A Case Study of the Cellists and Treatise Authors: Johann Georg Christoph Schetky (1737-1824), Joseph Reinagle (1752-1825) and John Gunn (c.1765-1823): The Development of the Cello in Provincial Britain

Margaret Doris
Dublin Institute of Technology

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A CASE STUDY OF THE CELLISTS AND TREATISE AUTHORS:

JOHANN GEORG CHRISTOPH SCHETKY (1737–1824),

JOSEPH REINAGLE (1752–1825)

AND JOHN GUNN (c.1765–1823):

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CELLO IN PROVINCIAL BRITAIN

MARGARET DORIS, B.Mus. (Hons), M.Mus.

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of

Doctor of Philosophy

Dublin Institute of Technology

Conservatory of Music and Drama

Supervisor: Dr Kerry Houston

December 2017
ABSTRACT

This dissertation provides an investigation of British provincial cello playing in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries through a comprehensive examination of the biographical histories and the pedagogical outputs of the cellists and cello treatise authors, Johann Georg Christoph Schetky (1737–1824), Joseph Reinagle (1752–1825) and John Gunn (c.1765–1823). Through re-evaluation and analysis of the biographical profiles of Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn, in combination with a contextual review of their cello treatises, a provincial trend in British cello treatise authorship has been revealed.

Schetky was principal cellist with the Edinburgh Musical Society [EMS], whilst Reinagle was principal cellist of the Oxford Musical Society, after starting his career as a violinist with the EMS. Less is known of the performance profile of John Gunn, however analysis of his cello treatises reveals considerable evidence regarding his career path. The diverse musical careers of Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn provide the opportunity to examine a wealth of topics relating to the education, role, career trajectories and social status of the provincial cellist.

Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn were amongst a small group of provincial cellists who were the first to publish cello treatises in Britain. The works of Gunn also demonstrate a market for advanced cello technical works, together with additional historical references that appealed to the educated gentleman amateur audience. The study concludes with a contextual and comparative review of the treatises of Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn, establishing the central role provincial cellists undertook in the development of cello pedagogy and in the early promotion of the instrument in Britain.
I certify that this thesis which I now submit for examination for the award of Ph.D., is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

This thesis was prepared according to the regulations for postgraduate study by research of the Dublin Institute of Technology and has not been submitted in whole or in part for another award in any other third level institution.

The work reported on in this thesis conforms to the principles and requirements of the DIT’s guidelines for ethics in research.

DIT has permission to keep, lend or copy this thesis in whole or in part, on condition that any such use of the material of the thesis be duly acknowledged.

Signature __________________________________ Date _______________

Candidate
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge and to thank all who assisted me with this research project. In particular, I thank the staff at the Bodleian Library, the National Library of Scotland, the Edinburgh Central Library and the librarians who answered by numerous requests at the British Library. I extend my appreciation also to the music department of the Library of Congress, Washington, for locating Alexander Reinagle’s journals.

Thank you to the many researchers that I contacted, including Simon McVeigh, George Kennaway, who very kindly let me view an unpublished paper on John Gunn, and to Susan O’Regan who sent me details of her research on the music scene in Cork.

After uncovering a blog under the name Schetky, I am very grateful to the author, Julia Schetky, for responding to my unusual request asking if she was by any chance related to J. G. C. Schetky. She kindly forwarded my request to her relation John L. Schetky Jnr, who generously sent me a copy of the family ancestral book by L. O. Schetky and other unpublished material. This information has greatly enriched my dissertation and I hope in turn that my biographical research will be of benefit to the fascinating Schetky-Reinagle family.

I extend my gratitude to my baroque cello teachers, David Watkin at the Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester and Stanley Ritchie at Indiana University, Bloomington, USA, who initiated my interest in historical practice and performance.

Thank you to DIT Conservatory of Music and Drama for supporting me during my studies, and especially Ben Rawlins for recording the music contained in this dissertation. I wish also to acknowledge my RTÉ Concert Orchestra colleagues, Yue Tang and Sarah Sew, who very kindly agreed to record these duo works. Lastly and most importantly, my sincere thanks to my supervisor, Dr Kerry Houston, who managed this project with enthusiasm and encouragement.
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Cello 1 Margaret Doris
Cello 2 Yue Tang

Cello 1 Margaret Doris
Cello 2 Yue Tang

Violin Sarah Sew
Cello Margaret Doris

Recorded by Ben Rawlins at DIT Conservatory of Music and Drama, Rathmines, Dublin, 22 June 2015.
### ABBREVIATIONS

#### General Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>diss.</td>
<td>dissertation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edn.</td>
<td>edition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intro.</td>
<td>introduction (by)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illus.</td>
<td>illustration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ME</td>
<td>modern edition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repr.</td>
<td>reprinted (by)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>revd.</td>
<td>revised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trans.</td>
<td>translated (by)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>watermark</td>
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</tbody>
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#### Biographical Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AM</td>
<td><em>American Music</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A/W</td>
<td>Willis’s Room, King Street (from 1783)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C&amp;A</td>
<td>Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cb</td>
<td>concert benefit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cn</td>
<td>concerto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td><em>Caledonian Mercury</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUP</td>
<td>Cambridge University Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td><em>Daily Advertiser</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC</td>
<td><em>Daily Courant</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEP</td>
<td><em>Dublin Evening Post</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EA</td>
<td><em>Edinburgh Advertiser</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECCO</td>
<td><em>Eighteenth-Century Collections Online</em> (<a href="http://www.gale.cengage.com">www.gale.cengage.com</a>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEC</td>
<td><em>Edinburgh Evening Courant</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EM</td>
<td><em>Early Music</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMP</td>
<td><em>Early Music Performer</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMS</td>
<td>Edinburgh Musical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDJ</td>
<td><em>Faulkner’s Dublin Journal</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**FJ** Freeman’s Journal

**FMH** Freemasons Hall, Great Queen Street

**GA** The General Advertiser

**GMO** Grove Music Online

**GSJ** The Galpin Society Journal

**GunnE** J. Gunn, *An Essay, Theoretical and Practical, with Copious Examples, on the Application of the Principles of Harmony, Thorough Bass and Modulation, to the Violoncello* (London: Preston, 1802)

**GunnT, 1st edn** J. Gunn, *The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello* (London: Author, c.1789)


**GZ** The Gazeteer and London Daily Advertiser; The Gazeteer and New Daily Advertiser


**Hay** New Theatre/ Little Theatre/ Theatre Royal Haymarket

**HC** Hibernian Chronicle

**HJ** Hibernian Journal

**HSQ** Hanover Square Rooms

**IGI** The International Genealogical Index (www.familysearch.org)

**IMSLP** [available from] International Scores Music Library Project (http://imslp.org)

**JAMS** Journal of the American Musicological Society

**JAMIS** Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society

**JOJ** Jackson’s Oxford Journal

**JRMA** Journal of the Royal Musical Association

**KT** King’s Theatre, Haymarket (also Opera House)

**MacDonaldT** J. MacDonald, *A Treatise Explanatory of the Violoncello* (London: Author, 1811)

**MC** The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser; The Morning Chronicle

**MH** The Morning Herald

**ML** Music & Letters

**MP** The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser; The Morning Post

**MQ** The Music Quarterly

**MT** The Musical Times

**MW** The Musical World

**ODNB** Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

**OMS** Oxford Musical Society

**OUP** Oxford University Press

**PA** The Public Advertiser


**P(R)MA** Proceedings of the (Royal) Musical Association
ReinagleT  J. Reinagle, *A Concise Introduction to the Art of Playing the Violoncello, including a Short and Easy Treatise on Music, to which is added Thirty Progressive Lessons* (London: Goulding, Phipps and D’Almaine, 1799)

RISM  Répertoire International des Sources Musicales

RMARc  *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*

RMS  *Royal Musical Association*


sl  solo

SSQ  Soho Square

SWJ  *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*

TST  Tottenham Street Rooms

**Library Sigla (following RISM system)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sigla</th>
<th>Librarianship</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GB-DRc</td>
<td>Durham, Cathedral Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GB-En</td>
<td>National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GB-Enas</td>
<td>The National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GB-Enr</td>
<td>National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GB-Ep</td>
<td>(Central) Public Library, Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>GB-Ér</td>
<td>Reid Music Library of the University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GB-Eu</td>
<td>University Library, Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GB-Lam</td>
<td>Royal Academy of Music, Library, London</td>
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<tr>
<td>GB-Lcm</td>
<td>Royal College of Music, London</td>
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<td>GB-Lbl</td>
<td>The British Library, London</td>
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<tr>
<td>GB-Lna</td>
<td>The National Archives, London</td>
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<tr>
<td>GB-Ge</td>
<td>University Library, Euing Music Collection, Glasgow</td>
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<td>University Library, Glasgow</td>
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<td>GB-Ob</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Trinity College Library, Dublin</td>
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<td>IRL-Dn</td>
<td>The National Library of Ireland, Dublin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D-B</td>
<td>Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-Skma</td>
<td>Musikoch teaterbiblioteket, Stockholm, Sweden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The National Archives of Scotland, formerly known as Scottish Record Office. In 2011 the General Register for Scotland merged with the National Archives of Scotland and is now known as the National Records of Scotland.
Instruments:

cl  clarinet
db  double bass
fl  flute
ob  oboe
pn  piano
pf  piano forte
vn  violin
vc  cello

Primary sources have been transcribed without any changes to the original spelling or punctuation. The old system of English currency has been retained.

All electronic resources were last accessed on 1 December 2017.
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2.3 J. G. C. Schetky, Cello Concerto in B flat Major, Largo, bb. 69–80, Vivace, bb. 1–4. Musikoch teaterbiblioteket, Stockholm, Sweden (S-Skma); Shelfmark: Alströmer saml. [Patrik Alströmer (1733–1804)]; rism190020736

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3.13 J. Gunn, *The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello* (London: Author, c.1789), 90, ex. 92 © British Library Board (Music Collections, g.500.6)

3.14 J. Gunn, *The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello* (London: Author, c.1789), 90, ex. 92 © British Library Board (Board Music Collections, g.500.6)

3.15 J. Gunn, *The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello* (London: Author, c.1789), 90, ex. 92, b. 11 © British Library Board (Music Collections, g.500.6)

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3.26 J. Gunn, *An Essay, Theoretical and Practical* (London: Preston, 1802), 28, ex. 36 © British Library Board (Music Collections, h.1849.m.(1.))

3.27 J. Gunn, *An Essay, Theoretical and Practical* (London: Preston, 1802), 6, ex. 5 & 6 © British Library Board (Music Collections, h.1849.m.(1.))

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Chapter 3

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J. G. C. Schetky - Anna Maria Theresa
(1737–1824)\(^2\) (1754–1795)
m. 1774

Charles
Schetky
(1774–1799)

John Christian
Schetky
(1778–1874)

Mary Anne
D’Autville Schetky
(1786–1877)

Caroline
Schetky
(1790–1852)

George Schetky
(1776–1831)

John Alexander Schetky
(1785–1824)

Jane Schetky
(1788–1827)

REINAGLE FAMILY TREE

Joseph Reinagle (snr) - Annie Laurie (Dates not known)

Philip (b.1748)

Anna Maria Theresa (1754–1795)
m. 1774
J. G. C. Schetky (1737–1824)

Jonas Paul (1755–1755)

Andrew (b.1762)

Joseph (1752–1825)
m. 1796
Constance Pargetter (? – 1799)

Alexander (1756–1809)

Hugh (1760–1785)

Benjamin (b.1765)

Robert Alexander Reinagle (1799–1877)

3 Information collated from online ancestry searches: familysearch.org and scotlandspeople.gov.uk.
4 Joseph Reinagle may have had more than one wife, as is discussed in chapter two.
5 Westminster Archives: Joseph Reinagle, St James Piccadilly, Married 21 January 1796, at St James Picadilly, Middlesex, to Constance Deane Pargeter. www.findmypast.co.uk.
Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

This study provides an investigation of British provincial cello playing (c.1770–1825) and explores and analyses its links to the development of early British cello treatises through the study of the cellists and cello treatise authors: Johann Georg Christoph Schetky (1737–1824), Joseph Reinagle (1752–1825) and John Gunn (c.1765–1823).

Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn share many geographical and familial links, however, their varied careers demonstrate the diversity of cello playing during the period. Schetky, who was originally from Darmstadt, was contracted to the Edinburgh Musical Society [hereafter the EMS] in 1772. Reinagle began his career as a violinist with the same society, but established his cello profile primarily as a member of the Oxford Musical Society. Reinagle’s touring career also provides an overview of provincial cello playing in a number of musical centres, such as Dublin, Cork, Chichester and Winchester. The case of Gunn differs from that of Schetky and Reinagle, in that he was less known as a performer, however, his contribution to the development of the cello is exemplified in his cello treatise publications. This study focuses on new evidence together with re-evaluation of past scholarship, to increase the knowledge of the three players, their cello treatises and the provincial musical centres with which they were associated.

A wide spectrum of provincial issues affecting cellists during the period is evident in the presented biographical evaluations of Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn. They were primarily chosen for this study as they were amongst the first to publish cello treatises in Britain. However, whilst they share a common thread through their cello
treatise publications, they also share combined geographical and familial connections. In 1774, J. G. C. Schetky married the sister of the cellist brothers, Joseph and Hugh Reinagle. John Gunn acknowledged Schetky and the Reinagle brothers in his cello treatise, and had particular praise for his cello teacher, Hugh Reinagle, with whom he studied for a short time. Although Hugh did not write a treatise, he has been included in the biographical study as he holds an important position within this trilogy of treatise authors. Schetky, Joseph Reinagle and Gunn each resided in Edinburgh during different periods of their careers. This raises the question as to why they, in particular, as three relatively unknown provincial cellists, were amongst the first to publish cello treatises in Britain. In order to address this question, it is necessary not only to re-evaluate their biographies, but to provide a comparative review of their cello treatises. The study is therefore in two parts: a biographical evaluation followed by cello treatise examination. The biographical analysis has been collated within a single chapter, as opposed to individual biographies, in order provide a clear and rich picture of their interlocking careers and responses to social and personal events.

Historical Context

It was the influx of Italian cellists that was initially responsible for raising the profile of the cello in Britain at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The viola da gamba was the favoured bass stringed instrument in Britain during this period. Lowell Lindgren observes that, ‘Britain must have provided a safe haven and financial lure for Italian cellists’, as many stayed for an extended period of time.\(^1\) Holman states that the cello ‘seems to have been rare in England until the first decade of the eighteenth

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The first cellist in England appears to be the Italian cellist, Nicola Haym (1678–1729), who arrived in London in 1701. Haym had travelled with the Roman violinist, Nicola Cosimi, to serve Wriothesley Russell (1680–1711), the Duke of Bedford. Although Cosimi left after four years, Haym remained until the death of the Duke. Haym was the first cellist advertised to perform a cello solo in 1732. He also played in the opera orchestra at the Queen’s Theatre, London, and was a member of the Academy of Antient Music (1726–7). He is listed amongst the four ‘violoncelli’ at the Haymarket Theatre in 1707, which is the first record of a performance on the cello in England.

The Italian, Lorenzo Bocchi was mostly likely the first cellist to visit Scotland, working in Edinburgh and Dublin between the years, 1720 and 1729. Holman states he was ‘the first member of the Italian diaspora to establish himself in Edinburgh and Dublin rather than London, an astute career move that was imitated later in the century by many of his compatriots’. He came to Edinburgh in the company of the Scottish tenor, Alexander Gordon (1692–1754/5).

The cellist and instrument dealer, Giacobbe Basevi Cervetto (1680–1783) arrived in London in c.1738 and according to Burney, was amongst a group of Italian cellists who popularised the cello in England.

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6 Ibid.
This elder CERVETTO is now first mentioned as just arrived; and this worthy professor, who remained in England till the time of his death, at above a hundred, with Abaco, Lanzetti, Pasqualini, and Caporale, about this time, brought the violoncello into favour, and made us nice judges of that instrument.\textsuperscript{11}

Cervetto tutored his son, James Cervetto (1748–1837), who was celebrated for his accompaniment of recitatives. James, passed this tradition to his own student Robert Lindley (1776–1855), who is perhaps the most recognised English cellist of the period.

In Britain, the fashion for amateur cello playing can be exemplified by a number of high-profile amateurs. The Prince of Wales, Frederick Lewis (1707–51) began to play the cello in 1730s. His teacher between 1734 and 1737 was the Italian cellist, Charles Pardini.\textsuperscript{12} Numerous cello works were dedicated to him, including Lanzetti’s \textit{Six Solos for two Violoncellos or a German Flute and a Bass}, op. 2.\textsuperscript{13} The Prince passed his own interest to his children, for example, the Durham composer, organist and cellist, John Garth dedicated his op. 1 cello concerto to Edward, the Duke of York (1739–67).\textsuperscript{14} This tradition extended to the next generation as Frederick’s grandson, George Frederick, the Prince of Wales (1762–1830),\textsuperscript{15} who later became George IV, studied the cello with John Crosdill (1751–1825). Smith states that he ‘played with skill and feeling’, contrasting with Haydn’s assessment, who claimed George, played ‘quite tolerably’, having accompanied him on the pianoforte.\textsuperscript{16} His teacher, Crosdill was amongst the most prominent London cellists of the period, and was highly sought of as a solo performer and pedagogue throughout Europe.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{11} BurneyH, 660.
\textsuperscript{12} Holman, \textit{Life after Death} (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 60.
\textsuperscript{13} S. Lanzetti, \textit{Six Solos for Two Violoncellos, or a German Flute and a Bass}, op. 2 (London: Walsh, 1745). See Lindgren, ‘Italian Violoncellists’ for further information on these solos, 150–1.
\textsuperscript{15} Lindgren, ‘Italian Violoncellists’, 134–5.
\textsuperscript{16} E. A. Smith, \textit{George IV} (Yale: Yale University Press, 1999), 9, 253.
\textsuperscript{17} V. Walden, \textit{One Hundred Years of Violoncello} (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), 31.
Amateur cello players were evident in Scotland from the first half of the eighteenth century. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik writes of his brother, Hugh (1709–50), a merchant from Edinburgh stating that, ‘Amongst other Qualifications which my sd [sic] Brother was possessed of, he play’d on the violoncello with all the perfection of the greatest Master, and rather too well for a Gentleman.’\textsuperscript{18} The Scottish poet and philosophical writer, James Beattie (1735–1803), was also an amateur cellist and member of the Aberdeen Musical Society.\textsuperscript{19}

**Music Societies**

Britain’s strong culture for amateur music-making in the eighteenth century is exemplified in numerous musical societies, such as the EMS, which was established and run by amateur musicians. Stanley Sadie comments on the uniqueness of the musical performance scene in provincial Britain, especially in relation to its European counterparts, where ‘ordinary [British] middle-class people’ were responsible for the regular meetings of relatively small musical societies.\textsuperscript{20}

Research regarding the music scene in Edinburgh in the late-eighteenth century was pioneered by David Johnson.\textsuperscript{21} Johnson, who argued that Scottish folk and classical music research should be considered in parallel, extended David Fraser-Harris’ late nineteenth-century volume *Saint Cecilias Hall in the Niddary Wynd*.\textsuperscript{22} The EMS was established in 1728 and was at the centre of music-making in eighteenth-century

\textsuperscript{19} D. Johnson, ‘James Beattie’, *GMO*.  
Scotland. The venture was funded through membership subscriptions and further income was raised through Ladies’ concerts and an annual St Cecilia Concert.\textsuperscript{23} Weekly performances, comprising of both gentleman amateur, and professional musicians, typically took place on Friday evenings from November to September (with some exceptions, usually due to bad weather). The society was run by amateur performers, who augmented the orchestra with paid professional players. Johnson uses the term ‘amateur’ and ‘professional’ to differentiate between those musical instruments that were played by ‘amateurs’ and those that were played by ‘professionals’.\textsuperscript{24}

The total concerts per year averaged between 37 and 40, with the performers also taking part in Ladies Concerts and Benefit Concerts at various times throughout the year.\textsuperscript{25} During the peak years of the late 1760s and 1770s, the majority of the society’s singers and contracted principal players were foreign musicians. Soloists were generally invited on a seasonal basis, and as a result there was often a rotation of visiting foreign professionals.

Copying Continental music was one way for provincial musicians to keep up with current trends, and another was importing the musicians themselves. Inevitably, foreign virtuosi tended to head initially for London, but as institutions and opportunities developed in the course of the eighteenth century, they found the provinces provided a viable and secure alternative to the cut-throat competition of the capital.\textsuperscript{26} In addition, full-time or professional musicians were given seasonal contracts, and an agreed number of benefit concerts to maximise their earnings. In the case of Schetky this was one per annum.

The EMS began their concerts in hired rooms, rehearsing in a tavern. However, they commissioned a new hall in the 1760s at the peak of the society’s popularity. A

\textsuperscript{23} MacLeod, 74.
\textsuperscript{24} Johnson, \textit{Music and Society}, 23.
\textsuperscript{25} MacLeod, 69.
\textsuperscript{26} Cowgill and Holman, eds., \textit{Music in the British Provinces}, 4.
larger venue was needed to cater for an increase in subscription. The hall was designed by the Scottish architect, Robert Mylne (1733–1811). In 1763, the society moved to the purpose-built concert hall, named, St Cecilia’s Hall. It had two rooms, the Laigh Room for rehearsals and the Concert Room for performances. After the dissolution of the EMS, the hall was sold to the Baptist Church. It has since been restored as a concert hall, which is owned by the University of Edinburgh.

The EMS owned an impressive library of music, showing preference for the music of Haydn, Handel, Pleyel, J. C. Bach, Abel, Corelli and Boccherini. However, they purchased a wide range of works, demonstrating that the society had a comprehensive experience and knowledge of music. Their concerts continued to combine new and old works, which enabled amateur players to participate in the often easier and familiar older music, whilst continuing to introduce newer compositions. Jenny Burchell provides a synopsis of the management of the society through research of the EMS sederunt books and newspaper sources.27 However, of particular interest is her cataloguing of orchestral music performed in society and benefit concerts. Jennifer MacLeod’s dissertation provides a comprehensive guide to the organisational status of the EMS: its administration, membership, finances and concert programming. Using primary texts such as EMS sederunt books and original papers associated to the society, she provides a collective view of the society and its members.28 These papers have been further examined in this study in relation to the role of the cellist in the society together with biographical research of Schetky and Reinagle.

The allocation of a principal cellist seems to have remained a local post until the 1770s when the Scottish composer, Lord Kelly, initiated a search for a cellist. John

28 EMS, Sederunt Books, 4 vols. (1728–98) (GB-Ep), Ref. qYML 28 MS; Index to music belonging to EMS, 1765 (GB-Ep), ML28 MS; Papers from the estate of Gilbert Innes of Stow (GB-Enr) ref. GD113.
Thomson was the first cellist contracted to the EMS from c.1740. During this period the increase in costs required to contract professional players was met by a rise in the cost of subscription. For example, in 1772 the singer Luciana was contracted for £250 per year and the principal Ferdinando Arrigoni for £73-10-0.\textsuperscript{29} In addition to future salaries, the society was also liable for travelling expenses of invited professionals.

The EMS was unable to sustain the increase in costs associated with the transition from what was essentially an amateur music gathering, to that of a society that became largely professional. A number of factors eventually led to its demise in 1797, including unpaid subscriptions, an increase in professional players required to fill the orchestra, and changes in the social habits of Edinburgh’s middle and upper classes. Jennifer Sonia Baxter questions the reasons for the closure of the society, reflecting on its insular tendencies.\textsuperscript{30} Her research provides an analysis of music performance extending beyond the time of the dissolution of the EMS. Schetky was a member of the EMS for over twenty-five years, however he continued to perform in a post-EMS music scene in Edinburgh.

Reinagle began his musical career as a violinist in Edinburgh but moved to London in 1786, establishing musical and social connections which eventually brought him to settle in Oxford. Evaluation of the London scene during this period provides clues as to why Reinagle and Schetky had difficulty finding sufficient work in the capital, but also why each was lured to the city. Simon McVeigh’s \textit{Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn}, provides a view of the London music scene which suggests that both Schetky and Reinagle were entering an already saturated job market.

\textsuperscript{29}MacLeod, 28.
Neither appeared to overcome this difficulty by raising their profiles above their competitors in London. Deborah Rohr further illustrates the musical marketplace of the period.\textsuperscript{31} It would appear Schetky had arrived too late to take advantage of the open cello marketplace that had flourished a number of years earlier. However, a journey made by Reinagle to London was typical of musicians during the period. Reinagle’s London period is evidenced in his letters to Scotland and the EMS, which are stored as part of the ‘Papers of the Innes Family of Stow, Peebleshire’ collection.\textsuperscript{32} The letters, while providing only one side of the correspondence, enable a better understanding of why Reinagle left Edinburgh, his ranking within the society, and his experiences in London.

Despite a London base, Reinagle performed regularly in provincial centres, such as Dublin, Cork, Chichester and Winchester.\textsuperscript{33} The journals of John Marsh present descriptions of both Reinagle’s personal and professional life in Chichester.\textsuperscript{34} It highlights his close links to the music society and to the people involved, who were generous in their charity to him. Further evidence of Reinagle’s social capabilities are described in the diaries of Susan Burney.\textsuperscript{35} She narrates stories of his visit to Farnham with the celebrated German violinist, Peter Salomon. However, the personal testimonies of John Marsh and Susan Burney, which are inevitably subject to some bias, offer contrasting descriptions of the cellist.

\textsuperscript{32} The National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh (GB-Enas), reference, GD113.
\textsuperscript{33} Information of Reinagle’s concerts can be found in local newspaper concert advertisements and also in the research of S. McVeigh (London), B. Boydell (Dublin), S. O’Regan (Cork), A. McLamore (Winchester), M. McFarlane (Chichester) and in the journals of J. Marsh (Chichester).
\textsuperscript{35} P. Olleson, \textit{The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney} (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).
Reinagle was a major personality in the Oxford music scene in the early nineteenth century. John Mee’s monograph provides comprehensive source material on the workings of the Oxford [Holywell] Room Concerts, during the period. Of particular interest is Mee’s chronological account of the financial state of the concerts and their subscription numbers. The Holywell Music Room was built in 1748, and is the earliest purpose-built concert venue in Europe. The season of the subscription-run Oxford Musical Society, complemented the University calendar, typically from October through to the summer break. It was run by stewards, a role which rotated on a yearly basis. Burchell divides the history of the society into three sections, starting with the opening of the Holywell Music Room. The second period from 1757 is designated by a new set of Articles, up to a brief period when the concerts were suspended in 1789, this was due in part to insufficient subscription numbers. The final period, the time of Reinagle’s tenure, is from the 1790s.

The concerts combined the services of paid professionals and gentleman amateurs in weekly concerts. Like Edinburgh, the percentage of amateur players dwindled towards the end of the century. However, the EMS hired a greater number of professional musicians than in Oxford, which leads Burchell to conclude that the Oxford Musical Society was ‘more a social institution than the kind of serious musical establishment exemplified by the Edinburgh Musical Society’.

The increasing difficulty of the repertoire of the late eighteenth century called for a more advanced standard of cello playing. Musical centres that were accustomed to contracting professional principal singers and violinists now needed a cellist of a similar standard. The rapid development of the cello and its repertoire therefore dictated

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37 Burchell, 183–4.
the changing role of the cellist and as a result their increased status becomes apparent.

Further analysis of concert programmes held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and newspaper advertisements has enabled a wider view of Reinagle’s role to be considered.\(^{38}\) Although extensive programme material has been referenced from local newspapers, it is important to note that the advertised programmes were not necessarily performed on the night as advertised, often due to illness. The only means to confirm that the concerts were performed is by referencing the relatively few reviews which were printed in local newspapers.

**Cello Treatises**

The cello’s pedagogical publication history began with easy duets and tunes for the cello, designed primarily for use by amateurs and teaching. Lindgren exemplifies Lanzetti’s *Six Solos after an Easy & Elegant Taste* as such an example.\(^{39}\) They were published in duet form, which enabled the student and teacher to perform together in the lesson. Schetky extended this format with a set of twelve duets for two cellos in c.1780.\(^{40}\) He reinforced the pedagogical role of this work with a preliminary ‘Observations and Rules for Playing that Instrument’, in which he acknowledged the need for further publications that addressed cello pedagogy. This work acted as a precursor to his cello treatise.\(^{41}\)

Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn entered the treatise marketplace well in advance of their cello colleagues. As provincial and often less celebrated performers they were quick to recognise the possible commercial and promotional opportunities that could

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\(^{38}\) Concert programmes held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (GB-Ob), Box: Mus.1.d.64 (1–4).

\(^{39}\) Lindgren, ‘Italian Violoncellists’, 129; S. Lanzetti, *Six Solos after an Easy & Elegant Taste for the Violoncello, with a Thorough Bass, for the Harpsichord* (London: C. Heron, [1760?]).

\(^{40}\) SchetkyO.

\(^{41}\) SchetkyT.
be gained through the production of pedagogical material. It also suggests that, as provincial cellists there was a greater need to advertise their cello teaching experience through publication.

Association with musical societies led to better teaching work and the ability to further social connections. Teaching was central to a musician’s income during the period. Simon McVeigh speaks of a ‘strong relationship between concerts and teaching’ in eighteenth-century Britain. Concerts platforms, especially private concerts, provided an opportunity to engage further students.

In order to exemplify the pedagogic venture that Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn undertook, it is worth noting that other British provincial cellists, such as Stephen Paxton (1734–87), who was born in Durham and composed duets and solos for the cello, did not write a treatise. Nor did the Durham based, John Garth (1721–1810) who composed a number of cello concertos. The London based cellists, James Cervetto (1748–1837) and John Crosdill (1755–1825), were accomplished cellists, composers and teachers, who also did not publish cello tutors.

David Golby approaches the topic of pedagogy through a combination of methods, of which instrumental treatises are only a partial aspect. He demonstrates that without contextualisation, treatise scholarship can be a solely analytical topic. Golby concludes that, ‘once again we see the need to assimilate and select from a

44 S. Paxton, Six Solos, for the Violoncello, op. 1 (London: Welcker, [1772]); Six Solos, for the Violoncello, op. 1 (London: Longman & Broderip, [1780?]); Eight Duets for a Violin and Violoncello or Two Violoncellos, to which is added The Highland Laddie, a Scots Air, with Variations for a Violoncello and a Violin, op. 2 (London: Author, [1780?]); Six Easy Solos for a Violoncello or Bassoon, op. 3 (London: Author, [c.1780]); Four Duets for a Violin and Violoncello, and Two Solos for a Violoncello and Bass, op. 4 (London: Author, [1780]); Twelve Easy Lessons for a Violoncello and a Bass. Figured for the Harpsichord, in which are Introduced some Favourite Airs, op. 6 (London: Author, [1786]); Six Easy Solos for a Violoncello or Bassoon, op. 3 (London: Preston, [1790?]).
variety of influences as a common thread in British instrumental pedagogy’.

The examination of the treatises of Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn, when considered in collaboration with biographical re-evaluation, leads to a greater understanding of their technical and musical influences and the role of the cellist and cello in provincial Britain.

The main source for cello treatise scholarship remains Walden’s _One Hundred Years of Violoncello_. Walden provides an analysis of the early cello treatises, with regard to modern performance practice issues. Her focus was largely on those treatises that extended beyond beginner manuals, aimed at the serious cello student, such as the methods by Baumgartner, Duport and the French Conservatoire. These works were pioneering with regard to cello technique, which became the established core for modern cello technique. Vanscheeuwijck extends his study further with a thought-provoking article on how modern baroque cellists should tackle baroque music, taking into consideration, tunings, choice and size of instrument, and overhand or underhand bow hold.

The rise of the amateur cellist in Britain can be traced through a number of cello treatises which emerged during the late eighteenth century, which targeted these players. Golby states that the tutors were aimed at the amateur with ‘no serious musical ambition’, who judged their success by how many tunes they had learnt, rather than technique or musical expertise. British-based cellists were seemingly

47 Ibid., 216.
50 Golby, 112. For further discussion of British violin tutors, see Golby, 112–41.
51 Ibid., 112–3.
disinterested in producing their own methods, and as a result, the genre of British cello
treatises by the 1800s was dominated by publishing houses, who very often compiled
their material from earlier treatises stemming back to Corrette’s cello treatise (1741).\textsuperscript{52}
Walden describes these tutors as ‘anonymous works’.\textsuperscript{53} However, Golby refers to them,
perhaps more accurately as ‘house tutors’.\textsuperscript{54} These tutors were basic method books, and
as a result they did very little to develop the genre. However, they were responsible for
establishing a trend in cello treatise publication. The average price of a ‘house tutor’
was two or three shillings; they therefore offered the increasing numbers of amateur
cello players in Britain during period, an affordable means of learning the instrument,
via self-tuition. However, being a much larger, and a more expensive instrument than
the violin or flute, it is unlikely that players began the study of the cello without some
serious intent. Many amateurs and established musicians who began the study of the
cello were already proficient on another string instrument, for example the violin or the
viola da gamba. The early methods enabled these string players to transfer their skills
to the cello without the financial costs involved in engaging a teacher.

The development of violin treatises in Britain occurred much earlier than that
of the cello. Yet many similarities occur especially in regard to the amateur style of
beginner treatises, and the extensive ‘reheatings’ as named by Golby.\textsuperscript{55} He states that
‘During the eighteenth century in Britain tutor books appeared in abundance and,
responding to demand, were often written with the highly influential amateur in
mind.’\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{52} M. Corrette, \textit{Méthode, théorique et pratique, pour apprendre en peu de temps, le violoncelle dans sa
perfection} (Paris: Castagnery, Lyon, de Brotonne, 1741).
\textsuperscript{53} Walden, 27.
\textsuperscript{54} Golby, 139.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., 116.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 112.
Claire Nelson’s thesis contextualises Scottish music in Britain through a combination of topics, including Scottish Enlightenment philosophy and how this impacted on the ‘performance practice of this music’.\textsuperscript{57} This discussion provides a number of possibilities as to why the provincial musicians, Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn were first to publish cello treatises in Britain. Nelson provides contextual evidence of Enlightenment trends that were prominent during the period in Scotland, and which are reflected in a number of Scottish publications from this time. Enlightenment ideology can be viewed in the treatises of John Gunn, with his tutors targeting the more advanced gentleman amateur cellist. The self-published \textit{The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello} (c.1789), is a unique work from the period, combining a history of music and stringed instruments, with a method of left-hand fingering.\textsuperscript{58} In relating science to music, within an historical context, it applies Enlightenment principles to the cello. However, the first edition is also a valuable historiographical source, as the opening dissertation is omitted from the revised second edition.\textsuperscript{59} Gunn also published a more advanced volume on the \textit{Principles of Harmony, Thorough Bass and Modulation, to the Violoncello} in 1802.\textsuperscript{60} This outlined harmonic practices for cellists, and provides valuable evidence of the role of the cello in accompaniment. Gunn’s contribution to the British cello treatise genre was remarkable in its scope, defining his unique role in cello treatise scholarship. Walden associates the treatises of Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn to a ‘Scottish school of playing’, however, it is now possible to reconsider this statement when their treatises are considered alongside renewed biographical evaluation.

\textsuperscript{58} GunnT, 1st edn.
\textsuperscript{59} GunnT, 2nd edn.
\textsuperscript{60} GunnE.
Biographical Study

Biographical research of British provincial cellists of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can often be traced to dictionary sources from the period. Existing biographies of Joseph Reinagle are frequently cited from his self-penned biography submitted to Sainsbury’s Dictionary. J. G. C. Schetky’s biography is regularly gleaned from an account written by his brother-in-law, Ernst Carl Ludwig Ysenburg von Buri (1747–1806) which was published in Allgemeine Musikalische in 1799. Buri was most likely the German officer described by Sainsbury, who composed the opera Amazili and violin music. Buri mistakenly wrote that Schetky had died in 1773, which perhaps accounts for the lack of contemporary research outlining Schetky’s Scottish period (1772–1824).

Biographical evidence for the cello treatise author, John Gunn, contrasts with that of Schetky and Reinagle. Although John Gunn was amongst the first British musicians to publish a significant cello treatise, knowledge of his life is limited. This is even more surprising considering Gunn’s numerous publications, which included treatises for the German flute and keyboard, An Historical Enquiry of the Harp, and a translation of Borghese’s, A New and General System of Music.

