clavicimbel de*
Amour) 1.34
- square piano, *see* Southwell,
 William (harpsichord & piano
 maker)
- piano* (as dynamic marking), *see*
 dynamic(s)—markings
- Pichler, Caroline 1.458
- Pickett, Joseph (piano maker) 2.304
- Pike Street (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK), *see*
 Liskeard (Cornwall, UK), Street—Pike
 pilaster, *see* decoration
- Pilote*, *see* ship
- Pinnock, William (piano maker) 2.304
- Piozzi, Gabriele (composer) 1.295
- pipe organ, *see* organ—pipe organ
- Piper, John (Captain) 1.406, 1.419, 1.473,
 1.630, 1.637, 1.644
- pitch 1.22, 1.34n.108, 1.63n.280, 1.225,
 1.322, 1.326, 1.434, 2.403, 2.406,
 2.410, 2.413, 2.417, 2.418, 2.422,
 2.424, 2.426, 2.428, 2.431, 2.434,
 2.435, 2.436, 2.437
- at Foundling Hospital in 1751 1.321
- basic 1.318, 1.319, 1.320, 1.321,
 1.322, 1.326, 2.426
- chamber 1.321
- church 1.321
- concert 1.321n.199
- Corista Veneto* 1.321n.199
- Händel's opera orchestra in 1720s
 1.321
- 'new consort pitch' 1.321
- opera 1.321
- pipe 1.319, 1.320, 1.321, 1.322,
 1.325, 1.493, 2.426
- standard 1.34n.108, 1.319n.190,
 1.321, 1.321n.199, 2.411
- tutto punto* 1.321n.199
- Wiener-Ton* 1.321n.199
- woodwind instruments in England
 1770–1800 1.322
- pitch-pipe, *see* pitch—-pipe *above*
- Pitt*, *see* ship
- Pitt Street (Sydney, Australia) 1.496,
 1.579, 1.586
- pizzicato* 1.45, 2.426
- platypuses 1.474
- Plenius (Pleunis)
 Johann (John) Christian (harpsichord
 maker; eldest son of Roger
 Plenius) 1.32, 1.33
- Joseph (harpsichord maker; son of
 Roger Plenius) 1.32n.100
 workshop/address 1.32n.100
- Roger (Rutgerus) (harpsichord &
 piano maker) 1.31–3
- copies grand piano by Wood
 (Father) 1.31

- inadequacies & strengths of
 1.31
 death 1.33
 workshop/address 1.31
 Rutgerus (harpsichord maker; son of
 Roger Plenius) 1.32n.100
 Pleyel, Ignaz Joseph (piano maker) 1.238,
 1.282, 1.295, 1.300, 1.440, 1.447,
 1.662, 1.663
 square pianos for hot climate 1.409
 Plymouth
 Devon, (UK) 1.213, 1.462, 1.481,
 1.505, 1.508, 1.541, 1.569, 1.570,
 1.576, 1.611, 2.173
 New Plymouth (New Zealand) 1.18
 Road (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK), *see*
 Liskeard (Cornwall, UK), Road—
 Plymouth
 Pohlmann (Pohlman), Johannes (John)
 (harpsichord & piano maker) 2.398
 Point Maskelyne, *see* Dawes Point
 (Sydney Australia)
 Poland Street (London, UK)
 Oxford Street (London, UK) 2.304
 Soho (London, UK) 1.443
 Polding, John Bede (Archbishop; Dr)
 1.584, 1.586
 Pollens, Stewart (contemporary) 1.xxxv
 Pollock, Jackson (painter) 1.471
 Pond Street (Hampstead, London, UK)
 2.278
 Porco-Forte, *see* musical absurdities
 Portal, A. (music publisher) 1.298
 Porter Street (Soho, London, UK) 1.47
 Port Jackson (Australia) 1.204, 1.207,
 1.208, 1.263, 1.264, 1.358, 1.359,
 1.361, 1.364, 1.366, 1.367, 1.369,
 1.372, 1.380, 1.385, 1.386, 1.396,
 1.398, 1.464, 1.485, 1.501, 1.570,
 1.614, 1.615, 1.684
 New South Wales Corps at 1.390,
 1.429, 1.464, 1.618, 1.657, 1.658,
 2.201
 see also New—South Wales Corps
 (102nd Regiment)
 Portman Square (London, UK) 1.443,
 1.601, 2.300, 2.305, 2.306
 port regulations for Sydney boatmen
 1.641
 Portsmouth (UK) 1.11, 1.198, 1.252,
 1.253, 1.260, 1.263, 1.268, 1.269,
 1.273, 1.274, 1.333, 1.348, 1.359,
 1.400, 1.481, 1.500, 1.504,
 1.505, 1.591, 1.614, 1.615, 1.635,
 2.181n.197, 2.263, 2.264, 2.265,
 2.328, 2.329, 2.330
 Place (London, UK) 2.306
 Potter, John (piano maker) 1.448
 Goulding, d'Almaine & Potter (piano
 makers) 1.681n.63
 poverty
 upper-class view of 1.661
 Powell, T. S. (piano maker) 2.304
 Powerhouse Museum (Sydney, Australia)
 1.xxxi, 1.581, 2.275, 2.276
 Lea, Michael (contemporary) 1.xxxi,
 2.275
 practicing
 a keyboard instrument 1.232, 1.345,
 1.437, 1.438, 1.490, 1.656
 number of hours daily 1.444–6,
 1.453, 2.192
 memorized pieces 1.314
 Prague (Czech Republic) 1.440, 1.487
 see also battle, pieces—*Battle of*
 Prague, The (Kocżwara)
 Preston
 John (music publisher) 1.298
 & Son (music sellers) 2.400
 price
 of bentside spinet, *see* bentside spinet
 of harpsichord, *see* harpsichord
 of square piano, *see* square piano
 Price, John (piano maker) 2.304
Pride and Prejudice, *see* Austen, Jane
Prince of Wales, *see* ship
 Prince Street (Sydney, Australia) 1.577
 Princes (Prince's) Street
 Cavendish Square, London, UK 2.291
 Hanover Square, London, UK 1.51,
 1.52, 1.62, 2.280, 2.397
 Soho, London, UK 1.96
 Princess Kinkara (Reilly, John) 1.710,
 2.161n.94

- Pringle, Archibald (piano maker) 2.304
 prisons
 conditions in 2.329–30
Privilegierte Hamburgische Anzeigen 1.34
Prodigal Son, The, see Arnold, Samuel
 professional class 1.66–7, 1.68, 1.69, 1.70, 1.71, 1.287, 2.266
 Prokofiev, Sergei (composer) 1.705n.82
 prop stick, see lid
Providence, see ship
 Prowse, Thomas (piano maker) 2.304
Public Advertiser 1.xxxvi, 1.35, 1.47, 1.212, 2.175, 2.176
 public performance, see women, as concert pianists—English attitude towards women performing in public
 see also women, as concert pianists—number of advertised public performances given by women in London between 1750–1800
 Pulteney (Pulteny; Poulteney) Street, see Great—Pulteney (Pulteny; Poulteney) Street
 Purcell, Henry (composer) 1.88, 1.242
 Putland, Mary 1.429
Pyano Forte, see piano
 Pynder, James (piano maker) 2.304
 Pynock, James (piano maker) 2.304
- quadrille
 at social gatherings 1.417, 1.419, 1.420–1, 1.423
 danced on board ship 2.192
 England, in 1.418n.25
 at Almack's dance club (London) 1.418
 first composed in Australia 1.420
 France, in 1.418n.25
 Sydney, at 1.418–21
 see also Girard, Francis—quadrille instructor
 Quakers 1.539, 1.646
Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review 1.232, 1.291, 1.452
 quarter notes, see crotchets
 quavers 1.425n.63, 1.487
- Queen
 Anne's Free Gift 1.202, 1.255, 1.256
 Charlotte, see Charlotte—Queen of England (wife of George III)
 Street (Woollahra, Sydney, Australia) 1.2, 1.9, 1.705, 1.710, 1.711, 1.721, 2.155n.53, 2.156n.56, 2.158, 2.161n.94, 2.206, 2.209, 2.213, 2.310
 Quilici, Gaetano (singer) 1.305
 Rachmacher, Charles (piano maker) 2.304
 Rachmaninov, Sergei (composer) 1.705n.82
 Radic, Thérèse (contemporary) 1.12
 Raglan Street (Mosman, Sydney, Australia) 1.713n.123, 2.209n.358
 Raguenet, François 1.244
 rail
 balance, see balance rail
 belly, see belly rail
 damper cover rail, see Beck, Frederick (piano maker),
 extant Beck square pianos, 1780/86? (owner: Stewart Symonds, Sydney, Australia)—damper cover rail
 hammer, see hammer—rail
 see also hammer—rest rail
 hitch-pin, see hitch-pin—rail
 raised dampers, see mutation—raised dampers
 Rameau, Jean-Philippe (composer) 1.83
 Randall, William (music publisher) 1.298
 Rapperswil (Switzerland) 1.6
 Rathbone Place (Westminster, London, UK) 2.173, 2.174, 2.175
 rations, see Royal Navy
 Rauche, Michael (music publisher) 1.298
 Rauzzini, Venazio (composer) 1.293, 1.295
 Ravel, Maurice (composer) 1.705n.82
 Recruiting Officer, The, see Farquhar, George
 Redruth (Cornwall, UK) 1.525
 reeding, see decoration
 Regency style, see style—Regency
 regiment, see marine(s)—regiment(s)

- regulations
 domestic 1.454
 for establishing Windsor (New South Wales) 1.694–5
 guild 1.327
 navy 1.269
 surgeon 1.201
 theatre (late 1780s) 1.397
see also port regulations for Sydney boatmen
- Reid, Adam (piano maker) 2.304
- Reign of Terror, *see Inventaire sous La Terreur*
- Reilly, John (Princess Kinkara) 1.710, 2.161n.94
- Reinagle, Alexander (composer; organist) 1.88, 1.293
- Rennie
 day school (Elizabeth Street, Sydney, Australia) 1.585, 1.586, 1.587
 Edward Alexander 1.585
 James 1.585
 Miss 1.585
 College High School (Sydney, Australia) 1.585
- reproducing piano rolls 1.705n.82
- resonance 1.46, 1.192, 2.86, 2.225, 2.322
- rest rail, *see* hammer—rest rail
- Revenge, The*, *see* Moore, Edward
- Revolution
 American, *see* American War of Independance
 French, *see* French Revolution
- Rewbell, Jean-Françoise 1.76
- Rhodes, John (piano maker) 2.304
- rib, *see* soundboard
- Richmond
 Green, *see* Worgan, John (Dr; George Bouchier Worgan's father), address(es)—Richmond Green
 Hill, *see* Worgan, John (Dr; George Bouchier Worgan's father), address(es)—Maids of Honour Row, Richmond Hill
- Rigel, Henri-Joseph (composer) 1.74
- Rigg, James (piano dealer?) 2.304
- Rimbault, Edward F. 1.39
- Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) 1.276, 1.277, 1.310, 1.333, 1.335, 1.338, 1.340, 1.341, 1.347, 1.348, 1.349, 1.350, 1.356, 1.357, 1.359, 1.361, 1.400, 1.428, 1.614
 known as St Sebastian 1.334
- River
 Esk (North Yorkshire, UK) 1.263
 Fowey (Cornwall, UK) 1.510n.59
- Rivers, I am beyond your reach* 1.430
- Roberts, Henry, *see* Worgan, John (Dr), composer—publishers of his music
- Robertson, William (piano maker) 2.304
- Robinson
 George (Captain) 2.333
 Joel Daniel (contemporary) 1.700, 1.703, 1.704
- rococo, *see* style—rococo
- Rodius, Charles (illustrator; lithographer; portraitist) 1.496, 1.656, 2.203
- Rogue's March* 1.415, 1.416
 associated ritual 1.416
- Rolfe
 William (piano maker) 1.259, 1.665, 2.195n.296, 2.279, 2.281, 2.282, 2.285, 2.286, 2.290, 2.291, 2.392, 2.394, 2.395
 & Co. (piano makers) 2.304
- rolls, piano, *see* reproducing piano rolls
- Romantic
 attachment 1.481, 1.589
 era 1.1, 1.7, 2.428
 sensibility 1.249, 1.346, 1.427, 1.439
- Rose
 Hill 1.386, 1.387, 1.492, 1.617
 contemporaneous description 1.492
 Government House 1.492
 portion of Sydney's population in 1.492
 renamed 'Parramatta' 1.387, 1.492–3, 1.617
 derivation 1.493
see also Parramatta
 Street (Covent Garden, London, UK) 1.98
- Rosedew, Richard 1.533