John Sainsbury published his Dictionary of Musicians in 1824 with the intention of promoting British talent. He had previously unfairly criticised the works of Ernst Ludwig Gerber (1746–1819) and Choron-Fayolle (Paris, 1810) for ‘inattention, almost

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63 Sainsbury, i, 121 & Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 24 (13 March 1799), 369.
approaching to an entire neglect, of the composers and musicians of Great Britain.\textsuperscript{66} This was not true as Farmer claims that ‘under the letter ‘A’, Gerber noted twenty-seven British names’.\textsuperscript{67} The organist and composer, Gerber, compiled his own private set of biographical references, extending the work of Johann Gottfried Walther’s \textit{Musicalisches Lexicon} (1732). This was further expanded by J. F. Reichardt and E. F. F. Chladni, a number of years later, with additional research by Gerber in a second edition.\textsuperscript{68} Sainsbury’s work was published in haste and as a result includes numerous self-penned autobiographical accounts brimmed with mainly unedited self-promotion. Langley explains that the musicians were sourced through ‘London music publishers’ catalogues, and those of their provincial agents were scoured for ‘eminent’ composers (minor but in print) who were then asked personally, in a polite commissioning letter, for their biographical details and a list of works’.\textsuperscript{69} The dictionary is unique as it was largely based on material supplied by living musicians. Of additional scholarly interest is that much of the primary source material provided for the dictionary has survived and is located in the University of Glasgow Library (GB-Gu), Euing Collection.\textsuperscript{70} John Farmer in his assessment of the replies to Sainsbury’s requests finds that the project led to varied responses depending on the motivation of the musician, including those who saw a ‘chance of fame’, others who deemed themselves unworthy, and those who were just too busy to reply.\textsuperscript{71}

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., 387.
\textsuperscript{70} Langley, ‘Sainsbury’s Dictionary’, 67.
\textsuperscript{71} Farmer, ‘British Musicians a Century Ago’, 387.
Reinagle’s account in Sainsbury’s *Dictionary* contains significant biographical omissions inferring an easy career progression from Scotland to England, which, as will be shown, was not the case. He failed to include, perhaps strategically, his violin career with the EMS which accounted for over a decade of his life. These aspects of Reinagle’s career have been further expanded in the following biographical chapter using a combination of newspaper sources, concert programmes, records from the EMS sederunt books, and private letters.

Whilst Schetky is included by Sainsbury, the entry is a repetition of Gerber’s first edition, which states that Schetky died in 1773. Gerber’s first edition briefly lists Schetky’s early achievements, whereas the second edition contained expanded material from Buri’s article. Schetky died in the same year that Sainsbury’s *Dictionary* was published. It is therefore possible that Schetky missed the deadline for submissions, as there is evidence that he had begun writing his own memoir. A transcription of an undated letter can be found in L. O. Schetky’s privately published, *The Schetky Family* (1942). At the end of the letter Schetky’s daughter writes that the memoir was unfinished, but that Schetky died in 1824 following considerable success in Scotland. The content of the memoir traces Schetky’s early ancestry in great detail before establishing his own credentials. It concludes with a short record of Schetky’s arrival into Britain, but does not extend to his cello career in Scotland. It has been noted that Schetky’s Scottish career was rarely acknowledged in biographical dictionaries, therefore it is unusual that his own account did not readdress this balance.

Gunn was not a published composer, which appears to have formed part of the criteria for entry into Sainsbury’s *Dictionary*, nor did he attract prominence as a

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performer or teacher during his lifetime. However, a brief biographical account is given in Brown and Stratton’s *British Musical Biography* (1897).  

A complete study of the development and history of the cello in Britain and of its major exponents has yet to be written. Wasielewski’s and Edmund van der Straeten’s histories of the cello remain the main sources for information regarding the development of the cello. George Kennaway states that the works of Wasielewski and van der Straeten, ‘underpin much in the current edition of Grove, especially those articles concerning minor, or under-researched major figures’.  

The present study demonstrates the value of biography-based research of what first appears to be less significant British provincial cellists. To date cello research has mainly been in the form of comprehensive guides to the instrument, which understandably focus on leading performers in larger cities. There is therefore a gap in the knowledge of less-known players, who were very often provincial, but who were equally instrumental in the early development of the cello. Individual biographical research is therefore needed to establish the wider history of the development of the cello in Britain.  

In order to explore further and increase the knowledge of the development of the cello in Britain, not only in London, but in the provincial music centres during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is necessary to establish individual case studies of cellists from the period, by re-examining and augmenting their biographical histories. Access to information regarding provincial musical centres, their concert

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73 BMB. Schetky is not mentioned in this biography, but Joseph Reinagle is referenced.
programmes, personal diaries, combined with recent cataloguing of British newspapers, enables a more comprehensive analysis to be made, considering not only the development of the cello in Britain, but the lifestyle of British provincial cellists and the cosmopolitan nature of British musical life during the period.
Chapter 2

A BIOGRAPHICAL RE-EVALUATION OF JOHANN GEORG CHRISTOPH SCHETKY (1737–1824), JOSEPH REINAGLE (1752–1825) AND JOHN GUNN (c.1765–1823)

2.1 J. G. C Schetky: Early Life and Career, 1737–c.1773

J. G. C. Schetky was born in Darmstadt on 17 August 1737.¹ His parents, Ernst Gottlieb Schetky and Maria Elisabeth Eberhardht were employed at the court of Hesse Darmstadt.² Maria, a soprano, was appointed in the 1730s, at the same time as the cellist, Christoph Ehrenfried Riedel.³ During this period the court was experiencing considerable financial uncertainties under the rule of Landgrave Ernst Ludwig (1667–1739).⁴ Ernst Gottlieb is listed as a violin and viola player, and secretary in 1745.⁵ In order to increase their salaries, musicians at Hesse Darmstadt regularly took on more than one position within the court, and during the mid-eighteenth century many were required to perform on more than one instrument.⁶

Their son, J. G. C. Schetky, is listed from 1760, when the court was under the rule of Ludwig VII (1691–1768).⁷ In his memoir, Schetky claims Scottish ancestry via his grandmother.⁸ However, Winifred Greenaway questions this family legacy:

¹ The online ancestral search tool, familysearch.org, records Schetky’s birth in 1737. Personal family trees available to view on ancestry.com state 1739. This date is calculated from Schetky’s death certificate, which states that he died in 1824, at the age of 85.
³ Kramer, 348. For further information on the Schetky family see Kramer, 352.
⁴ Ibid., 348.
⁵ Ibid., 357.
⁶ Ibid., 34, 352.
⁷ Ibid., 333, 358.
Is there truth in the family legend that the musical gifts came from a Miss McPherson, who at twelve years had to flee with her father from Scotland? On their arrival at Hamburg, the name was changed to Voghel and she became a famous opera singer. Could it have been her marriage to Frederic Schetky which founded the Schetky clan?¹⁰

Schetky’s memoir states that he studied law at the University of Jena from the age of fifteen, but neglected his studies, preferring to arrange concerts at which he played the violin. On the suggestion of his tutor in Jena, and on the order of his father, Schetky returned to Darmstadt. An objective account of Schetky’s cello training remains elusive. His memoir states that he began his musical career as a violinist in the court orchestra, but that he took up the cello when the resident cellist became ill. The ability to play on more than one instrument was beneficial, not only for ensemble playing, but also to increase teaching opportunities. Michel Corrette (1741) dedicates an entire chapter to violinists wishing to take up the cello, demonstrating that the transfer of violin technique to the cello was indicative of the period.¹⁰ Corrette’s recommended left-hand fingerings can be traced to an understanding of violin left-hand technique.¹¹ There was also an interchange of repertoire for the violin, that could simply be played down the octave on the cello.

Schetky’s brother-in-law, Buri intimates that Schetky played with an ‘unusual’ bow hold.¹² His description replicates the underhand bow hold technique associated with the viola da gamba.¹³ It is therefore possible that Schetky also trained as a viol player. In his memoir Schetky states the viola da gamba player and cellist, Carl

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¹⁰ W. Greenaway, ‘The Scottish Schetkys’, The Scottish Genealogy, 26, no. 4 (Dec., 1979). A copy of this article was kindly provided by John L. Schetky.
Friedrich Abel (1723–87), offered him lessons after seeing him perform in Darmstadt. Schetky was given three months leave to attend lessons in Frankfurt, where Abel was ‘engaged for the winter concerts’. The memoir states that lessons took place ‘about 1770 or earlier’, however, Abel visited Goethe’s family in Frankfurt in the late 1750s, which may indicate a more realistic timeline. Performers from the ‘Hofkapelle’ at Hesse Harmsatdt regularly performed in Frankfurt, which ‘had fewer instrumentalists’.

Abel is perhaps best known as a viola da gamba player, however, he also performed and composed for the cello. He was reputedly the teacher of the London cellists, John Crosdill (1755–1825) and James Cervetto (1748–1837), for whom he composed a cello duet in D major, which they performed in London in 1778–9. Burney claims that ‘His [Abel’s] manner of playing an adagio soon became the model of all our young players on bowed-instruments’, exemplified by the string players, Barthélemon, Cervetto, Cramer and Crosdill. Burney lists the violinists, Wilhelm Cramer (1746–99) and François Barthélemon (1741–1808) as ‘ranked of his [Abel’s] school’. Whether they were students of Abel is unclear, however, Holman suggests that they may have had lessons on the gamba ‘to receive maximum benefit from Abel’s instruction’. Schetky credits Abel for teaching him the rules of ‘thumb position’, which he claims was ‘very little known at that time’.

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14 See P. Holman, Life after Death (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 192–3.
16 Ibid. Holman, Life after Death, 172.
17 Kramer, 344.
18 Holman, Life after Death, 191–2.
19 Ibid., 192–3.
20 Ibid., 282–3.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid., 283.
Schetky’s memoir implies that, apart from his training with Abel, he was essentially self-taught. Yet earlier in the memoir he states that the Prince of Landgrave gave him six ducats to continue his cello studies, after he performed transpositions of violin solos for the cello. It is therefore plausible that Schetky also received cello lessons from the resident cellist in Darmstadt, Christoph Ehrenfried Riedel. Buri suggests that Schetky’s musical training was more formal, being supervised by ‘Fils’ [Anton Filtz] (1733–60) in Mannheim. Filtz was appointed as second cellist to the Mannheim Orchestra in 1754, where Innocenz Danzi (1730–98) was principal. Buri also writes that Schetky attended composition lessons with Johann Samuel Endler (1694–1762), the Kapellmeister at Hesse Darmstadt. Endler was an alto, violinist, composer and chamber secretary. Kramer states that, ‘Kapellmeister Endler also took on pedagogical duties: Johann George Christoph Schetky studied composition with him, and he was mentioned as a tutor to the two princesses.’ Children of the ‘Hofkapelle’ were often tutored by the court musicians, under the direction of the ‘Hofkamellmeister’, Christoph Graupner (1683–1760), which led to professional positions within the court.

Limited records of student-teacher relationships from the period, make the substantiation of Schetky’s teachers and early education difficult to ascertain. A further account by Sandys and Forster claims that Schetky had lessons in theory from [C. P.] Emanuel Bach (1714–88), and studied piano with ‘Schroeder’. This is further reinforced by Gerber who claims that Schetky was given a recommendation by E. Bach,

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24 Ibid., 30–1.
27 Kramer, 360.
28 Ibid., 352.
29 Ibid.
presumably C. P. E. Bach. Schroeder was possibly Johann Friedrich Schröter (1724–1811), an oboist, or his son Johann Samuel Schröter (c.1752–88), a pianist. However, neither had known links to Darmstadt. Johann Schröter composed six duets for violin and cello which were published in London c.1772, the same year Schetky arrived in England. His children also performed at the Bach-Abel concerts in the same year. This suggests Schetky may have met the family in London, if not earlier in Germany. Laurence Oliphant does not date, nor provide a source for Schetky’s unpublished memoir. However, the link made by Sandys and Forster between Schetky and Abel indicates that the authors had access to Schetky’s memoir, possibly made available through Schetky’s daughter or granddaughter.

Landgrave Ernst Ludwig prevented a number of musicians leaving the court at Hesse-Darmstadt, despite their salaries being in arrears. However, his son was not as stringent, and Schetky was permitted a period of leave. Although, Schetky’s memoir contains no reference to C. P. E. Bach, Endler or Filtz, it does provide colourful anecdotes of his travels and performances in Germany, Switzerland and Italy. These accounts intimate a successful and versatile performer. His descriptions include a period when he became ill, after which all his belongings were sold to cover his medical costs, including his cello. After two and a half years of travel, Schetky returned to Darmstadt:

When the Landgrave saw him he gave him a gentle slap on the cheek, saying, ‘Thou flegel! (a German word) why didst thou not write to me?’ and ordered his salary for all the time to be pay’d him.

31 R. R. Kidd, ‘Schröter’, GMO.
32 Kramer, 345–7.
34 Ibid., 39–46, 34–5.
35 Ibid., 39–46, 36. ‘flegel’ is an old high German word meaning lout.
However, after a short period Schetky applied for leave again but this time it was denied. According to his memoir, Prince Charles of Mecklenburg had asked him to accompany him to Hamburg. Schetky joined the prince without permission from the Landgrave, and did not return as he ‘was too happy and too thoughtless to think of leaving Hamburgh [sic]’. 36

After spending two years in Hamburg, Schetky wished to see London. 37 On his travels he reportedly met the Scottish publisher Robert Bremner (c.1713–89) in Lille, where he was offered the position of principal cello with the EMS. 38 Bremner was contracted as a violinist with the EMS from 1756 to 1762, after which he moved to London extending his publishing business. Bremner continued to be an important figure within the EMS, as he was largely responsible for purchasing music and sourcing musicians. Schetky’s disappearance from the records of the Darmstadt court resulted in many historians presuming his death.

London

The duration of Schetky’s stay in London remains debatable, with varying accounts. The earliest source, a letter from Bremner to the EMS, states that Schetky had been in London only a few weeks, before he was contracted to Edinburgh. He states, ‘If you do not agree to the Terms he is to sett [sic] off for Hamburgh [sic]. He came over here about a fortnight ago in hopes of doing great things, but we are for this season over[stocked?] with first rate Violoncello performers’. 39

Speculation also surrounds Schetky’s professional networks in London. Wasielelewski claims that Schetky on arriving in London, received ‘patronage’ from J.

36 Ibid., 39–46, 37.
37 Ibid., 37.
38 Ibid.
39 EMS Sederunt Books, iii, 55b.
C. Bach (1735–82). Although it is possible that Wasielewski had documentary evidence that is now lost, there is no present testimony that confirms a patronage or service. However, it is likely that Schetky made contact with both Bach and Abel, who were most notably connected by their London concert series (1765–82). It was Abel who provided Schetky’s EMS reference. Whether this recommendation was based on hearing Schetky perform in London, or from lessons in Frankfurt, is not known:

[February 1772]
I beg leave to inform the Directors of the Edin[burgh] Concert that it is with my approbation that you Engage Mr Schetky for their Concert.

Schetky was in his mid-thirties when he arrived in London. Deborah Rohr speaks of the high wages earned by foreign musicians in London, and in particular the considerable numbers of German musicians who enjoyed success as concert leaders and court-members. This continued until the 1790s, when the competition intensified with an influx of French and other European musicians. There is no evidence that Schetky performed in London, however, he comments in his memoir that whilst in London he performed ‘in a concert where the celebrated Duport had been engaged the season before.’ This was on the invitation of John Crosdill, to whom Schetky composed and dedicated his treatise. Duport had played at the Hanover Square concerts in 1783, eleven years after Schetky’s arrival in Scotland. It is therefore possible that Schetky was invited in 1784 to perform in the same concert series. However, the named cellist was Cervetto, and there is no record of Schetky. Without definite concert

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40 Wasielewski, 71.
41 EMS Sederunt Books, iii, 57.
43 L. O. Schetky, 38.
45 McVeigh, Calendar.
records it is not possible to establish if Schetky was employed in London. However, correspondences between Schetky and the EMS, as contained in the EMS sederunt books, include a number of requests by Schetky for leave to go to London. In addition, as will be discussed, there were also complaints of his absenteeism.

**Introduction to the EMS**

There are various accounts as to how Schetky was introduced to the EMS. Schetky’s memoir states that Robert Bremner engaged him to play with the society during a meeting in Lille, but that he agreed to make his decision after arriving in London. This implies that if Schetky had found sufficient work in London, he may not have made the journey to Scotland:

> On his arrival at Lisle [sic] in Flanders he met Master Bremner, the first music seller in London, who returned from Paris and had commission to engage a first violoncellist for the concerts of Edinburgh. Christoff remembering that his grandmother was a native of Scotland, accepted the offer under condition to give his final answer at London.⁴⁶

Winifred Greenaway reinforces Schetky’s statement by claiming Bremer had heard Schetky perform his own concertos ‘on the Esplanade at Lile’.⁴⁷ However, Bremner does not refer to this meeting during his numerous correspondences with the EMS. Instead his letters infer that he had contracted Schetky in London under the guidance of Abel. Mary Schetky’s addition to her father’s memoir overrules the notion of a failed London trip. In a postscript she claims that after arriving in London, Schetky found the city difficult in terms of his health and left of his own choice: ‘The subject of the Memoir left London, without regret, his health not agreeing with its climate and habits’.⁴⁸

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⁴⁶ L. O. Schetky, 37.
⁴⁷ Greenaway.
⁴⁸ L. O. Schetky, 38.
The EMS had attempted to locate a principal cellist for some time. A letter from the treasurer, William Douglas, to Bremner states that an earlier search had been undertaken by the [Lord Kelly] Earl of Kelly, but with no result. Douglas states that, ‘Lord Kellie [Kelly] wrote some time ago to Bartelemon about the Violoncello but got no answer yet’. François Hippolyte Barthélémon (1741–1808), was a French violinist and composer, resident in London. Bremner replied to Douglas, a year later, stating that on the recommendation of Abel, he had negotiated terms with the German cellist, Schetky:

Engaged one Mr Schetky at Fifty Guineas a year and a Concert for one year only he not chasing to have it for more, but he now insists on his traveling charges together with that of a Brother of his who always goes with him and is a German-Flute player.

The contract of fifty guineas per year was considerably higher than the salary received by the EMS cellist, John Thomson. In June 1765, Thomson received £7.10s. half salary and an additional £10 half year salary, a total of £17.10s. The EMS agreed to Bremner’s suggestion and accepted Schetky’s terms, on the grounds that Abel recommended him as a ‘good Performer’. Abel provided a written reference despite Lord Kelly claiming Abel, ‘would not recommend a bad Performer to a Society [that] his Lordship is at the head of.’

49 EMS Sederunt Books, iii, 36. The letter is dated 13 December 1770.
50 Ibid., 55b. The letter is dated 7 February 1772.
52 EMS Sederunt Books, iii, 56.
53 Ibid., 56.
Edinburgh

The Edinburgh Evening Courant announced Schetky’s arrival in February 1772. Bremner’s obvious frustration in relocating Schetky to Edinburgh is revealed in his final letter to the EMS:

Mr Schetky & his Brother set off this morning in the Newcastle fly. I shall say nothing at present of the trouble I have had in the matter suffice it that I have advanced twenty two guineas to get them off.

Evidently the process of relocating Schetky to Edinburgh had provided Robert Bremner with considerable trouble. Schetky refused to travel by water and insisted on travelling by coach, which was a more expensive mode of transport. However, it appears Schetky’s brother, Georg Ludwig Schetky, was ill, and therefore Schetky’s request for land transport may have been essential due to his brother’s condition.

Bremner remorsefully wrote in February 1772, ‘As Schetky is not rich owing to his Brother illness on the Journey the Directors will do well to make his Benefit Concert as soon as profitable’. Schetky received his first benefit concert on 23 July 1772, where he performed a cello concerto in the first act, and a solo on the cello in the second. Georg Schetky, presumably his brother, performed a flute concerto in the same concert. A further concert notice in December 1772, states that ‘Schetky jun.’ would perform a flute concerto. However, junior, in this case, appears to be an error.

Schetky’s granddaughter, S. F. L. Schetky, provides a lively account of Schetky’s arrival in Edinburgh:

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54 EEC, 29 February 1772.
55 EMS Sederunt Books, iii, 57.
57 EMS Sederunt Books, iii, 57.
58 CM, 22 July 1772.
59 CM, 16 December 1772.
Two strangers rode into the old city by the southern road, and drew bridle at the door of Ramsay’s hostelry. The afternoon was dark and raw, and there was nothing very inviting in the ill-lighted streets and high gloomy-looking houses first seen under the damp chilly influences of an easterly haar; so, perhaps, it was not wonderful that the elder traveller turned to his companion with manifest disgust, and a hasty proposition to seek some more congenial shelter.\(^{60}\)

Her colourful narration continues in written Scottish dialect:

A little later a grand altercation was going on at the door of the famous Concert Hall in the Cowgate—our travellers insisting on finding an entrance, the doorkeeper as stoutly refusing them admittance; and at last turning in despair to one of his comrades and bidding him ‘gae ca’ Maister Reinagle, and gar him step ben an’ get speech o’ thae gentles, for they canna comprehen’ gude Scotch, I’m thinkin’!’\(^{61}\)

A few words with Mr Reinagle, a member of the orchestra, altered the aspect of affairs. ‘What! Herr Christoff Schetky, my countryman, whom we have been expecting! Welcome to our Concert Hall.’\(^{61}\)

According to S. F. L. Schetky her grandfather announced ‘this is very fine; we do not do better than this in Darmstadt’ and later proceeded to play at the concert.\(^{62}\)

Marie Stuart relates a similar scenario, further embellishing the story:

Nevertheless, Edinburgh very nearly lost her distinguished visitor, for when he arrived at Ramsay’s “White Horse Inn” in St. Mary’s Wynd, the sights and smells of the town proved almost too much for him. The friendliness shown to him by another musician, Joseph Reinagle, the Hungarian who had settled in the Capital, made him change his mind, and probably romance also influenced him for, soon after, he married Reinagle’s daughter, herself accomplished as a miniature painter and a singer.\(^{63}\)

At the time of Schetky’s arrival, the EMS consisted of approximately 200 subscription members.\(^{64}\) Johnson describes Schetky as both ‘shrewd’ and ‘ambitious’ noting that ‘once in Edinburgh, he set about improving his position’.\(^{65}\) Despite the society’s initial generosity, which included the purchase of his cello solos, Schetky

\(^{60}\) S. F. L. Schetky, 1–2.
\(^{61}\) Ibid., 3.
\(^{62}\) Ibid.
\(^{64}\) MacLeod, 26.
\(^{65}\) D. Johnson, Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2003), 56. Johnson is one of few authors to have had knowledge of L. O. Schetky’s publication.
continued to ask the EMS for an increase in pay and for changes in the terms of his contract. The minutes of a meeting of the Directors on 28 December 1773 details Schetky’s requests:

[T]o be permitted to direct the Performers, to be employed to compose [music], to get liberty to go to London for a month or more every year, and to have a salary of a hundred pounds per annum settled upon him for life.\(^{66}\)

As stated earlier, a salary of £100 was being paid to the leader of the band [Thomas?] Pinto. Schetky evidently believed his role and experience were equal. The Directors responded by stating that they were ‘very happy’ to have him continue with the society, but explained that a life salary was impossible within the ‘constitution’ of the society.\(^{67}\) They agreed to enter into a contract of three to nine years, at an annual salary of £80. Schetky signed a nine-year contract, despite reputedly not intending to stay for more than a year. There is no further mention of his request to direct the band, nor to be employed as a composer. However, as will be discussed, the society did on occasion purchase his works.

Schetky’s request to the EMS for a life contract soon becomes apparent, as a few months later he married Mary [Anna Marie] Reinagle (daughter of the EMS trumpeter, Joseph Reinagle Snr).\(^{68}\) Schetky also sought permission to go to London for at least a month each year. The EMS season, usually from November to September, was relatively long, especially when compared to London, which then ran from January to May. This left little opportunity for professionals to tour outside of their contract terms.

\(^{66}\) EMS Sederunt Books, 83, dated 28 December 1773.
\(^{67}\) Ibid.
In 1734, it was agreed in the EMS minutes that musicians would not be allowed leave without permission from the directors, and any absences would be deducted from their salaries.\textsuperscript{69} However, the society had difficulties enforcing this ruling. In 1786, Giuseppe Puppo, the leader of the orchestra, had gone to Bath. In previous years, Pinto had similarly been absent without permission.\textsuperscript{70} He had informed the EMS he would be in Dublin from October 1773 to June 1774, but despite repeated requests from the EMS to return, he remained in Dublin for the year.\textsuperscript{71} MacLeod states that the ‘Much of the correspondence copied into the Minutes is on the subject of terms of contract, and the bargaining about salary, leave and benefit concerts.’\textsuperscript{72} A reason for Schetky’s London visits was not given, however his early works were published by Bremner in London. His proposed trips may therefore have been in relation to this, but also undoubtedly to pursue further performance opportunities. There is little evidence of Schetky performing outside of Scotland, however, Jenny Burchell states that ‘Schetky took part in several concerts in 1773 [in Manchester], when he was joined by the horn player Reinagle, from London’, presumably his future father-in-law, and father of Joseph and Hugh Reinagle.\textsuperscript{73}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{69} MacLeod, 61.
\item \textsuperscript{70} Ibid., 70.
\item \textsuperscript{71} Ibid., 145.
\item \textsuperscript{72} Ibid., 61.
\end{itemize}
Joseph Reinagle was a second-generation EMS musician. His father, also named Joseph (b.1734?) (hereafter Joseph Snr), was a member of the EMS from 1760 and a state trumpeter from 1762.\textsuperscript{74} Joseph Snr’s wife, Ann Laurie, was originally from Scotland, but the couple spent a number of years in the south of England.\textsuperscript{75} Krauss traces the Reinagle’s travels between Portsmouth and Scotland, stating that by ‘1749 they were living in Dover, England’, where they had their first son Philip.\textsuperscript{76} Parish church records reveal that a son, Jonas Paul, who lived for only a few months, was baptised in the parish church on the Isle of Portsea on 26 February, 1755, and buried on 27 April 1755. Alexander Reinagle was baptised in the same church on 23 April 1756.

The cellist, Joseph Reinagle was born in 1752, with Portsmouth parish records listing his baptism on 5 July 1752, at the Holy Trinity [Church], Gosport, Hampshire. Previously it was thought that Reinagle was born in 1762, but this new information gives credibility to Reinagle’s self-penned autobiographical claims which he provided in a letter to Sainsbury. For example, Reinagle states that he was entered into the Navy by his father, but later removed and apprenticed to a jeweler in Scotland.\textsuperscript{77} Within this new timeframe it is plausible that he was removed from the Navy when his family relocated to Edinburgh in the early 1760s. The exact year that Joseph Snr moved his

\textsuperscript{74} ‘Joseph Reynagl’ baptism 25 February 1734, Gerersdorf Sankt Pölten, Niederösterreich, Austria, Father: Mathias Reynagl, Mother: Maria, https://familysearch.org. The record contains no death certificate. Further research by a Schetky family member states that Joseph Reinagle Snr was born c.1729 at nearby Vienna. This information was gained from email correspondence with John L. Schetky, Portland Oregon (in 2011) who kindly provided access to further family genealogical research.

\textsuperscript{75} Research by a Schetky family member states that Annie Laurie was born c.1729 and may have been married in Germany. Information from email correspondence with John L. Schetky, Portland, Oregon, [2011].


\textsuperscript{77} Sainsbury, 348.
family to Scotland is not known.

Table 1. Baptismal Records for the Children of Joseph Reinagle (Senior) and Ann Laurie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Parish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1748</td>
<td>Philip Reinagle</td>
<td>Saint Mary the Virgin, Dover, Kent, England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1752</td>
<td>Joseph Reinagle</td>
<td>Holy Trinity, Gosport, Hampshire, England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1754</td>
<td>Ann Reinagle</td>
<td>Holy Trinity, Gosport, Hampshire, England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1755</td>
<td>Jonas Paul Reinagle</td>
<td>Saint Mary’s, Portsea, Hampshire, England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1756</td>
<td>Alexander Reinagle</td>
<td>Saint Mary’s, Portsea, Hampshire, England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1760</td>
<td>Hew Reinagle</td>
<td>Presonpans, East Lothian, Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1762</td>
<td>Andrew Reinagle</td>
<td>Edinburgh Parish, Edinburgh, Midlothian, Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1765</td>
<td>Benjamin Reinagle</td>
<td>Saint Cuthberts, Edinburgh, Midlothian, Scotland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a member of the EMS, Joseph Snr earned £9.10s.0d. in 1760. However, his salary was reduced to £6.7s.0d. in 1761, and he earned only 10s.6d. in 1763. There is no entry for Joseph Snr in the 1762 payroll, but the EMS minute books state that in the same year, Joseph Snr had applied for money for, ‘a quantity of horns…which he was to manufacture for the support of his family as any allowance from the society was not sufficient to keep him in this place.’ In 1762, the treasurer of the EMS, William Douglas, gave Ann Reinagle a sum of £2. The receipt does not state that the money was part of her husband’s salary, however this may be presumed the most logical explanation. It was in this year that, Joseph Snr was appointed a state trumpeter, after recommendation from Lord Kelly of the EMS. The composer and musician, Lord Kelly was a director of the society from 1757–65, and deputy governor from 1767–81. The corresponding quarterly fee of £4.3s.4d. presumably enabled Joseph Snr, and his

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78 Information taken from ancestral online websites, familysearch.org and scotlandspeople.gov.uk.


family, to stay in Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{83} However, the family continued to struggle financially. In a letter to the EMS, Ann Reinagle states that her husband was away and that she was in financial need, having been ill and bedridden.\textsuperscript{84} The letter is dated 10 May 1765, six days after the birth of her son, Benjamin:

\begin{quote}
Dear Sir
I Hop your Goodness will Pardon Me for trobling you at this tim but in realety[?] I am in nesetty bing but tow or three Days brought to beed which makys my nid the Greater & Joseph being a way makes it wors Joseph called often at the Shop but could not find you which makys me, writ My self so Dear Sir of earnesty beg you will dow all you can for me according as you think a person in my way nid in so dowing you will dow me a unexpresble[?] favour pleas the Berarer is my own Child & what your Goodness pleas to give me she will sing [sign?] her name for it from your Humble servant
Ann Reinagle\textsuperscript{85}
\end{quote}

Douglas, the treasurer, responded by providing £1 (salary). The money was collected and signed for by Mary Reinagle, on behalf of her father.

Although Reinagle (Joseph Jnr) was born and christened in England, his early youth was spent in Edinburgh. His father’s association with the EMS would have provided an early introduction to the Edinburgh music scene. Reinagle began his musical studies with his father, and subsequently with guest leaders of the EMS:

\begin{quote}
He was accordingly instructed in the French horn and trumpet by his father, who, through the interest of the musical Lord Kelly, held the situation of household trumpeter to the King. Young Reinagle made great progress, and soon appeared in public as a concerto player on the above instruments. By the advice of his medical friends, he however discontinued them, and directed his attention to the practice of the violoncello, of which instrument he rapidly acquired a knowledge, through the valuable instructions of the celebrated Schetkey \textit{[sic]}, who married his sister. His younger brother and pupil, Hugh Reinagle, increasing in fame as a violoncellist, Joseph relinquished the study of the violoncello for that of the violin, under Aragoni and Pinto, and was soon appointed leader of the concerts at the theatre in Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{86}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{83} Krauss, 427.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{86} Sainsbury, 348–9.
Contrary to this account, Reinagle continued to perform on the violin, viola and cello throughout his career, and to a lesser degree on the horn and trumpet.

The EMS ‘discharges’ from November 1771 to June 1772, state that the violinist Pinto was given a sum of £3.3s.0d. for teaching Reinagle (Jnr) for two months. Payment details within the EMS records for teaching was an unusual occurrence. However, it demonstrates that the EMS continued to support the Reinagle family, and furthermore, foster a future generation of society musicians.

In 1775, Reinagle appears to have inherited his father’s role as a household trumpeter, as stated in Scottish state papers:

Lord Justice Clerk Miller to Secretary Suffolk.
On the appointment of Joseph Reinagle to succeed his father as one of the Household trumpeters; reporting the resignation of Mr Duff, as Sheriff of Ayr, and concerning his replacement, 7 May 1775, National Archives, Kew.\(^{87}\)

However, the original document from Thomas Miller, the Lord Justice Clerk, does not specify which son was appointed.

7 May, 1775
My Lord
I had the honor of receiving your Lordship letter of the 30\(^{th}\) of March, informing me that his Majesty, in consideration of the Age and Infirmitys \(^{sic}\) of Joseph Reinagle on of the household Trumpeters, had been graciously pleased, to appoint his Son to that office which will be a very agreeable change to me and other Judges of the Court of Justiciary \(^{sic}\) & I heartily thank your Lordship for your timeous and ready attention to this matter...
Tho[mas] Miller.\(^{88}\)

In 1779, the Parliamentary register states that Reinagle’s salary as state trumpeter was £16.3s.4d.\(^{89}\) The Edinburgh Almanack confirms that a Joseph Reinagle still held the role of state trumpeter in 1800.\(^{90}\)

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\(^{88}\) Ibid. Letter from the National Archives, Kew, letter reference: SP54/56 C489621.

\(^{89}\) The Parliamentary Register; or, History of the Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons... and a List of the Acts... xvi (London, 1775–80), 4, ECCO.

\(^{90}\) The Edinburgh Almanack and Scots Register for 1800, ECCO.
There are Six Trumpeters appointed by the Crown, who have each £10 each circuit. These Officers, though they officiate at the Circuits, yet they are understood to be his Majesty’s Trumpets, and act on other Occasions, such as Proclamations, & c. The Six Trumpets are, Joseph Reinagle, Alexander Napier, Nathaniel Gow [sic], William Shepherd, William Napier, and Daniel Dewar.  

Reinagle left Edinburgh in 1786, which suggests this record was from an earlier date. Alexander Napier, Nathaniel Gow and William Napier were also linked to the EMS. They were notable for persistent absences for which they were heavily fined. Nathaniel Gow (1766–1831) was a cellist, composer, Scottish fiddler, music publisher and arranger of Scottish music. In 1796, he set up a publishing business with the cellist, William Shepherd.

Reinagle, in his letter to Sainsbury, implies that after a short career as a brass player, he took lessons from the cellist, J. G. C. Schetky. Thereafter, he proceeded to study the violin with Arrigoni and Pinto. However, the order of these events is unfeasible. Arrigoni and Pinto were both contracted to the EMS prior to Schetky’s arrival in 1772. Arrigoni led the orchestra from c. 1762 to 1771. William Douglas, in a letter to Robert Bremner stated that, ‘in short Arrigoni is quite fal’n off and we must have first Fidle [sic]’. Pinto arrived from London on 27 November 1771, as a replacement for Arrigoni. In his contract negotiations, Pinto asked for a salary of £150, plus two benefit concerts. This was considerably more than his predecessor, who was paid £70. MacLeod states that the society responded by suggesting, ‘he might be able to lead the theatre orchestra as well, and added the now customary advice about teaching’. In order to have studied with Arrigoni, Reinagle must have begun his violin

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91 Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. The state of the nation, with respect to its public funded debt, revenue, and disbursement; comprised in the Report of the Select Committee on finance, appointed by the House of Commons, iv (London: H. D. Symonds, 1798-1800), 185, ECCO.
92 MacLeod, 223.
94 MacLeod, 144.
95 EMS Sederunt Books, iii, 1767–81, 51.
96 MacLeod, 145.
studies prior to 1771, and his cello lessons after 1772. Although this is not the order given in Sainsbury’s *Dictionary*, which states that his cello playing preceded his violin study. It is therefore possible, that Reinagle began his cello studies with Schetky’s predecessor, John Thomson. The cellist, Thomson, was a freemason and a member of the Lodge Vernon Kilwinning and the Lodge of Edinburgh. He performed with the EMS from 1740, until his death in 1781. His deterioration is noted in a 1777 report by John Welsh, treasurer of the EMS from 1771–8. It states, ‘John Thomson were he in better circumstances should be reduced to £10 which would save £10 per annum. The Treasurer however is grieved to mention his name. He leaves him to the Compassion of the Directors.’ MacLeod states that he ‘was one of the most regular of their employees’, and that on his death, his ‘widow was awarded a small yearly pension of £5 by the Society, a most unusual mark of appreciation.’ Thomson started as a cellist with the society, but moved to the double bass after Schetky’s arrival. A letter from the treasurer, William Douglas, to Robert Bremner on 13 December 1770 states: ‘Looking for new 1st violin to replace Arrigoni and a cello: ‘as Thomson would play the Double Bass and can do it very well’. The November 1771 to June 1772 ‘discharges’ itemise 13s. ‘given to Thomson for his double bass’.

The Reinagle family’s interest in the cello, prior to Schetky’s arrival, is revealed in an entry in the EMS sederunt books. A payroll entry of 10 shillings, for June 1770 to 1771, is itemised: ‘by Jos. Reinagle [Snr] for refraining the violoncello belonging to the Society’. The reason for taking the cello is not given, but it may have been to have it repaired. In any case, it would have given the Reinagle brothers (Hugh and

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97 EMS Sederunt Books, iii, 1767–81, 64.  
98 MacLeod, 83.  
99 Ibid, 189.  
100 EMS Sederunt Books, iii, 36.  
101 EMS Sederunt Books, iii, 3.  
102 EMS Sederunt Books, iii, 59.
Joseph) access to an instrument.

2.3 John Gunn: Early Life and Career, c.1765–c.1790

Details of Gunn’s life are limited due to a lack of biographical entries during his lifetime. Gunn, states in his history of the harp, that he was born in the Highlands, but ‘that his professional studies were chiefly pursued on the Continent; that he had been twenty-eight years absent from Scotland’. There is no evidence of a connection to the EMS, nor to Joseph Reinagle. However, Gunn did receive lessons from Hugh Reinagle, as outlined in the preface of his cello treatise. Whether these lessons took place in Edinburgh prior to 1779 (when Hugh left Scotland) or, more feasibly, in England after this date, is still unclear. Gunn wrote and published his cello treatise from England in c.1789, and returned to Scotland after his marriage to Ann Young in 1802. Gunn does not provide the names of his piano and German flute teachers, despite writing treatises for both instruments.