- Rosenau, Gottlieb (harpsichord maker)
 harpsichord (1786) 1.145
- Rosetti, Francesco Antonio (composer)
 1.295
- rosewood, *see* decoration—materials
- Ross
 Charles (piano maker) 2.304
 Robert (Major; Lieutenant-governor)
 1.262, 1.339, 1.387
- Roubillac (Roubiliac), Louis-François
 bust of Händel, *see* Händel (Handel),
 Georg (George) Friedrich
 (Frederick)—bust by Roubillac
 (Roubiliac), Louis-François
 statue of Händel, *see* Händel
 (Handel), Georg (George) Friedrich
 (Frederick)—statue by Roubillac
 (Roubiliac), Louis-François
- round, *see* canon
- Rouquet, Jean André (enamellist) 1.424
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 1.309, 1.427
- Row, Row, Row, Your Boat* 1.302
- Rowe, Nicholas
Jane Shore 1.396
Lady Jane Grey 1.391
- Rowed, Charles (piano maker) 2.304
- Royal
 Cockpit (St James's Park, London, UK)
 1.519
 College of Music, *see* College, Royal,
 College of—Music (London, UK)
 College of Surgeons (London, UK),
see College, Royal, College of—
 Surgeons (London, UK)
 Cornwall Infirmary (Cornwall, UK)
 1.513
 Hotel (Sydney, Australia), *see* Sydney
 (Australia)—Royal Hotel at
 Northern College of Music, *see*
 College, Royal—Northern College
 of Music (Manchester, UK)
 Ontario Museum (Toronto, Canada)
 1.157, 1.161, 2.269, 2.350, 2.353
 Society of Musicians (London,
 UK) 1.231, 1.321, 1.577, 1.578,
 1.589n.135, 1.605, 1.606n.201, 1.609
 Victoria Theatre (Pitt Street, Sydney),
see Sydney (Australia)—Royal
 Victoria Theatre at
Royal Cornwall Gazette 1.534, 1.589n.135
- Rubens, Peter Paul (painter) 1.7
- Rudd, John (piano maker) 2.304
- Russell
 Hugh (organ maker) 2.398
 Richard (piano maker) 2.304
- Russian salons
 over-heated, *see* Clementi, Muzio
 (piano maker), piano(s), grand,
 Russian model (ca 1806–10; serial
 number 526)—metal-strengthened
 corners
- Rutherford, John (music publisher; piano
 maker) 2.304
- Saint Aloüarn, Louis François Marie
 Aleno de 1.399
- St Andrew
 Holborn (London, UK) 1.600
 Undershaf (London, UK) 1.217,
 1.223, 1.227, 1.229
 organ at 1.217, 1.218, 1.223–4
- St Botolph (Aldgate, London, UK) 1.209,
 1.225, 1.231
 organ at 1.225
- St Catherine, near the Tower (London,
 UK) 1.229
- St Clement's (Strand, London, UK) 2.304
- St George's Lutheran Church (Allie Street,
 Whitechapel, London, UK) 1.47
- St-Germain-l'Auxerrois (Paris, France)
 1.83n.409
- St Gluvias (Penryn, Cornwall, UK)
 1.525n.134
- St Ive (near Liskeard, Cornwall, UK)
 organ at 1.541n.222
- St James's (Piccadilly, London, UK) 1.34
- St James (Sydney, Australia) 1.587
- St John's
 Chapel (Millman Street, Bedford Row,
 Holborn, London, UK) 1.212,
 1.226, 1.228, 2.175, 2.176
 College (Cambridge, UK), *see* College,
 St—John (Cambridge, UK)

- Street (Clerkenwell, London, UK)
2.303
- Square (Clerkenwell, London, UK)
2.307
- St Martin's
Lane (Covent Garden, London, UK)
1.105
- Liskeard (Cornwall, UK) 1.510, 1.525,
1.540, 1.595, 1.603, 1.604
bells 1.528
choir 1.542
organ at 1.541
music at 1.541, 1.542
snobbery at 1.527
1793 renovations 1.527
- Ludgate (London, UK)
organ at 1.229
- St Mary Axe, *see* St Andrew Undershaft
(London, UK)
- St Mary-le-Bow (Cheapside, London, UK)
2.170, 2.183
- St Mary's
Cathedral (Sydney, Australia), *see*
Cathedral, St Mary's (Sydney,
Australia)
- Islington (London, UK)
Organ at 1.229
- Rotherhithe (London, UK)
organ at 1.229
- St Marylebone (Westminster, London,
UK) 1.601
- St Michael's (Cornhill, London, UK) 1.227
- St Patrick's Cathedral (Dublin, Ireland),
see Cathedral—St Patrick's (Dublin,
Ireland)
- St Paul's Cathedral (London, UK), *see*
Cathedral—St Paul's (London, UK)
- St Peter le Poor (London, UK) 1.211
- St Petersburg (Russia) 1.79, 1.96, 1.590
- St Petroc (Bodmin, Cornwall, UK) 1.540
- St Sebastian (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), *see*
Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)
- St Sepulchre (London, UK) 1.231
- St Wenna's (parish of Morval, Cornwall,
UK) 1.528, 1.604
- St Winnoe (Cornwall, UK) 1.530
- Sadler, John, *see* Worgan, John (Dr), as
composer, publishers of his music—
Sadler, John
- Salomon, Johann Peter (violinist) 1.52,
1.238
- salon(s) 1.69, 1.457
in
France 1.296
Russia, *see* Clementi, Muzio
(piano maker), piano(s), grand,
Russian model (ca 1806–10;
serial number 526)—metal-
strengthened corners
Vienna 1.455
- Sandwich (Lord), *see* Montagu, John (4th
Earl of Sandwich)
- sandwiches 1.623
- Sanssouci* (Potsdam, Germany) 1.61
- Santa Cruz, *see* Tenerife (Canary Islands)
- Sarette, Bernard de 1.75, 1.76
- Sarle, C. (piano maker) 2.305
- Sarti, Giuseppe (composer) 1.480
- sash window(s) 1.271, 1.388, 2.428
at Wadeland House, *see* Wadeland
House
- Satchell, John
& Fröschle (harpsichord-piano
& piano makers), *see* piano,
combination piano, harpsichord-
piano—Satchell & Fröschle
- satinwood, *see* decoration—materials
- Savage
Jane (composer) 1.293
William (singer) 1.305
- Savoy
military prison 1.464
- Sawers, Thomas (piano maker) 2.305
- Scarborough*, *see* ship
- Scarlatti
Alessandro (composer) 1.211
Domenico (composer) 1.83, 1.211,
1.220, 1.221, 1.230, 1.231, 1.290
- Scarr, John, *see* tuners (piano tuners)—
Scarr, John (Sydney, Australia)
- scale (in music) 1.319, 1.322, 1.323,
1.425n.64, 1.445, 2.298, 2.419, 2.422,
2.426, 2.428, 2.433
- scaling, *see* string(s)—scaling

- Schiedmayer, Johann Lorenz (piano maker) 1.317, 1.347
- Schmahl, Christoph Friedrich (*tangentenflügel* maker) 1.145, 1.146n.261, 2.433
- Schmidt, Henry (piano maker) 2.305
- Schnabel, Artur 1.705n.82
- Schobert, Johann (composer) 1.50, 1.74, 1.83, 1.295, 1.426
- Schön (Schoene) (piano makers) 1.51, 1.62–3, 1.224, 2.266, 2.291 & Co. 2.398
- Christian 1.40, 1.63, 1.75, 1.78, 1.259, 2.394, 2.395
- Frederick 1.40, 1.63, 1.75, 1.78, 1.259, 2.394, 2.395
- square piano(s) 1.76, 1.78, 1.80–1
- 1784 2.292
- 1785 2.292
- 1786 2.291, 2.292
- 1787 2.292
- 1788 2.291
- Schönfeld, Johann Ferdinand von 1.440
- Schrader, John Henry (piano maker) 1.40, 1.259, 2.292, 2.394
- Schröter (Schroeter)
- Corona (composer) 1.459
- Johann Samuel 1.293, 1.450, 1.451
- elopes with Rebecca Scott 1.451
- Master of the Queen's Musick 1.290, 1.451
- Rebecca (wife of Johann Samuel Schroeter) 1.451
- Schubert, Franz (composer) 1.427
- Schwieso & Co. (piano makers) 2.305
- scientific style, *see* style, English, compositional—scientific (modern German style)
- Scotcher, Thomas (piano maker) 2.305
- Scott
- John (piano maker) 2.305
- & Co. (piano makers) 2.305
- Rebecca 1.451
- Robert 1.668
- opinion of John Macarthur, *see* Macarthur, John
- Walter 1.645
- Scottish ballad, *see* national airs, Scottish—ballad
- Scottish folk tunes, *see* national airs—Scottish
- Scouler, Alexander (composer) 1.293
- Scriabin, Alexander (composer) 1.705n.82
- Searle, George (piano maker) 2.305
- Second Fleet 1.464
- See the bowl sparkles* 1.303
- Selwyn
- George Augustus (Bishop) 1.19
- Sarah Harriet (wife of Bishop Selwyn) 1.19
- semitone(s) 1.34n.108, 1.321, 1.322, 1.325, 2.129, 2.411, 2.412, 2.419, 2.422, 2.428, 2.434
- Sense and Sensibility*, *see* Austen, Jane
- seraphine, *see* organ—seraphine
- serial number
- on grand piano(s)
- Broadwood, John
- 875 (1796) 1.192n.399
- & Sons
- 13932 (1834) 1.7
- Clementi, Muzio
- & Co.
- 526 (ca 1806–10) 2.313
- on harp
- Érard, Sébastien
- 273 1.4
- on square piano(s)
- Beck, Frederick 1.124, 1.129, 1.130
- 1941 (1788) 1.125, 1.158, 1.161, 1.163, 1.164, 2.6, 2.11, 2.351
- 2000 (1775; Beck/Fuhrlohg) 1.126
- 2000 (1789) 1.125
- 2505 (ca 1790?; Beck & Corrie) 1.104, 1.127–8, 1.160, 1.162, 1.163, 1.164, 1.184, 2.11, 2.351, 2.353, 2.354, 2.364
- 2580 (ca 1790) 1.xxxi, 1.128, 1.160, 1.162, 1.163, 1.164, 2.3, 2.351, 2.353, 2.354
- 3091 (1778? [estimate]) 1.128, 1.160, 1.161, 1.163, 1.164,