Gunn’s series of publications and most notably the opening dissertation of his cello tutor suggest that he was well educated. His translation of Antonio Borghese’s, *A New and General System of Music*, from Italian to English demonstrates his knowledge of languages. Borghese was in London during this period and may have worked with Gunn on this project, or perhaps inspired Gunn to complete a translation. The British Library copy of Gunn’s translation is inscribed, ‘To Mr McArthur from the translator’. The amateur musician, John Marsh, writes that Mr McArthur was Gunn’s

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105 British Library (GB-Lbl) shelfmark: J/7896.h.12.
brother-in-law, but no further information on McArthur is provided. Gunn also translated from German into English, Buri’s biographical sketch of Schetky.

Brown and Stratton state that Gunn taught the cello in Cambridge and London from 1789. This is confirmed in a review of An Essay Theoretical and Practical…to the Violoncello, which states:

The ingenious Professor, who has made this instrument [cello] and the German flute his peculiar studies; who has, with success, taught them successively at Cambridge and London, and who now resides at Edinburgh.

Gunn states in his harp publication (1807), that he held a ‘residence at Cambridge’. He continues, ‘During my residence at Cambridge Manini, our first violin, often spoke of the performance of O’Kane [the celebrated Irish harper] with great rapture. Manini gave private concerts in Cambridge in 1784’. Anthony Manini (c.1750–86) is first traced in Cambridge in 1777, where he was the violin teacher of Charles Hague. The Dictionary states that, ‘In 1783 he was principal violinist at Mrs. Pratt’s benefit concert in Caius College; in Trinity once again for his own benefit, on which occasion a member of the Cramer family (probably Johann Baptist) performed; and at Peterhouse for the benefit of Joseph Reinagle.’ However, the benefit was most likely for the cellist, Hugh, or his brother Alexander Reinagle. In any event it may have served as John Gunn’s introduction to the Reinagle brothers.

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107 L. O. Schetky, 39–46.
108 BMB, 176. Reinagle appears in BMB but Schetky does not.
113 Ibid.
It was during his Cambridge residency that Gunn wrote the first part of his cello treatise. The postscript from *An Historical Enquiry* states, ‘In a treatise on the Origin of Stringed Instruments, which I had written during my residence at Cambridge and published on my removing to London, in the year 1789’. The extensive work was published for the author in London in 1789, and is the first known cello treatise to combine a history of stringed instruments with a practical guide to playing. Although the volume was self-published, Gunn received 162 subscribers to the original edition. The second edition was sold by Preston, in a highly revised form in c.1800, omitting the opening dissertation, that is, the entire first part. As a lesser-known English treatise, Gunn’s work is yet to receive full recognition for its ingenuity.

The subscription list to Gunn’s first edition includes the cellists and cello treatise authors: J. C. Schetky (Edinburgh), Joseph Reinagle (no address is given), H. Hardy (Oxford) and C. F. Eley. The cellist, John Crosdill, to whom Schetky dedicated his own work, also subscribed. A number of Joseph Reinagle’s colleagues and family also feature, including the Mahons and his brother, Philip Reinagle (a painter). The subscription list also includes a number of music-sellers and musical societies, including Mr Forster (Music-Seller, Strand) who ordered fourteen copies, and the student Black Bear Society in Cambridge who ordered ten copies. Interestingly, there are very few London addresses listed. Instead the list displays greater association to the colleges in Cambridge, which reflects Gunn’s link to the city. The subscription list also included many clergy, including Humphrey Aram Hole, who studied at Jesus College, Cambridge before being ordained as a priest in 1789. Venn notes that he was an ‘accomplished musician, excelling as a player of the cello, despite the fact that he had

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115 See Appendix A for subscription list.
lost the forefinger of his left hand'. In view of the subscription list, Gunn was most likely a music teacher in Cambridge, hence his pedagogical and academic interest in writing a treatise. Apart from Henry Hardy, only one subscriber came from Oxford, ‘Rev. Mr. Hole, Merton College’, who became the owner of Hugh Reinagle’s cello. There are further links to Scotland, with the Edinburgh publishers Neil, Stewart and Co. subscribing. As will be discussed, Gunn’s association with his Scottish colleagues, Schetky, Joseph and Hugh Reinagle, is exemplified in his recommendation of their works within his treatise.

2.4 J. G. C. Schetky: The EMS, Benefit Concerts and Teaching

The EMS

Schetky’s nine-year contract was reviewed in 1777, when a letter in the minutes expressed concern that he had, ‘trusted too much to the Society’s engagement by neglecting his practice’ and had ‘fallen off greatly of late’. However, it would be unfair to judge Schetky’s playing standard based solely on this account. It would appear that the proposals were made more as a cost-cutting measure than the raising of standards. Nevertheless, it was decided that his salary should be reduced to £50 per year. There were also complaints of absenteeism, alongside that of Pinto and the Corris, but no reason is given as to why Schetky was missing. Letters from this period portray Schetky as problematic to the society:

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117 GunnT, 1st edn, subscribers list.
119 MacLeod, 147.
Schetkys [sic] contract for nine years from 1 Jan 1774 with a break and the 4th & 6th years on half a year intonation his salary is £80 and it is now evident that he has [trusted?] too much to the Societys [sic] Engagement by neglecting his practice by which means he has fallen off greatly of late. It is therefore proposed to break with Schetky at 1 January [?] and offer him a new Engagement at £50… If he does not agree to that the society will gain £80 p.annum.\textsuperscript{120}

Schetky must have realised that the society was prepared to replace him, he therefore agreed to the reduced salary of £50. However, his monetary requests continued, with the minute books detailing payments of numerous smaller amounts. The table below includes a sample of these additional earnings. However, it is worth noting that the minute books become less coherent around this time.

Table 2. Table of Schetky’s Additional Earnings (1778–9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£-s-d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24 July 1778</td>
<td>‘To Mr Schetky the expenses of his concerts’</td>
<td>3-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Mr Schetky to buy a suit of cloaths [sic]’</td>
<td>3-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 February 1778</td>
<td>‘Mr Schetky for order’</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 April [1779]</td>
<td>‘Mr Schetky for Bill sent him to London for and Ex.2/8th April’</td>
<td>20-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 August 1779</td>
<td>‘By Mr Schetky &amp; accd for solos’</td>
<td>2-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 August 1779</td>
<td>‘By Mr Schetky for recits’</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1779–80</td>
<td>‘By Mr Schetkys Ballec [balance?]’ of his salary [?] 1780\textsuperscript{121}</td>
<td>32-15-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The requests were unusual, for example extra money for ‘recits’ (presumably recitatives) had not occurred before. It would be expected that under the role of principal cello that the performance of recitatives would have been within the main contract. An additional amount suggests extra rehearsals, or perhaps a work with considerable recitative. However, they may simply be a rundown of Schetky’s expenses. It should be noted that the EMS, who put on two or three performances of an oratorio each year added a number of Handel’s vocal works to their repertoire in 1799, including \textit{Berenice} (1737), \textit{Messiah} (1742), \textit{Rodelina} (1725), \textit{Tamerlane} (1724) and

\textsuperscript{120} EMS Sederunt Books, 116.
\textsuperscript{121} EMS Sederunt Books, 158, 160, 164, 168–9.
Xerxes (1738), as detailed in the plan books. The Friday night concerts often included an overture and perhaps a vocal extract from popular oratorios. There is no record of what was performed in 1778 and 1779. However, a favourite of the society’s was Handel’s Acis and Galatea, which was performed regularly. The year 1778 also saw the EMS making a change in their programming with the addition of newer works, which would have challenged their performers. This included a sinfonia concertante by the French violinist and composer, Jean-Baptiste Davaux (1742–1822), and solo concertos by the Italian, Luigi Borghi (c.1745–c.1806). There was also an increase in chamber music, including a number of quartets by Haydn (ops. 1, 2, 5 and 7) and Boccherini’s quintets, op. 12 and op. 20. MacLeod states that this demonstrated, ‘an increase in the wish of the Society to listen to the professional players, who could provide a higher standard of playing, and to be an audience rather than to have members participate in every item.’ In the same year, a new overture by Schetky had been added to the concert list. Unusually an EMS concert given in 1778 included two overtures by Schetky.

In 1777, at the time of his reduced salary, Schetky had already begun a relatively successful business relationship with the publisher and music-seller, Robert Bremner. This consisted of approximately one publication per year, which culminated in a joint publication of Bremner’s ‘Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music’, which prefaced Schetky’s string quartets (1777). Shcherbakova considers it a ‘joint

122 MacLeod, 114–5, 121.
123 Ibid., 114.
124 Ibid., 113.
125 Ibid.
126 Ibid.
127 Ibid., 130.
128 J. G. C. Schetky, Six Quartettos for Two Violins, a Tenor and Violoncello, to which are Prefixed, Some Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music, by the Publisher, op. 6 (London: R. Bremner, 1777).
reflection’. However, the level of control Schetky had over the content of Bremner’s work is questionable. In fact, Schetky later published his own *Observations On and Rules for Violoncello Playing*, which prefaced a collection of student duets for two cellos. In this work, which will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter, Schetky did not confine the discussion to cello playing. Instead he also commented on issues regarding string and ensemble playing. Perhaps Schetky, by defining his own thoughts, was disassociating himself from Bremner. However, the collaboration between Schetky and Bremner suggests a strong business link. Schetky was very aware of the advantages of collaborations and dedications as his cello treatise (1813) was dedicated to the London cellist, John Crosdill. Bremner’s association with his quartets provided the opportunity for a wider audience, especially as this was his only published set of string quartets. As a bass player, Schetky may have taken offence to Bremner’s wording of the following statement: ‘for the base part is considered only as a servant’. The joint publication served as the final work of Schetky to be published by Bremner, although Schetky was still writing unpublished overtures for the EMS.

Burchell provides a useful ‘Cumulative index of orchestral repertoire by year and composer’, which includes Schetky’s overtures as performed in Edinburgh. That Schetky published his own ‘Observations’ just three years after Bremner’s ‘Thoughts’ suggests some disagreement between the musicians, which may have contributed to the end of their publishing relationship. A scathing review of Schetky’s quartets in a private

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132 Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts?*, 303–76.
letter from Gottfried van Swieten (1733–1803) in 1777, may have also contributed:

It was not at all necessary for him to send me a very indifferent new worck [sic] to be presented to the King, and prefaced with some thoughts of his upon musical performance. Those ideas are neither new, nor just. But that is no matter between you and me, and I would not have any discussion with Robert Bremer; the only thing I would answer to the requisition of Robert Bremner, is that I cannot present to the King the work of J. G. C. Schetky, but that I will pay for it and keep it for myself to spare the costs of sending it back. How could Robert Bremner imagine that such musick would be welcome to one that knows all the merits of Handel?\(^\text{133}\)

Van Swieten was a keen amateur musician, and patron of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. In 1777, he was made librarian prefect of the Imperial Library in Vienna.\(^\text{134}\) He had ordered a long list of music from England via the politician and philosopher, James Harris Junior (1709–80). The letter itemised works that had yet to arrive, or that were missing parts.

The EMS also supported their employees via the performance and purchase of their compositions, most notably the works of the Earl of Kelly, who was Deputy Governor of the EMS from 1771, and also Urbani and Pasquali.\(^\text{135}\) The Italian singer and composer, Pietro Urbani, joined the EMS in 1785, and remained with the society until its closure.\(^\text{136}\) He published a series of Scots songs from 1792 to 1804.\(^\text{137}\) Nicolo Pasquali was a violinist, cellist and singer, who was a member of the EMS from 1753–7.\(^\text{138}\) MacLeod notes that in 1773 Schetky was given ‘£3-3-0’ for ‘Six Setts [sic] of his

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\(^{135}\) MacLeod, 55.

\(^{136}\) Ibid., 174.


\(^{138}\) MacLeod, 256.
Trios’. In addition, the library owned a copy of his *Six Solos for the Violoncello*.

Schetky’s set of six trios, op. 1, were published in 1775, and dedicated to the Earl of Kelly. Unlike better known string trios, such as those by Pleyel and Haydn, Schetky’s trios consisted of only two short movements. The first movement is in binary form, which is followed by a minuet-style movement in the first three trios. In the final three trios, the last movement is in 2/4 or 6/8 time, with the last trio contrasting a central minuet middle section with a 2/4 Scherzando. Unlike the second violin part, ‘solo’ sections are marked in the cello part. These simple trios would have been easily tackled by the EMS professional musicians, and were undoubtedly aimed at the amateur performer.

MacLeod provides statistics regarding the number of performances of specific works during the EMS season. The following table (Table 3) isolates Schetky’s involvement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title:</th>
<th>1778</th>
<th>1779</th>
<th>1780</th>
<th>1781</th>
<th>1782</th>
<th>1783</th>
<th>1784</th>
<th>1785</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Solos, op. 4.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Overture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Trio, op. 2</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinfonia Concertante</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concerto [no op.]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastorale [no op.]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartet [no op.]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overture [no op.]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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139 Ibid., 100, 163. The plan books that have survived are from 1768–71 that is, prior to Schetky’s arrival and from 1778–86, which are in two volumes (see also MacLeod, 90).
142 MacLeod, 113, 116–8.
Included are Schetky’s *Six Solos for the Violoncello*, op. 4 and Schetky’s Trio (presumably from his op.1, for two Violins and a Violoncello), which were both sold by Bremner in London. MacLeod also provides a list of music that the EMS acquired. The list includes Schetky’s cello solos, sinfonia concertante, concertos, ‘Pastorale’, ‘Pastorale on the Nativity’, string quartets and overtures. Many of these works were unpublished and therefore would have been held in manuscript.

Burchell notes an unusual concert given by the society in 1782, which was titled ‘public’. Schetky’s ‘Epode of Horace’ was performed, together with Purcell’s *Bonduca*. This was the first occasion where the society performed a work by Purcell. The ‘XIIIth Epode of Horace’, was set to music by Mr Schetky, and was performed at his benefit concert in the same year. Schetky continued to programme his own (unpublished) overtures at his benefit concerts, for example, in March 1786 at St Cecilia’s Hall. During the same concert Reinagle performed ‘The Favourite Concertante of D’Avaux’ alongside the EMS violinist, Stabilini. However, as a benefit concert this was not part of the EMS subscription series, and therefore not included by MacLeod in her concert listings.

MacLeod attempts to rationalise the modest numbers of Schetky’s works that were performed by the EMS. She argues that ‘the few appearances by his [Schetky] works in the society programmes perhaps indicates a feeling of duty on the members’ part to support the artist, but a disinclination to afford him a permanent platform.’ However, the aim of the EMS was to combine both amateur and professional

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143 There is some confusion surrounding the opus number and MacLeod states op. 2 (MacLeod, 116).
144 MacLeod, 285.
145 Ibid., 131.
146 ‘The XIIIth Epode of Horace, set to Music by Mr Schetky; to be sang by Mr Gaudry, and others.’ *CM*, 25 February 1782. It was repeated at Schetky’s benefit concert in 1807: ‘Horace’s XIII. Latin Epode, with Recitative Songs and Chorus, Messrs Shaw, Bennet, Vining, Dewar, and Knox, set to music by Mr Schetky.’ *CM*, 21 February 1807.
147 *EEC*, 4 March 1786.
148 MacLeod, 116.
performers and therefore solos, which Schetky composed, ‘were not considered part of the society remit’.\textsuperscript{149} Instead Schetky’s yearly benefit concerts provided him the opportunity to showcase his own solo and duo works, as well as the talents of his family.

**Early Benefit Concerts at the EMS**

According to the EMS minutes from 1774, musicians offered benefit concerts were; ‘1st Mr Corri, 2nd Mrs Corri, 3d The first Fiddle, 4th The Second Fiddle 5th Mr Schetky, 6th Mr Macpherson and The harpsichord Player’.\textsuperscript{150} Whether this list illustrates a ranking, rather than an order based on instrument is unclear. Burchell states that ‘By February this had been amended to: Mr. Pinto [1\textsuperscript{st} violin], Signor Puppo [2\textsuperscript{nd} violin], Signor Giustinelli [singer], Mr. Smeiton [violinist], Mr. Schetky [cellist], Mr. McPherson [flautist], and Mr. Clark [harpsichordist]’.\textsuperscript{151} Schetky was now established in Edinburgh and under the terms of his agreement, he was offered one benefit concert per year.\textsuperscript{152}

Schetky’s first benefit was in July 1772 at St Cecilia's Hall, and included a number of his own compositions:

**Act I.**

‘Sinfonia [Schekty?]’

Song, Signora Corri

Concerto Flauto, Mr G. Schetky

Song, Miss Julia Pinto, being her first attempt in public.

Concerto Violoncello, Mr C. Schetky

Song, Signor Schetky’

**Act II.**

‘Trio by Mr C. Schetky

Song, Signoro Corri

Violino Solo, Mr Pinto

Song, Miss Pinto

Violoncello Solo, Mr C. Schetky

Sinfonia [Schekty?]’\textsuperscript{153}

\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., 114.

\textsuperscript{150} Baxter, 145. Information from the EMS sederunt books, 25 November 1774.

\textsuperscript{151} Burchell, 43. *CM*, 11 February 1775.

\textsuperscript{152} MacLeod, 152.

\textsuperscript{153} *CM*, 22 July 1772.
Presumably these were works that Schetky had also performed and composed in Germany. The benefit concert quickly established his credentials as a performer and composer. The format of the concert continued in future years, with Schetky adding to his compositional portfolio. In 1776, Schetky set to music the cantata ‘Bacchus and Ariadne’.\textsuperscript{154} By 1782 Schetky had added his quartets to the repertoire. The plan books of the EMS from 1778 to 1786 demonstrate a preference for quartets, it is therefore no surprise that Schetky attempted to compose his own. However, they did not become staple repertoire with the society which showed a preference for the chamber works of Haydn, Abel, Pleyel and Boccherini.\textsuperscript{155} In addition, Schetky’s opening works were ‘ouvertures’ and no longer the sinfonias, that he performed in previous years.\textsuperscript{156} It is not known if there was a distinction between the overtures and sinfonias as none of the overtures have survived. During the last EMS season, Schetky’s benefit concert took place at the Theatre in February 1798.\textsuperscript{157} Tickets were available from the theatre’s box-office, which provided an additional option for the public to purchase tickets for Schetky’s concerts.

**Teaching**

It was necessary for Schetky, as was case for the majority of the musicians from the period, to supplement his salary by teaching. The obligations of an EMS musician included weekly Friday evening concerts, typically from November to September, with occasional ‘Ladies Concerts’, Oratorios and Benefit concerts, including performing at colleague’s benefits. The schedule left sufficient time for musicians to engage in other musical activities, including composition and teaching. When the Italian violinist,

\textsuperscript{154} CM, 31 January 1776.
\textsuperscript{155} Burchell, 62.
\textsuperscript{156} CM, 25 February 1782.
\textsuperscript{157} CM, 5 February 1798.
Girolamo Stabilini (1762–1815) joined the EMS he was assured of aristocratic pupils. Schetky is likely to have enjoyed similar benefits given his title of principal instrumentalist. Krauss explains that ‘All worthwhile private music teaching was now arranged during the course of its [EMS] Friday night concerts; musicians coming to Edinburgh found it almost impossible to get upper-class pupils unless they were on the musical society’s books.’\(^{158}\) Johnson supports this statement by quoting from a letter found in the EMS minute books, dated 27 February 1759:

> The Salary here is nothing the character of belonging to the Musical Society Insures [musicians] of Bread directly…poor Pasquali who’s [sic] merit was very well known Experienced this, he was Engaged to come from Dublin here by the managers of the play house and continued here for 6 or 8 months without any Scholler but no sooner did he apear [sic] in the Musical room then he had every hour Employed & continued so till his dying day.\(^{159}\)

However, the society itself was not concerned with the arrangement of teaching. Cranmer states that ‘only when it made financial sense to support teaching did the directors provide funds’.\(^{160}\)

There is no evidence of Schetky’s students during his contract with the EMS. However, a concert given by one of the first female cellists, Miss Marshall in 1775, included solo performances on the cello of works by Boccherini and Cervetto.\(^{161}\) It is likely that Miss Marshall, who also played on the pianoforte, received cello lessons from Schetky whilst in Edinburgh. A concert advertisement from 1774, states, ‘Miss Marshall is only 14 years old, has had the honour to perform before the nobility and gentry at Bath, London, Cambridge, and several principal Ladies and gentlemen in

\(^{158}\) Ibid., 39.
\(^{159}\) Ibid.
\(^{161}\) CM, 1 February 1775. Possibly a sonata from G. B. Cervetto, *Twelve Cello Sonatas*, op. 2 (London: Author, c.1750), and an earlier copy of L. Boccherini, *Six Sonatas for the Violoncello* (London: J. Bland, c.1791) or a solo from one of his earlier works.
Edinburgh, with great applause.'¹⁶² In January of the same year she performed concerts in Newcastle and York on a ‘five-stringed Violoncello’.¹⁶³

As would be expected, the opportunity for cello teaching was notably less than that for the violin or pianoforte. A letter from Schetky to his son George in 1795, states that pianoforte teaching was ‘more profitable’ than violoncello teaching.¹⁶⁴ Schetky tutored his own son George, and letters to his son enquire as to his progress and repertoire. A letter from Schetky to George in 1794, states that although he had written no cello music since George’s departure, he would reproduce some of his concertos for him. Interestingly he does not request that they are sold or circulated, instead Schetky seems preoccupied with his son’s cello progress:

I have composed nothing for the violoncello since you left us except the concerts wich [sic] I began at that time. I shall some copied for you again the next ship for America. You are come a good length when you play Plegel’s [Pleyel’s] Concerto; practice hard George and listen with attention to Mennel, look to his fingers and Bow. You learn a great deal from that.¹⁶⁵

Schetky’s management of his teaching changed after the demise of the EMS. In the early 1800s, advertisements were placed in the Caledonian Mercury by Schetky’s daughter, announcing music lessons that were ‘superintended’ by Schetky. Arguably Schetky was also lending his name to his daughter’s venture, in order to help promote her business. In 1814, Schetky and Schetky Jnr advertised joint lessons for ‘Music and Drawing’.¹⁶⁶ The advertisement concluded, ‘When pupils are sufficiently advanced, they are accompanied on the Violin and Violoncello by Messrs Schetky’.¹⁶⁷ Although

¹⁶² CM, 27 April 1774.
¹⁶³ Holman, Life after Death, 175.
¹⁶⁴ L. O. Schetky, 162. Letter from Schetky to his son George, Edinburgh, 18 November 1795.
¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 160–1.
¹⁶⁶ In 1785 Mrs Schetky advertised Drawing and Painting classes: ‘Mrs Schetky continues to teach Drawing and Painting in classes, at her lodging, Foulis Close. A few specimens of her performance to be seen at Mr Sibbald’s circulating library, Parliament Square.’ (EEC, 12 November 1785).
¹⁶⁷ EEC, 12 November 1785.
there is no specific evidence, it is very probable that Schetky taught the violin throughout his career in Edinburgh. This flexibility in teaching was also necessary during the period in order to sustain a livelihood. There is no record of Schetky advertising his teaching as a member of the EMS. However, this was unnecessary as his status in Edinburgh would have been sufficient to promote his teaching work.

2.5 J. G. C. Schetky: His Cello Works

Schetky’s main compositional output in his early career was in the genre of the cello concerto. John Gunn states in the first edition of his cello treatise that, ‘There are many excellent concertos, however, not published, by Schetky, Reinagle, Mara, Rosetti, Reicha, and other composers’. A number of Schetky’s cello concertos from his period in Germany have survived in manuscript, and these most likely exemplify the concertos that he performed at the beginning of his tenure with the EMS.

**Concerto in Bb Major** – (Moderato – Largo – Vivace)
*Concerto per il Violoncello Principale, Due Violini, Due Viola, Due Oboi, Due Corni & Basso, [1750–1799].*

**Concerto in C Major** – (Moderato – Adagio – Tempo Cantabile)
*Concerto à Violoncello Concertato, Due Flauti Traversi, Violino Primo, Violino Secondo et Basso, [c.1780].*

(shares same solo cello part as *Concerto per Violoncello par J. G. C. Schetky, Violoncell Virtuos zu Hessen Darmstadt, [1772].*)

**Concerto in D Major** – (Allegro Molto – Adagio – Vivace)
*Concerto à Violoncello Concertato, Due Corni, Due Oboi, Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Viola et Basso, [c.1780].*

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168 GunnT, 1st edn, 71.
169 Details available on RISM. Manuscripts of Schetky’ concertos held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B) can now be viewed online. It is not known if all the concertos date from Schetky’s German period, or if they include later works circulated in Germany. However, it is most likely all were written whilst Schetky was in Germany, as the composer does not appear to have maintained connections in Germany after his departure.
170 Musik och teaterbiblioteket, Stockholm, Sweden (S-Skma); Shelfmark: Alströmer saml. [Patrik Alströmer (1733–1804)]; rism190020736.
171 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Germany (D-B); Shelfmark: Mus.ms. 19810/1; rism452508029.
173 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Germany (D-B); Shelfmark: Mus.ms. 19810/2; rism452508031.
Schetky uses the term ‘basso’, as did his teacher, Anton Filtz. Although the bass parts are not figured in the manuscripts, it is not possible to conclude that a harpsichord was not used in performance, as German continuo players often worked from unfigured bass lines. It is interesting to note that Abel’s cello (or possibly viola da gamba) concerto (c.1758) includes the terminology ‘basso continuo’, providing a more direct use of terminology suggesting a keyboard accompaniment.

Of particular interest are the manuscript copies of Schetky’s Concerto in C major. There are two copies of this concerto, each in different handwriting. One is held in the Library of Congress, Washington and the other in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. The Library of Congress copy, dated 1772, is entitled, ‘Concerto per Violoncello par J. G. C. Schetky, ‘Violoncell Virtuos zu Hessen Darmstadt’. This edition appears to be a revised or a modified version of the copy held in Berlin. An extra viola and horn part have been added, and the orchestral tutti sections have been shortened. There are also considerable changes in the orchestration. For example, the moving triplet second violin line is completely omitted from the first movement (ex. 2.1), which is unfortunate as this is the most distinctive aspect of this movement, adding an interesting textural layer to the accompaniment.
Ex. 2.1 J. G. C. Schetky, Concerto in C Major, Moderato, bb. 1–2. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Germany (D-B); Shelfmark: Mus.ms. 19810/1; rism452508029

It may have been transcribed by a cellist who knew or owned a copy of the solo line, but re-wrote the orchestral parts, perhaps from memory. The cello part is written in tenor clef (played at pitch), and not in treble clef, which was more common in Germany than in England, which perhaps suggests that this is a working performance copy. The manuscript held in Berlin is written in treble clef, as is the case for all copies of
Schetky’s concertos held in this library collection. Cello music written in the treble clef was transposed down the octave, as was customary practice of the period (as detailed in chapter 3). Schetky’s son, George, and brother-in-law, Alexander Reinagle, both emigrated to America later in the century and it is therefore possible that this copy may have been brought to America by one of these musicians. The concerto demonstrates virtuosity in the use of extended scales in the higher range of the instrument and in figurations utilising thumb position across the strings (illus. 2.1). Schetky rarely explored the lower range of the cello, suggesting a concern with balancing the cello against the instruments of the orchestra.

The concerto in B flat, which is held in Musikoch teaterbiblioteket, Stockholm, is in different handwriting to the concertos held in Berlin.\(^{179}\) It is perhaps the most musically complex of the concertos, with considerable use of double stops and triplet semiquavers in the higher range of the instrument (illus. 2.2).

Illus. 2.2. J. G. C. Schetky, Cello Concerto in B flat Major, Moderato, bb. 29–36. Musikoch teaterbiblioteket, Stockholm, Sweden (S-Skma); Shelfmark: Alströmer saml. [Patrik Alströmer (1733–1804)]; rism190020736

A short slow movement once again exploits the full range of the instrument, rising to a top ‘E’ flat in bar 71 (illus. 2.3). The final two bars provide scope for a brief cadential figure in the solo cello part over an F major chord in the strings in the penultimate bar, leading to an F minor chord in the final bar. This leads attacca into the final movement (illus. 2.3):

\(^{179}\) Musikoch teaterbiblioteket, Stockholm, Sweden (S-Skma); Shelfmark: Alströmer saml. [Patrik Alströmer (1733–1804)]; rism190020736.
There is considerable use of syncopation and *batterie* in third movement, and throughout Schetky’s concertos, where the cellist jumps across non-adjacent strings, adding to the rhythmic drive of the music. Schetky also favours the virtuosic sounding *bariolage*, as demonstrated below (illus. 2.4). The fourth finger can be placed in thumb position to achieve this figuration.
As demonstrated in the same passage (illus. 2.4), Schetky notates a number of minim chordal passages, marked ‘Arpeg.’ which should be played as an arpeggio figure, as demonstrated in his cello treatise. However, composers often dictated the style of arpeggio required, as a one bar example, which Schekty does not do on this occasion. This is repeated in the third movement, which again requires the cellist to decide on the style of figuration (illus. 2.5):

Illus. 2.5 J. G. C. Schetky, Cello Concerto in B flat Major, Vivace, bb. 52–66. Musikteaterbiblioteket, Stockholm, Sweden (S-Skma); Shelfmark: Alströmer saml. [Patrik Alströmer (1733–1804)]; rism190020736

These short concertos are certainly worthy editions to the cello repertoire, and provide further understanding of the styles of solo cello playing during the period. They require an advanced knowledge of the cello, and as more advanced pedagogical works, they provide ample preparation for the technically demanding cello concertos of Joseph Haydn (1732–1809).

Schetky’s cello publishing portfolio began in Edinburgh with his op. 4 solos. They were aimed at the accomplished cellist and were undoubtedly representative of the solos he performed in Germany and Edinburgh. They are not traditional teaching works in that they require an advanced level of cello technique. John Gunn states, in the commentary of his cello treatise, that Schetky’s solos were to be soon published. In

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180 Schetky, Six Solos for the Violoncello, op. 4.
high praise Gunn states that ‘the amateurs may expect to be soon gratified by the
publication of a set of beautiful solos, by Schetky, selected from the most numerous
and most applauded collection that ever was composed for his instrument by one man.
The passages are brilliant and pleasing, with the advantage of not being difficult’. It
is unclear which set of solos Gunn was describing, as it is also possible he was referring
to a later set published in 1791. While Gunn speaks of the solos as ‘not being
difficult’, the solos that survive exemplify considerable cello virtuosity, with melodies
in the galant style. As would be expected of works by a cellist-composer they are
written with full consideration of how passage work and melodies can be best achieved
on the cello. Melodies and themes are developed using various typical cello techniques,
such as double stops, and running semiquaver or triplet passages that lie easily under
the hand. As is the case with the majority of Schetky’s more advanced works, they
require considerable knowledge of thumb position, and are particularly useful pedagogical works in this regard. The op. 13 solos are in three movements, each ending
with a rondo, except for the last sonata which ends with a set of variations. Theses solos
utilise only treble, tenor and bass clefs, however the earlier op. 4 solos required full
knowledge of all the C clefs. The variety of clefs is perhaps one of the reasons why
many of these cello works are not tackled by modern cellists. The recording of Sonata
V, op. 13 (Appendix E) serves to demonstrate the quality of Schetky’s cello writing.

Publishing trends account for a number of cellists producing accessible duets
for social playing over more advanced solo works. Schetky has been criticised for
succumbing to commercialism in his publications. However, it would also appear

181 GunnT, 1st edn, 71.
183 GunnT, 1st edn, 71.
184 Johnson, Music and Society, 57.
that many critics were basing their views on Schetky’s student duets works, as discussed in the following chapter, and not on his more advanced concertos and solos.

2.6 J. G. C. Schetky: The Theatre, Freemasonry, Clubs and Social Status

Links to The Theatre Royal, Edinburgh

As a composer, a variety of opportunities were available to Schetky in Edinburgh, particularly in the Theatre Royal, where he set music for plays. In 1777, the Caledonian Mercury advertised that ‘After the Play, a new Interlude of Speaking and Singing, called, ‘The Highlander's Return’, would be performed. It was written by William Woods from the theatre and ‘the music in part’ by Schetky.185 Woods was a poet and also an actor with the Edinburgh Theatre from 1770 to 1802. Schetky and Woods collaborated on numerous projects together. After Woods’ death, Schetky continued to include his collaborations with the author at his benefit concerts.186 In 1779, Schetky set music to songs for a performance of the play ‘Interlude of the Volunteers’, which was advertised to be performed in the following season.187

Schetky refers to the theatre in a letter to his son in 1794. He wrote of his concern over the unraveling of support for music in Edinburgh stating that, ‘Our Theatre is not open yet, nor do I know what performers we are to have this season. The Concert is open and goes on as usual’.188 The names of the orchestral players at the theatre were rarely advertised. Although Johnson’s discussion of the theatre in Edinburgh gives evidence of some overlap between players at the theatre and the EMS in 1757–8. These names were listed on a leaflet during a public argument between the

185 CM, 29 March 1777.
186 See CM, 23 March 1805; 15 March 1806; 21 February 1807.
187 CM, 15 March 1779.
188 L. O. Schetky, 161.
theater manager and players.\footnote{Johnson, \textit{Music and Society}, 46.}

**Links to Freemasonry**

Schetky’s official entry into the Lodge of Canongate, Kilwinning took place on the 3 January 1787. A letter held in the National Library of Scotland states:

> Edinburgh 30\textsuperscript{th} December 1786  
> To the Sovereign Knights  
> Companions of the Cape  
> The petition of J. G. C. Schetky  
> from  
> Germany  
> Showeth  
> That he has the pleasure  
> of being acquainted with many of the gentlemen  
> of your Social Order he is very desirous of  
> being admitted a member thereof.\footnote{National Library of Scotland (GB-En), MS.2041, f.334.}

Schetky was recommended by Will[iam] Forbes (Deputy Governor of the EMS from 1781–96), and [Sir] Tho[mas]Hutchison (an Honorary Member of the Grand Lodge of Scotland), and was unanimously admitted.\footnote{Sir Thomas Hutchison, was Lord Provost of the City of Edinburgh and Hon. Colonel 4/5\textsuperscript{th} Battalion of The Royal Scots. See website of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. www.grandlodgeofscotland.com.} Many musicians and gentleman amateurs of the EMS were also associated with lodges in Scotland. MacLeod provides a list of these EMS members, and their respective Lodges. The list includes Schetky’s nominee, the businessman, William Forbes, who was a Grand Master Mason from 1776–8.\footnote{MacLeod, 43. See also MacLeod, Chap. 6, ‘Freemasonry and The Edinburgh Musical Society’, 187–205.} The composer and EMS musician, Francesco Barsanti (1690–1777), was a member of the same Lodge from 1743, before his return to London in the same year.\footnote{A. Pink, ‘A Music Club for Freemsons: Philo-musicae et –architecturae societas Apollini, London, 1725–1727’, \textit{EM}, 38 (2010), 523–35, at 524.} Schetky’s colleague, the schoolmaster, William Nicol was also a member of the Lodge. Schetky’s

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnote{Johnson, \textit{Music and Society}, 46.}
\footnote{National Library of Scotland (GB-En), MS.2041, f.334.}
\footnote{Sir Thomas Hutchison, was Lord Provost of the City of Edinburgh and Hon. Colonel 4/5\textsuperscript{th} Battalion of The Royal Scots. See website of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. www.grandlodgeofscotland.com.}
\footnote{MacLeod, 43. See also MacLeod, Chap. 6, ‘Freemasonry and The Edinburgh Musical Society’, 187–205.}
\end{footnotesize}
sons were educated at Nicol’s High School. The Lodge subscription fee was often waived for musicians who would perform at the meetings, but from 1741 musicians who joined ‘gratis’ were not given a vote on Lodge matters.¹⁹⁴

Fraser-Harris states that as part of his freemasonry duties Schetky conducted the choir which was in attendance at the masonic ‘solemn ceremony of laying the foundation stone’ for the opening of a new part of Edinburgh University.¹⁹⁵ This was a large ceremony consisting of two bands: a group of instrumentalists and a choir. Schetky directed the singers, who sang anthems during the procession.¹⁹⁶

In addition, the Lodge of Canongate Kilwinning organised concerts. For example, a ‘Select Mason Concert’ was advertised in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (23 January 1792). It was described as the ‘1st meeting of the select mason concert, to which ‘strangers will be admitted under the recommendation of the Members’. Tickets were available for 3s.6d.

These meetings provided opportunities to acquire pupils, further engagements, and patrons of publications.¹⁹⁷ Schetky dedicated his *Six Solos for Violoncello*, op. 4 to the freemason Francis Charters, Lord Elcho.¹⁹⁸ Charters was the 36th Grand Master Mason of Scotland from 1786 to 1788, and an affiliated member of Canongate Kilwinning. He was also a director of the EMS from 1752–4 and 1762–4. The cello solos were published twice: firstly, by Bremner in 1776, and then by Preston and Son in c.1790. However, only Bremner’s edition contains the dedication to Charters.