- 2.10, 2.350
 5008 (1782/87?) 1.127, 1.158,
 1.161, 1.163, 1.164, 2.11,
 2.347, 2.349, 2.350, 2.351,
 2.353, 2.354
- Broadwood, John
 200 (1784) 2.268
 204 (1784) 2.268
 206 (1784) 2.261n.1, 2.268
 219 (1784) 2.268
 283 (1784) 2.268
- Brysson, George
 462 (1817) 1.706
- Huni, Heinrich
 292 (1830) 1.6, 2.310
- Longman & Broderip 1.665, 2.166,
 2.168
 289 (1785?) 2.168
 306 (1785/96?) 1.665,
 2.168n.127
 361 (1785) 2.168
 435 1.410n.295
 604 (1785/86?) 2.168, 2.169,
 2.170, 2.217, 2.221
 1025 (1786?) 2.168
 1049 (1787) 2.168
 1072 (1787) 2.168
 1134 (1787) 2.168
 1846 (ca 1788) 2.168
 1926 (ca 1790) 2.168
 2386 (1791) 2.168
 2416 (1789) 2.168
 2707 (1792) 2.168
- serpent (scorpion), *see* band
- Seven Years War 1.39, 1.40n.157,
 1.282n.51
- sforzando*, *see* dynamic(s)—markings
- Shade, George (piano maker) 2.305
- shank, *see* hammer—shank
- sharp, *see* key lever(s)—sharp
- Sharp
 Francis (composer) 1.293
 John (piano maker) 2.305
- shellac 1.180, 2.429
- Shepherd, Aaron (piano maker) 2.305
- Sheraton, Thomas (furniture maker,
 London, UK) 1.3, 1.141, 1.622
- Sheybli, Johann (organ & piano maker)
 1.xxxv, 1.xxxvii, 1.86
- ship
Admiral Gambier 1.470
Albion 1.611n223
Anna Josepha 1.673
Assistant 1.502
Astrolabe 1.364, 1.365
Atrevida 1.370
Ballarat 1.593
Berwick 1.263–4
 dry rot in 1.266
 repairs and alterations to 1.265
 spar deck for mast timber 1.264
Boussole 1.365
Britomart 1.569
Caroline 1.632
Charlotte 1.275, 1.358
Coromandel 2.327, 2.328, 2.329,
 2.330, 2.333
Cresswell 1.591
Descuvierta 1.370
Elizabeth 1.569, 1.570
Emu 1.571
Endeavour 1.338, 1.617
Journal, *see* Cook, James
 (Captain)—*Endeavour Journal*
Forentia 1.576
Francis 1.496
Friendship 1.266, 1.358, 1.361, 1.391
Ganges 2.181n.197
Golden Grove 1.351
Gorgon 1.491, 1.503, 1.504, 1.617,
 1.653, 1.658, 2.143n.28,
 2.143n.30, 2.202
Great Britain, *see* SS *Great Britain*
below
Hope 1.19n.19
Hunter 1.631
Investigator 1.574
Lady Peel 1.589
Lady Penrhyn 1.180, 1.270n.117, 1.333,
 1.340, 1.353, 1.354, 1.357, 1.358
Le Caton 1.505, 1.506, 1.507, 1.508,
 1.509, 1.510, 1.514, 1.611, 1.615
Le Géographe 1.371
Le Naturaliste 1.371

- Mount Stuart Elphinstone* 1.352
Neptune 1.464
Pilote 1.197, 1.252, 1.614, 2.181n.197,
 2.263, 2.264
Pitt 1.502
Prince of Wales 1.353, 1.358, 1.416
Providence 1.502, 1.676
Rattlesnake 1.590
Reliance 1.633, 1.672
Scarborough 1.352, 1.378, 1.465, 1.501
Sirius 1.12, 1.14, 1.22, 1.90, 1.91,
 1.92, 1.117, 1.131, 1.155, 1.176,
 1.191, 1.195, 1.201, 1.204, 1.205,
 1.252, 1.253, 1.255, 1.260, 1.263,
 1.265, 1.266, 1.269, 1.270, 1.271,
 1.273, 1.274, 1.275, 1.276, 1.277,
 1.288, 1.289, 1.301, 1.302, 1.308,
 1.309, 1.317, 1.322, 1.333, 1.335,
 1.336, 1.337, 1.339, 1.340, 1.341,
 1.342, 1.343, 1.346, 1.347, 1.348,
 1.349, 1.351, 353, 1.354, 1.355,
 1.356, 1.357, 1.358, 1.363, 1.364,
 1.366, 1.371, 1.375, 1.379, 1.380,
 1.381, 1.382, 1.383, 1.385, 1.386,
 1.394, 1.398, 1.400, 1.401, 1.403,
 1.413, 1.414, 1.500, 1.501, 1.504,
 1.505, 1.534, 1.571, 1.611, 1.614,
 1.615, 1.656, 1.719, 1.722, 2.141,
 2.142, 2.181, 2.191, 2.192, 2.193,
 2.215, 2.264, 2.272
 best speed 1.266
 description of 1.266
 dry rot in 1.266
 shipwrecked at Norfolk Island
 1.267–8
 surgeons on board 1.198
SS Great Britain 1.592
Supply 1.267, 1.273, 1.351, 1.358,
 1.372, 1.386
Tiger 1.196, 1.251, 1.509, 1.510,
 1.614, 1.681, 2.263
Victory 1.590
Waaksamheyd 1.481, 1.482, 1.493,
 1.500, 1.501, 1.502, 1.504, 1.591,
 1.615, 1.617
 shipboard piano, *see* piano—shipboard
 short octave, *see* octave(s)—short octave
 Shortland, John (Lieutenant) 1.501
 Shudi (Schudi; Tschudi; Tshudi)
 Barbara, *see* Broadwood—Barbara
 (wife of John Broadwood)
 Burkat (Burkhart; Burkhardt)
 (harpsichord maker) 1.41, 1.43,
 1.101
 grave obliterated in 1945 by V2
 rocket 1.42n.174
 harpsichords
 price 1.72
 1744
 gifted to Frederick the
 Great 1.41
 shown to J. S. Bach 1.41
 1765
 order from Frederick the
 Great 1.41
 production number 496
 Mozart & his sister play in
 London 1.41
 Joshua (harpsichord maker) (nephew
 of Burkat Shudi) 1.101
 Mary (mother of Rose Ann Shudi)
 1.101
 Rose Ann (daughter of Joshua Shudi)
 1.101
Sibeliusmuseet, *see* Sibelius Museum
 (Turku, Finland)
 Sibelius Museum (Turku, Finland)
 1.xxxi, 1.158, 1.161, 2.351, 2.353
 Sidney, Henry (1st Earl of Romney) 1.234
Siege of Quebec (de Krift) 1.283
 Sierra Leone (West Africa) 1.473
 Sievers, Christoph Julius Ludwig (piano
 maker) 1.63, 2.397
Sigh no more, ladies (Stevens) 1.308
 Silbermann
 Gottfried (piano maker) 1.xxxvi
 influence on Behrent (Bahrent;
 Brent), John (Johann) 1.87
 grand piano (*Piano Fort*) 1.61, 1.87
 mutations on 1.87
 Johann Heinrich (Jean-Henri) (piano
 maker) 1.xxxvi
 grand piano (*Hammerflügel*) 1.77
 1769 1.77

- 1776 1.145
- Simpson
 James (piano maker) 1.259, 2.292–3, 2.399
 John (piano maker; music publisher) 1.257, 1.259, 2.183, 2.292–3, 2.297, 2.399
 as publisher, *see* Worgan, John (Dr)—composer
- single-octave span, *see* keyboard—single-octave span
- single manual, *see* manual—single
see also harpsichord—single-manual
- Sirius*, *see* ship
- Skelton, Thomas (music seller) 2.400
- Skillern, Thomas (music publisher) 1.299
- skittles, *see* Liskeard (Cornwall, UK)—skittles (kayle)
- Slaughter's Coffee House 1.58
- Small, Bruce & Co. (piano makers) 1.680
see also Anderson—Small, Bruce & Co. (piano makers)
- small piano-forte, *see* Zumpe, Johann (John) Christoph
- Smart
 George (music publisher) 1.299
 Henry (piano maker) 2.305
- Smothergell, William (composer) 1.293
- Smith
 Adam 1.111, 1.113
 Bernard (organ maker) 1.223–4
 Charles (piano maker) 1.683, 2.305
 & Co. (piano makers) 2.305
 John Christopher 1.240
 Messrs (of St George's Field) 1.373
 Sydney (Revd) 1.545
 William Richard (music publisher) 1.299, 1.589
- Smollett, Tobias 1.546
- Smyth, Arthur Bowes 1.180, 1.270n.117, 1.333352, 1.613
 describes George Worgan's recital 1.336, 1.339–40
 evaluates George Worgan's piano 1.335–6
 journal 1.335, 1.336, 1.337, 1.339, 1.340, 1.346–7, 1.352, 1.353, 1.354, 1.356, 1.357, 1.358, 1.359, 1.401, 1.613
- Snagg, Richard (music publisher) 1.299
- sofa table piano, *see* piano
- soffit, *see* decoration
- Soho (Sohoe) Square (London, UK) 1.59
- Somerset Street (Portman Square, London, UK) 1.601
- sonata(s) 1.277, 1.278, 1.280, 1.287, 1.289, 1.300, 1.310, 1.315, 1.456, 2.185, 2.266
- Bach
 Carl Philipp Emanuel 1.276n.20, 1.281n.48
 Johann Christian 1.63
 Opus 5 1.290
 Opus 17 1.290
- Boccherini, Luigi 1.63
- Brillon de Jouy, Anne Louise 1.50
- Clementi, Muzio
 Opus 2 1.290–1
 Opus 7 1.440
 Opus 9 1.440
 Opus 10 1.440
 Opus 40 1.440
 Opus 41 1.440
- De Krift, W. B. 1.283n.56
- Dussek, Jan Ladislav
 Opus 24 1.665
- Galuppi, Baldassare 1.63
- Haydn, Franz Joseph 1.290, 1.663
- Hook, James 1.663
- Koczwara, František 1.282n.53
- Mazzinghi, Joseph 1.663
- Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus 1.88
- Pleyel, Ignaz 1.663
- Scarlatti, Domenico 1.220, 1.221, 1.231, 1.290
- von Esch, Louis 1.663
- Worgan, John (Dr) 1.233
Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord (1769) 1.246–8, 1.291, 2.185
- soundboard 1.2n.8, 1.347, 1.407, 1.664, 2.402, 2.404, 2.405, 2.406, 2.407, 2.408, 2.409, 2.414, 2.415, 2.417, 2.423, 2.427, 2.429–30, 2.431, 2.436
- on pantalon

- Hebenstreit, Pantalon 1.46
 keyboard pantalon 1.45
 on piano(s)
 grand
 Clementi, Muzio
 ca 1806–10 (serial number 526) 2.324
 Cristofori, Bartolomeo 1.27
 upright 1.496
 square 1.3n.15, 1.22
 Beck, Frederick 1.116
 ribbing 1.193
 1777/78 1.92, 1.157, 1.161
 1780/86? 1.407, 2.7, 2.14, 2.24, 2.57, 2.60, 2.119, 2.130, 2.133
 cracks in 1.351, 1.397, 1.411, 1.482, 2.22
 sunken 1.411, 2.19, 2.22
 material of 2.19
 rib(s) 2.19, 2.22
 1782/87? (serial number 5008) 1.311, 2.356
 ca 1790 (estimate; tangent action) 2.360, 2.382
 Beyer, Adam 2.225
 Broadwood, John
 1783 2.269, 2.270
 Longman & Broderip
 1785/86? (serial number 604) 2.225, 2.228
 material of 2.225
 rib(s) 2.225
 1795 (serial number 361) 2.168
 Pohlmann, Johannes 2.225
 Zumpe 2.368
 & Buntebart, Gabriel 1.62
 Johann Christoph 1.63
 ribbing (barring) 1.193, 2.368, 2.369
 Pleyel, Ignaz 1.409
 Southwell, William 1.664
 rib 2.427
 sounding length, *see* speaking length
 South
 Audley Street (Grosvenor Square, London, UK) 1.31, 1.33
 Head (Sydney Harbour, Australia) 1.382, 1.501, 1.570, 1.636
 South Australian Advertiser, The 1.593
 Southern Cross and New Zealand Guardian, The 1.591
 Southey, Robert 1.613
 Southwell, William (harpsichord, piano & harp maker) 2.305
 cabinet piano 1.497, 1.653, 2.202
 harp 1.664
 pianos with additional keys, *see* additional keys, on pianos by—
 Southwell, William
 upright square piano 1.653, 2.202
 Spademan, John (piano maker) 2.305
 Spanish waltz, *see* waltz
 Späth
 & Schmahl (*tangentenflügel* makers) 1.145–6, 2.433
 Franz Jacob 1.xxxv, 2.433
 Speak, William (piano dealer) 2.305
 speaking length, *see* string(s)—speaking length (sounding length)
 Spectator 1.288
 Speed the Plough 1.430
 spine
 on
 grand piano 1.2n.8, 2.402, 2.403, 2.406, 2.409, 2.415, 2.420, 2.423, 2.430, 2.432, 2.437
 Clementi, Muzio (ca 1806–10; serial number 526) 2.313
 harpsichord 2.402, 2.403, 2.406, 2.409, 2.420, 2.423, 2.430, 2.432, 2.437
 Sirius 1.266
 square piano(s) 1.624, 2.409, 2.420, 2.423, 2.430
 Beck, Frederick (1780/86?) 1.129, 1.624, 1.720, 2.14, 2.19, 2.31, 2.33, 2.38, 2.41, 2.42, 2.57, 2.62, 2.67, 2.80, 2.90, 2.93, 2.107
 Longman & Broderip (1785/86?) 2.225, 2.230,