¹⁹⁴ MacLeod, 190.
¹⁹⁵ Stuart, 158; Fraser-Harris, 75.
¹⁹⁶ MacLeod, 196.
¹⁹⁸ MacLeod, 202, 298.
A Friendship with Robert Burns

The Scottish poet Robert Burns (1759–96) was a member of the Lodge of Canongate Kilwinning. His inauguration as Poet Laureate took place in March 1787. A painting of the event ‘The Inauguration of Robert Burns as Poet Laureate of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning 1st March 1787’ is unlikely to be an accurate depiction of the event. It portrays a number of musicians including: Domenco Corri, Stephen Clark (organist), Girolamo Stabilini (violin), and Schetky. Schetky is the only one listed who is known to be a member of freemasonry. A letter that Burns wrote to Clarinda (a pseudonym for the name of his lover) exemplifies their friendship:

I am here, absolutely unfit to finish my letter—pretty hearty after a bowl, which has been constantly plied since dinner, till this moment. I have been with Mr. Schetki [sic], the musician, and he has set it finely. —I have no distinct ideas [of] any thing, but that I have drunk your health [tw]ice tonight, and that you are my soul holds [deal] in this world.

S. F. L. Schetky describes Robert Burns amongst a group of men (including Schetky) that found her father John, and his brother, acting truant from school. She claims that this ‘was the only time’ her father met Robert Burns, which would imply only a brief friendship between J. G. C. Schetky and the poet.

Schetky composed music to Burns’ poem ‘Clarinda, Mistress of My Soul’ (1788). Ian McIntyre refers to the fact that Burns included this song in James Johnson’s collection despite stating that the volume should only contain the works of Scots.

200 MacLeod, 204.
202 S. F. L. Schetky, 18.
The insertion could be considered as a compliment to how the Scots had accepted the foreigner Schetky, and how Schetky had also adopted Scotland.204

Social Societies in Edinburgh

In 1787, the same year of his admission to the Lodge of Canongate Kilwinning, Schetky was one of the founders of a social club called, the Boar-Club. Schetky was deputy to the ‘Grand-boar’, Robert Aldridge, a former principal dancer at the Theatre Royal, London. The group met each evening in Hogg’s Tavern, a ‘modern tavern in Shakespeare Square, kept by one Daniel Hogg’.205 A letter from Charles Schetky to his mother remarks, ‘P.S. Tell my father to remember me to Hogg’, which suggests that the owner was a friend of the family.206 In an additional letter from Schetky to his son George in America, Schetky writes that the, ‘Boars send their compliments’.207 However, there is little evidence regarding the workings of the Boar Club and much of this information is taken from Robert Chamber’s account.208 The gathering seems to have been a meeting of friends with no musical or literary intentions. Chambers provides an account of the Boar Club, which met for over a decade, from 1787 to c.1799, describing the members as ‘wild, fashionable young men’.209 There was an entry fee and numerous fines, which were used to finance an annual dinner. Drinking and socialising seem to be the sole purpose of the club, and there is no evidence of any music making. Chambers states:

204 Notes from the National Burns Collection online catalogue suggest that the song may have been composed by John Schetky, the painter, who was also a capable cellist. However, the song is dated 1788 when John would have only been 10 years old. It is therefore more likely to be the work of his father.
205 Chambers, 167, 169.
206 L. O. Schetky, 150. Letter from Chas. Schetky to his mother, Tinemouth Barracks, 2 July 1793.
207 Ibid., 161. Letter from Schetky to his son George, Edinburgh, 25 December 1794.
208 Chambers, 167–70.
209 Ibid., 167.
The *joke* of this club consisted in the supposition that all the members were *boars*, that their room was *sty*, that their talk was *grunting*, and in the *double-entendre* of the small piece of stoneware which served as a repository of all the fines being a *pig*.  

Marie Stuart regards Schetky’s association with the club as a mere excuse for drinking:

That Schetky was not immune from this hard-drinking conviviality is proved by his membership of the Boar Club, a grotesque fraternity which met, very appropriately, in Daniel Hogg’s Tavern in Shakespeare Square near the old theatre.

The Boar Club continued to remain in the Schetky family mythology. A letter from Schetky’s descendants, Christiana T. T. Schetky (England) to George Patterson Schetky (New Jersey) in 1909 refers to the club and the possible meanings of the boar in the Schetky family crest:

There was some story about a Boar’s head, and I once inquired about it of our Aunt Mary Schetky. In reply she said that it never belonged to the crest, but that her Father, my Grandfather, was president of a club called the Boar’s Head Club, and that on state occasions of meeting the President used to wear a cap or hat shaped in imitation of a Boar’s head—a rather prosaic explanation!

It is unlikely that the club was too raucous, as Schetky was aware of maintaining a good reputation. Schetky had established his credentials, not only musically, but socially in Edinburgh. Sandys and Forster describe Schetky’s image as a ‘talent, polished manners, and generous character caused him to associate with the best of society.’ Schetky was also a member the Cape Club, whose members included Robert Fergusson (a poet), Henry Raeburn (an artist) and David Herd, who wrote *Sederunt Book of the Knights Companions of the Cape.* Herd names Schetky as a

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210 Ibid.  
211 Stuart, 158.  
212 L. O. Schetky, 13.  
213 Sandys and Forster, 185.  
214 Ibid.
member of the club, whose members were mainly tradesmen and writers.  

**Band of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers**

The band of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers organised a benefit concert each year. However, the concerts were very similar to those given by the EMS, with only a small input from the military band. Schetky provides a description of his role in the Royal Edinburgh volunteers in a letter to his son, George:

I know not whether I told that there is here a corps of 700 Gentlemen, respectable merchants and tradesmen, called the Edinburgh Volunteers, they all furnish their cloath and accoutrements from top to toe, which is rather expensive, but make a very fine appearance. I am the Master of the Band, which consists of six Clarinets, 2 Bassoons, 2 Horns, and Trompet, all volunteers. Tell your uncle [Alexander Reinagle] that I look for all the world Like a Soldier in my dress viz: a Blue Coat, red cape, white turned up skirts, white vest and breeches, a Round hat with two black and one white feathers, white Belt and flaming Sword, two golden epaulettes, everyone from the commander in chief to the lowest man wear the same.

The volunteers were established in 1794 by the then prime minister, William Pitt (1759–1806). They were founded to defend against the threat of invasion during the Napoleonic Wars. Austin Gee explains that the ‘government provided corps with arms and allowances for uniforms, and exempted them from militia service and some taxation’.

However, it was not intended that they should fight. Instead the aim was to maintain ‘internal order’ during a turbulent period.

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215 See *Songs from David Herd’s Manuscripts*, intro. Hans Hecht (Edinburgh: William J. Hay, 1904), 38.
217 Ibid.
218 Letter from J. G. C. Schetky to his son, George Schetky, Edinburgh, 25 December 1794 (L. O. Schetky, 161).
220 Ibid., 262.
Their political intent was to diffuse as widely as possible among the middle and lower classes active political consciousness and allegiance to the state.\textsuperscript{221} The volunteers were self-run in the manner of a society, often through subscription.\textsuperscript{222}

The services of the Edinburgh volunteers ceased in 1802 when pay was ceased.\textsuperscript{223} A number of Edinburgh musicians, including Schetky and the EMS violinist, Stabilini, composed marches for the Edinburgh Volunteers, some of which were published by Neil Stewart. Schetky’s marches included, ‘The Edinburgh Volunteers March’, ‘The Right Honorable Henry Dundas’s Royal Edinburgh Volunteers March and Quick Step’, ‘The Royal Edinburgh Volunteers Short Troop’ and ‘The March and Quick Step of the Second Regiment’.\textsuperscript{224} These marches were also performed at Schetky’s benefit concerts which would have appealed to the audience.

2.7 Hugh Reinagle (1760–85): A Biography

Historiography has a tendency to lament Hugh’s untimely death, which appears to have cut short a promising solo career. Hugh died in his early twenties, undoubtedly before he had fully established his musical career. Details of his life remain obscure, however, his cello capabilities are exemplified in his compositions.\textsuperscript{225} Hugh was born in Scotland in 1760.\textsuperscript{226} He was the younger brother of Joseph Reinagle, and the first of the Reinagle children to be born in Scotland. Joseph claims that he taught his younger brother.\textsuperscript{227} However, it is possible that Hugh began his cello training with the EMS.

\textsuperscript{221} Gee, 7.
\textsuperscript{222} Ibid., 6.
\textsuperscript{224} J. G. C. Schetky, The March and Quick Step of the Second Regiment of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers: respectfully dedicated to his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh Lord Lieutenant of the County and Colonel of the Corps (Edinburgh: N. Stewart & Co. [between 1792 and 1802]).
\textsuperscript{225} H. Reinagle, Six Favorite Solos for the Violoncello, op. 2 (London: William Campbell, c.1790); Six Favorite Solos for the Violoncello, op. 2 (London: J. Bland. c.1793).
\textsuperscript{227} Sainsbury, 349.
cellist and double bassist, John Thomson, and perhaps also with his brother-in-law, Schetky. Oddly, there is no reference to Hugh performing in Scotland. Wasielewski states that Hugh studied with John Crosdill in London. However, the link between Hugh and Crosdill has yet to be corroborated, although Hugh reportedly played on a cello now known as ‘The Crosdill Cello’.

Hugh is best known for his association with the Wesley family as a performer at their concert series. The Wesley Family Concerts were small subscription events that took place in the home of Charles Wesley Snr (1707–1788), at Chesterfield Street, London. Charles had two sons: Charles Jnr (1757–1834) and Samuel (1766–1837). In 1791, there were eight concerts, from mid-January to the end of March. Hugh performed for the first three years (from 1779) and also in the fifth year, with an unexplained absence in 1782. In this year, Hugh was paid £3.3s., but this appears to represent a fee for only partial attendance.

Simon McVeigh states that the purpose of the concerts was to ‘further the career’s of his [Wesley] sons ‘as well as to make a profit’. It was therefore normally the Wesleys who were the soloists, although, Hugh was ‘featured on numerous occasions’. For example, Hugh composed and performed a trio with his brother, Alexander Reinagle, and Samuel Wesley, written for violin, cello and pentachord.

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229 Sandys and Forster, 324–5.
232 McLamore, 86, 90.
233 Ibid., 97.
234 McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 48. See also page 173 regarding finances of the ‘Wesley House Concerts’.
235 McLamore, 84.
236 Ibid.
Intermittently, the Wesleys presented unusual instruments enjoying a brief vogue in London, such as a trio performed on 6 March 1783 (Concert 33) that featured a violin, violoncello and pentachord (a five-stringed instrument similar to the ‘cello). The trio was composed (presumably for the occasion) by Hugh Reinagle. Charles snr. listed Samuel, Hugh, and Alexander Reinagle (1756–1809) as the performers, but did not specify who played which instrument.  

A reference to another trio, this time for oboe, violin and cello, composed jointly by Reinagle, Samuel and Charles Wesley is given. The Reinagle brother is not identified and no date is given. There is therefore a possibility that this is the same trio that was performed on the pentachord by Alexander Reinagle. It is highly probable that Samuel Wesley’s cello parts were written for Hugh. For example, the Sinfonia Obligato, the String Quartet in G, and the ‘taxing cello part’ of the Violin Concerto in D. Olleson states that the Violin Concerto in D ‘features virtuoso passages for cello that were doubtless written with Hugh Reinagle in mind.’

In 1781, the EMS minutes state that Joseph Reinagle was advanced fifteen pounds ‘to go to London’. McLamore states that, ‘Two members of Reinagle’s family visited in 1781, ‘Jos.[eph]’, either Hugh’s father or, more probably his younger brother, and another relative named ‘Mr Phi. Reinagle’ (probably the painter Philip Reinagle, Hugh’s brother).’ Hugh invited both Robert Bremner and John Marsh to the Wesley concerts in 1783.

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237 McLamore, 84. Footnote: The Public Advertiser, 17 May 1782 and 11 April 1783, 1. ‘Moreover, since neither Alexander nor Samuel played ‘cello, Hugh must have been the ‘cellist in the trio, leaving Samuel to play his customary violin.’
238 Kassler & Olleson, Samuel Wesley, 637. BL Add 35007 f 168.
240 Olleson, Samuel Wesley, 287.
241 EMS Sederunt books, iv, 1781–95, March 1781.
242 McLamore, 106.
243 Ibid. ‘While Robert Bremner came to Concert 31, also as a guest of Hugh Reinagle.’ (Robins, John Marsh Journals, 277).
During the same period, Hugh performed in other venues in London, for example at a benefit concert for a Mr Moller in the New Rooms, Tottenham-Street.\textsuperscript{244} Hugh shared much of his London experience with his brother, Alexander, who later named his American-born son, Hugh. Hugh and Alexander are both listed as members of the Society of Musicians in 1783:

Reinagle, Hugh, 2 November 1783 b. <aged 24, 3 August 1783>, d. [19 March 1785] ‘Performs on the Violoncello’. Reinagle, Alexander, 2 November 1783 b. <bapt. 23 April 1756>, <aged 26, 6 July 1783>, d. [21 September 1809]. He performs on the Harpsichord Violin and Violoncello and engaged at Reneleigh [sic] and other places.\textsuperscript{245}

This was also the year that Krauss states that Hugh ‘was one of the instrumentalists who performed regularly at Freemason’s Hall in London.’\textsuperscript{246}

No evidence has come to light to suggest that Joseph Reinagle, nor his brother Hugh, were freemasons. However, their father Joseph Reinagle (Snr) was a brother in the Lodge Holyrood House, Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{247} Pink’s research reveals that the mason, Francesco Geminiani (1787–1762) was able to hire musicians as required, who were not required to be freemasons.\textsuperscript{248} It was therefore possible to perform at freemason meetings or concerts as a non-member.

In 1783, Reinagle appeared at the Hanover Square Grand Concert:

\textsuperscript{244} London Courant & Westminster Chronicle, Friday, 12 May 1780.
\textsuperscript{245} B. Matthews, The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain: List of Members, 1783–1984 (London: RSM, 1985), 121. Joseph Reinagle was not a member of the Society of Musicians.
\textsuperscript{246} Krauss, 428.
\textsuperscript{247} MacLeod, 199.
\textsuperscript{248} Pink, ‘A Music Club for Freemasons’, 524.
In the same year, he also performed within the Anacreontic Society alongside the established performers, the oboist, Johann C. Fischer (c.1733–1800), the violinist, Wilhelm Cramer (1746–99) and pianist and composer, Johann Samuel Schröeter (1753–88). The review states:

[S]o did Reinagle on the Violoncello and in a Manner, [we] think nothing less than admirable, [?] Point of Genius nothing less than a great deal of Duport; - In point of Execution, nothing less than either Crosdill or Cervetto.

In additional Compliment to young Reinagh [sic], it should not be omitted, that young Duport was present.250

Hugh Reinagle’s final performance in England was at Napier’s morning concert (31 January 1784), where again he performed alongside Cramer, Schröeter and this time the Italian violinist, Borghi.251 William Napier (c.1740–1812) was a Scottish composer and publisher, who also played the viola.252

Due to a lack of documentary evidence, biographical research for Hugh often focuses on his early death and the resultant loss to the cello world. Wasielewski states that Reinagle ‘was distinguished for his unwonted skill’.253 Gunn in his cello treatise credits Hugh as his teacher and recommends Hugh’s cello duets:

[W]hose early death has deprived the musical world, and more particularly the admirers of the Violoncello, of the completion of a style of music abounding with novelty, and adapted to display the powers of the instrument in their greatest extent and variety; and whilst this praise, and that of being, for the few years he had studied it, the most promising performer of the instrument in Europe, cannot be denied him, it is not intended by this small tribute, paid the memory of a much-loved friend, and the only master I am indebted to for whatever instructions I received for the Violoncello, to compare his merit, however great, with two models, of mature and more finished excellence, it is still [?] boast of this country, and I hope will long be, to possess.254

250 PA, 14 February 1783 [also in GZ and MH 15 February 1783].
251 Robins, The John Marsh Journals, i, 309.
252 Ibid., 196.
253 Wasielewski, 192.
254 GunnT, 1st edn, 70. This tribute is omitted in the revised second edition.
In contrast, John Marsh merely claims Hugh was a ‘proficient cellist’. Marsh’s lack-lustre comment suggests less than prodigious talent, however his compositions indicate a player with advanced technical skill.

**Cello Works**

In the first edition to his cello treatise, John Gunn refers to a set of cello solos by Hugh, which he had not been given permission to publish. He writes:

I very much regret that I am not at liberty to publish the whole of the solo, to give a more just idea of the fullness and richness of the style of this composer. A set of six solos of his are published, selected from many others, as being the most easy; but many of his latter one, in his more improved style are lost.

Hugh Reinagle’s *Six Duettos for a Violin & Violoncello, or two Violoncellos*, op.1, and *Six Favorite Solos for the Violoncello*, op. 2, provide further evidence of the scope of Hugh's compositional and playing abilities. Hugh’s op. 2 solos, were published in London by J. Bland, who also published works by Schetky. The title page states that Schetky’s *Six Solos Violoncello*, op. 13 (J. Bland) were also available from Bland’s Music Warehouse. Schetky’s solos were priced at 10s.6d., 3 shillings more expensive than Hugh’s work. However, Hugh’s op. 1 duets were priced at the standard 10s.6d. Hugh’s solos are in three movements, with a simple bass line accompaniment. Each include a slow middle movement, which is most often followed by a Rondo. They are technically demanding and undoubtedly exemplify the technical

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256 GunnT, 1st edn, 71.
258 There is a modern facsimile of this work: H. Reinagle, *Six Favorite Solos for the Violoncello* (New York: Performers’ Facsimiles, 2007). Based on a copy belonging to the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., *Six Favorite Solos for the Violoncello Composed by the Late H. Reinagle, Printed & Sold by J. Bland at his Music Warehouse, 45 Holborne, London, pr. 7s.6d.*
abilities of Hugh. They span the full range of the cello, but are at times more technical than musically rewarding. They include abrupt changes of musical figures. There are no fingering suggestions, reflecting that these were not student works, but rather written for experienced players. Hugh’s solos are less accessible to contemporary cellists as they are published in their original manuscript using soprano and alto clefs.

Hugh Reinagle’s *Six Duettos for a Violin and Violoncello, or two Violoncellos* were published as written for the violin and cello, leaving the first cellist to transpose the part down the octave. Duet VI is the exception, as it includes two separate upper parts, that is, individual parts for the ‘Violino’ and ‘Violoncello Primo’. These parts include a small number of changes that are instrument-specific. The duets are certainly worthy of consideration by modern-day cellists. They can be performed equally successfully as duets for a violin and cello, or for two cellos. In the case of two cellos the timbres blend more effectively, especially in passages of thirds and in thematic exchange. However, as some of the writing is quite violinistic, it requires more virtuosic display from the first cellist. The cello writing differs to that of Schetky, were the passage work can often be played with the hand in thumb position, without the need to shift between positions. Hugh’s writing is more difficult with ascending scales and frequent changes in register. Hugh also experiments more widely with modulations. The duets are each in two movements, with the exception of the final duet which includes a slow middle movement. Duet VI is the most technically demanding and requires a wide range of bowing techniques and facility on the fingerboard in both parts. The duets were the only examples of Hugh’s works to be published during his lifetime.
Hugh’s Final Trip to Portugal

In 1784 Hugh travelled with his brother Alexander to Portugal.

On September 3, 1784, seriously ill with lung trouble, he headed for the warmer climate of Lisbon in hope of relief. Alexander accompanied him on this journey. On March 19, 1785, less than six months after their arrival in the Portuguese capital, Hugh died.259

Details of Alexander and Hugh’s trip to Portugal are detailed in Alexander Reinagle’s short journal of his journey to Lisbon, which is held in the Library of Congress, Washington.260 The journal begins:


The brothers stayed at this location for three weeks and the journal entry continues with information regarding the exact allocation of Alexander and Hugh’s finances. This included the cost of accommodation and food, which totaled 55 new crowns. The brothers undertook the long journey, when it appears that Hugh was already very ill. However, they must have regarded the Lisbon climate as a possible cure, in combination with the opportunity for well-paid concert performances. On 15 November 1784, the brothers arrived with a Mr Morley for lodgings. Alexander details a number of letters sent and received. The journal lists letters written to G. Parkinson

260 Alexander Reinagle’s unpublished manuscript (titled Memorandum Book) for ‘a journey to Lisbon which he took with his brother Hugh who was in the last stages of consumption and who died in Lisbon.’ The Library of Congress, Music Division, Washington D.C. (US-Wc): shelfmark ML95.R45. Information taken from email (10 April 2012) to the Library of Congress (US-Wc): ‘This book, in thirteen (13) leaves, covers the period between September 5, 1784 and May 17, 1785. Only three pages of this memoir are devoted to Reinagle’s writings; the rest contains ‘poetry copied from a variety of authors, anecdotes; etc.’ The memoir’s last entry is dated December 5, 1837, and ‘it is certain that all of these entries are not in Reinagle's hand’.
261 Ibid.
and Joseph, Philip (presumably Joseph and Philip Reinagle, his brothers) and Napier.

Unfortunately, the content of these letters is not discussed.

The journal records a concert given by Alexander at the Assembly Room, Lisbon, on 8 January 1785 to the Queen and Royal family. On 16 January Alexander received a present from ‘her Majesty of 50 Moids’. The last word is unclear and presumably this was a gift of money. The journal details further letters received and sent, and financial accounts. Alexander remained in contact with Mrs Schetky, presumably his sister. However, Hugh’s health was deteriorating as detailed below:

On Friday 25th March took H. [Hugh] out in a plaise [place] 3 or 4 miles, found himself much fatigued next day his [?] 15 degrees increas’d & on Thursday 27th—Sunday ev. [evening] very reconciled. Monday grew better say M' [Pefferics?], who relievd [sic] him by injections [?] went in a chaire bed up 3 or 4 time to the Hill at Will[?] Hotel. On Sunday 6th March found himself there very bad unable any more to walk but for [?] to bed. Died Sat[?] 19th was buryed [sic] [?].

Alexander departed Lisbon a month later arriving in Portsmouth in May. The journal lists his income and expenditure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Concert</td>
<td>£100 - &quot; - &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Queen</td>
<td>£67 - &quot; - &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two P. [Forbes?]</td>
<td>£30 - &quot; - &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Tower?] D°</td>
<td>£35 - &quot; - &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>£3 - 12 - &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fund</td>
<td>£31-10 - &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Expences [sic] At Murrays</td>
<td>£7 - &quot; - &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medicines [sic]</td>
<td>£23 - &quot; - &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diet from 15 [?]</td>
<td>£51 - &quot; - &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to 23rd April at Mr Morley’s 5 Months</td>
<td>£58 - &quot; - &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in all Diet</td>
<td>£58 - &quot; - &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicines</td>
<td>£23 - &quot; - &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£81 - &quot; - &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

262 Ibid.
Information regarding Hugh’s health can, according to Krauss, be traced in letters between Alexander Reinagle and C. P. E. Bach.\textsuperscript{263} However, it has not been possible to locate these letters.

Proof of Hugh’s popularity is confirmed through acknowledgement of his death in the \textit{Gentlemen’s Magazine}:

\begin{quote}
At Lisbon, Mr. H. Reinagle whose admirable performance on the violoncello is well known.\textsuperscript{264}
\end{quote}

The death had a huge effect on the Reinagle family. Joseph Reinagle [Snr] left his job as state trumpeter, and Alexander on his return from Lisbon emigrated to Philadelphia. Shortly after Hugh’s death, Joseph [Jnr] left his position with the EMS and moved to England to pursue a career as a cello player.

‘Crosdill’s Violoncello’

Hugh Reinagle is reputed to have played on a John Forster cello from 1772. The cello is now known as ‘Crosdill’s Violoncello’ or occasionally as the ‘Reverend Mr Hole’s instrument’.\textsuperscript{265} Sandys and Forster provide the following description of the instrument:

\begin{quote}
Further information on this cello, is contained \textit{The Musical World}, xii (London: Henry Hooper, 1839), 235. The cello was auctioned by Bonhams in 2013 where it was described as a cello made in 1772 for the chemist Charles Alexander and sold to Mr Hole for one hundred guineas. http://artdaily.com/index.asp?int_sec=11&int_new=61262&int_modo=2#.U7_LzLTcZz8.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{263} Krauss, 433. Presumably J. C. Bach.
\textsuperscript{264} \textit{Gentlemen’s Magazine}, 55 (1785), 402.
\textsuperscript{265} Further information on this cello, is contained \textit{The Musical World}, xii (London: Henry Hooper, 1839), 235. The cello was auctioned by Bonhams in 2013 where it was described as a cello made in 1772 for the chemist Charles Alexander and sold to Mr Hole for one hundred guineas. http://artdaily.com/index.asp?int_sec=11&int_new=61262&int_modo=2#.U7_LzLTcZz8.
This violoncello was made in or about the year 1772, and is well known in the musical circle under two names or designations “The Rev d. Mr. Hole’s or Crossdill’s [sic] violoncello.” It is of the Amati outline, with a very high and unusual model, and was originally manufactured for Mr. Charles Alexander, a chemist, who had greatly assisted the maker in the method of dissolving the gums amber and copal for varnishes. At the time the order was given, it was promised that if a better instrument could be supplied than any hitherto made, it should now be produced for the essential services rendered. How or when this violoncello became the property of Mr. Hugh Reinagle, of Oxford, is not known, but we arrive at positive information regarding it by an article in an old newspaper “The General Advertiser for Tuesday, 6 November, 1787”—which has been preserved by the family as being identified with this instrument, and as the paragraph is amusing, it is given verbatim. “The rage for music was never more conspicuous than now. A few days ago, a violoncello, made by Forster, was sold for the sum of one hundred guineas and an Amati bass, worth at least fifty guineas, in exchange. [The General Advertiser, 6 November, 1787] “The purchaser was Mr. Kole (Hole), an amateur, in whose praise much has been, though too much cannot be said. This valuable instrument was formerly the property of Mr. Hugh Reinagle, the celebrated bass player, whose death has been universally lamented by the musical cognoscenti. At his demise it was bought by Mr. Gunn, who has now sold it. To such a nicety is the manufacture and sale of musical instruments now brought, that a fiddle, like a race-horse, must have a pedigree, and his whole get announced, before any attention will be given to it.” The Rev. H. A. Hole was one of the best amateur performers on the violoncello of the day.266

Sandys and Forster claim that Hugh Reinagle was from Oxford. However, this demonstrates the confusion between the two brothers, which is prevalent in this study, as it was Joseph who resided in Oxford. It is interesting to note that John Gunn, and not Hugh’s brother, Joseph, was responsible for the cello, selling it to Hole. The ‘Rev. Mr. Hole, Merton College, Oxford’ is listed amongst the subscribers to Gunn’s cello treatise (1789). It does not appear that Joseph had access to his brother’s instrument after his death, which raises questions as to whether debts had still to be settled. It is also unusual that Gunn had access to Hugh’s cello before his family members.

266 Sandys and Forster, 324–5.
2.8 Joseph Reinagle: The EMS, Benefit Concerts and other Roles in Edinburgh

Joseph Reinagle’s Violin Career with the EMS

Reinagle states in his biography, that he abandoned the cello due to the success of his cellist brother, Hugh Reinagle. However, the real reason may be more pragmatic, with the reality of supply and demand. Schetky was now established as principal cellist of the EMS, and having signed extensive contracts was settled in Edinburgh. Additional work opportunities as a cellist in Edinburgh were at the time limited; both Hugh and Alexander Reinagle (a publisher and pianist) had relocated to London. Violin work was available with the EMS and this may account for his choice of instrument. Interestingly Reinagle does not state in his biography that he was contracted for fourteen years as a violinist with the EMS, nor his brief leadership of the band. Perhaps he wanted to be remembered for his contribution as a cellist, for historical reasons, or he may have felt disillusioned by his status in the EMS.

Reinagle is first documented as a member of the EMS in 1772, the year of Schetky’s arrival. Reinagle’s entry salary was £14.8s.0d., almost double his father’s salary of £8.6s.8d. However, string players were required for more concerts than trumpeters, and this was reflected in the salary. Despite this, Reinagle’s salary was considerably less than that of the principal players. The discharges from June 1772 to June 1773, state that Pinto earned a salary of £100, and an additional £50.8s. for ‘three oratorios’. In the same year, Schetky was paid £73.4s.

There is little surviving information regarding the impact that Reinagle made as a violinist in Scotland. In 1776, Reinagle, alongside Alexander Stewart, Alexander Napier and George Mushet were fined for missing an EMS concert, after attending

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267 EMS Sederunt Books, iii, 1767–81, 78.
268 Ibid.
269 MacLeod, 51.
270 Ibid., 78.
Corri’s garden concert.\textsuperscript{271} Signora Corri and his wife arrived in Edinburgh in the same year as Schetky, and worked with the society for fourteen years.\textsuperscript{272} In 1778, Corri was also connected to the Edinburgh Theatre, but after this failed Corri began a publishing business with James Sutherland.\textsuperscript{273} In 1779, Corri, alongside Puppo and Reinagle, took ‘leading instrumental parts at a concert after the play [‘Brothers’] in the Theatre Royal’ in aid of the Canongate Charity Work-House.\textsuperscript{274}

Reinagle was registered as a musician living in Shakespeare Square in 1780.\textsuperscript{275} During this period he received an annual benefit concert, which suggests he may have held the position of principal second violin. The first concert was advertised in 1780, but no plan for the concert was given. Unusually only the vocal performers were listed in the advertisement.\textsuperscript{276} This was followed by a morning concert in 1781.\textsuperscript{277} It was offered by the society due to bad attendance of an earlier benefit concert. The concert included the final Edinburgh performance of the prodigy Master Crotch on the organ. Again no plan for the concert was advertised.

**Joseph Reinagle’s Leadership of the EMS and Benefit Concerts**

In 1772, Reinagle’s teacher Pinto was engaged as leader.\textsuperscript{278} Pinto remained in Edinburgh for only one year, leaving the treasurer to search for a replacement principal violinist. Pinto had gone to Dublin, where he was engaged as leader of the Smock Alley Theatre, which he led from 1773 to 1779.\textsuperscript{279} Brian Boydell states that ‘Thomas [Pinto]
in turn fled to Dublin in 1773 to escape his creditors, having lost £2,000 in his speculation with Dr Arnold in shares in Marylebone Gardens.\textsuperscript{280} Despite Pinto’s relocation, the society continued to ask for his return. The treasurer wrote in 1774, ‘come soon, as the Concert wants a leader very much’. Pinto did return for a short time, with the society paying his expenses from Dublin, but at the same time they also engaged the Italian, Giuseppe Puppo, who played with the society until May 1782, with a brief absence c.1778.\textsuperscript{281} The next leader of the society was Girolamo Stabilini.\textsuperscript{282} However, ‘in the intervening period, the musicians were led by Joseph Reinagle, who was awarded the sum of twenty pounds in May 1784 ‘for leading the Band since Mr. Puppo went away’.\textsuperscript{283} It seems inequitable that Reinagle was not given a fee comparable to Pinto or Puppo when taking the leader’s chair. However, the leadership position increased his musical profile, and in 1782, Reinagle performed a number of violin concertos, including Borghi’s violin concerto at a ‘Benefit of the Music belonging to the Edinburgh Defensive Band’.\textsuperscript{284}

The first example of Reinagle’s programming for benefit concerts can be found in 1782. In this concert, Reinagle performed [Thomas] Shaw’s (c.1755–1830) violin concerto and [Guiseppe M. G.] Cambini’s (1746–1825) ‘Concerto for two Violins Obligato’, performed with Giuseppe Puppo.\textsuperscript{285} The EMS library stocked a number of Cambini’s works, including his quartets and sinfonia concertantes.\textsuperscript{286} Shaws’s concerto was also performed a number of times during the 1780s.\textsuperscript{287} The performer is not known,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid.
\item MacLeod, 148.
\item Ibid.
\item Ibid., 149.
\item CM, 16 December 1782.
\item CM, 18 February 1782.
\item MacLeod, 261, 279.
\item Ibid., 116 (1780 – 1 performance; 1783 – 2 performances; 1784 – 2 performances; 1785 – 1 performance). Presumably T. Shaw, \textit{A Concerto for the Violin in Nine Parts} (London: Longman & Broderip, c.1785).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
but it was most likely Reinagle, as performances of this concerto dropped off after his departure. The same concert included an overture and a cello concerto by his brother-in-law, Schetky. In 1783, Reinagle’s concert included a performance of the violin virtuoso, Franz ‘Lamotte’s (1751?–1878?) ‘Favourite Violin Solo Concerti’. Reinagle as a violinist did not present his own compositions, as he was to do so later as a cellist in Oxford.

‘Mr Reinagle’s Concert is fixed for To-Morrow the 27th instant, at St Cecilia's Hall, Niddry’s Wynd
Plan of the Concert
Act 1.
Overture, Earl Kelly.
Song, Mrs Corri.
Solo Concertanti, Gambini.
Act II.
Organ Solo Concerto, Mr Clerk [Clark?].
Song, Mrs Corri.
Solo Violoncello, Mr Schetky.
Gaelic Song, Mr Corri.
Act III.
Lamotte's Favourite Violin Solo Concerti, Mr Reinagle.
Duetto, Mr and Mrs Corri.
Concerto, Corelli.’

After his leadership, in 1785, Reinagle did not receive an individual benefit concert, as this was given to the new leader, Stabilini. Instead he shared a concert with the singer, Pietro Urbani, who had recently joined the society. However, Reinagle continued to perform outside of the EMS, and a month later he performed a concerto at Mr Leslie’s benefit concert, held in the Leith Assembly Room.

Joseph’s final payment from the EMS, a sum of £8.10s, was made on 23 June 1786. This amount was lower than normal and may have been because Reinagle did not finish the season, which had finished early (in August) due to unpaid

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288 CM, 26 February 1783.
289 CM, 16 February 1785.
290 CM, 13 April 1785.
291 CM, 14 May 1785.
292 EMS Sederunt Books, iv, 1781–95, 60. 4 May 1786 and on the 1785–6 salary list, dated 23 June 1786.
subscriptions. A final benefit concert was given in July 1786, but it does not appear to have been under permission of the society: ‘Mr Reinagle, Begs leave to inform his Friends and the Public, that his concert will be on Saturday July 29, in Dunn’s Assembly Rooms.’ The concert was held during the Race week, it was therefore a morning concert, in order to finish in time for the Race. The particulars of the programme do not appear to have been published. This was Reinagle’s final appearance before his departure from Edinburgh.

Reinagle’s Departure from the EMS

Reinagle does not provide a reason for his departure from the EMS. Nevertheless, he would have been aware that even as a temporary leader of the EMS, he was not granted the same benefits as its invited foreign leaders. It was perhaps this apparent injustice that led Reinagle to leave the society, in a bid to increase his profile and pursue better pay. It was doubtful that he would even have been considered for more substantial fees, whilst still being considered a ‘local player’. Equally, as a cellist, there was no possibility for career advancement within the EMS. However, it should also be considered that Reinagle’s violin playing may not have been of the same standard as the Italians, Stabilini, Puppo and Pinto, and therefore the EMS could not offer him the more permanent position of leader.

This study has revealed that Reinagle was struggling financially in the years prior to his departure. He had amassed a number of debts, some of which were due to unpaid work. From 1772, the EMS had set up a loan facility at the bank of two of its members, under the names of directors, and continued to rely on credit. A letter dated 296

293 MacLeod, 69.
294 EEC, 22 July 1786; CM, 26 July 1786.
295 EEC, 26 July 1786.
296 See MacLeod, 84.
July 1785, describes an altercation that occurred between a Mr Mantalini (first name not known) and Reinagle. The letter to Mr Innes [Gilbert Innes of Stow], a director of the EMS from 1782–96, is dated a few months after Hugh Reinagle’s death. In the letter, Mantalini explains that Reinagle had demanded his pay:

[H]e [Reinagle] has not seen a Guinea this fortnight—if Mr Innes [Innes] will indulge Mr R. with the sight of one, Mr R. will be upon honour and return it—but if Mr Innes sends two or three there may be danger of his never enjoying the pleasure of seeing them again. If Mr R. had not been realy [sic] dam[bly] [sic] pinched he could not allow himself to trouble Mr Innes’.297

An additional letter to Gilbert Innes of Stow, dated 21 March 1786, reveals Reinagle’s request for an advancement (approximately nine days), of his ‘present’ from his contribution to the winter concerts.298 The ‘present of ten pounds’, had been agreed a year earlier, in a meeting of the directors on 25 March 1785, for his work over the past year.299 At the same meeting, it was recommended that the EMS should enter into a contract with Stabilini for two years at a salary of £100. Reinagle in his letter essentially pleads with the ‘voice’ of the recipient, that is, Gilbert Innes, to gain access to the money, as his previous requests to the EMS had been ignored. He reinforces his request by underling the words ‘you’ [letter recipient] and the ‘Directors’, clarifying it was their giving to sign off on his request. Reinagle needed the money to pay a ‘Despute’ [sic] of ‘3:3’. He also wanted to forward a violin and other items to his brother.300 On his return from Lisbon, Alexander Reinagle had emigrated to America. The postscript of the letter states:

298 Stored at the National Archives of Scotland, GB-Enas reference: GD113-4-157-371-00001.
299 EMS sederunt book, 45. Minutes of a meeting of the directors, 25 March 1785.
300 GB-Enas reference: GD113-4-157-497.
My Brother is going abroad and I promised him [two?] good violins but have not [two?] at present, they are at [?] glason, therefore I wanted to compare my present best one to the one you have that I may keep [sic] the best of them.  

Whether Reinagle chose to leave Scotland voluntarily, or was financially forced to do so remains debatable. Equally, questions remain over his decision to play the cello. It is not known if he did so solely in memory of his brother, or in the view of reviving and developing the musical connections that his brother had established in London.

**Role as a Violist and Cellist in Edinburgh**

In addition to the violin, Reinagle also performed on the viola. For example, he performed a ‘new quartetto concertante’ (composer not known) in a benefit concert for Tenducci. Puppo and Corri played the violin parts, and Schetky the cello. Fraser-Harris states that, ‘Owing to his brother Hugh’s growing fame as a ‘celloist, [sic] Joseph relinquished his instrument, and proceeded under Arragoni and Pinto to master the viola’. As will be discussed, Susan Burney states in her diary that Reinagle was also proficient on the viola.

In 1786, a year after his brother’s death, and the loss of his leadership, Reinagle began to perform on the cello in Edinburgh. In April, he performed Borghi’s cello concerto ‘as performed by Crosdil’, at Mahon’s benefit concert in St Cecilia’s Hall. Reinagle credits John Mahon for his return to the cello. He states in his entry in Sainsbury’s *Dictionary* that, ‘acting under the advice of the celebrated Mr. John Mahon and other musical friends, [he] resumed the study of the violoncello, which he has ever

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302 CM, 24 July 1780.
303 Fraser-Harris, 77.
304 Fraser-Harris, 77.
306 CM, 3 April 1786.
since professed." 306 John Mahon (1749–1834) was a clarinetist and violinist, who continued to be a long-term friend and work colleague of Reinagle. The cello concerto was advertised ‘as performed by Crsodil [sic]’, and was the concerto that Reinagle had intended to play on his London debut. 307 In the same concert Mahon and Reinagle performed a ‘Duet for Violin and Violoncello’ by Stamitz, which was also advertised ‘as performed by Crosdl [sic] and Cramer’. 308 The concert was badly attended and Mahon was offered an additional concert in July 1786. 309 Notably, Reinagle is absent from the line-up of this second concert. However, as will be discussed, this was the beginning of Mahon’s and Reinagle’s musical partnership. Mahon was from a large family of musicians of Irish descent. His father, William, is believed to have played in the orchestra of the Holywell Music Room, Oxford. Of musical recognition, was his brother, also named William (c.1751–1816), who played the clarinet, oboe, violin and viola, and his sister, Sarah (c.1767–1805) a successful soprano. 310

**Teaching Work in Edinburgh**

Reinagle’s association with the EMS would have raised his musical profile in Edinburgh; increasing his options for better paid teaching work. The EMS, in letters of negotiations to invited players, often stated that there was the opportunity for well-paid teaching. 311 Many employees of the EMS were competent on more than one instrument, for the sole purpose of teaching. MacLeod claims that: ‘Because much of their livelihood was centred on teaching, all the players were capable of playing several instruments, and could move from their principal one if need be in the society

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306 Sainsbury, 349.
307 EEC, 13 March 1786.
308 CM, 3 April 1786.
309 EEC, 31 July 1786.
310 P. Weston, ‘Mahon’, GMO.
311 MacLeod, 59.
concerts.'\textsuperscript{312} Accounts held at the National Records of Scotland[GB-Enas] reveal that
Reinagle also taught the bassoon.\textsuperscript{313} The record states, ‘Joseph Reinagle for teaching
William McLeod the bassoon, paid 20 June 1786’. The reference to a bassoon adds to
Reinagle’s already extensive list of instrumental skills. His student William McLeod
(Lord Bannatyne) was a member of the EMS from 1781 to 1797.\textsuperscript{314}

2.9 Joseph Reinagle: New Beginnings

The following poem, dated 1798, features Reinagle amongst many esteemed
musicians, and indicates his ranking amongst British cellists of the period:

For DRAGONETTI’S Bass let none dispute
Give SALOMON the Fiddle, ASHE the Flute,
Let KRUMPHOLTZ in Harp concerto sport,
CLEMENTI sit at the Piano Forte,
Let either PARKE the dulcet Hautboy tune,
Send HOLMES and PARKINSON to the Bassoon.
Entrust the Vi’loncellos to the care
Of LINDLEY, ASHLEY, REINAGLE and WARE.\textsuperscript{315}

Despite relatively obscure beginnings as a violinist in Edinburgh, Reinagle in a short
time established himself as a cello soloist and principal player in England. London
essentially marked the beginning of his cello career, despite his apparent lack of cello
experience. Reinagle’s London venture widened the opportunity for social and musical
connections in the capital, which resulted in further provincial work. However,
Reinagle was unable to establish a full-time performance schedule in the city.

On route to London, Reinagle performed in Norwich, alongside Mahon. Reinagle

\textsuperscript{312} Ibid., 64.
\textsuperscript{313} Papers of the Gordon Family, Dukes of Gordon (Gordon Castle Muniments), Instructions of Mr
Charles Gordon’s accounts, from March 1785 to March 1788, Discharge, branch 8th. Promiscuous
payments. GB-Enas reference: GD44.
\textsuperscript{314} MacLeod, 249.
\textsuperscript{315} J. Jones, "Hobby Horses, A Poetic Allegory, in Five Parts" (London, 1798), 125, ECCO.
played solely on the cello establishing his career intentions.316

‘Great Assembly-Room, Norwich
Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music
The Vocal Parts by Mrs. Reinagle; first Violin Mr. Mahon; principal Violoncello by Mr. Reinagle
Act I.
Overture–Haydn
Quartetto Clarinet–Mr Mahon
Song–Mrs Reinagle
Duetto Violin and Violoncello–Stamitz
Concerto Oboe–Mr Sharp
Act II.
Concerto Harpsichord, Mr. Beckwith.
Quintetto–Bach
Song–Mrs. Reinagle
Solo Violoncello–Mr. Reinagle [composer not given]
Solo Concerto Clarinet–Mr. Mahon.’317

The programme included songs by a Mrs Reinagle. Reinagle’s marital status at this time remains unclear. From London in 1786, Reinagle writes that Mrs Reinagle had been ill with scarlet fever, but there is no documentation to establish where and when he married, or if the marriage had any connection with his departure from Scotland.318

Christening records state that Joseph Reinagle and Dorinda [last name not given] had a son, John Joseph on 18 January 1789.319 He was christened on 22 February at Saint Mary St, Marylebone Road, Marylebone, London. There are no further records for John Joseph, nor Dorinda.

Reinagle’s travels were marred by financial uncertainty and illness. Information from a small number of letters held at the National Records of Scotland [GB-Enas] establish that Reinagle had struggled financially during his initial years as a freelance musician, and that having reached London he was unable to establish himself due to bad credit.320 The letters also outline Reinagle’s requests to find a means to return to

316 Norfolk Chronicle, 9 September 1786.
317 Ibid.
Scotland and the EMS.\(^{321}\)

Reinagle’s letters demonstrate a good standard of education and literacy. This partly contradicts Susan Burney’s description that paints Reinagle as less educated than his violin partner, the German violinist, Johann Peter Salomon (1745–1815). Reinagle’s letters were not social, but instead were of a practical nature and involved requests for money and work. From November 1786, Reinagle was writing from London, where he remained in contact with the EMS director, Gilbert Innes of Stow.\(^{322}\) The letters primarily concentrate on Reinagle’s financial difficulties:

Sir, I am extremely obliged to you for your kind letter, and think it my duty to give you a clear state of my situation, first of all must tell you that I have been in the utmost distress, Mrs Reinagle has been at Death’s door with a scarlet fever, myself little better but are both much better—now for [Edinburgh] I find my time is Elapsed, but what can I do I am teryfied to return without your assistance, I have very flattering prospects here, and find I cannot make any engagements until I receive your answer—if the Directors can afford to give me £50 a year I should then be able to make a settlement with my creditors, for without I do settel them, I can never enjoy a moment happyness—and to go to gail is what I never can consent to for two reasons, first I will not [to?] the advantage of Law—second I have no Inclination to wrong my creditors, as long as I have means to do otherways, if the Directors will advance them the money, or if you yourself would advance the money I owe on my [Comip…?] and take my Bond for the concert sallery and exchequer together, I can ensure my life here for two and a half percent, which would secure you, in care of my Dying (which I by no means can think on) by doing this peace of friendship for me, would rebound to your Imartal honour, and bring back you old servant who wishes for nothing but a desire to prove himself what his heart dictates—and that is really to live in [Edinburgh] and I think it very hard if I cannot offer so many yeare a resident in my country return with honour and live in credit which, if you cannot consent to will be the means (much against my Inclination to fix me here—however I hope you and the Directors will look upon me as more than a performer considering [I’m] always at their pleasure and I may say rear’d up by their means—and I can assure them that it is to the honour of [Edinburgh] concert to find a scots performer so much thought of as I have experienced. I conclude in deserving my best respects to the Gentleman Directors and hope to be honourd with an answer as soon as you find convenient

London
12 November, 1786.\(^{323}\)

\(^{321}\) MacLeod was one of the first to consult the Innes Family papers in relation to the running of the EMS and a discussion of the contents can be found in her Ph.D. dissertation. See MacLeod, 7.

\(^{322}\) GB-Enas reference: GD113-4-158-102-0004.

\(^{323}\) GB-Enas reference: GD113-4-158-102.
This letter reveals that the primary reason for Reinagle’s departure from Edinburgh as bad credit. Prior to this letter, in August 1786, Gilbert Innes made a payment of £1.1s.0d for a ‘List of Musick purchased from Jos. Reinagle’. Reinagle’s payment of £1.1s.0d was recorded in the discharges, dated 21 August 1786. This was apparently Reinagle’s own collection, or that of his brother’s Alexander and Hugh, which it seems was essentially pawned to Mr Innes in the hope he could reclaim it. The list included:

‘12 Concertos by Corelli Op. 6...’
‘12 Concertos by Vivaldi Op. 3...’
‘Opera of Renaldo by Handel’
‘[?] Cantatas & 3 Sonatas for [?] harpsichord’
‘Pasquali[j]s Art of fingering’
Collection of Minuets by [?] Oswald
Clarinet Tutor
A book of manuscript of Italian songs with Pergolese’s Stabat Mater with three books of Accomp....’
‘2 books of Italian Songs in Manuscript no accomp’
A number of Manuscript Trios & Quartets in 4 books
Several manuscript songs, Trios, Solos &...’
‘Some Manuscript [?] & a Bass book of Corelli’s Trios’
Edinburgh 20\textsuperscript{th} Aug. 1786
‘Received from Mr Innes one guinea being the price of some old music sold to him by Mr Reinagle and which was to be returned if at any time on the repayment of the money if Mr Reinagel required it’.
George R[K?]udie.\footnote{324}{GB-Enas reference: GD113-5-128C-70.}

Reinagle’s statement that ‘his time had elapsed’ suggests that he may have been given a leave of absence from the society. The letters highlight that the EMS operated as more than a musical society. It would appear that they also acted as an unofficial benevolent fund for their musicians, with Reinagle himself acknowledging their input throughout his life. In his correspondences, he reminds the EMS of their prior support, and hopes for further compassion. Reinagle concludes, ‘P.S. if I am to return, I must beg an advance of at least 40 [36 appears to have been scribbled out and replaced with 40] before I can stir out of London.’\footnote{325}{GB-Enas reference: GD113-4-158-102-0004.} This was twice the amount he received for
leading the EMS orchestra. It is not stated whether he would return as a cellist or a violinist.

In December, Reinagle commented on the high standard of string playing in London, and noted that to perform overtures at the fast tempos in London required players of a solo standard:

London 19th Dec. 1786
Music is in great perfection here…the overtures are played so quick that a man should be a solo player to play in the bands here.326

Evidently in Edinburgh tempos were slower to facilitate amateurs playing alongside professionals. The faster London tempos must have surprised Reinagle, who perhaps had difficulty in reaching the technical standards expected in London. In the same letter, he explained that he had not enough money to return to Edinburgh, but would try to raise funds to return. The letter continues with reviews of London performers, who were also associated with the EMS, for example, the singers, Miss Billington and [Giusto Ferdinando] Tenducci. Reinagle also states that he had accompanied three new sonatas by Schröeter, with the composer. He observes, that they were ‘so easy to look at and simple, that I though lite [sic] of them, till he playd [sic] them, but how pleasing were they in his stile [sic] of playing – I like him best of all.’327 He continues, by commenting that ‘Hayden [sic] is to be here soon, I hope before I leave town.’328 The EMS were evidently not able, or not willing, to agree to Reinagle’s terms, as the cellist remained in London. In total, Reinagle requested a salary of £90, a sum equivalent to their top performers. Despite failure to achieve his requests, Reinagle remained in regular contact with the society. As to why Reinagle could not organise work in London, as

327 Ibid. Possibly J. S. Schröter, 3 Sonatas pour clavecin ou forte piano avec violon et violoncelle, op. 8 (Paris: Seiber, n.d.).
328 Ibid.
stated in the letter, is not known. It seems that he was reluctant to commit to London engagements, when there was a possibility of returning to Scotland. However, despite his claims, Reinagle was performing in London at the time of the letter. For example, a review of a concert by the Anacreontic Society, complimented Mr Cramer (leader of the band) and fellow musicians: Mr Shield (second violin), Mr Reinagle (viola), and Mr Smith (violoncello).  

Hugh Reinagle had performed with the same society in 1783. The Anacreontic Society (1766–94) was founded by ‘bankers and merchants’ and grew in both success and magnitude with ‘audiences of 400’ in the 1780s. McVeigh states that the society featured many top performers as well as providing an opportunity to hear new talent. It is interesting that Reinagle was again linked to an amateur-run subscription series, reminiscent of the EMS.

Reinagle performed on the cello at a number of benefit concerts in London, and at the concert for the New Musical Fund on 12 April, 1787. He evidently viewed this concert as a noteworthy performance, as he gave the concert considerable column-length in his biography:  

He [Reinagle] made his appearance as a concerto player at the New Musical Fund Concert, on the same night with J. Cramer, Monzani, and Eley. He was announced to play Borghi’s favourite concerto in E flat; but Crosdill having succeeded so well in the performance of that piece, his friends wished him not to play it; he therefore adopted one of his violin concertos, and performed it instead of Borghi’s. The time would not allow the bills to be altered, and the audience received his concerto with great applause. Borghi, who was present, was pleased, indeed, to say, that he was flattered by the mistake which had taken place.
Reinagle’s account of the New Musical Fund Concert raises questions regarding the logistics of changing repertoire at such short notice. Reinagle must have had provided his own manuscript of the orchestral parts.\(^{334}\) This suggests an earlier performance of his violin concerto in Edinburgh. He must have also travelled with his music. Sainsbury’s entry states that Reinagle’s works were available in manuscript, including, ‘‘Six Violin Concertos,’ ‘Six Violoncello Concertos,’ also overtures, trios, duets, &c., for violins and piano-forte’.\(^{335}\) Unfortunately the manuscript copies of his cello and violin concertos remain missing.

In 1787, Reinagle continued to appear in London as a cellist, with performances in Haymarket at Evans’ Benefit Concert (26 April, 1787), and at Tottenham Street Rooms (23 May 1787) for the concert of William Lee.\(^{336}\) In 1788, Reinagle’s London concerts, included performances at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, Freemason’s Hall, and at the Benefit concert of a ‘Mr Webbe’.\(^{337}\) Possibly Samuel Webbe Snr (1740–1816), a singer, organist and composer. Reinagle performed solo again at the New Musical Fund Concert in 1788.\(^{338}\) He also returned to the Anacreontic Society, which was reviewed in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*:

Mr Cramer, as usual, gave a concerto on the violin, with all the sweetness and harmonick melody of an Orpheus, Clementini came in for share of applause, by a pleasing performance on the harpsichord. An overture of Rosetti’s and a solo on the violoncello (Renegal) \(^{[sic]}\) concluded the concert, which did not great credit to the excellent leader.\(^{339}\)

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\(^{334}\) Sainsbury, 348–9.
\(^{335}\) Ibid.
\(^{336}\) Evans was possibly the Welsh harper. See McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 37–8. Concert information from McVeigh, *Calendar*.
\(^{337}\) Concert information from McVeigh, *Calendar*.
\(^{338}\) Ibid. New Musical Fund Concert, 27 March 1788.
\(^{339}\) *MC*, 17 October 1788.
Reinagle received recognition for his solo on the cello, which concluded the concert. Unfortunately, it is not known what he played, and if this was indeed a piece for unaccompanied cello.

Evidence of Reinagle’s performances up to September 1788, were focused in London. However, after this date Reinagle began to perform at the provincial music festivals. He was invited as principal cello at the Hampshire Music Meeting, 10–12 September 1788, in Winchester. The leader of the orchestra was Johann Peter Salomon (1745–1815), with Johann C. Fischer (c.1733–1800) as principal oboe. John Mahon and the cellist, Francis Attwood (c.1775–1807) were also members of the band.

A review of the meeting states that ‘Reinagle’s Concerto on the violoncello was received with rhapsody by the amateurs’. Further performances by Reinagle included ‘Mr Cantel’s Annual Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music in Winchester’, where he again performed a concerto and took the role of principal cello.

However, Reinagle had not forgotten Edinburgh. In a letter to the EMS in October 1788, he recommended a seventeen-year-old singer to the society. He concluded by stating:

I am but too sensible that my not returning again to Scotland, will incline you to think unfavorably [sic] of me, but give me leave to assure that I shall think myself at all times happy to be of any service to the society, and to be able in a degree to promote its interests.

This statement raises some confusion as to whether he had shunned a further invitation from the EMS, or that they had agreed to his initial financial requests. Although, in

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340 *SWJ*, 1, 8 September 1788. Meeting took place 10–12 September 1788.
341 *SWJ*, 15 September 1788; *HC*, 15 September 1788.
342 *SWJ*, 22, 29 September 1788. ‘Cantel’ was possibly a member of the Cantelo family of musicians.
343 MacLeod names this singer as Maxwell Shaw (MacLeod, 87).
344 GB-Enas reference: GD113-4-164-178 [23 October 1788] letter written from no. 57 Oxford Street, London. The National Records of Scotland website suggest the singer was the daughter of Francis Carline, as she received a benefit in Edinburgh (10 February 1789).
view of the dwindling finances of the EMS during this period, this is unlikely.

Reinagle’s musical profile appears to have been improving, as he was now confidently recommending new players. For example, a review of an Anacreontic Society concert from 1789, states:

The novelty of the evening was a M. MEYNEL, a performer on the violinceilo [sic]. He is a native of France, and was introduced by REINAGLE. This foreigner acquitted himself delightfully in a CONCERTO, through which he was accompanied, with great condescension and taste, by his friend REINAGLE, whose presence affords much strength to the entertainment.345

Menel was linked to Salomon’s concert series and perhaps this served as Reinagle’s introduction. Milligan claims that Menel, ‘performed concertos on only two occasions in the early 1790’s’, but that he performed in Salomon’s concerts as a chamber player, and ‘was one of the soloists for whom Haydn’s Concertante was written in 1792’.346 Reinagle’s connection with the French cellist, or his advantage in recommending him, remains open to conjecture. Perhaps it increased Reinagle’s opportunity for future work, especially in those cello sections which Menel was due to lead. The cellist, Smith, was also in attendance, performing a string quartet by Haydn. James Smith (1773–1809) was a regular on the London music scene, yet little is known about his life and career. Robins states that he was a cellist with the Opera Orchestra and Academy of Ancient Music.347 Reinagle continued to give sporadic concerto performances in 1789, including an appearance at the Hanover Square Rooms in June 1789, where the Italian violinist, Ignazio Raimondi (1735–1813) led. This association with the Raimondi appears to have brought him to York, where he was hired as principal cellist of the

345 Star (London), 22 January 1789.
August Race concerts in York. Reinagle also worked provincially as invited principal cellist in Oxford and Winchester during this period.

The London season was typically from January to May, which enabled musicians to participate at provincial music festivals. For example, the Hampshire Music Meeting, which was renamed the Hampshire Music Festival in 1808, normally took place in September or October. The Chichester subscription concerts with which Reinagle was closely associated, partially overlapped the London season, spanning typically from October to March. It is perhaps for this reason that Reinagle was booked instead of a more experienced London cello player.

Reinagle first appeared at the Oxford Room Concerts in June 1789, with a return visit in March 1790, where he performed his own cello concerto. The following night he played a solo at a joint benefit concert for the Oxford musicians: Cross (the music-seller), Paul (or possibly his brother Joseph) Hatton and Philippe Jung (the violinist). Benefit concerts were used at this time to sustain the salaries of the members of the orchestra, during a suspension of the weekly Monday performances. This was an attempt made by the stewards to keep the band intact. Mee states:

Whatever may have been the reasons which compelled the stewards to suspend the weekly concerts in May 1789, they were certainly formidable. It was nearly three years before it was found possible to re-establish the weekly concerts in any shape.

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352 Ibid., 117.
2.10  **Joseph Reinagle: The Burney Family**

It was during a period of touring with Salomon that Reinagle met the Burney family. This occurred after the 1789 Winchester Music Festival, where Peter Salomon had led the orchestra.\(^{353}\) Susan Burney recounts in her diaries, visits made by Salomon and Reinagle.\(^{354}\) She describes Reinagle as ‘not very high bred in manners’ and ‘socially less cultivated than his colleague’.\(^{355}\) However, she complimented his performance of Pleyel’s trios where she remarks he ‘played the tenor part exceedingly well’.\(^{356}\) She was more critical of his cello playing:

> We had then Te–& during this M’ Reinagle was good natured enough to take out his Violoncello to gratify Norbury, & played him a **literal** Solo—that is a solo in which he had to accomp’ but what he gave himself—he is reckoned by some the best Violoncello we have after Cervetto & Crosdill—but it was however a desperately rough performance, & I scarce dared look towards Salomon or Esther during it—having once accidentally caught a glance of the former, I was almost undone—& it was most that I sate out of the poor man’s sight—who likewise I believe too profoundly engaged in his laborious performance to observe anybody during it—It seemed at first almost to stun & stupify even Norbury—but having stood aghast a little time, he seemed to have had full & sufficient gratification of his curiosity—& walked off to another part of the room, to observe upon something else—The solo having been proposed for his amusement, the effect was very ridiculous, tho’ perfectly natural—Had I not had full employment in making Tea, I sh’d certainly have undertaken to keep him by the Performer, & as quiet as I c’d during his performance—but this I c’d not attempt—nor depute any one else, because it w’d the more strongly have marked, how little M’ Reinage [sic] succeeded in amusing him.\(^{357}\)

What work Reinagle performed unaccompanied is not known, but Susan Burney’s account suggests that he provided some chordal accompaniment. Burney also highlights Reinagle’s travels with Salomon. This included a visit to the Bishop of Winchester in Farnham, which occurred prior to their arrival at the Burney’s family

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\(^{355}\) Woodfield, 51.

\(^{356}\) Ibid., 55.

\(^{357}\) Ibid.
Salomon we found had been visiting Farnham, & in other parts of Surry, w’th this Gent’m of whom I conceive it was not very easy for him to se defaire even [if] he wished it—but indeed wherever he goes, unless he finds a good Harps’d Player to accompany him, the having a certain base must be very necessary.  

Susan Burney states Reinagle had previously been recommended to her father by Corri. Domenico Corri (1746–1825) had worked in Scotland and would have known Reinagle as a violinist. However, there is a possibility that Susan Burney confused Joseph with his cellist brother, Hugh, as she states that the cellist had lived in Scotland sixteen years before moving to England. Ian Woodfield states that Salomon’s ‘career as a public leader was in decline’ during the 1780s. The purpose of his visit was therefore an attempt to secure leadership of the 1790 Pantheon concerts, as organised by Charles Burney. Reinagle was equally in need of work; Susan Burney states that Reinagle had ‘threatened him [Captain Phillips] hard w’th future visits’. This is perhaps indicative of Reinagle’s lack of social skills, or indeed his desperation to secure future work.

Reinagle first met Salomon in Edinburgh, when the violinist led the EMS for five concerts during July and August in 1783. It is questionable that had Salomon been at the peak of his career that he would have chosen to perform with, or made joint social visits with, the less established Reinagle. The following comment by Susan Burney emphasises this gap:

358 Ibid., 49.
359 Ibid., 51.
360 Ibid., 5.
361 Ibid., 56.
362 MacLeod, 118, 149.
Mr. Reinagle is as great an admirer of Scotch music as poor Mr. B. [?] used to be - & no less impenetrable & positive in argument—Salomon’s method of laughing at him upon this subject was extremely humourous & comical—sans jamais descoutee his antagonist —who seldom understood above half his meaning.363

McVeigh states that during this period ‘Salomon had actively to recruit quality players who would also accept lower fees’.364 During the 1790s, McVeigh argues that the London musical scene was hit by ‘harsher financial climate and an influx of foreign musicians’, and that, ‘Salomon was willing to break the unwritten rules of his profession by recruiting inexperienced players and foreigners ‘at very low salaries’.365 Reinagle undoubtedly accepted the lower fees, as an opportunity to further establish his career and to improve his social connections.

2.11 John Gunn: London Period, 1789–c.1800

Although there is no evidence of a meeting between Joseph Reinagle and John Gunn, they were both resident in London in 1789. This was also the year that Gunn published the first edition of his cello treatise The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello.366 In his cello treatise, Gunn refers to the cello music of Schetky, Hugh Reinagle and Joseph Reinagle. He provides excerpts of cello works by Schetky and Hugh Reinagle, demonstrating that he was aware of the cellists prior to 1789.

Gunn’s performance activities during this period can be traced through concert programmes advertised in London newspapers. However, these performances were on the German flute and not the cello. In February 1789, he performed at a concert of the Anacreontic Society, where Reinagle had performed a year earlier.367 This would

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363 Woodfield, 56.
364 McVeigh, Concert Life, 194.
365 Ibid., 173.
366 GunnT, 1st edn.
367 MC, 3 February 1789.
suggest that the musicians shared similar social and professional circles. The principal cellist was ‘Mr Smith’ and a review of the concert states that ‘Mr. Gunn particularly distinguished himself’ by a performance on the flute; as did Parkinson on the bassoon.\textsuperscript{368} An additional review states that ‘a pretty quartette \textit{sic} by Mahon’s, where in the clarionet and flute, by the composer and Gun \textit{sic}, had a fine effect.\textsuperscript{369}

Gunn published a number of German flute publications and is well recognised for his contribution to this instrument. In his flute treatise, Gunn encouraged a strong full tone, claiming that the flute, although technically relatively easy, needed ‘proper cultivation of his [the student] ear and taste’.\textsuperscript{370} Janice Dockendorff Boland speaks highly of Gunn’s flute treatise:

\textit{The Art of Playing the German-Flute} was the most comprehensive flute tutor to appear in England in the eighteenth century and among the most important to appear in Europe in that century as well. Because of its timely appearance and responsible treatment of flute playing, I consider it an invaluable transitional tutor from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{371}

Gunn’s first flute treatise was published c. 1793 and sold at Birchall’s Music Shop, New Bond Street, as were his cello treatise and forty Scotch Airs. Gunn’s cello expertise and musical preference is reinforced in \textit{The Art of Playing the German Flute}, where he was adamant that students should be accompanied by a cello:

His best means of improvement in this respect will be to play to the accompaniment of a violoncello, whose exact tune and time can be depended on; for an early attention to found his melodies on the fundamental and other harmonies in the bass, must be the surest means of making them perfectly correct; as we know with certainty, that the acute sounds are generated from the lower.\textsuperscript{372}

\textsuperscript{368} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{369} \textit{The Times}, 3 February 1789.
\textsuperscript{370} J. Gunn, \textit{The Art of Playing the German Flute} (London: Author, 1793?). Sold from No. 1 Bennet Street, Rathbone Place and at Birchall’s Music Shop, New Bond Street.
\textsuperscript{372} Gunn, \textit{The Art of Playing the German Flute}, 23.
This provides evidence that the cello was thought by some to be the best accompaniment of solos. Holman states that Abel solos on the viola da gamba were most likely accompanied solely on the cello.\textsuperscript{373}

Doane’s \textit{Musical Directory} (1794) records John Gunn as resident at Rathbone Place, London. Gunn sold a number of his works from this address, starting in 1790 with a translation of Borghese’s work. Doane credits Gunn as a flute and violoncello player, and also acknowledges him as a performer at Salomon’s concerts (Hanover Square) and the grand performances at Westminster Abbey.\textsuperscript{374} It is worth noting that Burney does not list him amongst the performers in the 1784 Handel commemoration. These were large events involving numerous performers. They therefore give little indication of Gunn’s playing standard, nor whether he performed on the cello or the German flute. Undoubtedly Gunn would have performed within cello sections, where his name would not be recorded. Golby remarks on the lack of competition amongst cellists giving local cellists more performance opportunities in comparison to that of violinists.\textsuperscript{375}

A record of Gunn’s whereabouts between 1789 and 1794 may be found in John Marsh’s journal. Marsh states that he met Gunn during a trip to London in February 1791, whilst visiting his music teacher ‘Mr Wafers’. He recalls:

\begin{quote}
I however at 6 o’clock went to my old music master Mr Wafers to tea, where I met Mr McArthur & his brother in law Mr Gunn the violoncello player & author of the popular instructions for that instrument, with whom we had some music, principally Corelli in w’ch Mr Gunn seem’d rather discontented at Mr Wafer’s hurrying the time in play’g the thorough bass, which he tryed to prevent as a much as he co’d.\textsuperscript{376}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{373} Holman, \textit{Life after Death}, 183.
\textsuperscript{374} Doane, 29. There is no mention of his pianoforte qualifications.
\textsuperscript{376} Robins, \textit{The John Marsh Journals}, i, 486.
‘Mr McArthur’, a violinist, was one of Marsh’s musical friends.\textsuperscript{377} Whether Gunn had a sister who married McArthur, or that he had been married before his relationship with Ann Young, is still undetermined. Marsh was an admirer of Gunn, having advocated his teaching by referring to his method when teaching a young bass (presumably meaning cello) player:

On Saturday 14th I got young Target again to come & practice with us after tea, who now played the bass very decently, which I had lately taught him myself, having given him Gunn’s scales etc.\textsuperscript{378}

This is at present the only reference to the practical application of Gunn’s cello treatise.\textsuperscript{379} Marsh met Gunn again in London in 1795, at the house of a merchant and cello player, ‘Mr Shaw’, in Ironmonger’s Lane.\textsuperscript{380} Marsh had accepted an invitation by a ‘Mr Etherington’ to a concert and supper at Shaw’s house.\textsuperscript{381}

From 1795, Gunn started to focus his writings on the German flute:

Deeply impressed with a proper sense of the favourable reception my former publications, the theory and practice of fingering the violoncello, and the art of playing the German flute, have met with and encouraged by the approbation of men, whose opinions I have the greatest esteem, as well as by the liberal and candid criticisms of the Reviewers of literature, I feel additional and more forcible motives to merit that favour, by endeavouring to render these works more worthy of the public attention.\textsuperscript{382}

\textsuperscript{377} Ibid., 466.
\textsuperscript{378} Ibid., 568.
\textsuperscript{379} John Marsh is not listed in John Gunn’s list of subscribers to the first edition of his cello treatise.
\textsuperscript{380} Marsh states that [Thomas?] Shaw was a merchant in Ironmonger Lane and a cellist. (Robins, \textit{The John Marsh Journals}, i, 573).
\textsuperscript{381} Robins, \textit{The John Marsh Journals}, i, 573. Marsh credits Gunn as a cellist and a German flute player.
\textsuperscript{382} J. Gunn, \textit{The School of the German Flute} (London: Author, c.1795), 1. Sold from No. 1 Bennet Street, Rathbone Place, Prestons 97 Strand and Birchall 129 New Bond Street.
2.12 Joseph Reinagle: Ireland and Scotland

Prior to his departure to Ireland in 1791, Reinagle was again based in London from February 1790. The Times (London) contains four references to his performances during this year. These concerts were interspersed with two concerts in Oxford. However, these performances would not have enabled Reinagle to sustain any reasonable standard of living, nor do they represent the cultivation of a successful cello career. It is therefore no surprise he took the opportunity to spend a year in Ireland. However, Reinagle was slowly establishing his reputation as a cellist and was managing to retain provincial work. For example, in September, he returned to the Hampshire Music Festival. An advertisement for the forthcoming Music Festival (22–24 September 1790) states that ‘Fischer’s hautboy, and the violoncello of Reinagle are likewise to add their never failing attraction to the variety of the entertainments’.

Ireland (1791–2)

Reinagle, in the original copy of the letter he submitted to Sainsbury states that, ‘After the commemoration of Handel in Westminster Abbey he went to Dublin where he was engaged as Concerto Player at the commemoration of Handel and other Concerts under the patronage of Lord Westmorland then Lord Lieutenant’. ‘Concerto Player’ is crossed out and replaced with ‘principal cellist’. The publicity surrounding the concerts states ‘principal violoncello’, therefore concerto player can be viewed as Reinagle’s term. The first Handel commemoration concert took place in London in

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384 The Times, London, 2 February 1790, Pantheon, 2nd Grand Concert, Sperati (vc), Reinagle (vc), Mr Weischell (leader); 10 March 1790, Theatre Royal, 1st Grand Selection, G. Ashley (leader), Reinagle (vc); 2 March 1790, Pantheon, Mr Weischell (leader), Reinagle (vc); 10 March 1790, Theatre Royal, 1st Grand Selection, G. Ashley (leader), Reinagle (vc).
385 JOJ, 27 February 1790.
386 Hampshire Chronicle, 20 September 1790.
387 Euing Collection, University of Glasgow (GB-Gu).
1784 and due to its success it was repeated in 1785–7 and 1790–1. A ‘Mr Reinegale [sic]’ is listed as a second violinist at the Commemoration of Handel in Westminster in 1784.\footnote{See also C. Burney, \textit{An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey and the Pantheon, May 26th, 27th, 29th and June the 3d and 5th, 1784 in Commemoration of Handel} (London: T. Payne, G. Robinson, 1785). It is worth noting that Schetky is not listed by Burney.} However, this was most likely Alexander Reinagle, who left London for Portugal in the same year.\footnote{J. Greene, \textit{Theatre in Dublin, 1745–1820: A Calendar of Performance}, iv (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2011), 2624.}

The 1791 Rotunda winter season was directed and organised by the Christ Church Cathedral organist, Dr Langrishe Doyle.\footnote{Ibid.} The season consisted of eight subscription concerts from 4 March to 8 May, and six benefits that continued until 24 May.\footnote{Ibid.} Boydell argues that these concerts were either, the final concerts organised from the Rotunda or, more likely, an ‘independent venture’ by Doyle.\footnote{Ibid.} Boydell’s rationale for favouring the latter is that no information regarding their organisation is contained in the Rotunda Governor’s minutes. Doyle travelled to London in 1790 to ‘engage three eminent Performers from England or elsewhere’.\footnote{The Times, 2 February 1790. See BDA, xv, 332–3, for further biographical details of Weischel.} Reinagle performed a number of times in London in 1790, however, there is no evidence that Doyle was in attendance. Reinagle’s appointment may have been made through recommendations, rather than a personal connection to Doyle. Musicians with previous links to Dublin, included the cellist, Sperati, who was Doyle’s first advertised choice. Reinagle played second to Sperati at the Second Grand Concert at the Pantheon, which was led by Charles Weischel (1767–1850), a student of Wilhelm Cramer, who led the Rotunda concerts a year earlier.\footnote{Ibid.}
Dublin was accustomed to a high standard of guest cellists. Prior to Reinagle’s visit, the violinists, Pinto and Urbani, were linked to a cellist named, Signior Dell’Occa (1782). Salomon performed alongside the cellist, Sperati, in 1789. Giovanni Sperati was advertised in the *Hibernian Chronicle* in April 1790 as returning to Dublin in a series of subscription concerts starting in February 1791 at the Public Rooms, Rutland Square, Dublin. However, it was Reinagle who undertook this role.