- 2.232, 2.234, 2.240, 2.242
 workbook of Broadwood, John
 1.260n.48, 2.179n.191,
 2.261n.2
- spinet 1.xxxv, 1.26, 1.76, 1.95, 1.146,
 1.317, 1.345, 1.720, 2.334, 2.403,
 2.417, 2.430, 2.437
 as erroneous term for square piano
 1.690–1
 bentside, *see* bentside spinet
 hammer-spinet 1.86
see also harpsichord—spinet(s)
- split (divided) bridge, *see* bridge
- Sprague, William (piano maker) 2.305
- Spring Row (Sydney, Australia) 1. 472
- square piano(s)
 by
 Astor, *see* Astor—& Co. (piano
 makers)
see also Astor—George Peter
 (piano maker)
see also Astor—John Jacob
see also Astor—piano with
 nag's head swell
- Ball, James, *see* Ball—James (piano
 maker)
- Beck, Frederick, *see* Beck,
 Frederick (piano maker),
 piano(s)—extant Beck square
 pianos
- Beyer, Adam, *see* Beyer, Adam
 (pianomaker)—piano(s)
- Broadwood, John, *see* Broadwood,
 John (piano maker), piano(s)—
 square
- Brysson, George, *see* Brysson,
 George (piano maker)
- Froeschle, George, *see* Fröschle
 (Froeschle), George
 (harpsichord-piano & piano
 maker)
- Ganer, Christopher, *see* Ganer,
 Christopher (piano maker)—
 square piano(s)
- Garcka, George, *see* Garcka,
 George (piano maker)—square
 pianos
- Geib, John, *see* Geib, John (piano
 maker)—square piano(s)
- Houston, James Henry 1.133,
 2.190
- Huni, Heinrich, *see* Huni,
 Heinrich (piano maker)
- Longman & Broderip, *see*
 Longman, & Broderip
 (harpsichord & piano makers),
 piano(s)—square
see also serial number, on
 square piano(s)—Longman
 & Broderip
- Lukey & Co., *see* Lukey, &
 Broderip (music publishers;
 piano makers), piano(s)—
 square
- Neubauer, Friedrich, *see*
 Neubauer, Friedrich
 (Frederick) (harpsichord &
 piano maker)—piano forte
see also Neubauer, Friedrich
 (Frederick) (harpsichord &
 piano maker)—*pyano forte*
- Nunns, Robert & William, *see*
 Nunns—Robert (piano maker)
see also Nunns—William
 (piano maker)
- Pether, George, *see* Pether, George
 (harpsichord & piano maker)
- Pohlmann, Johannes, *see*
 Pohlmann (Pohlman), Johannes
 (John) (harpsichord & piano
 maker)
- Rolfe, William, *see* Rolfe—William
 (piano maker)
- Schoene, Frederick, *see* Schön
 (Schoene) (piano makers),
 Frederick—square piano(s)
- Schrader, John Henry, *see*
 Schrader, John Henry (piano
 maker)
- Stodart, Robert, *see* Stodart,
 Robert (harpsichord & piano
 maker)—square piano(s)
- Trute, Charles, *see* Trute, Charles
 (piano maker)—piano(s)

- Zumpe, Johann (John) Christoph,
see Zumpe, Johann (John)
 Christoph (piano maker)—
 piano(s)
Coelestin d'Amour, *see* Viator
 (Viator?), Herman (Harman)
 Bernard (piano maker)
 commercial manufacture in England
 begins 1.86
 'French corners' on, *see* French—
 corners
 North German (*tafelklavier*) 1.44,
 1.47, 1.48, 1.49
see also Viator (Viator?), Herman
 (Harman) Bernard (piano
 maker)—*Coelestin d'Amour*
 price
 in London 1.72, 1.80, 1.254,
 1.255, 1.256
 in Paris 1.81, 1.254
 shape of 1.3n.15, 1.22, 1.43
 with grand piano touch 1.409
see also Geib, John (piano maker),
 square piano(s)—escapement
 action in
 Zumpe, Johann (John) Christoph, *see*
 Zumpe, Johann (John) Christoph
 (piano maker)
 Squire, William (piano maker) 2.305
SS Great Britain, *see* ship
 Staes, Ferdinand Philippe Joseph
 (composer) 1.295
 stand
 cross
 bar(s) 1.131, 1.153
 member(s) 1.134, 2.321
 stretcher(s) 1.131n.195
 French frame 1.133–4, 1.140, 1.141,
 1.146, 1.149, 1.154–5, 1.163–5
 legs
 cabriole 1.140, 1.141, 1.142, 1.143,
 1.147, 1.155, 1.176, 1.180,
 1.675, 1.704, 1.715, 2.63,
 2.165, 2.216, 2.405, 2.407
 hinged 1.13, 1.23, 1.91, 1.117,
 1.141, 1.146, 1.147, 1.149,
 1.164, 1.176, 1.355, 1.410,
 1.722, 2.190, 2.215
 with
 no stretchers 1.145–6
 stretchers 1.146, 2.47, 2.51
 folding 1.146–7, 1.149, 1.153,
 1.154–5, 1.164, 1.176, 2.215–6
 stretcher(s) 1.145, 2.102, 2.107, 2.188,
 2.431
 French frame 1.134, 1.154
 square piano
 Beck, Frederick
 1775 2.189
 1777 2.189
 1780/86? 1.143, 1.146,
 2.47, 2.102, 2.107
 detachable front
 stretcher 1.149,
 1.355, 2.51, 2.63
 detachable lower
 stretcher 1.153,
 1.154, 1.355, 2.47,
 2.101
 Beyer, Adam
 1778 2.189
 1780 2.189
 1788 2.190
 Broadwood, John
 1774 2.189
 1783 2.189
 1786 2.190
 1791 2.190
 1795 2.190
 Froeschle, George (1776) 2.189
 Ganer, Christopher 2.107,
 2.267
 ca 1777 2.189
 ca 1785 2.190
 1785 2.190
 Geib, John 2.189
 Houston, James 2.190
 Longman & Broderip
 ca 1782 2.189
 1785/86? 2.190, 2.191,
 2.238
 Lukey & Co.
 1770 2.189
 ca 1772–3 2.189
 Pohlman, Johann

- 1769 2.189
 1774 2.189
 ca 1780–4 2.189
 Zumpe, Johann Christoph
 1766 2.188
 1767 2.188
 1769 2.189
 1770 2.189
 1775 2.189
 trestle stand 1.3, 1.131, 1.133,
 1.153, 2.188, 2.238
see also legs, cabriole, with—no
 stretchers *above*
see also legs, cabriole, with—
 stretchers *above*
 trestle stand 1.3, 1.131, 1.133, 1.146,
 1.153, 1.163, 1.164–5, 2.47, 2.187,
 2.188, 2.190–1, 2.193, 2.238, 2.321
- Stanley
 Captain 1.590
 Charles John (composer; organist)
 1.226, 1.227, 1.240, 1.293
 Master of the King's Musick 1.226
 John 2.389
- Statham, Thomas (piano maker) 2.305
- Station Street West (Canterbury, Kent,
 UK) 1.162
- Stationers' Hall (London, UK) 1.299,
 2.181, 2.182, 2.185
- Steed, William (piano maker) 2.305
- Steel, David 1.256, 2.295
- steel
 jerk-compression spring 2.104
 strings, *see* string(s)—modern steel
- Steele, Colin (contemporary) 1.277–8
- Steffan, Joseph Anton (composer) 1.xxxv,
 1.xxxvi
- Steibelt, Daniel (composer) 1.450, 1.662
- Stein, Johann Andreas (piano maker)
 1.xxxvi, 1.192n.400
- Steinbrück, Johann Christoph
 (*tafelklavier* maker) 2.12
- Steinway (modern piano makers) 2.125
- Stephen Street (Rathbone Place, London,
 UK) 2.178, 2.284–5
- Stephens, James (piano maker) 2.305
- Sterkel, Johann Franz Xaver (composer)
 1.295
- Sterne, Laurence 1.320
- Stevens, Richard John Samuel 1.241,
 1.305, 1.307, 1.308, 1.311
 describes scientific style as 'modern
 German style' 1.238
 'Little Fatty' 1.447
- Stevenson screen, *see* thermometer—
 Stevenson screen on
- Steventon (Hampshire, UK) 1.638, 2.284
- Stewart, James (piano maker) 2.305
- sticker 2.80
see also British—Antique Dealers'
 Association
- stichmaß* (three-octave span), *see*
 keyboard—three-octave span
 (*stichmaß*)
- Stockholm (Sweden) 1.71
 Music and Theatre Museum (Sweden)
 1.xxx, 1.158, 1.161, 2.11, 2.351,
 2.353
- Stodart
 Robert (harpsichord & piano maker)
 1.131, 1.680, 1.681, 1.683, 2.299,
 2.392, 2.398
 & Owen, *see* Owen—& Stodart
 (piano makers)
 first coins the term 'grand' piano
 1.24
 grand piano(s) 2.394, 2.395
 1781 1.24
 upright 2.394, 2.395
 square piano(s) 2.394, 2.395
 patents
 harpsichord-piano (1777) 1.24,
 2.407
 'upright grand piano-forte in
 the form of a bookcase'
 (1795) 1.653, 2.202
 workshop/address 2.179, 2.293
 William (piano maker) 2.305
 & Son 2.305
- stop (hand-stop) 2.402, 2.416, 2.416,
 2.422
 harp, *see* mutation—harp (buff) stop
- Stradivarius, Antonio (violin maker) 1.81
- Straight, Thomas (music publisher) 1.299

- Strand (London, UK) 1.443
see also Catherine—Street (Strand, London, UK)
see also St Clement's (Strand, London, UK)
- Strange, Thomas (contemporary) 1.xxx, 1.157, 1.161, 1.164, 2.10, 2.350, 2.353
- Strathalbyn (South Australia) 1.593
- Stravinsky, Igor (composer) 1.705n.82
- stretcher, *see* stand—stretcher(s)
- string
 course, *see* string(s)—course
 drawing, *see* string(s)—drawn
 -gauge
 increased for stronger tone 1.137
 markings 2.133
- stringing
 as decoration, *see* decoration—inlay
 trichord, *see* string(s)—triple-strung (trichord)
- string(s)
 breaking point of 2.317
 course 1.22n.30, 1.92n.3, 2.406, 2.431, 2.436
 drawn
 brass 2.130, 2.131, 2.133, 2.135
 pin 2.122
 iron ('steel') 2.131
see also iron ('steel') *above*
 iron ('steel') 1.131, 1.327, 2.317
 modern steel 1.327, 2.428
 open covered 2.130, 2.131, 2.424
 overdrawing 1.327
 overspun string (covered string) 2.130, 2.133, 2.424
 scaling 1.27, 1.64n.281, 2.428
 speaking length (sounding length) 2.104, 2.132, 2.317, 2.383, 2.404, 2.416, 2.423, 2.430, 2.432
 triple-strung (trichord) 1.87n.436, 2.317, 2.434, 2.435
- stucco
 at Wadeland House, *see* Wadeland House
- style
 empire 2.411
 English
 compositional 1.235, 1.248, 1.424
 ancient 1.235
 scientific (modern German style) 1.237–8
see also Stevens, Richard
 John Samuel—describes scientific style as 'modern German style'
 piano style 1.296
 taste 1.142, 1.55, 1.186, 1.187, 1.233, 1.235, 1.238, 1.239, 1.284, 1.288, 1.289, 1.342, 1.343, 1.429, 1.437–8, 1.439, 1.441, 1.459, 1.518, 1.623, 1.667, 2.187
- French 1.422
 compositional 1.424, 1.295–7
 fashion 1.546
 Louis XV, *see* Louis XV *below*
 Louis XVI, *see* Louis XVI *below*
 piano style 1.296–7, 2.266, 2.296–7
see also France—adopts the English piano style
 taste 1.141, 1.142
- galant* 1.64, 2.414
 characteristics of 1.65
- hocket 1.296
- Italian 1.296
- Louis XV 1.51
- Louis XVI 1.411
- modern German, *see* English—scientific (modern German style) *above*
- regency 1.2, 2.427
- rococo 1.69, 1.141, 1.142, 2.423, 2.427
 decorative style, *see* decoration—rococo
 music history periodisation 2.427–8
 musical style 2.427
 characteristics of 2.427–8
- scientific (modern German style), *see* English—scientific (modern German style) *above*
- Viennese
 compositional 1.296, 1.440