Doyle’s progress in London was traced in the *Dublin Evening Post* and in January 1791 the newspaper published the following report:

Dr Doyle begs leave to acquaint the Nobility and Gentry, that the Subscription Concerts will commence in or about the 25th February next, for which he has engaged the celebrated Mr Pieltain, 1st Violin and Leader; Mr Reinagle, principal Violoncello and Madam Benda from Berlin, whose Abilities are so well established on the Continent as to need no Comment, as principal Singer, he has also engaged Messrs. Mahon, Erskine and Ashe, so justly admired on their respective instruments and will make such other engagements as will be sufficient to form a complete orchestra.395

Doyle also engaged the violinist, Dieudonné-Pascal Pieltain (1754–1833), a pupil of Giovanni Giornovichi, but due to illness Doyle had to replace him. There was no violin concerto advertised for the concert on 4 March, instead Reinagle and the York-based oboist, John Erskine (1787?–94), performed the concertos. John Mahon and Reinagle also performed a duet for violin and cello. The French violinist, Madame [Louisa] Gautherot was Pieltain’s replacement and, according to an advert in the *Hibernian Chronicle* (23 March 1791), she was to perform a concerto at the next concert.396 The *Freeman’s Journal* (29 March 1791) advertised a concert where both Reinagle and Madame Gautherot were to perform violin concertos, but this was possibly a misprint as Reinagle performed the cello part of Pleyel’s ‘Quartetto

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Concertante’ in the first half. Madame Gautherot was based in Paris before the French Revolution, and prior to her performances in Ireland she notably performed in London at Salomon’s opening concert series in March 1791.

Brian Boydell observes that in the Rotunda concerts of 1791, ‘the dominance of works by Haydn is replaced for the first time for many years by the music of Pleyel. Possibly the influence of M. Gautherot.’ Pleyel’s works were already played regularly in Edinburgh, where Reinagle had been based until 1786. They were equally popular in Oxford, where Reinagle settled in the early 1800s.

Reinagle’s solo contribution to the Rotunda concerts included several performances of unnamed concertos, presumably of his own composition. In the opening concert, Reinagle performed an additional violin and cello duet with Mahon. Mahon, who was principally a clarinet player, was also known for his violin playing. This partnership continued at the Oxford Room Concerts, where they performed duets regularly. Although the title of the work performed in Dublin was not given, it is very likely to have been Reinagle’s violin and cello duet based on the Scottish tune, ‘My ain kind dearie’. This was one of a small number of works by Reinagle to be sold, at a later date, at Westmoreland Street, Dublin. Reinagle also performed with the singer, ‘Mr Small’, in the popular ‘Softly sweet’ from Handel’s Alexander’s Feast (1736), in which the solo cello obligato line is most notable for its lyricism. He continued to perform this work regularly ‘by desire’ in Oxford. The aria, which was originally written for

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soprano, was premiered in London by the Italian cellist, Andrea Caporale in 1736.\textsuperscript{401}

**Benefit Concerts in Ireland**

In addition to his performances at the subscription concerts, Reinagle performed at numerous benefits. These included the singer ‘Madam Benda’s Night’ (27 April 1791) and ‘Madame Gautherot’s Concert’ (7 May 1791).\textsuperscript{402} According to the *Hibernian Journal*, Reinagle’s benefit was to take place on 11 May but was delayed until 21 May. Tickets were available from music shops and also from Reinagle’s address at No.72 Great Britain-Street.\textsuperscript{403} Reinagle shared an address with his colleague Mahon, which was in close proximity to the Rotunda concerts.\textsuperscript{404} A postscript in the *Freeman’s Journal* states:

> The benefit of Mr. Reinagle will doubtless be attended at the Public Rooms by the nobility and gentry. The abilities of this performer are deservedly admired, and he has selected a concert with judgement, which must be highly entertaining.\textsuperscript{405}

There is no reason given for the delay in his benefit concert. However, there were many competing events in the same week. Mahon and Ashe both had benefits scheduled for the 18 and 24 May respectively.\textsuperscript{406} The flautist, Andrew Ashe (c.1759–1838) was born in Lisburn, but received his early education in England.\textsuperscript{407} Whilst the benefit concerts of Mahon and Reinagle took place in the New Rooms at Rutland Square, with similar programming to that of the Rotunda season, Ashe held a large-scale benefit concert at the Great Grand Room, Rotunda. The programme concluded with the ‘Cantata of

\textsuperscript{402} Madam Benda’s Night, 27 April, 1791, New Rooms, Rutland Square (*FJ*, 23 April 1791); Reinagle also gave a concerto performance for the late Hugh Kelly’s Family in May 1791 (*FJ*, 19 May 1791).
\textsuperscript{403} *FJ*, 14, 17 May 1791; *HJ*, 4 May 1791.
\textsuperscript{404} *FJ*, 14 May 1791.
\textsuperscript{405} *FJ*, 17 May 1791.
\textsuperscript{406} *HJ*, 23 May, 1791.
\textsuperscript{407} Sainsbury, 34–6. P. Bate and D. Lasocki, ‘Andrew Ashe’, *GMO*.
Gibraltar’ by the poet, Dr Houlton, which was set to music and conducted by the opera composer, Tommaso Giordani (c.1730–1806).

Social Acceptance and Anecdote

Reinagle’s biographical entry in Sainsbury’s Dictionary was relatively free of anecdote, yet an extensive story of an occurrence in Dublin is included:

Here a whimsical circumstance happened worthy narration. The late celebrated Mr. Curran introduced himself to Reinagle, and invited him to dine with some musical friends at his country house, five miles from Dublin. Reinagle, anxious to embrace the opportunity of enjoying that great man’s society, most willingly assented; upon which Curran, being in great haste, would not permit our musician to seek for any conveyance, but requested him to ride double on his horse. In this ludicrous way, sitting behind Mr. Curran, they reached his house, to the amusement of many friends they met on the road. Reinagle passed two years in Dublin, and on his return to London played at Salomon’s concerts, at which Haydn presided.408

Reinagle does not provide Curran’s forename, but he was possibly referring to John Philpot Curran (1750–1817), the famous lawyer and nationalist, who lived in Rathfarnham. Interestingly this anecdote was underlined in the edited copy of Reinagle’s biographical letter to Sainsbury.409 Perhaps the editor was considering omitting this fairly irrelevant tale from a short biography. However, the story aims to convince of Reinagle’s acceptance and status within Dublin society. It is interesting to note that Wasielewski included this passage in the appendix of his work. He included only two pages of appendices, so to choose this material is significant.410

408 Sainsbury, 349. Mee states that Reinagle was ‘principal violoncello-player in Salomon’s Orchestra when it was directed by Haydn.’ However, there is no evidence of this. (Mee, 127).
409 See Appendix B.
410 Wasielewski, 216.
Reinagle in Cork

Cork enticed many touring musicians during the summer season, which occurred during the London ‘off season’.\(^{411}\) Susan O’Regan states that ‘Although strolling players and local amateur groups gave occasional performances, it was the annual season of the professional Dublin theatre companies that dominated Cork’s social life during the late eighteenth century.\(^{412}\) In July 1791, Madame Gautherot performed at the Grand Concert and Ball in the Assembly Rooms, George Street, Cork which was advertised in the same newspaper on the 6 July 1791, after which she went to Limerick.\(^{413}\) It is possible Reinagle accompanied her on this tour.\(^{414}\) However, by September the trio were back in Cork, where they performed at a concert organised by the Dublin violinist and dancer, Fontaine, as advertised in the \emph{Cork Gazette}:\(^{415}\)

We are happy to find, that Mr Fontaine has not forgotten his promise to the public, of giving them a Concert after the assizes, which is to be on Friday night, we understand. The selection of his pieces, as well as the professional eminence of Madame Gautherot, Mr Reinagle and Mr Mahoon [sic], must render this concert not only a feast, but a perfect luxury to the lovers of music’.\(^{416}\)

The concert was well received, and typically included solo concertos by Reinagle, Mahon and Gautherot, with a double violin concerto played by Fontaine and Gautherot:

A Musical Correspondent informs us, that Mr Fontaine’s Concert was a treat, indeed no such concert having been ever given before in this city; yet he is sure, from the number of performers, and other expences [sic] attending such an exhibition, Mr Fontaine must be considerably out of pocket.\(^{417}\)

\(^{412}\) Ibid., i, 45, see, also i, 157–8.
\(^{413}\) \emph{The Cork Gazette and General Advertiser}, 6 July 1791. See O’Regan, i, 24.
\(^{414}\) \emph{The Cork Gazette and General Advertiser}, 10 September 1791 states that Gautherot had just returned from Limerick, suggesting she had previously visited Cork.
\(^{415}\) O’Regan, i, 176; \emph{Cork Gazette}, 28 September 1791.
\(^{416}\) \emph{Cork Gazette}, 28 September 1791.
\(^{417}\) \emph{Cork Gazette}, 1 October 1791.
Fontaine’s concert had been delayed by ten days, from 20 to 30 September. With the postponement, the concert was extended to conclude with ‘The Taking of the Bastille’ and a Ball at the same ticket price as the original concert. Reinagle also performed in the opera *Artaxerxes* by Thomas Arne at the Cork Theatre Royal in August 1791.\(^\text{418}\)

Benefit concerts for the visiting musicians continued in Cork.\(^\text{419}\) In October 1791, Mahon and Reinagle shared a concert at the Theatre Royal in Cork, by permission of the Right Worshipful Henry Puxley, Esq., Mayor of Cork. It was unusual in that it followed a performance of the play ‘School for Scandal’ [by Richard Sheridan]. The advertisement stated that Madam Gautherot would ‘perform on the violin for that night only’.\(^\text{420}\)

It would have been necessary for Reinagle to subsidise his Cork visit with teaching. Cyril Ehrlich comments that ‘In Dublin the Lord Lieutenant’s orchestra and the theatre provided basic employment for a colony of musicians who supplemented their income with concerts and lessons in the usual fashion’.\(^\text{421}\) The number of student cellists in Cork would have been limited, therefore it is likely that Reinagle also taught the viola and violin.

‘Mr Morgan’, who had given concerts on the cello, provided cello tuition prior to Reinagle’s arrival. Morgan was the ‘Instructor to the Band of the Cork Union’ and also played the violin in the same concert. In a review of his concert on 26 February 1781, there was also an advertisement for lessons for the ‘Violin, German Flute, Violoncello, and Guittar [sic], with other instruments’.\(^\text{422}\) Prior to Reinagle’s arrival,

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\(^{418}\) O’Regan, i, 57. *HC*, 8 August 1791. The advert states: ‘The orchestra will be considerably enlarged, and the following principal Performers will assist on this Occasion for this night only.’ The opera was a benefit for a Mr Dawson. (*Cork Gazette*, 20 August 1791).

\(^{419}\) Mahon and Ashe shared a benefit on 30 July 1791. (*HJ*, 30 July 1791).

\(^{420}\) *The Cork Gazette and General Advertiser*, 5 October 1791.


\(^{422}\) O’Regan, ii, 28.
Cork had not experienced the same level of foreign cello talent as Dublin. In 1784, a ‘Mr Blundell’ gave a benefit concert of cello pieces in August.\textsuperscript{423} Blundell was advertised as the ‘late scholar to the celebrated Mr. Crossdill [sic]’.\textsuperscript{424}

The \textit{Freeman’s Journal} locates Reinagle back in Dublin in 1792, however he was no longer under the patronage of Doyle, nor the Rotunda.\textsuperscript{425} Despite this, the musicians from Doyle’s 1791 concerts continued to perform together. Reinagle was advertised as a concerto player at Madame Gautherot’s Benefit Concert held on the 19 April 1792. The programme again included Pleyel’s ‘Symphonie’ and ‘Quartetto’, ‘Symphonie Concertante’, and Reinagle also played a cello concerto.\textsuperscript{426} The musicians also performed in the opera \textit{The Duenna}, by Thomas Linley at the Theatre-Royal, where Reinagle and Mahon accompanied the ‘obligato Songs on the Violoncello and German Flute’.\textsuperscript{427} The principal voice was the Edinburgh singer, Mrs Stewart.\textsuperscript{428} An additional concert by Madam Gautherot, Reinagle and Mahon was advertised in the same edition of the \textit{Freeman’s Journal} (19 June 1792). It was patronised by the Duke of Leinster and announced as ‘Being the last time of their performing in this kingdom’.\textsuperscript{429}

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{423} James Blundell has an entry in \textit{BDA}, x, 181–2. It is claimed that he died in 1786, and that he was a member of the Royal Society of Musicians.
\item \textsuperscript{425} O’Regan, i, 183.
\item \textsuperscript{426} The tickets could be bought at Gautherot’s house at No. 38 Aungier Street.
\item \textsuperscript{428} The same newspaper relates the postponement of the later concert, a \textit{Grand Concert of Vocal Instrumental Music} (New Concert Room, Rotunda) so that Mrs Stewart could perform.
\item \textsuperscript{429} \textit{FJ}, 19 June 1792, http://www.irishnewsarchive.com. Also advertised in the \textit{DEP}, 16 June 1792.
\end{itemize}
Reinagle’s Return to Edinburgh

Reinagle, Mahon and Gautherot travelled north to Belfast. Roy Johnston states that all three performed ‘on their own initiative’ in the Exchange Room, Belfast, on a return trip from Dublin to Edinburgh during the Harper’s Festival of 1792.\textsuperscript{430} However, by July the trio had arrived in Edinburgh. A review of a concert by Gautherot, Mahon and Reinagle in the \textit{Caledonian Mercury} on 21 July 1792 states:

Last night, Madame Gautherot, Mr Mahon, and Mr Reinagle made their appearance at St Cecilia’s hall and from their united talents the audience were gratified in the highest degree. It is scarcely possible to conceive with what ease, elegance, and rapidity, this Lady’s fingers fly over the strings of her violin. Mr Mahon's performance on the Voce Claria was exquisitely charming. This instrument is altogether new in our concert; it resembles the tones of a horn in the lower notes, and in the upper tones seems the same with a clarionet. In the short air of Graymachree which Mr Reinagle played on the Violincello, we discovered a masterly tone and much taste. Each of this great performers received that unbounded applause they so much merited.\textsuperscript{431}

The \textit{Edinburgh Evening Courant} (21 and 23 July, 1792) advertised a further concert for Madame Gautherot on 25 July at St Cecilia’s Hall. The concert was to include solo concertos on the violin, cello and clarinet. However, a later newspaper report states that the concert was postponed until 31 July, where they were to be ‘assisted by Mr Stabilini, Mr Urbani, Mr Schetky, and the rest of the orchestra at St Cecilia Hall’.\textsuperscript{432} Mahon describes the ‘Clara Voce’ in his clarinet tutor under the section, basset horn.\textsuperscript{433}

In August, Reinagle and Mahon shared a Grand Concert at St Cecilia’s Hall.\textsuperscript{434} The concert included the traditional concertos by each of the performers. Interestingly, the same newspaper also included an advertisement for Reinagle’s ‘Three Sonatas for
the Piano Forte, with an Obligato Accompaniment for the Violin or German Flute, and Violoncello’, which he was to publish by subscription. The advertisement states that ‘The Sonatas are now in the hands of Mr Shield (brother to the composer, in London), who has engraved the works of Muzio Clementi, and most to the Composers in England.’\textsuperscript{435} This suggests that Reinagle’s sister had now married and settled in London, where she had given her debut on the pianoforte. Subscriptions were to be received by Mr Stewart (a publisher and music-seller), Mr Corri, Mr Bryton and Mr Ross’ music shop, and by Reinagle himself at ‘top of left stair right hand, Dunbar’s Close’. Evidently Reinagle was relying on the friendships he had established as a past member of the EMS. There is no record of a surviving copy of these sonatas.

The duration of Reinagle’s visit to Edinburgh is unclear. However, a letter dated October 1792 locates him in Scarborough, which suggests he spent the summer season performing there.\textsuperscript{436}

Dear Sir, [Gilbert Innes of Stow, New Town, Edinburgh]\textsuperscript{437}
I suppose the concerts will soon begin at Edinr[Edinburgh] and as Mr Troter [Trotter]\textsuperscript{438} and you was desirous I should perform I should have no objection to render myself useful to the concert, I wish your fund could be [sufficient?] to alow me Fifty Pounds salary it is not much for (tho I mention it) I think my performance would be worth it to the concert. It think there is a want of a little spirit in the orchestra, but I will not take uppon me to dictate for you, but only mention that if you think proper to have me I shall pay every attention to my department and endeavour to make myself worthy your protection. I am to be some time at the Dean of Winchester at Kirkley near Newcastle uppon Tine, if you honour me with your answer please direct there. I am Sir Your most[?] Servant Jos. Reinagle.
Scarbro 28 Octr [17]92.\textsuperscript{439}

\textsuperscript{435} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{436} GB-Enas reference: GD113-4-160-379.
\textsuperscript{437} Gilbert Innes of Stow was a Director of the EMS from 1782. (MacLeod, 7).
\textsuperscript{438} John Trotter was a Director of the EMS from 1790–6. (MacLeod, 299).
\textsuperscript{439} GB-Enas reference: GD113-4-160-379.
The letter is signed from Scarborough and states that he will be at the Dean of Winchester’s residence, Kirkley [Kirkby], near Newcastle upon Tyne. Musicians often called into Newcastle on their return to London, and Salomon made a similar journey many years earlier.440 However, his connection to Rev. Newton Ogle, the Dean of Winchester at the time is not known.441 Details of a concert organised by Mahon and Reinagle in Newcastle can be found in the local press.442 The concert on 4 December 1792, at the Assembly Rooms, Groat Market, was to include concertos by Mahon and Reinagle.

The timing of Reinagle’s request to return to the EMS was unfortunate, as the society was under severe financial strain and was soon to dissolve. It is not clear if Reinagle proposed to return as a cellist or as a violinist. However, the letter implies that he hoped to return as the leader of the EMS. Stabilini was appointed principal violin, but the society was having problems disciplining him alongside a number of other contracted musicians.443 Reinagle’s expression of ‘a little spirit’ suggests that he would provide renewed energy to the orchestra and society.

Reinagle returned to Edinburgh in January 1793, but under what terms is unclear. A newspaper advertisement of Mahon’s concert in the Newcastle Chronicle states that ‘Mr Mahon is sorry that Mr Reinagle’s Engagements called him away suddenly, and has endeavoured to supply his Place, by engaging the best performers in Durham.’444 In Edinburgh, Reinagle performed a ‘New Concerto on the Violoncello’ at Mademoiselle Giolivetti’s benefit, and again at Mahon’s Concert in February

442 *Newcastle Courant*, 24 November 1792.
443 MacLeod, 88–9.
444 *Newcastle Chronicle*, 12 January 1793.
In this concert Reinagle must have performed both cello and violin (or viola). Mahon had composed a quartet, which was performed by Mahon, Reinagle, Urbani and Schetky. Reinagle also performed ‘A Conversation Piece (on this night only), for the Violin and Violoncello, by Mess. Mahon, Stabilini and Reinagle in which will be introduced, Three Favourite Airs for different instruments’. However this concert was postponed in order to avoid competition from Urbani’s benefit, but was reported to have ‘failed, owing to the fashionable company being engaged at the two Assemblies.’ It would appear Mahon and his colleagues were having difficulty engaging the Edinburgh audience, and that Edinburgh no longer supported the concerts in the same numbers.

Despite this, Reinagle remained in Edinburgh performing at Schetky’s benefit, where again Reinagle performed the cello obligato to Handel’s ‘Softly sweet’ with Madame Giolivetti. However, Schetky played the cello concerto. In the same month, Schetky and Reinagle performed ‘Boccherini’s Favourite Quintetto’, presumably one of Boccherini’s quintets with two cellos. This was also performed at Natale Corri’s concert in March 1793.

Reinagle continued to share a stage with Schetky and in March performed at Mahon’s benefit before finally receiving his own concert at St Cecilia’s Hall. It was in this concert that Reinagle premiered a series of his own new compositions, including a string quartet and a new sonata for pianoforte that was performed by ‘Mr Clark’. Reinagle again performed ‘Softly sweet’ and a concerto. However, the highlight of

\[445\] EEC, 24 January 1793.
\[446\] EEC, 9 February 1793.
\[447\] EEC, 14 February 1793.
\[448\] EEC, 21 February 1793.
\[449\] EEC, 28 February 1793.
\[450\] CM, 4 March 1793.
\[451\] EEC, 14 March 1793. Tickets were available from Mr Reinagle at Mrs Robertson’s Dunbar Close, Lawn-market and all music shops at 3s.
the concert was ‘The Battle of Verden’, a battle that took place during the Saxon Wars in 1782:

THE BATTLE OF VERDEN
Arranged for Voices, Kettle Drums, and Trumpets
Generalissimo of the General Army, Mad. Goliavetti
Lieutenant General, Sig. Urbani
Brigadier General, Mad. [?] Goliavetti
The rest of the Characters by Mess. Stabilini, Schetky, Mahon, Bernard, Reinagle, and the
Chorus Singers
The Band will be double for that night only; and Mr Reinagle will exert himself to render the
Concert worthy the patronage of his Friends and the Public.

PLAN OF THE BATTLE
1st. To arms - Duet by the Lieutenant General and Brigadier General
2nd. See the conquering Hero comes - Full Chorus
3d. Are all the troops drawn up - Recitative by the Generalissimo
4th. They are according to your orderd - Lieut. General
5th. The cannon, are they pointed - Generalissimo
6th. Each man, impatient, stands by his gun - Lieut. General
7th. Then tell each leader to advance - Generalissimo
8th. Make ready - Generalissimo
9th. Present - Lieutenant General
10th. Fire - Brigadier General
11th. Then the whole Band begin the battle
12th. “Britons strike home.” - To conclude with “God save the King”. 452

It was advertised that ‘the Band will be doubled for that night only; and Mr Reinagle will exert himself to render the Concert worthy the patronage of his friends and the public.” 453 Reinagle had drawn on as many resources as possible to ensure that the concert was a success, and that it stood out amongst a growing number of benefit concerts that had taken place in Edinburgh in that year. However, the tickets remained at the traditional price of 3s. Despite Reinagle’s efforts the concert was postponed, as the majority of the performers needed were in Glasgow at ‘Mrs Billington’s Night’. 454

The concert was re-advertised to take place on the 2 April. 455 A review in the Caledonian Mercury states:

452 CM, 16 March 1793.
453 EEC, 14 March 1793; CM, 16 March 1793.
454 EEC, 18 March 1793.
455 EEC, 30 March 1793.
Today’s Concert was for the benefit of Mr Reinagle. The company was genteel, though not so numerous as might have been expected. The performances were well received. The Battle of Verden excited no small degree of alarm in the Ladies, at the same time they pronounced their hearty approbation of the piece. The audience joined the band in “Britons strike home,” and “God Save the King,” [?] the whole, Mr Reinagle has acquired so small degree of eclair from the very correct and judicious display of his own talents, and the masterly manner in which in conducted the whole band.

Reinagle remained in Edinburgh until July, performing at Giolivetti’s concert in 1793, with Schetky and himself sharing the cello solos, Schetky performing a concerto, and Reinagle the cello part to ‘Softly sweet’. 456

2.13  **Joseph Reinagle: A Return to England**

By 1794, Reinagle had returned to London, where he was engaged in Salomon’s concerts. The concert season began on 19 February, comprising twelve concerts, excluding Easter and Passion weeks, and most notably was directed by Haydn at the pianoforte. Reinagle is not registered in Doane’s 1794 *Musical Directory*, although his brother Philip Reinagle (1748–1834) is listed as a violinist at the *New Musical Fund*, living in Allsops-Buildings, New-Road, Marylebone. Philip was also a member of The Royal Academy. 457 Alexander Reinagle was also listed in the directory, although his address was given as Philadelphia. 458 Doane’s list was mainly of London-based musicians, which may account for Joseph Reinagle and Schetky being overlooked.

In the same year (1794), John Mahon made a return to Scotland. A letter from John Mahon requesting payment from the EMS states ‘as I hav supplyd [sic] Mr Reinagles [sic] place by playing the Violin through the concerts.’ 459 The confusion between Reinagle’s requests and actual attendance at the EMS still requires further

456 *EEC*, 6 July 1793; *CM*, 6 July 1793.
clarification. However, Mahon’s letter suggests that Reinagle had been approached by the EMS to play the violin and not the cello. In fact, in June 1794 Reinagle was performing in Oxford, at Alfred’s Music Room, as a principal performer at the ‘Wantage Concert’ of vocal and instrumental Music. 460 He was also billed amongst the principal performers at the Oxford Musical Society choral music concert, however, it was not until 1800 that he made his permanent residence in Oxford. 461

Oxford

The mania for foreign musicians seen in Bath, and to some extent in Edinburgh, does not seem to have infected Oxford. English and foreign performers alike were described as ‘celebrated’, and the Stewards seem to have been more concerned with engaging performers of a demonstrably high standard than those whose nationality alone was expected to confer superiority. 462

Mee suggests that Reinagle took over the violoncello position in Oxford in 1795. 463 However, it is not certain if he was appointed principal cellist or was an invited leader, as Reinagle seems to have left shortly after holding a benefit concert on the 14 May 1795, when Francis Attwood took over the position of principal cellist. Attwood appears to have held this position until Reinagle took it over permanently in 1800. 464

When the great cellist Joseph Reinagle left the concerts at Oxford’s Music Room from 1796 to 1800 his place there was taken by Francis Attwood. He introduced many of his father’s compositions to the program. His last benefit at Oxford was on 14 March 1800. 465

460 JOJ, 21 June 1794.
461 JOJ, 28 June 1794.
462 Burchell, 202.
463 Mee, 130.
464 Ibid., 139.
465 BDA, 172.
Francis’ father had also performed in Oxford in 1789 and in 1793.\footnote{Ibid.} Prior to 1795, the appointment was held by the cellist, Robert Inchbald, who had taken over from Monro after his death in 1791.\footnote{Ibid., 130.} Reinagle issued an unusual thank you after his benefit concert, which was published in the local press. Perhaps he was hoping to cultivate future employment, or he was competing with Attwood for the principal position:

> Mr. Reinagle impressed with the utmost sense of the distinguished Favour done him by the Ladies and Gentlemen of the University and City of Oxford at his Benefit Concert, takes the Method of returning his grateful Thanks, and shall at all Times endeavour to merit the same.\footnote{JOJ, 30 May 1795.}

It is not known where Reinagle was based after this concert, or throughout 1796. A letter from Mary Schetky to her son, George, in 1794 comments that, ‘Unkle \textit{sic} Joseph has been in London all winter’.\footnote{L. O. Schetky, 155.} Another letter from J. G. C. Schetky to his son, (December 1794) claims: ‘Uncle Joseph is engaged to Oxford at a very good price’.\footnote{Ibid., 161.} By November 1795, contact had been lost. Schetky wrote to his son, ‘Uncle Joseph is, I believe is in Oxford but I have not heard from him these six months’.\footnote{Ibid., 163.} It would appear that as the family grew older, and especially when siblings left Scotland, contact diminished. It should be noted that Philip Reinagle (as listed by Doane) was resident in London at this time, working as a painter. It is therefore possible that Joseph resided with his brother during this period.

Reinagle’s concert absence in 1796 coincided with a marriage record in ‘Pallot’s Marriage Index for England: 1780-1837’. The index states that Joseph Reinagle married Constance Pargeter in the Parish of Westminster, Middlesex in
The brief record does not provide witnesses names, Reinagle’s occupation, nor the name of their fathers. No record of Constance’s birth or death has been located.

Reinagle made a brief return to the Holywell Room Concerts in 1797, when he and Mahon performed Pleyel’s ‘Concertante’ for violin and viola. Presumably Reinagle played the viola on this occasion. However, it is possible he played the viola part on the cello as exemplified in a quartet performance by the cellists Cervetto and Crosdill at their ‘United Benefit’ in April 1780, where the viola part was played by Cervetto on the cello. The performance took place on the stage of the Opera House (London), with J. C. Bach and Cramer. In December, Reinagle returned to Oxford, performing a duet for two cellos by Bréval with Attwood. No composer is credited, which suggests that it was his own composition. Reinagle published *Three Duets for a Violin and Violoncello* in c.1797 and the duet performed may have been from this publication. The title page of Reinagle’s work states ‘Professor of the Violoncello at Oxford’ locating his residency in Oxford. The duets are each in three movements, with some melodic interplay. However, the cello is often the accompaniment instrument, and the first duet relies heavily on an alberti-bass figure, which is not particularly cellistic. Reinagle moves away from this compositional technique in the second and third duet, exploring a wide range of accompaniment styles, making these duets more technically and musically fulfilling for the cellist. The duets require an advanced bowing technique, and a good left-hand facility, as Reinagle

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472 Westminster Archives: Joseph Reinagle, St James Piccadilly, Married 21 January 1796, at St James Piccadilly, Middlesex, to Constance Deane Pargeter. www.findmypast.co.uk.
473 GB-Ob, Box: Mus.1.d.64 (1–4), 27 November 1797.
476 Ibid. (11 December 1797).
ascends to the ‘C’ two octaves above ‘middle C’. There are some left-hand fingerings added to the cello part, mostly when the cello has the tune demonstrating how it can be played in one position across the strings. This was typical of the period and also exemplified in the works of Schetky. It demonstrates a sound aesthetic that differs from modern playing, where melodies are often played, where possible, on one string to avoid unnecessary changes in the timbre.

In 1798, Attwood resumed the role of solo cello and concerto player in Oxford. However, Reinagle received a benefit concert in July. The concert was a promotion of Reinagle as a composer and cellist, where he showcased his large-scale compositions and performed a cello concerto of his own composition. The plan of the concert included the epic ‘Battle Piece’, and The O.U.V. [Oxford University Volunteers] March and Quick Step, which he ‘humbly dedicated to the University’. Quick steps by Crotch and Mahon were also performed. Crotch, who was an officer in the second regiment of the Oxford volunteers, states that Mahon was a clarinet player of the first band, and Reinagle a horn player, presumably returning to the instrument which he had learnt as a child.

The influence of the volunteer movement is evident in the music programming in Oxford. Gee states that the band of the O.L.V. [Oxford Loyal Volunteers] ‘was considered sufficiently important to justify an expense of 300 pounds’. The volunteer movement established a new audience which wished to hear military style music and this can be traced in the programming of Reinagle’s battle pieces and marches. Southey

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478 Sainsbury, 172.
479 ‘Mr Reinagle’s Benefit Concert is fixed for Wednesday next the 4th Inst. Tickets to be had at all Music Shops, Principal Inns, and Coffee Houses.’ JOJ, 2 July 1798.
480 Written for the Oxford Loyal Volunteers (Mee, 146). The O.U.V. March and Quickstep was also performed in Abingdon, at a Race Concert, in the Council Chamber, 11 September 1798.
481 See also M. Philip, ed., Resisting Napoleon: The British Response to the Threat of Invasion, 1797-1815 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 192–204.
482 Ibid., 192.
483 Gee, 181.
suggests that Newcastle’s music scene was saved by the connection between music and nationalism during the period, when other centres had experienced a deterioration, as ‘patriotism’ had attracted new audience members.\textsuperscript{484}

Reinagle’s final performance in Oxford in 1798, took place on 25 July, when he performed with Mahon, a violin and cello duet by Bréval. The concert was a ‘Race Concert and Call’, which took place in the Town Hall. Reinagle’s ‘U. L. V. Slow and Quick March’ was performed, but it was Attwood who performed the cello concerto.\textsuperscript{485} Reinagle’s ‘March’ was repeated on 11 September 1798 at a ‘Race Concert Council Chamber’ in Abingdon. However, Reinagle was not advertised as a performer, and it is unlikely that he was in attendance. Reinagle returned to the Oxford Room Concerts a year later, when he made Oxford his permanent residence. During his absence, Attwood continued as principal cellist performing concertos, solos and duets with the violinist, Mahon. Attwood regularly performed the duets of Borghi and Eley, in combination with his own solos and concertos, as did Reinagle.

**The Chichester Musical Society**

Young Carpenter having before he came from Oxford lately written to say that Mr Reinagle the violoncello player of that place was inclined to come to Portsmouth & Chichester & have a concert at each, if I thought it likely to answer.\textsuperscript{486}

The above excerpt from John Marsh’s journal demonstrates Reinagle’s introduction to the musical community in Chichester. John Marsh (1752–1828) was born in the same year as Joseph Reinagle, and eventually settled in Gosport, where Reinagle had been

\textsuperscript{484} Southey, 12.
\textsuperscript{485} U.L.V. most likely stands for the University Loyal Volunteers, better known as the Oxford University Volunteers. Alternatively, it may have been a misprint of O.L.V. (Oxford Loyal Volunteers).
\textsuperscript{486} Robins, *The John Marsh Journals*, i, 672.
christened.\textsuperscript{487} Chichester’s ‘musical community’ featured amateur enthusiasts and members of the Sussex Militia Band.\textsuperscript{488} Marsh was in the position of hiring string players, that ‘were paid to support, rather than eclipse, the local Chichester amateurs’.\textsuperscript{489} Within a week of Reinagle’s initial enquiry, a benefit concert was arranged in Chichester, but this was not without complications for Marsh. In attendance was Dr Aylward, who according to Marsh provided an ‘additional inducement to promote a good company for Mr Reinagle’.\textsuperscript{490} Dr Theodore Aylward was a composer and organist, who also played the viola in Chichester.\textsuperscript{491} He published a set of string quartets in 1794.\textsuperscript{492} Originally Aylward was to play J. C. Bach’s Organ Concerto in D, but instead decided to play his own composition.\textsuperscript{493} Presumably this was Bach’s keyboard concerto, op. 1, no. 6 in D major which includes a set of variations on ‘God Save the King’. It was also agreed that he would play last in the programme, but unbeknown to Marsh, Aylward had changed this to the first piece in the second act, stating that he would not play at all if this was not agreed. Aylward also objected to being named on the bill, which Marsh could not comprehend. In addition, Mr Humphry, the Master of the Montgomery Militia Band, who was to be the clarinet soloist, harpist, and principal singer, took ill and missed rehearsals. Marsh concluded that the concert ‘went off very well & was well attended’.\textsuperscript{494} This was despite Aylward arriving late and performing only his own concerto, with Humphry having to play the organ.

\textsuperscript{488} McFarlane, 136.
\textsuperscript{489} Ibid., 137.
\textsuperscript{490} Robins, The John Marsh Journals, i, 673. For further information regarding the logistics of the concert see Robins, i, 672–3.
\textsuperscript{491} McFarlane, 135.
\textsuperscript{492} T. Aylward, Six Quartettos for Two Violins, Tenor and Violoncello, op. 4 (Windsor: Author, [1795?]).
\textsuperscript{493} According to Robins the concert took place on 22 August, 1798. Robins, The John Marsh Journals, i, 668–9.
\textsuperscript{494} Robins, The John Marsh Journals, i, 673.
The day after Reinagle’s concert, Marsh met with the publisher, Goulding, who was later to publish Reinagle’s 1799 cello treatise and a second set of duets for violin and cello. It is plausible that Reinagle secured his publishing agreement as a result of his meeting in Chichester and through his association with John Marsh.

Reinagle remained in Chichester after his benefit, performing at the Musical Society at the Fleece in the winter. During this period, Marsh outlines his attendance and performances at the society and at social ad-hoc meetings. Reinagle’s private performances included a recital of Madam [Maddalena] Sirmen’s (1745–1818) concerto on the violin, to which Marsh remarked, ‘w’ch inst’t he played nearly as well as the bass’. Sirmen was an Italian composer and violinist, who McVeigh describes as the ‘dominant violinist of the 1771 [London] season’. However, Marsh also outlines a less successful meeting when none of the Montgomery band attended, and Reinagle did not arrive ‘till after 8. hav’g it seem’d been smoking a pipe at the Dolphin with the younger Humphrey’.

During the same period (October 1797), Reinagle’s colleague, Mahon was in Portsmouth. Reinagle travelled to Portsmouth in order to perform at Mahon’s benefit concert. On his return, Marsh writes that Reinagle, who had spent his Chichester benefit concert money, had asked for an additional concert. It was intended that Mahon would lead and play the clarinet, and that his [Mahon’s] wife would sing. The concert was granted and took place prior to the subscription concerts. However, there was discord that Reinagle had received a second benefit and this was reflected in bad attendance.

495 J. Reinagle, A Second Set of Three Duetts for a Violin and Violoncello in which are Introduced Favorite Airs (London: Goulding, Phipps and D’Almaine, 1800).
496 Robins, The John Marsh Journals, i, 674.
497 Ibid., 675.
499 Robins, The John Marsh Journals, i, 675.
Marsh claims that this protest resulted in many members missing an opportunity to hear, ‘celebrated performers of w’ch they might afterw’ds have no opportunity, Mr Reinagle now going to Brighton & Lewes.’

Reinagle directed a series of morning concerts in Brighton in 1799. However, there is no further information on these concerts, beyond the initial billing:

Morning Concert, Under the Direction of Mr Reinagle,
Who respectfully acquaints the Subscribers, that the First Concert will be on Tuesday, the 27th [August] Instant, at Tilt’s Rooms, at Twelve o’clock.
Subscription for the Six Concerts, One Guinea – None but Subscribers to be admitted.
Subscriptions Tickets to be had at Mr. Tilt’s, and Mr Hicks’s; Gregory’s and Donaldson’s Libraries; and of Mr Reinagle, No. 9, New-street, Brighton.

However, Marsh states:

Reinagle’s Concert and Ball, on Tuesday last at Hick’s Rooms, Brighton, were splendidly attended. Most of the first fashion of the town and neighbourhood were present, and danced til a late hour.

Reinagle returned to Chichester to play in the 1799–1800 season (from October 1799 to February 1800) and the 1802–3 season. Rehearsals for the first concert of the season took place on the 17 October, in which Reinagle performed ‘his celebrated Concerto ending with the Rondeau of Paddy Wack’. The Irish song had previously been arranged as a set of variations by Thomas Smart (1747–1803) for the harpsichord, violin and German flute, which was published in Dublin and London.

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500 Ibid.
501 Sussex Advertiser, 26 August 1799.
502 Ibid.
504 Courier and Evening Gazette, 24 September 1799.
507 T. Smart, Paddy Whack: with Variations for the Harpsichord, Violin, and Ger. Flute ([Dublin]: published by Anne Lee in Dame Street (No. 2), [not before 1776]). T. Smart, Paddy Whack: with Variations for the Harpsichord or Pianoforte, also for the Violin, or German Flute ([London]: Straight and Skillern, [c. 1775]). Information from the British Library catalogue (GB-Lbl).
Despite what appears to be regular employment, Reinagle was again in debt. In 1799, he repeated his appeal to remain in Chichester for the winter season, at the price of two guineas per concert and one benefit.\textsuperscript{508} Marsh records that the society was unable to afford this sum, but offered one and a half guineas plus a benefit concert, providing essentially a salary of thirty guineas.\textsuperscript{509} Reinagle must have accepted the terms, as it was during the 1799 winter season that Reinagle tutored the young violinist, Richard Cudmore (1787–1840).\textsuperscript{510} Marsh comments that Reinagle’s young student Cudmore progressed well under the instruction of Reinagle:

Young Cudmore having come on surprisingly under Reinagle this winter, his father now began to give up the idea of putting him an apprentice to a taylor at Chichester and to think of bringing him up to the musical profession entirely and accordingly getting him the best instruction that he co’d or w’ch purpose being Mr Salomon being strongly recommended by Reinagle.\textsuperscript{511}

Reinagle also taught Carter the double bass player, which was financed by the concerts in order that they had a bassist for future years.\textsuperscript{512} The bass player, Carter, also known as ‘the singing man’, was Reinagle’s replacement for the following season.\textsuperscript{513} Marsh continues with an explanation of Reinagle’s difficult circumstances:

He [Reinagle] had in fact from the derangement of his circumstances been obliged to leave Oxford, & consequently to lose his place of principal violoncello to the Concert there, on w’ch account he had of the last twelvemonth been staying about Brigton & Lewes doing what he co’d or w’ch subsist himself & wife by what teaching he co’d get on the violin, violoncello & piano forte & having a few occasional concerts.\textsuperscript{514}

Robins suggests that the ‘derangement’ was financial. However, the situation appears to be almost a repeat of his departure from Scotland in the mid 1780s. Reinagle was

\textsuperscript{508} Robins, \textit{The John Marsh Journals}, i, 700.
\textsuperscript{509} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{510} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{511} Ibid., 705.
\textsuperscript{512} Ibid., 707.
\textsuperscript{513} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{514} Ibid., 700.
now married to Constance Pargeter. The whereabouts of his previous wife, Dorinda, is unknown. The ‘circumstances’ could therefore be due to a number of factors, including his marital relationship, debt or the financial restraints of the Oxford Musical Society, which was then under severe financial pressure.

Constance and Joseph had one son, Alexander Robert Reinagle. According to Marsh, Alexander Robert was born in Brighton and Lewes. Marsh states that Reinagle’s wife and ‘infant child’ joined him in Chichester for the winter in 1799. Reinagle’s wife died suddenly on Christmas Day whilst in Chichester, when Alexander was approximately five months old. An entry in Marsh’s journal from 25 December relates the story of Reinagle’s wife unexpected death:

On the next morning early died Mrs Reinagle suddenly to the distraction of poor Reinagle who immediately left his lodgings... & after spending the day at Mr Cudmore’s remov’d at night to Michele’s the music sellers where he lodged for some time afterwards. As for his little boy, then about 5 months old Mrs Watts at the next door finding it much neglected during the confusion occasion’d by it’s mother’s death took it into her house, & being then a nurse, suckled it herself, & has kept it from that time to the present (Oct’r 1801.)

Reinagle’s son, Alexander Robert, remained in Chichester until Reinagle had established himself in Oxford. Robins states that a neighbour, ‘Mrs Watts’ looked after the child until October 1802. However, Reinagle remained in the area performing in Fareham in early January 1800. Reinagle missed one concert after his wife’s death, but continued to perform at the Chichester Festival.

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516 Robins, The John Marsh Journals, i, 703.

517 Ibid. According to Crosby ‘poor’ referred to social class. (Crosby, 48).

518 Robins, The John Marsh Journals, i, 703 states 1801, but vol. 2 states it was in 1802.
Reinagle received his benefit concert in March 1800, at which his Battle Piece was performed at the Wheatsheaf (a tavern in Chichester, where music meetings and rehearsals took place).\textsuperscript{519} Marsh describes the work as ‘curious’, perhaps unconvinced by the piece, but that it ‘went off with great spirit & pleased very much’.\textsuperscript{520} This was despite the audience laughing at Reinagle’s choice of words in the recitativo, in which the singer, a Mr Hill, sang ‘Make ready, present fire’. Marsh maintained the choice of words had ‘a ridiculous effect’.\textsuperscript{521} He noted that the principal cellist, a Mr Kinleside, was unable to control his laughing. Evidently Reinagle directed his own composition, although he performed the bassoon obligato of a Handel aria on the cello in the same concert.\textsuperscript{522} Reinagle performed one further concert in Winchester in March 1800, before returning to Oxford, as according to Marsh, there were no further opportunities for him in Chichester.\textsuperscript{523}

By July 1800, Reinagle had resumed his position in Oxford, but continued to return to Chichester, where his son still lived. In 1802, a review of Kirchner’s Benefit Concert (the master of the Sussex Band) states that ‘the Violoncello-Concerto, by Reinagle, and the Kettle-drum Solo, were much admired’.\textsuperscript{524} The author continues:

Reinegal [sic], on the following evening, assisted at a private concert at the Earl of Chichester’s at Stanmer, and acquitted himself with his usual ability. Our musical amateurs are greatly in hopes that the above excellent performer will take a concert here, for his own benefit, before he returns to Oxford, at which place the concerts commence on Monday next.\textsuperscript{525}

\textsuperscript{519} Ibid., 708.
\textsuperscript{520} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{521} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{522} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{523} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{524} Sussex Advertiser, 11 January 1802.
\textsuperscript{525} Ibid.
Reinagle must have returned in February, as Marsh’s remarks on one concert in February 1802, where Reinagle led the orchestra on the violin as there were so few players (only four violins and a cello). William Crotch performed on the cello on this occasion. Reinagle’s visits and connection to Chichester were undoubtedly regular as his son was still being cared for by ‘Mrs Watts’. However, by 1802, Reinagle had remarried and returned to collect his son before attending the Hampshire Music Meeting in October 1802. During the extended visit to Chichester, Reinagle gave lessons on the cello to Henry Marsh (1776–1816), John Marsh’s son. It became apparent to John Marsh that Reinagle, not only intended to collect his son during this visit, but also raise funds for travel through a benefit concert:

Mr Reinagle having come to Chichester, ostensibly to take away his child, but principally (as it now appear’d) in the hope of raising a benefit concert to raise a little money towards his travelling expenses.

Unfortunately, the concert attracted a small audience, approximately fifty people, and Marsh speculated that he would have raised only £2 or £3. It would appear Reinagle had lost popularity within Chichester, or that the concert had been arranged too hastily.

Marsh locates Reinagle in ‘Southton’ (Southampton) prior to September, 1804. Reinagle met with Marsh in Chichester to propose a concert with a ‘Miss Mortimer’, who had also been in Southampton. Interestingly, Reinagle was in the company of ‘Mr Sketky’ [Schetky] who Marsh described as an ‘artist and kinsman of his’. This was most likely, J. G. C. Schetky’s son, John Christian Schetky, who had spent a number of years in Oxford. Marsh, who required a cellist for some time, organised an

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528 Ibid., 2.
529 Ibid., 5.
530 Ibid., 6.
531 Ibid., 51.
532 Ibid.
informal gathering to dine and play music. Apparently Reinagle arrived after everyone had left (around 11pm), as he had got lost on his walk back.\footnote{Ibid.} After some informal concerts and a benefit concert, Reinagle left Chichester. However, there was a disagreement with Marsh regarding the negotiation of Miss Mortimer’s fee, and it seems that there was bad feeling as implied by Marsh:

\begin{quote}
[A]s to Mr Reinagle he with his wife decamp’d on the following morning without beat of drums or bestwing the smallest thanks for what I have done in leading his concert &c. and return’d to Southton.\footnote{Ibid.}
\end{quote}

The generosity of the society, and of Marsh and others during Reinagle’s time of need, is clearly evident.

Although it can only be speculated as to whether Reinagle returned to Chichester, Marsh remained in contact. Marsh records visits to Oxford, where he met Reinagle until 1824. He recounts Reinagle performing amongst a large orchestra with the cellists, Robert Lindley (1776–1855) and Charles Ashley (1773–1843), at the installation ceremony at the Sheldonian Theatre.\footnote{Ibid., 53. In 1824, Marsh describes calling on Reinagle in Oxford to ask for some cello fingering advice for his grandson, as Chichester had no cello teacher.\footnote{Ibid., 355.}
2.14 J. G. C. Schetky: The Final Years of the EMS and his Career after its Demise

Despite an increase in subscription fees, the EMS was not able to sustain the salaries of its professional players. Reduced numbers of amateur member participation resulted in the society having to hire more professionals to complete the orchestra. This inevitably led to a considerable increase in its expenditure. The society continued to run throughout the early 1790s, despite incurring considerable losses. There were reports of non-payment of fees and increases in musician absenteeism. During the same period, the ‘Edinburgh Musical Fund’ was established in 1792, when it advertised a concert for funds: ‘Performers of Music in Edinburgh have formed themselves into a society after the plan of the Musical Fund in London.’ Amongst the performers were EMS members, Pietro Urbani, Clark [the harpsichordist], Schetky and Stabilini.537

Burchell contributes the dissolution of the EMS to a number of factors, including ‘finance’, ‘social conflict’ and ‘demography’.538 The building of the South Bridge had made St Cecilia’s Hall more difficult to access, and the unfinished building work caused considerable difficulties for the society. The expansion and development of the New Town, resulted in the higher social classes moving to the newly built part of the city. St Cecilia’s Hall was no longer in the fashionable part of town and it became inopportunistly positioned by the new South Bridge.539 MacLeod suggests that the society’s maintenance of an insular heritage that closed concerts to un-subscribed members was an additional aspect which led it into financial difficulty.540

During the late 1780s and 1790s, Oxford’s Musical Society was also struggling financially. The stewards were not able to secure sufficient subscriptions to run the

537 EEC, 19 April 1792.
538 Burchell, 55.
539 Cranmer, 18.
540 MacLeod, 58.
concert series. In 1787, the society concerts were suspended, which resulted in a number of benefit concerts to sustain the musicians. The concerts series was billed as private, but it had been possible for non-members to attend individual concerts. It was this practice that the stewards curtailed in the 1790s. Decline in subscriptions was not specific to Edinburgh or Oxford. Britain was feeling the ‘economic effects’ of war, and there was a change in the ‘balance and wealth of social classes within the country’s urban populations’. Southey traces a ‘loss of interest in organised entertainments’ in North England during the same period.

This was also a trend seen in Edinburgh in the 1770s when there was a growing reluctance amongst the amateurs to perform at the concerts. Towns like Chichester, which offered a shorter season, also felt this strain, as the repertoire became too difficult for amateurs, resulting in concerts becoming more expensive to run, as a larger number of professionals were needed. Professional ensembles existed in provincial Britain earlier in the century. The Anacreonetic Society’s orchestra in Norwich in the late 1700s was entirely professional, with amateurs restricted to the choir. In Bath, public concerts at the Pump Room and Assembly Rooms were given by professional musicians, who further supplemented their income with teaching. A move to private subscription concerts, in the Upper Rooms, by the singer Venanzio Razzuni, after the death of the Bath concert organiser, Richard Nash (1674–1761), in fact led to the concert series experiencing financial difficulties.

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541 Cranmer, 23.
542 Southey, 156.
543 MacLeod, 89.
545 Ibid., 293.
546 Burchell, 103.
547 See Burchell, 111–3.
The monetary strains felt by the Board of the EMS are recorded in the 1791 minutes. In April a letter was produced to remind players of their duties. It asked for an increase in the number of rehearsals and demanded a higher standard of performance:

To Messrs. Stabilini, Schetky and the other performers from the Directors…As there is no ladies Concert during the Month of May the Directors recommended to the Gentlemen of the Orchestra to attend the weekly concerts as usual and as they are sensible that the performances have of late much fallen, particularly in the Musick of Handel, Geminiani and others of the old Composers, which is much complained of by the Society. The Directors recommend to the Leader and the other masters and Expect that they shall consider the ensuing Concerts in May as Rehearsal so as they may practice the above and other Musick in order to do justice to it in their performances on the more public concerts in June next.
[EMS minute book, 28.4.1791]

To the performers of the Ripieno Violins. The Gentlemen performers of the Ripienos are desired to attend the Forte and Piano passages and to play their parts plan as marked in the Musick without any flourishes.
[EMS minute books, 8.4.1791]548

However, the organisation did not enforce their plans. Burchell argues that the administration, under William Tytler and Gilbert Innes, was ineffectual in disciplining its members, which played a large part in its failure.549

Schetky had enjoyed relative security in his employment with the EMS for twenty-five years at this stage. Despite a salary cut in 1777, he remained a member of the society until its disintegration in 1797. A copy of his final receipt reads:

2 Sep 1797: Receipt by G Schetky to the Musical Society for £12 10s stg, being with former payments in full of his allowance for the previous season and all other demands from the said Society ‘which has some time ago intimated to me that all engagements betwixt us are now at an end’.550

548 Cranmer, 22.
549 Burchell, 55.
Therefore, at the age of sixty, Schetky began a new chapter in his musical career.\textsuperscript{551} MacLeod views this period as an opportunity for musicians ‘to use their skills more widely in Edinburgh and elsewhere, as professional provision of music became more acceptable, and the amateur retired back into the home.’\textsuperscript{552} The EMS was no longer at the centre of music-making in Edinburgh and the balance between amateur and professional music-making had changed, in favour of the professional. However, Edinburgh musicians, such as Schetky, no longer had a secure source of income. Letters from Schetky’s son, Charles (1774–99), suggest the reality of this situation.\textsuperscript{553} Charles, after not hearing from his father for a considerable length of time, enquired of his circumstances. He writes:

\begin{quote}
Night and day I think of home and when I reflect on the load of taxation, the dearness of provision, the scarcity of spice, perhaps your decrease of business or precarious health, with a heavy charge to provide for, I am quite miserable. A fleet I expected very soon and I shall indulge hopes of hearing then.\textsuperscript{554}
\end{quote}

Charles, who was at that time a medical officer in India, was earning £150 per year, and offered to send what money he could afford back to Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{555} Charles died in 1821, leaving a sum of £700 (from Seringapatam prize money) to his family.\textsuperscript{556} Schetky took the yearly interest from this fund and on his death the money was shared out amongst his children.\textsuperscript{557}

\textsuperscript{551} Schetky’s final benefit concert was most likely in March 1796, at which M. [Mary] Schetky sang. (\textit{EEC}, 3 March 1796).
\textsuperscript{552} MacLeod, 89.
\textsuperscript{553} Charles Schetky ‘died at Seringapatam, India, from the bite of a cobra. Unmarried’ (L. O. Schetky, 17).
\textsuperscript{554} L. O. Schetky, 165–6. Letter from Charles Schetky to his father, Cape Castle, 9 May 1797.
\textsuperscript{555} Ibid., 158. Letter from Charles Schetky to his Father, Lymington, 2 April 1794.
\textsuperscript{556} Ibid., 177. Letter from J. A. Schetky to his Father, Chelsea, 24 September 1821. Letter details John Schetky’s research into the money owed to his brother Charles. The city of Seringapatam, India was captured in May 1799. The senior officers were rewarded with a share of the defeated Indian ruler, Tiptu Sultan’s vast wealth.
\textsuperscript{557} Ibid., 181–5. Letter from Mary Schetky to her brother, George, Edinburgh, 30 May 1825.
Concerts in Edinburgh after 1798

With the eminent closure of the EMS, the leading musicians of Edinburgh organised an alternative concert season. This was headed by Natale Corri (1765–1822), and supported by his wife, and EMS musicians: Urbani, Schetky and Stabilini.\(^{558}\) Natale Corri, brother of Domenico, had initiated concert plans before the cessation of the EMS, but delayed these when the society decided to hold one, albeit shorter, final season.\(^{559}\) Cranmer views 1798, as a ‘year of transition in Edinburgh’s concert life.’\(^{560}\)

The first concert of the new ‘Professional Concert’ took place in the Assembly Rooms, George Street (in the New Town) in 1799, at which Schetky (now aged sixty-two) took on a solo role, performing his own concerto.\(^{561}\) The name of the concerts were, as described by Cranmer, ‘in imitation of the prestigious London series of Concerts at the Hanover Square Rooms, which had been similarly organised by local musicians following the decline of the Bach-Abel concerts during the early-1780s.’\(^{562}\) The season comprised eight concerts, given on a fortnightly basis from January to May, and programming remained similar to that of the EMS concerts.\(^{563}\) Schetky continued to perform as a soloist and premiere his compositions. For example, in 1800, Mrs Corri sang ‘How blest the Maid’, a song composed and accompanied on the cello by Schetky.\(^{564}\) Pleyel’s ‘favourite Concertante’ was performed at the same concert by Stabilini, Schetky and Hamilton. Chamber works and overtures by Pleyel remained popular throughout the early nineteenth century in Edinburgh. For example, in 1804 Pleyel’s ‘Celebrated Concertante’ for Violin, Oboe, Bassoon, Tenor, Violoncello and

\(^{558}\) Baxter, 229.
\(^{559}\) Ibid., 264.
\(^{560}\) Cranmer, 18.
\(^{561}\) EEC, 19, 21 January 1799.
\(^{562}\) Cranmer, 15.
\(^{563}\) Ibid., 47.
\(^{564}\) Sixth Professional Concert, CM, 3 April 1800.
Flute obligato, was performed by Mountain, Fraser, Mahon, Schetky and Ashe.\textsuperscript{565}

Corri’s subscription concerts were not the only concerts to take place in Edinburgh at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1801, the violinist, Johann Peter Salomon alongside his student George Frederick Pinto, gave a number of concerts during the Edinburgh Race Week. The opportunity enabled Schetky to perform at a new concert season, performing new works with leading musicians. For example, at Salomon’s ‘Grand Concert’, he performed a quartet by Haydn, with Salomon and Pinto.\textsuperscript{566} Schetky also performed in the Scottish premiere of a number of Haydn’s ‘London Symphonies’, which were performed in chamber version, presumably those made and published by Salomon.\textsuperscript{567} A particular favourite of the Edinburgh audience was the ‘Surprise’ Symphony.\textsuperscript{568} This led Corri to seek permission to programme a number of Haydn’s symphonies in full orchestral versions in his 1801 subscription series, now renamed, ‘Corris’ subscription concerts’.\textsuperscript{569} The year was already more demanding for Schetky requiring him to learn new music, and as will be shown, compose new works for his benefit concerts.

In 1802, a dispute arose amongst Urbani and Corri. The disagreement took place very publicly and was reported in the local press. Urbani accused Corri of not supporting local musicians and suggested that his intention was to employ London musicians.\textsuperscript{570} Urbani claimed that he had the support of many local musicians, including that of Schetky. However, the musicians named in the local press publicly rebuked Urbani’s claims. The following statement was placed in the \textit{Edinburgh Evening CM, 9 February 1804.}\textsuperscript{565} CM, 19, 21 July 1800.\textsuperscript{566} Cranmer, 60. See http://www.hogwood.org/archive/composers/haydn/haydns-london-symphonies-in-j-p-salomons-chamber-arrangements.html.\textsuperscript{567} Ibid.\textsuperscript{568} Ibid.\textsuperscript{569} Ibid., 53.\textsuperscript{570}
Courant on the 17 November 1802: ‘we feel ourselves thus called upon respectfully to inform the Public, that we never, directly or indirectly, authorized Mr Urbani to speak for us’. The entry concluded that the named players, of which Schetky was the first signatory, had no difficulty with Mr Corri. Corri in response began a new series of subscription concerts, with six concert running from January to May in 1802. The intention was that two or more of the soloists would perform at each concert, without repetition in the concert programming. Corri also planned to present new repertoire. In response, Urbani introduced a rival concert series at the Assembly Rooms in 1803. The venture lasted only one season, as Urbani had to hire a number of non-local players as a result of his public dispute. In the same year Corri opened his new concert venue at the head of Leith Walk. The season opened with a concert and ball opportunistically on the same night as Urbani’s first night.

Corri’s subscription concerts continued with varying success until 1806 when he was unable to secure sufficient subscription numbers. The concerts were renewed in 1807 and with reduced fees to the musicians in 1808, but they failed financially in 1809. Edinburgh enjoyed a few years of increased audiences at concerts from 1810, which encouraged Corri to reopen his Room’s in 1812. Unfortunately, numbers waned again in 1813, only to be renewed by the Edinburgh Musical Festival in 1815. The cellist Robert Lindley made the journey to Edinburgh in 1815, with the famous double bassist, Domenico Dragonetti (1794–1846), to perform in the first Edinburgh Musical Festival. The week-long festival took place from 31 October to 4 November.

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571 EEC, 17 November 1802, no. 14184. Cranmer, 55.
572 See Cranmer, chapter 2, for further information on Urbani and Corri’s subscription concerts.
573 CM, 7 January 1802.
574 Cranmer, 24.
575 Ibid., 49.
576 Ibid., 49–50.
577 Ibid., 25.
before the start of the London season. It consisted of a number of morning and evening concerts, and included performers from across Britain, who performed works by Handel, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. Beethoven’s *The Mount of Olives* (1803) was to be performed, but was deemed too difficult in rehearsal. The cello section included Lindley, C. Ashley, Simpson, Schetky Sen., Cropley and Horsefall. The definition of senior was added as Schetky’s son played in the double bass section led by Dragonetti. The leader of the orchestra was the celebrated London violinist, Feliks Yaniewicz. A financial recession in 1816 led to limited financial spend on concerts, limiting subscriptions to short ventures. Corri’s last concert season in Edinburgh was in 1819.

**Schetky’s Benefit Concerts**

Schetky continued to perform at the benefit concerts of his colleagues and importantly retained his own benefit concert each year. In order to promote these concerts, Schetky began composing and performing new works to attract the attention of Edinburgh audiences. The benefit concerts continued in new venues after the closure of the EMS, including the Theatre-Royal, Corri’s Room and the Assembly Room. In 1801, the *Caledonian Mercury* advertised Schetky’s ‘Thirtieth Annual Concert’, where the entrance ticket price was now raised to the standard price of 5s.

Schetky’s concerts during this period were more extensive, including overtures, songs, multiple concertos and cello solos. They continued to involve numerous visiting singers and violinists, often in return for Schetky’s support in their own benefits. The concert

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579 Cranmer, 78.
581 Cranmer, 71. Cranmer provides a useful list of selected concerts in Edinburgh and the cost of subscription (1799–1826), 34–7.
582 Based on available concert plans from 1799–1801, 1805–10.
583 CM, 4 April 1801. Cranmer, 39.
plans of Schetky’s benefit concerts from 1799 and 1801 below, demonstrate a variety of performers and genres. The increase in military and Scottish tunes is evident, which was reflective of the political times and resulting audience preference:

**Schetky’s Benefit Concert, 1799**

*Act I.*
- ‘St Cecilia’s Hall, 3s.
- Overture, Haydn
- Italian Song, Mr Urbani
- Concerto Violoncello, Mr Schetky
- Italian Song, Mrs Corri
- Scots Duet, Mr Urbani and Mrs Corri

**MILITARY PIECE**

*Act II.*
- English Song, Mr Cooke
- Concerto Violin, Mr Stabilini
- Scots Song, Mr Urbani
- Solo Harp, Mr Perrelet
- Bravura Song, Mrs Corri
- Trio ‘The Flock shall leave the Mountains’, Mrs Corri, Mr Urbani, and Mr Cooke,
  **MILITARY PIECE**

**Schetky’s Thirtyeth Annual Concert, 1801**

*‘George Street Assembly Rooms, 5s. (Fowlis’s Close)*
- New overture, by Pleyel
- Italian song, performed by Urbani
- Cello concerto, performed by Schetky
- Song, performed by Mrs Corri
- Oboe concerto, performed by Fraser
- Duet for two violoncellos, by Mr Schetky
- Scots Air, performed by Urbani
- Violin concerto, performed by Stabilini
- Bravura Song, performed by Mrs Corri
- Sonata, pedal harp, performed by Mademoiselle du Parcq
- Scots Duett, performed by Urbani & Mrs Corri
- Finale’

In 1801, the concert included a duet for two cellos, although not detailed it was most likely his son who played second cello. In 1805, Schetky’s daughter performed a pianoforte sonata with a ‘lively Scots Air’ by the violinist, Giarnovich. As in Oxford, benefit concerts gave the musicians an opportunity to promote family members, and presumably save on costs.

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584 CM, 28 March 1799.
585 CM, 4 April 1801.
586 CM, 23 March 1805.
Schetky performed a series of new concertos at these concerts, which are now lost. In 1806, he performed a new cello concerto based on the Scottish tune ‘Gilderoy’ and a ‘Set of Cello Variations using a Freemason Anthem’.\(^{587}\) Schetky had performed concertos based on Scotch tunes at his earlier benefits including one in 1800, advertised as ‘Concerto Violoncello, with a Scots air’.\(^{588}\) The only year not to include a concerto was 1805, when unusually a sonata for cello was ‘accompanied on the PianoForte by Schetky’.\(^{589}\) Although unclear, this appears to be a sonata written by Schetky and performed with Mr Corri on the piano. Schetky also performed a ‘Scot’s Air and Rondo on the Violoncello’ at this concert.\(^{590}\) The opening overtures showed more diversity ranging from Haydn, Pleyel, Guilielmi [possibly the Italian composer, Pietro Allesandro Gugliemi (1728–1804)] and the Flemish composer and violinist, Van Maldere (1729–1768).\(^ {591}\) However, the opening overtures were omitted in 1809 and 1810, when ‘glees’ began each of the concerts. In these years the concerts also finished with ‘God Save the King’.\(^ {592}\) In 1810, in an aim to attract a new audience, Schetky advertised a ‘double source of entertainment’, where his annual concert was preceded by the ‘favourite five act Comedy of ‘Laugh When You Can’.\(^ {593}\) This was followed by seventy-three year old Schetky performing a cello concerto and ‘Scots Air and Rondo’ for cello.\(^ {594}\) Advertisements for Schetky’s concerts finish at this time suggesting that he had either retired from solo playing or that he was no longer able to secure a benefit concert. Instead newspaper articles detail performances of his newly-composed

\(^{587}\) ‘Concerto Violoncello, introducing ‘Gilderoy’…‘The bush upon Traquair’, and (‘by desire’) the well-known Free Mason’s Anthem, with variations’, performed at ‘Schetky’s 35th Annual Concert’, Corri’s Room (\textit{CM}, 15 March 1806).
\(^{588}\) \textit{CM}, 24 March 1800.
\(^{589}\) \textit{CM}, 23 March 1805.
\(^{590}\) Ibid.
\(^{592}\) \textit{CM}, 25 February 1809; \textit{CM}, 19 March 1810.
\(^{593}\) \textit{CM}, 19 March 1810.
\(^{594}\) Ibid.
anthems. A reviewer of one anthem writes:

Mr Schetky’s anthem is of the most pleasing description, consisting of alternate hymns and choruses, whose simplicity, and the grandeur of united powers are distributed in due and harmonious proportion. It deserves the greater commendation, from being of that particular description of music which is to be cultivated for places of divine worship.\textsuperscript{595}

A further review in 1817 states:

And the Directors have to mention an anthem, produced also on this occasion from the pen of Mr Schetky, the father of music in this place, as another of the novelties which the institution produced.\textsuperscript{596}

**Schetky’s Status as a Cellist**

During the eighteenth century, Schetky held the monopoly of cello work in Edinburgh and he continued to do so after the dissolution of the EMS, now aged sixty years. Schetky’s only apparent cello rival at the beginning of the early 1800s was a cellist named, Thomas Bird, who led the Theatre Royal Band. His name was placed second to Schetky at Corri’s concerts in 1802. However, a benefit concert for the ‘Magdalen Asylum’ in 1804 concerts saw both advertised as principal cellists.\textsuperscript{597}

Despite new competition, Schetky retained his status, and there is no record of Bird playing principal to Schetky. Bird established his own concert series in 1813, in small gatherings at his home in the New Town. The purpose was to provide gentleman (amateur) musicians the opportunity to perform regularly in concerts.\textsuperscript{598}

The first and only advertisement of a concert where Schetky does not appear to lead the cellos, is at the benefit concert for the cellist, Edward Simpson.\textsuperscript{599} The concert took place at the theatre and the cellists named were Simpson, Shepherd, Schetky and

\textsuperscript{595} CM, 14 October 1816 (‘an anthem for the 150th Psalm, by Mr Schetky, an experienced and respectable musician’).
\textsuperscript{596} Scots Magazine, 1 January 1817.
\textsuperscript{597} CM, 2 April 1804.
\textsuperscript{598} Cranmer, 178–9.
\textsuperscript{599} CM, 3 March 1806.
Bird, with the order appearing to indicate leadership.\textsuperscript{600} However, Schetky performed the concerto. Schetky performed again at Simpson’s benefit concert in 1809, where they presented a trio for two cellos and double bass by Corelli.\textsuperscript{601} A Mr Penson was the bass player, possibly the music retailer and violinist, William Penson.\textsuperscript{602} Simpson on this occasion played the cello concerto. Schetky and his daughter are listed as donators to the Edinburgh Professional Society of Musicians, which acknowledged assistance for a concert in benefit of ‘the late Mr Edward Simpson’s orphaned family’ in 1822.\textsuperscript{603} It is perhaps no coincidence that Schetky’s cello treatise is dated towards the end of his career, when there was greater competition for cello work and presumably cello teaching.

2.15 Joseph Reinagle: A Permanent Move to Oxford and his Duets for Violin and Cello

Reinagle, although it would seem reluctantly, secured employment in Oxford at the turn of the nineteenth century. The death of his wife and the obligation to his young son appears to have propelled his decision. However, provincial work was competitive. The numbers of musicians that could sustain a living in provincial centres was limited:

By far the greatest number of mid-eighteenth-century musicians, perhaps some 1,500, were based in London. Apart from the university cities, no provincial centre, except Dublin, Bath, and, for a brief period, Edinburgh, could provide regular employment for more than a score of full-time practitioners; and even their complements never exceeded fifty.\textsuperscript{604}

Reinagle’s initial reluctance to settle in Oxford, as suggested by Marsh, was most likely due to the financial instability of the music society. The stewards suspended

\textsuperscript{600} Cranmer, 100.
\textsuperscript{601} \textit{CM}, 6 March 1809.
\textsuperscript{602} Cranmer, 221.
\textsuperscript{603} \textit{CM}, 6 June 1822. ‘Mr Schetky, Hon. Mem., E.P.S.M. £1-1-0’, ‘Miss Schetky, E.P.S.M. £1-1-0’.
\textsuperscript{604} Ehrlich, \textit{The Music Profession in Britain}, 3.
the concerts in 1789, although the society did not dissolve and benefit concerts still occurred. However, additional problems faced the organisation, including ‘a lack of audience decorum’ and riots, which included an incident where an orange had been thrown, damaging the violin of J. B. Malchair. This event led to the German leader resigning in 1792. It was not until 1794 that the concert season was restored to previous standards. In 1793, the stewards secured 110 subscribers. However, this was insufficient to finance the concerts, and the stewards provided notification in the local press that the subscriptions would be returned. Despite initial reluctance, they quickly reinstated the concerts, stating that the stewards were now fully managing the concerts, suggesting some internal disputes.

The society continued to experience financial difficulties throughout the 1790s, and in 1796 a benefit was played to recoup losses. The society could not maintain subscriptions numbers and therefore could not guarantee their musicians’ salaries. During the same period, the EMS was managing to maintain its subscription numbers, which were capped at 200, due to the size of the hall. However, there was an increasing number of unpaid subscriptions, peaking at £54-12-0 in 1795, demonstrating a similar trend in the drop of audience figures.

A letter from the stewards in 1800 illustrates the precarious financial situation of the Oxford society:

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606 Mee, 117.
607 Ibid., 123.
608 Ibid., 128.
609 See Mee, chapter IV, ‘Suspension of the Concerts’.
610 MacLeod, 220.
MUSIC ROOM, Feb 4th, 1800

The stewards of the Music Room are sorry to be under the necessity of representing to the Subscribers, and the University and City at large, that the present state of their fund is wholly inadequate to the necessary expenses of the concert.

By the plan of the institution no fixed salary is ensured to the Performers; but each depends entirely [sic] for what he is to receive upon the contingent produce of the fund: the small amount, however, of the Subscriptions for the present year, (being only 141) and the little attendance given at the Concerts, do not hold out to them any prospect of subsistence.

The Stewards, therefore, are desirous, in justice to the Performers and their families, to give this statement of the Finances of the Room, and they take the liberty of submitting to the consideration of the public—whether after a commodious Room has been built and furnished at a great expense, and the Orchestra has been provided with a complete set of Musical Instruments and Books; and after a Band of Instrumental Performers, of acknowledged abilities in their profession, has been collected; they will suffer the Room and its Furniture to be rendered useless, and the Performers to be dispersed, by withdrawing their support from an Institution, which has been established upwards of fifty years, and which provides so much rational and elegant amusement, at an expense [sic] comparatively inconsiderable.

Proposes to have 2 concerts, Monday 10th and 17th, where they require full attendance to continue concerts.\textsuperscript{611}

Despite this ominous letter the society managed to make a success of their 1799–1800 season, through the enlistment of new subscriptions. After an appeal by the stewards, the subscription numbers increased from 141 to 300 for the season.\textsuperscript{612}

Francis Attwood was the cellist for the majority of 1800, with Reinagle joining for his first concert of the year on 5 May.\textsuperscript{613} This marked Reinagle’s permanent move to Oxford, where he resided until his death in 1825. This is confirmed by John Marsh, who in July 1800 claimed that Reinagle ‘was now restored to his former place at Oxford’.\textsuperscript{614} Reinagle was taking a financial gamble by joining a society that had yet to sustain its finances. The subscription numbers continued to fluctuate throughout the

\textsuperscript{611} GB-Ob, Box: Mus.1.d.64 (1–4).
\textsuperscript{612} Mee, 150.
\textsuperscript{613} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{614} Robins, \textit{The John Marsh Journals}, i, 713.
period. For example, in 1808 it had reduced to 126 subscribers, but in 1811 it was restored to 268.\footnote{Mee, 151, 4.} A notice in the \textit{Oxford Journal} in 1820, demonstrates the continued struggle to engage an audience:

The Stewards have the satisfaction to announce, that, in consequence of the amount of the last year’s Subscriptions, they have been enabled to discharge every claim upon the Room; but they also beg to state, that, in justice to the Performers, whose Salaries depend upon the success of the Concerts aided by Subscriptions, they cannot commence a fresh series of the only Public Entertainment in Oxford before they in some measure ascertain the support they may hope to derive from the patronage of the Ladies and Gentlemen of the University and City, and of its vicinity.\footnote{JOJ, 28 October 1820.}

The series proposed 16 concerts of which 8 would be choral.\footnote{Ibid.}

It is not known if Reinagle auditioned for his place with the society, however, it was common practice for the stewards to hold an open competition.\footnote{Mee, 30.} As a paid member of the society, Reinagle was ‘required to reside in Oxford’ and ‘attend all rehearsals’.\footnote{‘All Performers who receive Pay are expected to attend all Rehearsals’ (Rule XXXII, 1757 constitution) from Wollenberg, ‘Music in 18th Century Oxford’, 86.} As was the case with the majority of musicians during the period, he had to subsidise his salary beyond that of the music society. Burchell states that the cost of subscription would not have been sufficient to fund a full orchestra, and therefore deduces that the band were poorly paid.\footnote{Burchell, 196.} There are no records of accounts from these years, however, a number of Oxford musicians opened music shops and other businesses.\footnote{Wollenberg, ‘Music in 18th-Century Oxford’, 86.} For example, Henry Hardy, a violinist and author of the cello treatise, \textit{The Violoncello Preceptor}, took over Matthew’s music shop in Oxford in 1792.\footnote{Mee, 137. See also Wollenberg, \textit{Music at Oxford}, 54.} Reinagle supplemented his salary through benefit concerts, composition and teaching, including the publication of his cello treatise and student works. These works would

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \footnote{Mee, 151, 4.}
\item \footnote{JOJ, 28 October 1820.}
\item \footnote{Ibid.}
\item \footnote{Mee, 30.}
\item ‘All Performers who receive Pay are expected to attend all Rehearsals’ (Rule XXXII, 1757 constitution) from Wollenberg, ‘Music in 18th Century Oxford’, 86.
\item Burchell, 196.
\item Wollenberg, ‘Music in 18th-Century Oxford’, 86.
\item Mee, 137. See also Wollenberg, \textit{Music at Oxford}, 54.
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have inevitably been used as teaching aids for his students in Oxford and also as an advertisement of his teaching practice. Oxford’s close vicinity to London and the large numbers of London-based musicians, who visited and performed in Oxford enabled Reinagle to remain in contact with the London musical scene and also its publishing trends.