- Sufferings of the Queen of France, The, see*
 Dussek, Jan Ladislav
- Sugden, Lewis (piano maker) 2.305
- Sun Fire Office 1.95, 1.97n.28, 1.100,
 2.285n.56
- Supplement to the South Australian*
Register 1.593
- Supply, see ship*
- surgeon(s) 1.198–203, 1.217, 1.256, 1.270,
 1.274, 1.387, 1.505, 1.506, 1.513,
 1.517, 1.570n.7, 2.263, 2.295
- Altree, John Turnpenny 1.333
- Arnold, Joseph 1.663
- Harris, John 1.649
- Mein, Thomas 1.506, 1.507, 1.508,
 1.509, 1.510
- Redfern, William 1.200
- Smyth, Arthur Bowes 1.180,
 1.270n.117, 1.333
- White, John (colony's principal
 surgeon) 1.204, 1.205, 1.208,
 1.209, 1.339, 1.340
 journal 1.375
- Worgan, George Bouchier 1.12, 1.14,
 1.91, 1.97, 1.98, 1.202, 1.203,
 1.204, 1.205, 1.251, 1.256, 1.269,
 1.270, 1.275, 1.277, 1.302, 1.335,
 1.336, 1.337, 1.340, 1.374, 1.380,
 1.381, 1.385, 1.386, 1.395, 1.398,
 1.474, 1.508, 1.509, 1.513, 1.534,
 1.571, 1.596, 1.599, 1.611, 1.614,
 1.618, 1.638, 1.671, 1.692, 1.721,
 1.722, 2.181n.197, 2.191, 2.193,
 2.263, 2.264, 2.275
- Surgeon's Mate (including First and
 Second Mate) 1.486
- Jamison, Thomas 1.198
- Lowes, Mr 1.198
- Worgan, George Bouchier 1.196, 1.97,
 1.251, 1.252, 1.255, 1.508, 1.509,
 1.614, 1.615, 2.263
- Surgeons
 Company
 of 1.198, 1.201
 of Barbers and 1.198
- Surrey Street (Strand, London, UK)
 2.282, 2.388
- swag, *see* decoration—nameboard
- Swan
 River (Western Australia) 1.425
 Street (Minories, London, UK) 2.301,
 2.302
- swan shot 2.328
- Swedenborg, Emanuel 1.198
- swell
 nag's head, *see* mutation—nag's head
 swell
 octave, *see* mutation—octave swell
 Venetian, *see* mutation—Venetian
 swell
- sycamore, *see* decoration—materials
- Sydney (Australia) 1.xxvii, 1.xxxi, 1.1,
 1.2, 1.13, 1.20, 1.21, 1.117, 1.158,
 1.161, 1.164, 1.177, 1.178, 1.191,
 1.205, 1.387, 1.390, 1.395, 1.396,
 1.397, 1.399, 1.403, 1.406, 1.409,
 1.418, 1.419, 1.420, 1.421, 1.422,
 1.423, 1.425, 1.426, 1.427, 1.429,
 1.431, 1.432, 1.434, 1.435, 1.491,
 1.492, 2.10, 1.475, 1.493, 1.495,
 1.496, 1.497, 1.569, 1.570, 1.571,
 1.572, 1.573, 1.575, 1.576, 1.577,
 1.578, 1.579, 1.581, 1.582, 1.583,
 1.585, 1.586, 1.587, 1.589, 1.591,
 1.592, 1.593, 1.594, 1.604, 1.606,
 1.607, 1.609, 1.617, 1.618, 1.621,
 1.628, 1.633, 1.634, 1.641, 1.647,
 1.652, 1.655, 1.656, 1.657, 1.658,
 1.660, 1.661, 1.662, 1.663, 1.665,
 1.666, 1.667, 1.671, 1.672, 1.673,
 1.674, 1.675, 1.676, 1.677, 1.678,
 1.679, 1.681, 1.682, 1.683, 1.684,
 1.686, 1.688, 1.690, 1.693, 1.695,
 1.701, 1.702, 1.704, 1.705, 1.710,
 1.711, 1.713, 1.715, 1.716, 1.720,
 1.721, 1.722, 2.137, 2.143, 2.144,
 2.145, 2.155, 2.156, 2.157, 2.158,
 2.160, 2.194, 2.196, 2.200, 2.201,
 2.203, 2.208, 2.212, 2.213, 2.269,
 2.272, 2.275, 2.299, 2.309, 2.310,
 2.313, 2.333, 2.351, 2.353
- barracks at 1.363, 1.373, 1.374, 1.387,
 1.395, 1.406, 1.420, 1.471, 1.473,
 1.475, 1.476, 1.630, 1.644, 1.694

- Hyde Park 1.xxx, 1.571, 1.575
 Bay (Norfolk Island) 1.501
 boatmen, *see* port regulations for
 Sydney boatmen
 cabbage-tree palms at 1.375, 1.376,
 1.475
 'city of pianos' 1.21
 contemporaneous description
 1788
 5 February 1.363
 March 1.372
 16 April 1.375
 15 May 1.373
 12 July 1.376
 1790 (June) 1.471
 mid-1790s 1.475–6
 1792 (April) 1.395
 1794 1.375, 1.704
 13 December 1.476
 1800 1.373
 January 1.636, 1.637
 1803 1.671
 1810 (18 March) 1.663
 Cove (Port Jackson) 1.92, 1.117,
 1.131, 1.191, 1.195, 1.204, 1.230,
 1.231, 1.255, 1.257, 1.263, 1.267,
 1.269, 1.277, 1.331, 1.357, 1.359,
 1.360, 1.361, 1.363, 1.364, 1.366,
 1.369, 1.370, 1.371, 1.372, 1.373,
 1.374, 1.375, 1.376, 1.379, 1.380,
 1.381, 1.382, 1.383, 1.385, 1.386,
 1.388, 1.390, 1.391, 1.392, 1.394,
 1.397, 1.398, 1.399, 1.401, 1.406,
 1.407, 1.410, 1.411, 1.413, 1.414,
 1.415, 1.418, 1.437, 1.461, 1.463,
 1.464, 1.465, 1.471, 1.472, 1.473,
 1.474, 1.475, 1.476, 1.477, 1.481,
 1.482, 1.484, 1.485, 1.490, 1.491,
 1.492, 1.493, 1.494, 1.499, 1.500,
 1.502, 1.503, 1.504, 1.505, 1.510,
 1.521, 1.525, 1.576, 1.611, 1.612,
 1.615, 1.617, 1.619, 1.632, 1.636,
 1.637, 1.663, 1.719, 2.142, 2.179,
 2.185, 2.196, 2.264, 2.327, 2.329,
 2.333, 2.334
 contemporaneous description
 (9 April 1835) 1.570
 First Fleet arrives at 1.92, 1.359,
 1.361, 1.380, 1.385, 1.614,
 1.719, 2.142
 economic slump during early 1840s
 1.586
 Lord (Thomas Townshend) 1.361,
 1.373, 1.435
 marine officers' marquees at 1.372,
 1.375
 parade ground at 1.372, 1.472, 1.475,
 1.476, 1.719, 2.142
 Royal Hotel 1.421, 1.579, 1.582,
 1.583, 1.587, 1.588
 Royal Victoria Theatre 1.574, 1.579,
 1.583, 1.585, 1.587
 Theatre Royal, *see* Theatre(s)—Royal
 (Sydney, Australia)
Sun Herald 1.701
*Sydney Gazette, and New South Wales
 Advertiser* 1.326, 1.408, 1.409, 1.418,
 1.419, 1.420, 1.421, 1.422, 1.427n.75,
 1.429, 1.430, 1.431, 1.433, 1.434,
 1.495, 1.496, 1.497, 1.570, 1.573,
 1.580, 1.641, 1.642, 1.652, 1.657,
 1.659, 1.662, 1.666, 1.668, 1.673,
 1.674, 1.675, 1.676, 1.677, 1.678,
 1.679, 1.682, 1.683, 1.684, 1.693,
 2.197, 2.201, 2.299
Sydney Herald 1.573, 1.577, 1.579, 1.582,
 1.583, 1.592, 1.682, 1.683, 2.299
Sydney Morning Herald, The 1.10, 1.21,
 1.575, 1.584, 1.586, 1.588, 1.590,
 1.669
Sydney Monitor, The 1.421, 2.194
 Symonds, Stewart (contemporary)
 1.xxix, 1.14, 1.91, 1.117, 1.158,
 1.164, 1.191, 1.675, 1.690, 1.692,
 1.693, 1.696, 1.697, 1.698, 1.700,
 1.701, 1.704, 1.705, 1.706, 1.707,
 1.708, 1.710, 1.711, 1.712, 1.713,
 1.714, 1.721, 1.722
 house 1.715, 2.346
 purchases 1780/1786? Beck square
 piano 1.707, 1.708, 1.709, 1.721,
 1.722
 Symondson, Henry (piano maker) 2.305

- Tabel, Hermann (harpsichord maker)
 case decoration
 English
 grand piano 2.318
 harpsichord 2.318
tafelklavier 1.43–5, 1.47, 1.48, 1.49,
 1.89, 1.99, 1.126, 1.127, 2.12–13
 Tahiti, *see* Cook, James (Captain)
 tail
 section of key lever, *see* key plate—
 tail
 Talbot, Henry (piano maker) 2.305
 Tamar River, *see* Liskeard (Cornwall,
 UK)—Tamar River
 tambourine 1.186, 1.666, 2.197
 tangent, *see* clavichord—tangent
tangentenflügel, *see* piano—*tangentenflügel*
see also Beck, Frederick (piano
 maker), piano(s), extant Beck
 square pianos—1782/90? (tangent
 action; owner: Osaka College of
 Music Museum, Osaka, Japan)
see also Beck, Frederick (piano
 maker), piano(s), extant Beck
 square pianos—ca 1790 (estimate;
 tangent action; owner: private
 collection, UK)
 Tank Stream (Sydney, Australia) 1.372,
 1.373, 1.471, 1.472, 1.636
 bridge (Sydney, Australia) 1.671
 tanning
 oil-tanned 2.86
 vegetable-tanned 1.64, 1.330, 2.70,
 2.433
 Tarry, William (piano maker) 2.306
 Taskin, Pascal (harpsichord & piano
 maker) buys square pianos from Beck,
 Frederick 1.109, 1.254–5
 Tate, Edward (piano maker) 2.306
 Taws, Charles (piano maker) 1.88
 taxation
 in late eighteenth-century Britain
 1.544
 indirect 1.544, 1.545–6
 Taylor, Raynor (composer) 1.293
 tea 1.20, 1.196, 1.303, 1.362, 1.446,
 1.545, 1.645, 1.660, 2.197
 at home of Bradshaw, William 1.9
 party 1.587
 pot
 Boulton, Matthew 1.9, 1.142,
 1.710
 poy 2.433
 Princess Kinkara (Reilly, John) 1.710,
 2.161n.94
 ritual 1.623
 storage in the home 1.623
 sweet (at Sydney Cove) 1.374
 table 1.686, 1.689
 mechanical tea table, *see* Merlin,
 John Joseph (inventor;
 harpsichord-piano & piano
 maker), invents—mechanical
 tea table
 urn 1.623
 varieties 1.623
 Teer, George (Captain) 1.274
 Telemann, Georg Philipp (composer)
 1.424
Wie? ruhet ihr, versteckte Saiten?
 1.424
 temperament 2.433
 equal 1.322, 2.412
 key character 1.322, 1.323, 1.324
 meantone 1.325
 unequal 2.419
 well (common established
 temperament) 1.323–5, 2.437
 Nares, James 1.324
 Pasquali, Nicolo 1.324
 Vallotti, Francesco Antonio 1.323
 Young, Thomas 1.324
 Tench, Watkin (Captain Lieutenant)
 1.275, 1.301, 1.364, 1.367, 1.368,
 1.369, 1.370, 1.386, 1.389, 1.391,
 1.392, 1.394, 1.395, 1.396, 1.398,
 1.402, 1.403, 1.404, 1.405, 1.428,
 1.473, 1.493, 1.500
 Tenerife (Canary Islands) 1.274, 1.277,
 1.301, 1.333, 1.334, 1.348, 1.349,
 1.350, 1.359
 Santa Cruz 1.277, 1.301, 1.333, 1.348,
 1.349, 1.370
 tension bar, *see* grand piano

- tenuto* 1.230
- theatre(s)
- on way to Parramatta (New South Wales) (1794) 1.397
 - Panorama (Leicester Square, London, UK) 1.591
 - playhouse (Sydney, Australia) (1796) 1.397
 - Royal (Sydney, Australia) 1.582
 - Royal Victoria Theatre (Hobart, Tasmania) 1.574, 1.579, 1.583, 1.585, 1.587
- Theobald, William (piano maker) 2.306
- thermometer 1.401
- female 1.450
 - in great cabin of *Sirius* 1.398
 - in observatory at Point Maskelyne 1.400
 - Stevenson screen on 1.401
- Third Street (Campington, Philadelphia, PA, USA) 1.86
- Thoaner, ? (harpsichord maker) 1.190
- Thomire, Pierre-Philippe 1.3
- Thompson
- & Sons (music publishers) 1.299
 - Ann (music publisher) 1.299
 - Charles (music publisher) 1.299
 - Peter (music publisher) 1.299
 - Robert (music publisher) 1.299, *see* Worgan, John (Dr)—as composer
 - Samuel (music publisher) 1.299 & Co. 2.399
- Thoroughbass, *see* continuo
- Thorowgood, Henry (music publisher) 1.299
- Thorvaldsen, Bertel 2.311
- Threadneedle Street (London, UK) 2.265
- Three Blind Mice* 1.302
- three-octave span (*stichmaß*), *see* keyboard—three-octave span (*stichmaß*)
- Tidstrom (Mr; contemporary) 1.157, 1.160, 1.164, 1.165n.a, 2.10
- Tierney, William (piano maker) 2.306
- Tiger*, *see* ship
- Tight Little Fellow that wears the Blue Jacket, The* 1.426
- timekeeper 1.398–9
- Times, The* 1.418, 1.438, 1.511, 1.520, 2.277, 2.282, 2.287, 2.293, 2.387, 2.388, 2.389
- Tolkien, Henry (piano maker) 2.306
- Tomášek, Wenzel (composer) 1.487
- Tomkison, Thomas (piano maker) 2.306
- Tomlinson, William (piano maker) & Co. (piano makers) 2.306
- tonality 1.322, 1.323, 1.324, 2.129, 2.419, 2.434
- tone
- musical
 - interval 2.434, 2.422, 2.434
 - aesthetic 1.24, 1.31, 1.35, 1.44, 1.46, 1.49, 1.50, 1.61, 1.63, 1.64, 1.66, 1.85, 1.139, 1.192, 1.221, 1.270, 1.306, 1.307, 1.311, 1.314, 1.320, 1.328, 1.329, 1.348, 1.408, 1.409, 1.411, 1.653, 1.677, 2.70, 2.130, 2.195, 2.202, 2.240, 2.289, 2.317, 2.356, 2.387, 2.388, 2.389, 2.392, 3.393, 2.394, 2.403, 2.419, 2.425
- Tonson, J. & R., *see* Worgan, John (Dr)—as composer
- Torricella (music publisher) 1.440
- Tours, Jacob (composer) 1.295
- Towns, Thomas (piano maker) 2.306
- Townsend, Thomas (1st Viscount Sydney), *see* Sydney (Lord)
- Toze, Eobald 1.520
- Traeg (music publisher) 1.440
- Trapassi, Pietro Antonio Domenico, *see* Metastasio
- Tremain, Thomas (composer) 1.293
- Tremayne, Henry Hawkins 1.533
- trestle stand 1.3, 1.131, 1.133, 1.146, 1.153, 1.163, 1.164–5, 2.47, 2.187, 2.188, 2.190–1, 2.193, 2.238, 2.321 *see also* stand—stretcher(s), on—trestle stand
- trichord, *see* string(s)—triple-strung (trichord)
- triple-strung, *see* string(s)—triple-strung (trichord)
- Trist, Jeremiah (Revd) 1.530, 1.531, 1.616

- Trouflant (Mr) 1.83
trumpet, *see* band
- Trute, Charles (piano maker) 1.88, 1.107, 1.259, 2.179, 2.215, 2.269, 2.293, 2.394, 2.398
piano(s)
ca 1771? 1.146–7, 2.215
campaign-furniture-inspired stand 1.146, 1.156n.278, 2.215
ca 1790 1.147n.266, 2.215n.375
- Tunbridgeware, *see* decoration—inlay
- Tuck, Thomas (piano maker) 2.306
- Tucker, John (piano maker) 2.306
- tuners (piano tuners)
Campbell, Robert (Sydney, Australia) 1.496
Ellard, Francis (Sydney, Australia)
as publisher 1.580, 1.586, 1.592
his Collard & Collard square piano (1835–38) 1.581
piano-tuning tours 1.580, 1.581, 1.592
includes Worgan, George William 1.580, 1.582, 1.592
- Fowke, Margaret (Calcutta, India) 1.494
- Johnson, W. J. (Sydney, Australia) 1.581
piano-tuning tours 1.581
- McIntosh, Robert (Sydney, Australia) 1.496
- Pearson, James (Sydney, Australia) 1.497
- regimental band musician (Sydney, Australia) 1.494, 1.495
- Scarr, John (Sydney, Australia) 1.496
- Worgan, George William 1.577, 1.580, 1.582, 1.592
see also Ellard, Francis (Sydney, Australia), piano-tuning tours—includes Worgan, George William *above*
- tuning
fork 1.319, 1.320, 1.321, 1.322, 2.435
hammer (tuning key) 1.324, 2.435, 2.437
‘Hand & Tuning Hammer’ 1.35
stability 1.317, 1.497, 1.284
atmospheric changes on 1.317, 1.348, 1.403, 1.624
systems, *see* temperament
- Tunley, David (contemporary) 1.xxvii, 1.xxxii
- Tuohy, Mary (wife of George William Worgan), *see* Worgan, George William (George Bouchier Worgan’s eldest surviving son)—marries Mary Tuohy (1847)
- Türk, Daniel Gottlob (composer; music theorist; organist) 1.xxxv
- Turner
Alan (Dr; contemporary) 1.xxix, 1.217n.126
Dr 2.269, 2.270
Edward (Sir) 1.37
John Alvey (piano maker) 2.306
- Turton, Henry Hanson (Revd) 1.17
tutto punto, *see* pitch
- Twelve Apostles, The 1.38–9, 1.41, 1.42
- Twining, Thomas (Revd) 1.89–90, 2.289
- una corda*, *see* mutation
- under-damper(s) 1.192n.398, 2.269
- under-tier 1.134, 1.154
- unfretted (fret free) clavichord, *see* clavichord
- upright piano, *see* piano—upright
- up-striking hammer, *see* hammer
- Vache, S. (music publisher) 1.299
- Vallotti, Francesco Antonio (composer; music theorist; organist) 1.323
- van Beethoven, Ludwig, *see* Beethoven, Ludwig van (composer)
- van Blankenburg, Quirinus, *see* Blankenburg, Quirinus van (music theorist; organist)
- van Casteel, Henrique, *see* Casteel, Henrique van (piano maker)
- Van Diemen’s Land 1.352, 1.356, 1.382, 1.681n.63, 2.192

- Vanhal, Johann Baptist (composer) 1.295, 1.426
- Vaughan, Thomas
The Hotel 1.397
- Vauxhall Gardens, *see* London (UK)—
 Vauxhall Gardens
- Veal
 Elizabeth, *see* Macarthur, Elizabeth
 Richard, *see* Macarthur, Elizabeth
- vegetable-tanned, *see* tanning
- vener, *see* decoration
- Venetian swell, *see* mutation
- Venice (Italy) 1.25
- Veränderung*, *see* mutation
- Verge, John 1.10n.37
- Vernon
 Francis Venables 1.486
 Mount (USA) 1.33
 Mr 1.84–5
- Vickers
 Roger (Sir) (contemporary) 1.xxix
 Joanna (Lady) (contemporary) 1.xxix
- Vienna (Austria) 1.113, 1.300, 1.427, 1.440, 1.455, 1.479, 1.480, 2.313
- Viennese
 action 1.192n.400
 compositional aesthetic 1.296
see also style, Viennese—
 compositional
- Vietor (Viator?), Herman (Harman)
 Bernard (piano maker) 1.47–8
Coelestin d'Amour, *see* square piano
 (1767) *below*
 square piano (1767) 1.47
 absence of dampers on 1.47
- Vine Street (St Martin's, London, UK)
 1.286
- viola (tenor violin), *see* band
- violin(s), *see* band
- violoncello (base violin), *see* band
- Virginia Gazette* 1.86
- Vogler
 Gerard (music publisher) 1.299
 John (music publisher) 1.299
- Voigt (Voight), George (piano maker)
 2.306
- Volanges, Cécile ('rosebud'), *see*
- Laclos, Choderlos de—*Les Liaisons dangereuses*
valse, *see* waltz
- Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet) 1.83
- von Dittersdorf, *see* Dittersdorf, Karl
 Ditters von (composer)
- von Schönfeld, *see* Schönfeld, Johann
 Ferdinand von
- Voyez, John (music seller) 2.400
- V2 rocket 1.42n.174
- Waaksamheid*, *see* ship
- Wadeland House (New Road, Liskeard, Cornwall, UK) 1.549, 1.606, 1.607, 1.609, 1.612, 1.616, 2.263
 drawing room in 1.557, 1.558
ogee pointed gutters 1.552
 sash window(s) 1.554, 1.563, 1.564
 soffit 1.554
 stucco 1.552
- Wachtl und Bleyer (piano makers)
 1.653n.185
- Wagenseil, Georg Christoph (composer)
 1.83
- Wainright, Robert (composer) 1.293
- Waite, John (piano maker)
 & Co. (piano makers) 2.306
- Wakefield's Directory* 1.102
- Wales
 John (piano maker) 2.306
 Robert (piano maker) 2.307n.e
- Walker
 Graham (contemporary) 1.xxxx,
 1.159n.f, 2.339
 Richard (piano maker) 2.306
 Robert (Revd) 1.530, 1.616
- Wallace
 Elizabeth 1.681n.63
 Vincent (composer) 1.681–2
Maritana 1.682
- Wallis, Samuel 1.617
- Walpole, Horace 1.193, 1.546n.248, 1.610
- Walsh
 Henry 1.282n.55, 1.293
 John (music publisher), *see* Worgan,
 John (Dr)—as composer

- John (jnr; music publisher) 1.299
 Thomas (Father) 1.435
 Walter, William (piano maker) 2.306
 waltz 1.19, 1.417, 1.418
 composed by Bolton, T. 1.666, 2.197
 considered indecent 1.418
 danced by Wellington and his officers
 1.418n.22
 in Sydney 1.417–8
 taught by Girard, Francis 1.419,
 1.420
 Spanish 1.419
 Wansell, James (piano maker) 2.306
Wapping Landlady, The 1.396
 War of Independence, American, *see*
 American War of Independence
 Ward
 Anna Maria 2.327
 Cornelius (piano maker) 2.306
 Room 1.270, 1.271, 1.339, 1.340,
 2.191, 2.333
 Wardour Street
 Soho, London, UK 2.285, 2.293,
 2.303, 2.398
 Westminster, London, UK 2.179
 Warrell, W. (music publisher) 1.299
 Warren
 George (piano maker) 2.306
 John (piano maker) 2.306
 Thomas
 editor 2.182
 catches 1.307
 glees 1.307
 Warwick
 Castle (Warwickshire, UK) 1.7
 Street (Soho, London, UK) 1.105
 Washington, George (General) 1.33,
 1.282, 1.453
 Waterhouse, Henry (Captain) 1.633,
 1.634, 1.672
 Watlen, John (piano maker) 2.306,
 2.307n.d
 Watling Street (London, UK) 2.281, 2.290
 Watling, Thomas (painter) 1.704
 Watson, John (piano maker) 2.306
 Watts
 George (piano maker) 2.306
 John (Lieutenant) 1.335, 1.336, 1.337,
 1.340
 Webbe, Samuel (composer) 1.293
 Webber, Henry 1.383
 Weber, Ferdinand (piano maker)
 piano(s)
 date unknown
 campaign-furniture-inspired
 stand on 1.147, 2.215
 1772
 campaign-furniture-inspired
 stand on 1.147, 2.215
 Wedgwood, Josiah 1.69, 1.70, 1.142,
 1.187, 1.383, 1.385, 2.268
 Etruria 1.385
 Weichsel, Elizabeth, *see* women—as
 concert pianists
 Welcker, John (music publisher) 1.299
 well temperament, *see* temperament
 Wellington
 Duke of 1.418n.22
 New Zealand 1.494, 1.681n.63
 Welsh folk tunes, *see* national airs—
 Welsh
 Wendeborn, Gebhardt Friedrich August
 1.449, 1.480
 Wesley
 Charles (Revd) (younger brother
 of John Wesley) 1.217, 1.226,
 1.227n.167, 1.231
 Charles (jnr; organist) 1.217,
 1.227n.167, 1.231
 Garret Colley (1st Earl of Mornington)
 ribald catch 1.303
 John (Revd) (founder of Methodism)
 1.222, 1.226, 1.227n.167
 Samuel (son of Charles Wesley jnr;
 organist) 1.222, 1.227n.167, 1.293
West of England Magazine 1.533
 Weston, Thomas (piano maker) 2.398
 West Street (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK), *see*
 Liskeard (Cornwall, UK), Street—West
 Westminster Abbey (London, UK) 1.xxx,
 1.57, 1.236, 1.584
 Wheatstone, Charles (music publisher)
 1.299, 2.298
 Whitaker

- & Co. (piano makers) 2.306
- Maurice (music publisher) 1.299
- Whitby (North Yorkshire, UK) 1.263
- White
 - John (colony's principal surgeon)
 - 1.204, 1.205, 1.208, 1.209, 1.339,
 - 1.340, 1.375
 - Thomas (piano dealer) 2.306
- Wicking & Son (piano dealers) 2.307
- Wiener-Ton*, *see* pitch—*Wiener-Ton*
- Wie? ruhet ihr, versteckte Saiten?*, *see*
 - Telemann, Georg
 - Philipp (composer)—*Wie? ruhet ihr, versteckte Saiten?*
- Wilbury House, *see* Greville, Fulke
- Wilkinson, George (piano maker) 2.307
- Williams
 - Benjamin (piano maker) 2.307
 - Richard (piano maker) 2.307
 - Roy (contemporary) 1.xxx
 - Street (Woolloomooloo, Sydney, Australia) 1.588
- Williamsburg (VA, USA) 1.xxxi, 1.86, 1.158, 1.161, 1.164, 2.11, 2.351, 2.353
- Williamson
 - James Cassius 2.309n.2
 - Thomas (Captain) 1.155, 1.177, 1.318, 1.326, 1.407, 1.408, 1.411, 1.493, 1.494, 2.191, 2.192
- Willis & Co. (piano makers) 2.307
- wind band, *see* band
- Windham, William (Secretary for War) 1.520
- Windsor (New South Wales) 1.690, 1.693–5, 1.700, 1.702, 1.709
 - Academy (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK), *see* Liskeard (Cornwall, UK)—Windsor Academy
 - band, *see* band
 - Castle 1.283
 - Duke of 1.449
 - First Fleet piano in old farmhouse on outskirts of 1.691, 1.697, 1.699, 1.701, 1.702, 1.711, 1.713, 714–5, 1.720, 2.162, 2.205, 2.206, 2.208, 2.209, 2.210, 2.13, 2.217
 - Viscount 1.610
 - see also* Green Hills
 - Windsor and Richmond Gazette* 1.714, 1.715
 - wire-drawing, *see* string(s)—drawn
 - Virginia Gazette* 1.86
 - Witton, Witton & Co. (piano makers) 2.307
 - Wolfe & Co. (piano makers) 2.307
 - Wolfenden, Skelton (piano maker) 2.307
 - women
 - amateur pianists 1.73
 - virtuosi 1.18, 1.439, 1.454, 1.455–6, 1.458–9
 - appropriate instruments for 1.345–6
 - as
 - composers 1.459
 - concert pianists 1.454–5, 1.456–8
 - Andrews, Lucy 1.458
 - Barthélemon, Cecilia Maria 1.457
 - Bisset, Catherine 1.458
 - Guest, Jane Mary 1.456, 1.457
 - number of advertised public performances given by women in London between 1750–1800 1.456, 1.457
 - Park, Maria Hester 1.456
 - Parke, Maria F. 1.456
 - Weichsel, Elizabeth 1.456, 1.457
 - piano students 1.442–7, 1.448, 1.452–3, 1.458
 - 'Little Fatty' 1.447–8
 - piano teachers 1.457
 - effect of music on 1.343–4
 - English attitude towards women performing in public 1.454
 - in English leisure class 1.68, 1.437, 1.441, 1.479
 - follow French fashion 1.546
 - gardening 1.627–8
 - letter writing 1.385–6
 - reading 1.645–6
 - linked with
 - harpsichord 1.345
 - music 1.437
 - piano 1.437–8, 1.439, 1.441–2,

- 1.459
tuning the piano 1.318, 1.493, 1.494
- Wood
Anthony (contemporary) 1.xxix
Jane (wife) 1.xxix
Father (piano maker)
grand piano 1.27–8, 1.35, 1.38
inadequacies & strengths of
1.31
Plenius' copy of, *see* Plenius
(Pleunis), Roger (Rutgerus)
(harpsichord & piano
maker)—copies grand
piano by Wood (Father)
inadequacies & strengths
of 1.31
James (piano maker) 2.307
& Son (piano makers) 2.307
Johann (John) Christian (son) 1.32,
1.33
John Slight (piano maker) 2.307
Woodman, T. (piano maker) 2.307
Woodward, Josiah 1.377
Woolloomooloo (Sydney, Australia)
1.588, 1.656
Hill 1.422
Woolloomooloo House, *see* Palmer, John
Wordsworth, William 1.30
Worgan (surname in eighteenth-century
London) 2.265
Worgan, Alec (Worgan descendant;
contemporary) 1.213, 1.575, 2.172,
2.173, 2.174
Olive (wife) 1.575
Worgan, Charles (one of Dr John
Worgan's older brothers) 1.210
Worgan, Charles Parsons (illegitimate son
of George William Worgan?) 1.607
birth 1.603, 1.609, 1.616
baptismal record 1.600, 1.609
date 1.603
father's name 1.600, 1.604,
1.609
death 1.609
grave 1.599
headstone 1.599
inscription 1.599
location 1.599, 1.610
mentioned in 1841 census 1.603
discrepancies in documentation
regarding his age 1.603
Worgan, Charlotte Elizabeth (mother of
Charles Parsons Worgan; servant)
1.602–3, 1.607, 1.610
birth 1.602, 1.609
death 1.609
certificate 1.608
marries William Murray 1.607, 1.608,
1.609
mentioned in 1841 census 1.602
Worgan, Charlotte Sophia (George
Bouchier Worgan's younger sister)
1.600–1, 1.603
birth 1.608
christened 1.600
marries Sir William Parsons 1.529,
1.601, 1.608
see also Parsons, William (Sir)—
marries Charlotte Sophia
Worgan
death 1.609
Worgan, Eleanor (second wife of Dr John
Worgan), *see* Worgan, John (Dr),
Baston(?)—Eleanor (second wife)
Worgan, George (son of Joseph and
Jemima Worgan)
in New Zealand 1.591–2
identity confused with George
William Worgan 1.591
Worgan, George Bouchier (Boucher; Dr
John Worgan's second surviving son)
1.xxx, 1.12, 1.14, 1.23, 1.91, 1.106,
1.117, 1.118, 1.129, 1.130, 1.131,
1.140, 1.141, 1.146, 1.147, 1.161,
1.164, 1.178, 1.180, 1.191, 1.195,
1.202, 1.203, 1.204, 1.205, 1.207,
1.209, 1.213, 1.215, 1.220, 1.229,
1.231, 1.232, 1.251, 1.252, 1.257,
1.258, 1.259, 1.260, 1.261, 1.263,
1.269, 1.270, 1.274, 1.275, 1.290,
1.617, 1.663, 1.666, 1.667, 1.671,
1.673, 1.674, 1.675, 1.678, 1.684,
1.690, 1.691, 1.692, 1.695, 1.696,
1.698, 1.700, 1.716, 1.719, 1.720,

- 1.721, 1.722, 2.1, 2.141, 2.174, 2.177,
2.179, 2.180, 2.181, 2.185, 2.187,
2.188, 2.193, 2.261, 2.262, 2.272,
2.276, 2.277
- and the Macarthurs
- befriends Elizabeth Macarthur
 - 1.474, 1.477, 1.499, 1.543
 - gives his piano to Elizabeth Macarthur 1.481, 1.615, 1.719, 2.142, 2.194, 2.196
 - places his piano in the Macarthurs' thatched wattle-and-daub hut 1.477, 1.478, 1.615, 1.719, 2.142
 - teaches Elizabeth Macarthur the piano 1.479, 1.483, 1.484, 1.487, 1.490, 1.493–4
- as
- author, *see General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall below*
 - farmer, *see farms below*
 - inventor 1.534, 1.568, 1.611
 - wins an award 1.534, 1.616
 - pianist 1.290–3, 1.295, 1.542–3
 - maintains his square piano 1.317, 1.325, 1.359–60
 - re-leathering 1.328, 1.330, 1.331
 - replaces broken strings 1.327, 1.328
 - tuning 1.318, 1.322, 1.324, 1.483, 1.493
 - musical training 1.209, 1.251, 1.261, 1.276, 1.288, 2.262
 - plays piano on board the *Sirius* 1.276, 1.277, 1.289, 1.302, 1.310, 1.335, 1.336, 1.339–41, 1.343, 1.346–7, 1.350, 1.614
 - stores his piano on board the *Sirius* 1.355
 - schoolmaster 1.535, 1.612
 - at National Society Boys School (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK) 1.537–8, 1.616
 - school closure 1.539, 1.540, 1.612, 1.616
- uses
- The Bell system* 1.538
 - William Cockin's mathematics textbook 1.539
- at
- Berners Street (London, UK) 1.213–15, 2.179
 - Bray (Cornwall, UK), *see farms below*
 - Dean Street (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK) 1.548, 1.616
 - Glynn (near Bodmin, Cornwall, UK), *see farms below*
 - Hendra (Cornwall, UK), *see farms below*
 - Maids of Honour Row (Richmond Hill, Richmond, UK) 1.195–6, 2.175
 - Milman (Millman; Millmans) Street (London, UK) 1.195, 1.211, 1.212, 2.264
 - Rathbone Place (London, UK) 1.195, 1.212
 - Richmond Green (Richmond, UK) 1.196, 2.175
 - Nightingale Lodge (Richmond, UK) 1.196
 - Wadeland House (New Road, Liskeard, Cornwall, UK) 1.549–50, 1.606, 1.607, 1.609, 1.612, 1.616, 2.263
 - see also* Wadeland House (New Road, Liskeard, Cornwall, UK)
 - West Street (Liskeard, Cornwall, UK) 1.548, 1.616
- birth 1.195, 1.608
- baptised 1.195, 1.614
- character 1.604, 1.611–13
- death 1.594, 1.600, 1.609, 1.616, 1.684
- cause of death
 - apoplexy 1.594
 - suicide 1.594–5, 1.607, 1.613
 - certificate 1.594

- grave 1.595
 headstone 1.596
 brass plaque on 1.597–9
 inscription on 1.596
 location 1.595
 Lawry
 Ann (sister-in-law) 1.599
 Mary (wife)
 headstone 1.599
- farms
 at
 Bray 1.512, 1.615
 Glynn (near Bodmin) 1.513,
 1.514, 1.615
 Hendra 1.513, 1.615
 financial stress 1.533, 1.543,
 1.547, 1.548, 1.569, 1.612,
 1.615, 1.616
 criticises former landlord 1.533
 known as ‘Dally’ 1.518
 life-long passion for farming
 1.196, 1.607, 1.611, 2.262
 what Worgan’s farms produced
 1.517–8
*General View of the Agriculture of the
 County of Cornwall* 1.526, 1.529,
 1.533, 1.540, 1.611, 1.616
 rewritten 1.530–2, 1.616
 lists unjust laws
 entailed estates 1.543
 leases 1.547
 taxes 1.544
 negative critiques of 1.532–3,
 1.540
 in British Navy 1.196, 1.614
 annual salary 1.201–2, 1.252–3,
 1.255, 1.256, 1.257
 surgeon (including Surgeon’s
 Mate) 1.197, 1.251, 1.614,
 2.263
 on
Ganges 1.198, 1.252, 1.614,
 2.181n.197, 2.263,
 2.264, 2.265
Le Caton 1.615
 victualling racket on
 1.505, 1.507–10,
 1.514, 1.611, 1.615
Pilote 1.197, 1.252, 1.614,
 2.181n.197, 2.263,
 2.264
Sirius 1.198, 1.201, 1.252,
 1.273, 1.614, 2.193
Tiger 1.196, 1.251, 1.509,
 1.614, 2.263
 judges indigenous people
 of Sydney Cove as being
 unmusical 1.484
 journal 1.203, 1.207, 1.261, 1.363,
 1.365, 1.367, 1.372, 1.402, 1.413,
 1.571, 1.572, 1.573, 1.575
 marries
 Lawry, Mary (wife) 1.510, 1.525–
 6, 1.609, 1.610, 1.615
 death 1.609
 headstone 1.599, 1.610
 inscription 1.599
 location 1.599, 1.610
 opinion of Cornish women 1.526–7
 raises Charles Parsons 1.609
see also Worgan, Charles Parsons
 (illegitimate son of George William
 Worgan?)
 Worgan, George William (George
 Bouchier Worgan’s eldest surviving
 son) 1.529, 1.604, 1.610
 arrives at Sydney Cove 1.570, 1.576
 arrival advertised 1.577, 1.578
 as
 composer
How Sweet those tuneful bells
 (cantata) 1.586
 organist of St Mary’s Cathedral
 (Sydney, Australia) 1.583–4,
 1.585, 1.587
 performer 1.578, 1.579, 1.582,
 1.583, 1.585, 1.587, 1.588
 pianist 1.578, 1.587
 for Grocott’s Dissolving Views
 1.589, 1.591
 piano teacher 1.577, 1.606
 piano tuner, *see* tuners (piano
 tuners), Ellard, Francis
 (Sydney, Australia), piano-
 tuning tours—includes
 Worgan, George William

- see also* tuners (piano tuners)—
 - Worgan, George William
 - singing teacher 1.585, 1.587
 - contemporaneous critiques of his vocal skills 1.579
- birth 1.528, 1.609, 1.615
- death 1.593–4, 1.609
- declared bankrupt (1843) 1.586
- disinterest in John Parsons Worgan in Sydney 1.577, 1.606
- leaves Sydney 1.591
- returns to Sydney 1.592
- marries Mary Tuohy (1847) 1.587
 - daughter born 1.588
 - scandal 1.589
 - Bridget McWheeney 1.589
 - marriage deteriorates 1.588, 1.606
- moral character 1.589, 1.606
 - brushes with the law 1.609
 - charged with being drunk (1840) 1.582
 - leaves Liskeard under suspicious circumstances 1.589, 1.605, 1.616
 - departs Plymouth for New South Wales 1.609
 - in London prior to emigrating to New South Wales
 - lies about marital status(?) 1.606
 - member of the Royal Society of Musicians 1.577, 1.578, 1.605, 1.609
 - teaches piano in London(?) 1.606
- Worgan, James (Dr John Worgan's fourth surviving son) 1.219, 2.185
 - compiles organ music by his father 1.219
- Worgan, James (one of Dr John Worgan's older brothers) 1.209, 1.210, 1.211
- Worgan, John (George Bouchier Worgan's first son; died in infancy) 1.529, 1.604
- Worgan, John (Dr; George Bouchier Worgan's father)
 - address(es)
 - Berners Street 1.213–15
 - Gower Street 1.215
 - Milman (Millman; Millmans) Street 1.195, 1.211, 1.212
 - Rathbone Place 1.195, 1.212
 - Maids of Honour Row (Richmond Hill, Richmond, UK) 1.195–6, 2.175
 - Richmond Green (Richmond, UK) 1.196, 2.175
 - Nightingale Lodge (Richmond, UK) 1.196
- appearance 1.211
- Baston(?), Eleanor (second wife of Dr John Worgan), *see* marries *below*
- birth 1.209
- Cambridge University
 - Bachelor of Music degree from 1.211
 - Doctorate from 1.215
- composer
 - anthem *We Shall Rejoice in Thy Salvation* 1.240
 - at Vauxhall Gardens 1.239
 - Vauxhall songs, *see* vocal music *below*
 - canzonets, *see* vocal music *below*
 - conservative style 1.233, 1.241, 1.242, 1.245, 1.246
 - catches, *see* vocal music *below*
 - harpsichord works
 - concerto (1785) 1.231, 1.248, 2.182
 - Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord* (1769) 1.246–8, 1.291, 2.185
 - Pieces for the Harp* (n.d.) 2.180n.194, 2.261n.5
 - Pieces for the Harpsichord* (1780) 2.180n.194
- influence of Geminiani 1.242–3
- oratorios
 - Hannah* 1.240
 - Manasseh* 1.240
 - third (lost) oratorio 1.240
- psalms and hymns 1.241
- publishers of his music

- Baldwin, Richard 2.183
 Cave, Edward 2.183
 Falkener, Robert 2.183
 Fought (Fought), Henric (Henry) 2.183
 Johnson
 John 1.298, 2.183–5, 2.288
 Mrs (wife of John Johnson) 2.183, 2.184–5
 Longman & Broderip 2.181–2, 2.185
 Owen, William 2.183
 Roberts, Henry 2.183
 Sadler, John 2.183
 Simpson, John 2.183
 Thompson, Robert 2.183
 Tonson, J & R 2.183
 Walsh, John 2.183
- vocal music
 canzonets 2.182, 2.185
 catches 2.181–2, 2.185
 Vauxhall songs 1.239, 2.184–5
 his opinion of 1.239, 2.185
- Cooke, Martha (third wife of Dr John Worgan), *see marries below*
 death 1.215
 burial place 1.217
 memorial plaque 1.217
 inscription 1.219
 location 1.218
- harpsichordist 1.220, 2.180, 2.261
 ‘full manner’ of playing 1.221
 hand span 1.222
 plays
 for Giovanni Manzoli 1.222
 sonatas by Scarlatti, Domenico 1.220
- improvisor
 characteristics of his
 improvisations 1.228, 1.246
 during church services 1.227, 1.229
- Mackelcan, Sarah (first wife of Dr John Worgan), *see marries below*
 marries
 Mackelcan, Sarah (first wife of Dr John Worgan) 1.211, 1.215
 divorce 1.215, 1.542
- Baston(?), Eleanor (second wife of Dr John Worgan) 1.215, 1.542
 Cooke, Martha (third wife of Dr John Worgan) 1.215, 1.542
 organist 2.180
 at
 St Andrew Undershaft (St Mary Axe) 1.223
 St Botolph 1.224–5
 St John’s Chapel, Millman Street 1.211–12, 1.226, 1.227
 Vauxhall Gardens 1.228, 1.239
 child prodigy 1.223
 applies for post at Christ Church Spitalfields 1.223
 inaugural recitals 1.229
 learns from
 Geminiani, Francesco 1.211
 older brother James 1.209, 1.211
 Roseingrave, Thomas 1.211
 student, *see Geminiani, Francesco—teaches Worgan, John*
 teacher 1.229
 of
 blind organist Jarvis, Samuel 1.231–2
 provincial organists 1.232
 Wesley, Charles (jnr) 1.231
- Worgan, John Parsons (George Bouchier Worgan’s youngest surviving son) 1.529, 1.603, 1.604, 1.606, 1.609
 arrives at
 Hobart Town 1.569, 1.570
 Sydney Cove 1.570
 brings his father’s journal to Sydney 1.571, 1.572
 gives journal to Dr John Lhotsky 1.571, 1.572, 1.573
 brushes with the law 1.575–6
 Clerk to the Bench of Magistrates 1.571
 disinterest in George William Worgan 1.577, 1.606

- musical skills 1.575
- birth 1.529, 1.609, 1.615
 - baptised 1.604
 - death 1.575, 1.576
- Worgan, Joseph (Dr John Worgan's first surviving son) 1.212
 - Jemima (wife) 1.592
- Worgan, Mary (Dr John Worgan's sister) 1.210
 - as organist 1.210
 - The Dying Nightingale* 1.210
- Worgan, Mary (George Bouchier Worgan's wife), *see* Worgan, George Bouchier (Boucher; Dr John Worgan's second surviving son), marries—
 - Lawry, Mary (wife) *above*
- Worgan, Mary (George Bouchier Worgan's first daughter; died in infancy) 1.528
- Worgan, Mary (George Bouchier Worgan's only surviving daughter) 1.528, 1.529, 1.615
- Worgan, Richard (Dr John Worgan's third surviving son) 1.219
- Worgan River (New South Wales) 1.207
- Worgan, Thomas Danvers (Dr John Worgan's fifth surviving son) 1.215, 1.219, 1.220, 1.233, 2.185
 - as composer of glees 1.220
- Wornum 1.655, 2.203
 - Robert (music publisher; piano maker) 1.655
 - invents cottage piano 1.285n.67, 1.653, 2.202, 2.408
 - music publisher 1.299
 - price of 'elegant' piano 1.660
 - Robert (jnr; piano maker) 2.307
- Wran, Neville 1.10
- Wrede, Herman(n) (piano maker) 2.307
- wrestling, *see* Liskeard (Cornwall, UK)—wrestling
- wrest-pin(s)
 - on English harpsichord, *see* harpsichord, English—wrest-pin(s)
- wrest-plank 2.382, 2.435, 2.437
 - harpsichord, *see* harpsichord—wrest-
- plank
 - inverted form 1.27
- grand piano(s)
 - Clementi, Muzio & Co.
 - ca 1806–10 (serial number 526) 2.313, 2.324
- square piano(s)
 - Beck, Frederick (1780/86?) 2.19, 2.33, 2.57
 - Longman & Broderip (1785/86?) 2.231
 - Wales, Robert (1819) 2.307n.e
- Wright
 - Harman & Co. (music publisher) 1.299
 - James (contemporary) 1.xxx
- Wych Street
 - St Clement Danes, London, UK 2.286
 - Strand, London, UK 2.277, 2.399
- Wynell-Mayow, Philip 1.533, 1.547
- Xalon, J. (composer) 1.295
- Ye Banks and Braes* 1.19n.15
- Ye spotted snakes* (Stevens) 1.307
- York
 - Minster (York, UK) 1.584
 - Street (Sydney, Australia) 1.431, 1.496
- Yorke Peninsula (South Australia) 1.593
- Young
 - Arthur (Secretary of the Board of Agriculture) 1.196, 1.514, 1.530
 - Thomas 1.324
- Zeitter
 - & Perkins (piano makers) 2.307
 - Jacob Frederick (piano maker) 2.307
- Zeitung für die elegante Welt* 1.440
- Zimmermann
 - Johann Georg 1.275
 - Wilhelm (l'ainé) (*tafelklavier* maker) 2.12
- Zumpe, Johann (John) Christoph (piano maker) 1.xxxvii, 1.40, 1.42, 1.48, 1.56, 1.62, 1.63, 1.64, 1.65, 1.66, 1.71,

- 1.73, 1.78, 1.79–80, 1.81, 1.83, 1.86,
 1.90, 1.99, 1.126, 1.131, 1.132, 1.192,
 1.193, 1.257, 1.258, 1.290, 1.328,
 1.329, 1.330, 2.19, 2.33, 2.69, 2.70,
 2.86, 2.91, 2.112, 2.130, 2.188, 2.189,
 2.225, 2.280, 2.284, 2.289, 2.291,
 2.292, 2.411, 2.426
 at the sign of the Golden Guitar 1.48
 characteristic sound of his square
 pianos 1.51, 1.64, 1.89
 house/workshop 1.51–3, 1.62
 influences on his work 1.43, 1.44,
 1.45–9
 piano(s)
 damper raising 1.49–50, 1.51,
 2.367
 in Bach-Abel concerts 1.58, 1.61
 keyboard compass 1.63
 listed in *Inventaire sous La Terreur*
 1.79–80
 price 1.72–3, 1.80, 1.81, 1.254
 Queen Charlotte's use of 1.58
 1766 2.188
 1766/67? 1.49n.216, 2.366–79
 1767 2.188
 1769 2.189
 1770 2.189
 1775 2.189
 'small piano-forte' 1.43
 visits Paris in 1770 1.74