**Duets for Violin and Cello**

The late eighteenth century saw a vogue for violin and cello duets, which appear to have evolved from works for violin and continuo. Early examples of violin and cello duets can be found from the late seventeenth century. For example, Sonata, no. 8, op. 1 (1686) by Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1709), has a third movement written solely for solo violin and cello. Giuseppe Iacchini (1663–1727) published *Sonate a violino e violoncello, et a violoncello solo, per camera*, op. 1 (c.1685) of which the first six sonatas are for violin and cello. Duets for violin and cello, and sonatas for violin and bass, were also performed on the cello and bass, with the violin part transposed down the octave. This practice is notably exemplified by Lindley and Dragonetti, who were famed for their duet performances. They regularly performed Corelli’s sonatas on the cello and double bass, or with two cellos and a double bass, where Dragonetti played the cello line and Lindley the violin part. In doing so they challenged the traditional instrumentation of repertoire from the period, pushing the boundaries of their instruments. They continued this tradition throughout their careers, as exemplified in a

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623 ReinagleT.
626 Ibid., 282.
627 Palmer, 170–1.
review of the Edinburgh Music Festival in 1843.

Lindley, Lucas, and Dragonetti, did not disappoint us in Corelli’s Trio: we anticipated a rich treat and we had it. Lindley sported over the strings, overcoming, all difficulties with ease, ably seconded by Lucas; whilst Dragonetti, now upwards of eighty years of age, played his part as well and as steadily as if he had been only twenty-five. It is needless to say that they were loudly encored.  

Works performed by duos ensembles were also published and popularised by the performers themselves. For example, the cellist Joseph Reicha’s (1752–95) Duo concertantes pour violon & violoncello op. 1, was advertised as being performed with the violinist, Anton Janitsch (1752–1812).  

It was the duo genre that dominated Reinagle’s compositional output. In c.1797, he published three duets for violin and cello, with a second set published by Goulding, Phipps and D’Almaine in 1800. This was followed by two individual duets, the first published by J. Davenport and the second by T. Dodd. It is worth noting that Reinagle’s duets for two cellos were written for pedagogical purposes and are therefore discussed within the remit of the following chapter. Davenport’s edition of ‘Duetto for a Violin and Violoncello, and a Favourite Scotch Tune with Variations’ is perhaps the most interesting with more challenges for the cellist. The work is in two movements; the first is marked Maestoso (this marking is written only in the violin part, there is no marking in the cello part), and the second, Andantino. The second movement is a set of variations on the Scottish traditional tune, ‘My Ain Kind Dearie’. The duet is approximately fifteen minutes in duration, which is considerably longer than duets of the period, which were typically published in sets of six. The popular Scottish tune ‘My

628 The Scotsman, 18 October 1843.  
630 Duetto for a Violin and Violoncello and a Favorite Scotch Tune, [‘My ain kind dearie’] with Variations; J. Reinagle, A Duett, for Violin and Violoncello (London: T. Dodd, [WM1808]).
Ain Kind Dearie’ was set to music by a number of high-profile composers, including Corri, Urbani, Haydn and Pleyel. Haydn’s version was for voice, violin and cello, whereas Pleyel utilised the melody in the second movement of his *Three Grand Sonatas for the Piano-Forte or Harpsichord*, no. 4 in G major (1794). The Scottish-based musicians Corri and Urbani each published variations for pianoforte. MacDonald also includes the tune in the musical examples of his cello treatise, which he describes in the commentary as ‘Haydn’s favourite Scotch tune’ (illus. 2.6).

The first movement is considerably longer than most works by Schetky and Reinagle. It perhaps lacks some melodic imagination in order to sustain its length. However, it aims to entertain the listener with technical mastery, including fast

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633 MacDonald, 44, IMSLP.
passagework and double stops. The cello and violin often interchange the same motif and melodies. The Andantino is more successful and provides a display of string passagework typical from the period. This includes variations that demonstrate virtuosic scale passages and bowing articulations. A recording and copy of this work is provided in the appendix of this study.\textsuperscript{634}

The Oxford Musical Society and Benefit Concerts

On his return to the Oxford Room Concerts in May 1800, Reinagle performed a duo for violin and cello, possibly from his earlier publication, with his long-standing colleague John Mahon. He also performed his own concerto ‘with the favourite Irish Air’, no doubt inspired by his Irish tour, and a second concerto ‘with favourite airs’. On 9 June 1800, Reinagle consolidated his return to Oxford with performances of a ‘new’ trio for violin, viola and cello, and a ‘new’ cello concerto.\textsuperscript{635} These works were not published and are now lost.

Reinagle’s input as principal cellist of the Oxford Room Concerts typically included the accompaniment of a singer on the violoncello (usually in a Handel aria), a performance of a cello concerto (of his own composition), and a duet for violin and violoncello with the leader or guest violinist. These duets were very often Reinagle’s own compositions, but duets or sonatas by Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713), Giovanni Batista Viotti (1755–1824), James Cervetto, and C. F. Eley (1756–1832) were also performed.

Prior to 1801, Reinagle’s duo partner was his long-term colleague, John Mahon. However, in 1801, William Marshall took over the role of lead violinist.\textsuperscript{636} Reinagle

\textsuperscript{634} Appendix E.
\textsuperscript{635} Mee, 144–5.
\textsuperscript{636} Mee, 184.
shared benefit concerts with Marshall from 1807 to 1811 inclusive. Mee claims that ‘Both were capable performers and keen musicians. Of this the programmes are a convincing proof.’ On occasion, Reinagle also performed duets with the violinist, George Frederick Pinto, (1785–1806), the son of Reinagle’s former teacher, for whom Reinagle composed a new ‘Trio Obligato’. This work was performed by Pinto, Marshall and Reinagle at Marshall’s Benefit Concert on 3 December 1801. Reinagle also performed in larger chamber works, such as Pleyel’s quartets and concertantes, and Mozart’s trios (1808). These works were also being performed in Edinburgh during the same period.

Reinagle published a set of three string quartets, tailored to the ‘amateur’ or student market, in c.1805. The publishers, Lavenu and Mitchell, also published Reinagle’s cello solos in the same year. The quartets are listed in the Oxford Musical Society’s library of music. A performance of a quartet by Reinagle, presumably from the published set, was given on November 1806, performed by Marshall, Master Gattie, Reinagle and Woodcock. Woodcock, the viola player, began his career as a singer and in 1799, became the organist at New College, receiving a D. Mus in 1806. Gattie was a violin prodigy, who made his debut at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket in 1805 at the age of nine. A quartet was also listed at Reinagle’s benefit concert on 13 May

637 Ibid., 161.
638 GB-Ob, Box: Mus.1.d.64 (1–4). Mr Marshall’s Benefit, Holywell Music Room, Oxford, Thursday, 3 December 1801. Mr Pinto and Reinagle also performed concertos.
640 J. Reinagle, *Three Quartetts for Two Violins, Tenor & Violoncello* (London: Lavenu & Mitchell, [c.1805]).
641 J. Reinagle, *Three Solos for the Violoncello, in which are Introduced Favorite Airs, etc.* (London: Lavenu & Mitchell, [c.1805]).
642 McFarlane, 147, fig 6.1.
643 Tuesday, 25 November 1806. GB-Ob, Box: Mus.1.d.64 (1–4).
644 Mee, 136.
1816, where it was played by Reinagle, Marshall and each of their sons, as detailed in the programme notes below:

‘Mr Reinagle’s Benefit Concert
Music Room, Oxford, Monday 13 May 1816

Act 1 included:

CONCERTO, Violin, Master Reinagle (composed by himself)

QUARTETT - two violins, tenor and violoncello, Reinagle

Messrs. Marshall, Reinagle and Sons

CONCERTO, Violoncello, Mr. Reinagle

SONATA, Pianoforte, Master Reinagle

in which will be introduced a favourite Air, with Harp Variations, accompanied on the Violoncello by Mr. REINAGLE

Tickets, 7s. each, to be had of Mr REINAGLE, opposite the Music Room, Holywell, and at the usual places. [additional performers included: Mr Vicary, Mr Wilkins, Miss Kelly, Mr Matthews, Miss McAlpine, Miss Kelly]. Also, Imitations of the following London Performers, by Mr. MATTHEWS. 646

Master Marshall and Reinagle Jnr (Alexander Robert) were both violinists, but one must have played the viola on this occasion. In the same concert, Alexander Robert performed his own concerto on the violin and a Beethoven Sonata on the Pianoforte, demonstrating his musical versatility.

In 1808, Philippe Jung, the leader of second violins, stated that Reinagle was the only cellist. 647 However, other cellists associated with Oxford at this time include H. Haldon, Charles Ashley (1773–1843), an original member of the Philharmonic Society, and J. Marshall, who was most likely Reinagle’s student. 648 A cellist named W. Greisbach was also advertised in 1820. 649

646 GB-Ob, Concert Programmes, Holywell Music Room, Oxford (Mus.1.d.64 (1-4).

For Charles Jane Ashley, see I. Taylor, Music in London and the Myth of Decline, from Haydn to the Philharmonic (Cambridge: CUP, 2010) and B. W. Pritchard, ‘Ashley’, GMO.
648 JOJ, 2 June 1810; Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle, 24 May 1813; JOJ, 25 April 1818; JOJ, 2 May 1818.
649 JOJ, 27 May, 3 June, 10 June 1820.
Reinagle’s benefit concerts in 1802, 1803 and 1804 featured the Oxford-based William Crotch, who, in 1806, left Oxford to pursue teaching in London. The organist and composer, Dr Crotch (1775–1847), was the Professor of Music at Oxford University and the first principal of the Royal Academy of Music. He is noted to have been a ‘shrewd businessman’. The connection was important for Reinagle’s status in Oxford and for securing possible future employment. Crotch was the conductor of the Grand Musical Festival, Oxford, where Reinagle was regularly listed as an orchestral player. Notable performances included a pianoforte sonata written by Reinagle and premiered by Crotch in the Holywell Music Room, 3 June 1802. In 1803, Reinagle showcased a ‘New Concertante’ for pianoforte and violin, performed again by Reinagle and Crotch. ‘A Sonata for the Pianoforte, with an Accompaniment for the violin’ by Reinagle, priced 2s.6d, was advertised as ‘New Music’ published by Goulding, Phipps and D’Almaine in May 1803. At the same concert Reinagle also performed a cello concerto. However, it was not unusual for Reinagle to perform on two different instruments at his benefit concerts.

Of particular interest are the shared benefit concerts of Reinagle and Marshall from 1807, which took place over two consecutive evenings. Benefits were rarely shared, which exemplifies these concerts as a unique venture. An example of programming from 1807 is listed below:

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651 Irving, 15.
652 GB-Ob, Box: Mus.1.d.64 (1–4).
654 *MC*, 30 May 1803.
‘Messrs MARSHALL and REINAGLE’s first night
Music Room, Oxford, Thursday, 14 May, 1807
Performers included: Mr Vaughn, Miss Walker, Mr Marshall, Mr Vicary (organ)
Overture, the surprise
SONG, Mr Vaughn
(song accompanied on the violoncello by Mr Reinagle)
Song, Mrs Walker
Concerto, violin, Mr Marshall
SONG, Mrs Vaughan
Duet, Mr and Mrs Vaughan
Overture and Chorus, Acis and Galatea
Concerto, grand pianoforte
Song, Mr Vaughan
Concerto, Violoncello, Mr Reinagle
SONG Mrs Vaughan (creation)
Duet, (new) Mr and Mrs Vaughan
Chorus

Messrs MARSHALL and REINAGLE’s second night
Music Room, Oxford, Friday, 15 May, 1807
Performers included: Mr Vaughn, Miss Walker, Mr Jackson, Mr Marshall
Overture, Samson
SONG Mr Vaughan
Song, Miss Walker
Air and Chorus Mrs Vaughan (from the tempest)
Quartetto, flute, Mr Jackson
SONG Mrs Vaughan (new)
Duet Mr and Mrs Vaughan
Chorus
CONCERTO, Violoncello, Mr Reinagle
SONG Mrs Vaughan
Concertante, pianoforte and violin
Messrs. W. and F. Marshall
SONG, Mr Vaughan
(song accompanied on the vc by Mr Reinagle)
Duet Mr and Mrs Vaughan
Coronation Anthem

These joint concerts continued until 1811, after which Marshall and Reinagle resumed individual benefits. There is no evidence to suggest a falling out, as they continued to support each other’s concerts. Why the format changed is not clear, but generally these decisions were financial. In advertisements for the final joint benefit concert in 1811, Fred Marshall (William’s brother) was to be the concerto soloist on the ‘Grand Piano Forte’. However, a later bill stated that ‘Master Reinagle is also

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655 GB-Ob, Concert Programmes, Music Room, Holywell, Programmes (Mus.1.d.64 (4)).
656 JOJ, 9 March 1811.
engaged to play Concertos on the Violin’.  

Benefit concerts provided Reinagle with the opportunity to present his son, Alexander Robert. Reinagle gave numerous young musicians a concert platform, including Master Marshall, a Miss Walker and Nicolas Mori (who was aged seven at Reinagle’s Benefit in May 1804). Although none are known as students of Reinagle, the close proximity would suggest that he certainly influenced them, and may have provided lessons. Alexander Robert began performing as a violin soloist from the age of ten. A review in Jackson’s *Oxford Journal* (17 March, 1810) states:

Master Reinagle (son of Mr Reinagle of this city) played a concerto on the violin each night, and justly merited the applause bestowed on him.  

In 1812, he performed Viotti’s violin concerto. Reinagle, Marshall and even Alexander Robert, in his earlier years, regularly played their own compositions, especially at benefit concerts. Alexander Robert continued to perform at his father’s concerts and in 1813 performed another violin concerto, this time by Kreutzer. This appears to demonstrate a move from the eighteenth-century model of the virtuoso performer, who played his own music, to a more modern type of performance, where the soloist performed other musician’s compositions, which are open to interpretation. The 1813 concert also included [Felice Alessandro] Radicati’s (1775–1820) ‘Grand Concerto’ performed by Marshall, Jackson (flute), Reinagle and Anfossi (double bass). Radicati was an Italian violinist, who visited London in 1810, staying for two years. In 1816 Reinagle again involved his son, this time with a performance of a self-composed violin concerto. The benefit also included a sonata by Beethoven performed

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657 *JOJ*, 16 March 1811.  
658 *JOJ*, 17 March 1810.  
659 *JOJ*, 18 April 1812.  
660 22 March 1813. GB-Ob, Box: Mus.1.d.64 (1–4).  
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on the pianoforte by the younger Reinagle: ‘in which will be introduced a favourite Air, with Harp Variations, accompanied on the Violoncello by Mr. Reinagle’. The concert concluded on a lighter note with Matthews, from the Theatre Royal, Convent Garden, providing imitations of London performers. This element was repeated in 1817:

> ‘Mr Reinagle’s Annual Benefit Concert
> Music Room, Oxford, Wednesday, 19 March, 1817
> Porgramme included:
> Concerto, Violin Mr Reinagle, jun. Viotti
> Concerto, Violoncello Mr Reinagle (MS.) Reinagle
> (‘with the Air, “Fly not yet”, from the Irish Melodies’)
> ‘Mr MATTHEWS will give a variety of Imitations of London Performers, whose names will be specified during the performances.’

Benefits offered Reinagle an opportunity to showcase his large works, and in 1813, the concert concluded with Reinagle’s ‘Battle Piece’, which had been performed at his 1804 benefit concert. It is not known if the music was revised for this performance. However, Reinagle’s battle pieces were performed on a number of occasions, with titles to reflect different battles. For example, in 1813, the ‘Battle of Salamanca’. The battle took place in Spain in 1812, where the Duke of Wellington and the Anglo-Portugese army defeated the French.

> ‘BATTLE PIECE, composed by Mr. Reinagle, in the following order:
> 1\(^{st}\) GRAND MARCH
> 2\(^{nd}\) Word of Command
> 3\(^{rd}\) First Signal Cannon
> 4\(^{th}\) The Bugle Horn Call for the Cavalry
> 5\(^{th}\) Answer to the first signal cannon
> 6\(^{th}\) Trumpet Call for the Cavalry
> 7\(^{th}\) Galloping of the Cavalry
> 8\(^{th}\) Recitative accompanied
> 9\(^{th}\) The Grand Attack
> 10\(^{th}\) The Cries of the Wounded
> 11\(^{th}\) The Bugle Horn Call for the Infantry
> 12\(^{th}\) Trumpet of Victory
> 13\(^{th}\) The Retreat’
> 14\(^{th}\) TRIO, ‘the sword that’s drawn in Virtue’s cause’
> To conclude with the MARCH in Blue Beard.’

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662 JOJ, 4 May 1816.
663 Oxford University and City Herald, 15 March 1817.
664 GB-Ob, Box: Mus.I.d.64 (1–4).
665 GB-Ob, Box: Mus.I.d.64 (1–4). For the Benefit of Mr Reinagle. Music Room, Oxford, Wednesday, 4 July 1798.
The battle piece, which recreated the drama of war, was a popular genre of the period. However, it was not confined to England, and had become popular across Europe during the sixteenth century. In Oxford, they were notably performed at benefit concerts during the Napoleonic Wars. However, prior to the establishment of the volunteer movement, in 1786, Reinagle had performed a battle piece by John Mahon in Scotland. In 1785, the singer, Pietro Urbani composed and performed ‘The Siege of Gilbratar’ at a joint benefit concert for Urbani and Reinagle. In Edinburgh, battle pieces were performed each year at benefit concerts from 1785 to 1787, and became popular again from 1792 to 1799. However, they were not performed as part of the EMS concerts.

Oxford’s close proximity to London resulted in the inclusion of numerous performers from the capital. Reinagle managed to engage many of these visiting musicians in his concerts. For example, in 1812 he secured Signor Tramezzani ‘First Singer at the Opera House’ and Signora Bianchi. Reinagle charged 3s.6d. for entry into his benefit concert in 1802. However, by 1812 Reinagle had been given permission by the Vice-Chancellor and stewards to raise the price of his benefits to 7s. ‘owing to the heavy expenses’. In 1818, the invited soloist was Madame Fodor, of the King’s Theatre, and in 1819, both ‘Mr and Mrs Naldi’, ‘Late of the Opera House’. The review of the concert in 1819 complimented the performances of the Naldi’s, of which many of the songs were encored. The review concluded:

666 CM, Monday, 3 April 1786. Mahon’s Benefit Concert.
667 CM, Monday, 13 April 1785.
668 See Burchell, 78.
669 JOJ, 18 April 1812. Sainsbury states that Signor Tramezzani ‘the favourite Italian tenor singer’ performed at the King’s Theatre until c.1812 (Sainsbury, 487). Signora Bianchi (Miss Jackson) married Francesco Bianchi, the composer. She is described by Sainsbury as an ‘orchestra singer’. (Sainsbury, 34).
670 Ibid.
671 JOJ, 25 April 1818; JOJ, 24 April 1819.
672 Sebastiano Naldi was an Italian opera buffo singer at the King’s Theatre. He left London for Paris in c.1819. (Sainsbury, 207).
The Instrumental Music, selected from Hayden, Mozart, and Martini, was of the first degree of excellence, and was interspersed with glee by our own performers, and by manuscripts composed for the occasion by Mr. Reinagle, and Mr. Reinagle jun. whose exertions in their profession were, we trust, amply repaid, by a numerous audience, and by an adequate remuneration.  

A review of Reinagle’s concert in 1821, recognised his profile as a composer:  

‘The lovers of harmony were on Monday evening treated with a beautiful Selection of Music, for the benefit of Mr. Reinagle whose fame, not only as a performer, but as a composer also, has long been established in Oxford’.  

Reinagle’s final benefit concert was in May 1825, in which he ‘engaged Miss Love, of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, Master Longhurst and Mr Mori’ and the Oxford Choral Society. The concert review highlights Reinagle’s popularity, but also his lighter choice of music:

Mr. Reinagle’s annual Concert took place on Monday last, and went off with great éclat. The music might, perhaps, by some, have been considered of too light a case for an Oxford audience; it was however, well received and highly applauded…Mr. Pyne sang “In native worth,” and “Alexis,” very correctly; the latter was accompanied on the violoncello by Mr. Reinagle, with his usual firmness of style, and superior taste...The Overture to Der Freischutz was introduced on this evening for the first time in Oxford; the members of the orchestra deserve great credit for the performance of this difficult compositions of Weber’s, which was honoured with an encore: a MS. Overture, composed by Mr. Reinagle, jun. was also well received; it is a fine composition, and does great credit to the author...A full chorus closed each act, to which great effect was given by the Oxford Choral Society, who generously volunteered their gratuitous services on the occasion; indeed there was not a musicians in the town capable of taking a part in the concert who did not promptly offer his assistance to Mr. Reinagle.

The following notice in Jackson’s Oxford Journal, 14 May 1825 further demonstrates Reinagle’s musical status in Oxford:

673 Oxford University and City Herald, 15 May 1819.  
674 The Morning Post, 9 March 1821.  
675 JOJ, 14 March 1821.  
676 JOJ, 14 May 1825.  
677 Ibid.
Our readers will perceive, by the advertisement in this page, that the veteran REINAGLE takes his annual Concert on Monday next, when we hope he will meet with patronage his long and eminent services in the Music Room so justly entitle him to. The Members of the Boat Club have kindly postponed a match which was to have taken place on that evening.

Alexander Robert Reinagle, who later became leader of the Oxford Choral Society, continued benefit concerts after the death of his father, which were regularly supported by the London-based cellist Robert Lindley. In addition to the violin, Reinagle Jnr also performed on the cello and pianoforte, but he later established himself as an organist.

**Joseph Reinagle’s work outside of the Oxford Musical Society**

Throughout his commitment to the Oxford Musical Society, it was also necessary for Reinagle to continue to work outside Oxford. In 1801 Reinagle performed at a concert at the Blanford Races in Winchester, where he was advertised as the principal viola. Mahon, Reinagle and the principal cellist, Robert Lindley, performed an unnamed trio. In 1802, he returned to the Hampshire Music Meeting, where he played the cello alongside the London-based cellist, Lindley. Reinagle always took second place to Lindley, even in Oxford, demonstrating the cello rankings of the period. Unusually at the 1805 Grand Musical Festival in Oxford, Lindley was billed as the concerto soloist and Reinagle as principal cellist, evidently Lindley did not join the orchestra during the three-day festival. The cello section included H. Haldon and two unnamed cellists. However, the same festival in 1810, 1813, 1818 and 1820 listed Lindley as principal cello, followed by Reinagle, [Charles] Ashley, and J. Marshall (the

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678 JOJ, 4 July 1835.
679 SWJ, Monday, 27 July 1801.
680 Hampshire Telegraph & Portsmouth Gazette, 4 October 1802.
681 JOJ, 22 June 1805.
son of the Oxford violinist). Haldon played the double bass at the Oxford Music Society, and later performed on this instrument at the Oxford, Grand Musical Festivals.

In 1801 Reinagle also ventured to Winchester for concerts at St. John’s House, as organised by the organist, George Chard. In April 1803 he performed in the Concert Room, Saint George’s Square, Portsea at the pianists, Mr Sibly’s Annual Concert. In this concert, Reinagle, as principal cellist, was advertised to perform his own concerto and to accompany the singer ‘Mr Hill’ in a Handel aria, which was typical of his Oxford duties and representative of the musical taste of the period. Reinagle was advertised as the principal instrumental performer and described as ‘The Celebrated Mr. Reinagle, from Oxford’, confirming his continued commitment to Oxford and celebrity status in the smaller provincial centres.

In 1804, Reinagle returned to Chichester in September to direct a Grand Miscellaneous Concert and to play a cello solo. In October, he shared a concert with the singer, Miss Mortimer in the New Assembly Room, where he performed one of his now lost concertos and again directed the orchestra. It is not clear if Reinagle directed from the violin or the cello. This concert also featured Reinagle’s former pupil, the violinist, Richard Cudmore, who performed a concerto and a duet for violin and violoncello with his teacher. Cudmore performed alongside his mentor, Reinagle, in Oxford in March 1805. A review of the September concert states:

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682 For example, JOJ, 30 June 1810; Hampshire Telegraph & Sussex Chronicle, 24 May 1813; JOJ, 30 May 1818; Oxford University and City Herald, 23 May 1818; JOJ, 10 June 1820. The concerts were advertised a number of times in newspapers in the run-up to the event.
683 Portsmouth Telegraph or Mottley’s Naval & Military Journal, 13 April 1801; Hampshire Telegraph, 13 April 1801.
684 Hampshire Telegraph and Portsmouth Gazette, 4 April 1803.
685 Hampshire Telegraph and Portsmouth Gazette, 11 April 1803.
686 Hampshire Telegraph and Portsmouth Gazette, 11 April 1803.
687 London Courier and Evening Gazette, 11 September 1804.
688 Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle, 8 October 1804.
689 GB-Ob, Music Room, Holywell, Programmes (Mus.1.d.64 (4)).
On Thursday last a Grand Miscellaneous Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music was performed under the direction of Mr. Reinagle from Oxford, at the Long Rooms, to a splendid audience of 150 persons...Mr. Reinagle, who is inferior only to Lindley, in a Solo Violoncello, of his own composition, in which he introduced several much admired Scotch airs, received universal applause.\footnote{London Courier and Evening Gazette, 11 September 1804.}

Whether this solo was unaccompanied is not known, as Reinagle did not publish any solo cello repertoire.

Evidence of Reinagle’s contact with his family in Scotland during this period is limited. However, Reinagle’s nephew, J. C. Schetky (a painter), visited Oxford. Schetky’s daughter states in her memoirs that her father (J. C. Schetky) had not seen his uncle for fourteen years.\footnote{S. F. L. Schetky, 47.} J. C. Schetky was meant to stay only two weeks, but stayed for six years in his own capacity, leaving in 1808.\footnote{Ibid., 47, 50.} However, Reinagle made a return to Edinburgh in 1810 and en-route he performed in Manchester alongside a number of his Oxford colleagues:

Concert Room, 11th. August, 1810.
The Managers inform the Subscribers that they have engaged Mr. Bellamy, Mr. Reinagle Mrs. Dickons, and Mr Yaniewicz for two Concerts, which are fixed for Tuesday and Friday Evenings, the 28th and 31st instant.\footnote{Manchester Mercury, 28 August 1810.}

In Edinburgh he gave a concert accompanied by his son in September 1810:

Theatre Royal, Leith Walk, Fri, 21st Sept. 1810
Mr Reinagle, Professor of Violoncello, from Oxford, respectfully informed the Nobility and Gentry of Edinburgh, that he will have a GRAND MISCELLANEOUS CONCERT, Of Vocal and Instrumental Music, on the above Evening; the particulars of which will be given in due time. His son will have the honour to make his first appearance, as Concerto Player on the Violin and Mr Reinagle will perform, on the Violoncello, his most favourite pieces, and hopes to merit the approbation of an audience, from whom he with pleasure recollects twenty years ago to have experienced.\footnote{EA, 11 September 1810.}
The father and son also performed at a less formal lunchtime concert at an Edinburgh school:

Concert of Music, Under the Patronage of the Stewards of the Perthshire Hunt. On Saturday at one o'clock, there will be a Concert in the Grammar School-room, in the Academy, at which, Mr Reinagle of Oxford will perform some Favourite Airs on the Violoncello, and his son (who is only ten years of age) on the Violin.695

Additional external work to Oxford included a concert for the Philharmonic Society in 1817, where Reinagle performed again with his son. The poor fees that were paid (see below) suggest that the honour of playing was more important than financial reward. However, Reinagle was also helping to promote his son’s profile outside of Oxford:

Practically everyone taking part in the concerts received less than they could elsewhere. Precise comparisons are difficult to pin down through lack of sufficient comparable information, and because there were no generally agreed standards of payment...During the 1817 season, for example, the clarinettist Willman was offered 2 guineas a night, and 1 guinea for rehearsals; Reinagle (probably Joseph an experienced string-player in Oxford) received the same terms, ‘and his son half’.696

2.16 John Gunn: Return to Scotland

Gunn returned to Scotland after the publication of An Essay (1802).697 Whilst there is limited evidence of Gunn’s personal or professional life in Edinburgh, he continued to write and publish. In 1802, he married the Scottish pianist and published pedagogue Anne Young.698 The marriage, which appears to have acted as the catalyst for his move to Scotland, was recorded in The Aberdeen Journal: ‘Married. At

695 Perthshire Courier, 4 October 1810.
697 GunnE.
Edinburgh, Mr John Gunn of London, to Miss Young, James’s Square, Edinburgh.⁶⁹⁹

Although biographies of Anne Young are often extensions of her husband’s, Anne was renowned in her own right. She was among a small number of women who received a patent for her ‘Musical Games’ from George III, published in 1801.⁷⁰⁰ ‘Musical Games’ using dice, provided a fun way to learn the basics of music theory, such as major keys signatures and their relative minors, but also modulation. Gunn ardently endorsed the game in *An Essay* and in his pianoforte treatise.⁷⁰¹ Gunn’s pianoforte treatise (c.1811) was available from the author at 63 Great Portland Street, which would suggest he returned to London after the death of his wife. John Gunn provides the following description of the game:

> After two interesting Games (play’d by dice, inscribed with the thorough bass figures or signatures) on the accompaniment of the scale, and the resolution of the more unusual and chromatic discords; the last Game, divided into three parts, is on the important exercise of Modulation, which, tho’ it be now simplified by these Games to the comprehension of ordinary proficient; may be said without any exaggeration, to afford entertainment, even to astonishment, to the greatest masters of harmony.⁷⁰²

Ghere and Amram claim that Anne lived in St James Square, Edinburgh, which was an illustrious street in Edinburgh. However, they suggest that her role may have been as a music teacher, and not as the resident of the property.⁷⁰³ The marriage was a short, as Anne died ‘At Farnhill, near Forres’ in 1806.⁷⁰⁴ In addition to her games, Anne

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⁷⁰² GunnE, 49.
⁷⁰⁴ Died, ‘At Farnhill, near Forres, Mrs Gunn, wife of John Gunn’ (*CM*, 30 August 1806).
also published *An Introduction to Music*, reviewed in the *The British Critic* in 1805.\(^{705}\) The work was dedicated to Princess Charlotte and concludes with a list of her husband’s publications. Gunn’s influence in this publication is clearly visible in the language and content. The list of Gunn’s publications concludes that ‘a work on a plan nearly familiar, is also intended to be published, combining principles with practice, to be called The School of Violoncello.’ This work does not appear to have been published.

Gunn was a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Edinburgh) founded in 1780.\(^ {706}\) The society shared the same focus of the Antiquarian Society in London, that was, to preserve and collect historical information. Many of the founding members were also affiliated to the EMS, such as William Forbes, William Tytler (1711–92), and its founder, David Steuart Erskine, the 11\(^{\text{th}}\) Earl of Buchan (1742–1829).\(^ {707}\) Tytler was a famous literary figure, recognised for his large volume of writings on Scottish history. He was author of an appended essay on Scottish music, initially published anonymously in Arnot’s *History of Edinburgh* (1779).\(^ {708}\) The antiquarian society member, John Callander (1722–89), proposed an initial project on the history of Scottish music and sought to collate interest and finance this project by subscription. The proposal wished to emulate a publication, such as Burneys’ *A General History of Music*, to include a history of Scottish instruments.\(^ {709}\) This publication never came to fruition, but demonstrated a developing interest in antiquarian research into the


\(^{706}\) See https://www.socantscot.org.

\(^{707}\) See *Archaeologia Scotia, or Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, i (Edinburgh: Printed for the Society, 1792), vi.


history of Scottish instruments, and not only Scottish music. Nelson describes John MacDonald’s *Complete Theory of the Scottish Bagpipes* (1803), as ‘the most significant eighteenth-century attempt to communicate the nature of Highland Musical culture to the outside world.’

Gunn’s move to Edinburgh appears to have influenced a renewed interest in Scottish nationalism through his antiquarian research on the harp in the Highlands, Scotland.

**Gunn, An Historical Enquiry Respecting the Performance on the Harp (1807)**

Gunn published *An Historical Enquiry* of the harp ‘by desire of the Highland Society of Scotland’, which was established in 1784. In 1787, it became known as the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland and still exists today with this title.

A Highland Society of London was established in 1778 by twenty-five Highlanders resident in London, concerned with preserving Highland culture and other political matters that affected the region. Gunn claims that *An Historical Enquiry* was initially a report that was to be included at the ‘end of the third volume of the Society’s Prize Essays and Transactions’, but was too large to be included. Volume 4 of this publication, in a discussion of the preservation of Highland Music, states that ‘in a former volume of its transactions, is inserted a very ingenious account of an ancient Highland Harp, by an eminent musician, *Mr Gunn*’. Notably, Gunn is described as a musician and not an antiquarian. He was not a member of this society, which was largely concerned with agricultural matters. Further information regarding the role of

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710 Nelson, 13.
711 See https://rhass.org.uk.
712 Nelson, 112.
the committee in the arts can be gleaned from a lengthy report on the authenticity of
the poems of Ossian, as collected by the poet James Macpherson (1736–96).715

Gunn’s work was reviewed in *The Critical Review*, which commended Gunn’s
contribution: ‘This is, indeed, a wide and untrodden field of speculative enquiry, and
we heartily wish the author success in so vast an undertaking.’716 Sebastiaan Verweij
states that ‘Much of Gunn’s supposition about the provenance of the harps has since
been stripped down by musicologists, but scholarly interest in the instruments has not
been abated’.717 Despite inaccuracies this was a significant publication at the time,
prompting renewed interest of the harp and preserving its history and heritage as a
national symbol in Scotland.

Gunn had been asked to trace the history of two harps, found in the Highlands
of Perthsire in the family of General William Robertson of Lude. The General had
brought them to Edinburgh to be drawn and researched. The Society asked Gunn to
write ‘An Essay on the Nature, the Powers, and the Use of the Harp among the Ancient
Highlanders’.718 However, Gunn extended this study tracing the history of the harps,
an ‘ancient caledonian harp’ and the Harp of Queen Mary.719 The Society experimented
with re-stringing the Queen Mary harp with brass strings, played with the fingernails,
but discovered that gut strings had a better effect.720 Gunn also suggested possible
tunings and pitch ranges. He acknowledges the great history of harpers from Ireland

Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh: Printed at the University
1805). See Nelson for further information on this topic.
717 S. Verweij, *The Literary Culture of Early Modern Scotland: Manuscript, Production and
718 Ibid., vi.
719 The Caledonian harp is now known as the ‘Lamont harp’. From R. Rensch, *Harps and Harpists*
and Wales, but begins by questioning a harp heritage in the Highlands. However, he manages to trace a rich heritage, although much of the evidence is anecdotal, based on Highland stories, myths, and poems, including ‘The Queen’s Wake’ by James Hogg.

Gunn received criticism for his work, such as in a review of 1807, which states:

> But the critical antiquary should detect, not corroborate such impositions. When he imputes to barbarians the poetry and the arts of a civilized age, he may attain the vain glory of ingenuity and learning, but must forego the praise of good sense, sagacity and philosophy. How empty the satisfaction of displaying the acquirements compared with that of inculcating truth.\(^\text{721}\)

The review listed Gunn’s intended chapters for a future publication on the history of the harp, but stated ‘We have no doubt that any work of this writer will comprehend curious citations and elegant illustrations; but it may be observed that he makes his system first, and his proof next.’\(^\text{722}\) The Scots Magazine was kinder in its critique, but sceptical that Gunn could continue his hypothesis in future work.\(^\text{723}\) This work, for which Gunn had provided detailed chapter headings, was never published and possibly never written.

**Gunn and Schetky: A Friendship?**

Little is known of the relationship between Gunn and Schetky. The *Schetky Family* book contains an English translation of Buri’s article on Schetky translated by Gunn.\(^\text{724}\) Gunn’s version provides a few corrections to the original article. This source provides evidence of a friendship between Schetky and Gunn, where Gunn states, ‘My friend, Mr Schetky, will I trust pardon me for writing the following biographical


\(^{722}\) Ibid., 636–7.

\(^{723}\) *The Scots Magazine*, xcvii (1807), 912–7.

\(^{724}\) L. O. Schetky, 39.
account in roman characters instead of German, most people being more in the practice of them." The article also serves to illustrate Gunn’s ability to translate German. Gunn self-published much of his own material, but uncharacteristically he did not publish his translation of Buri’s article. It can be presumed that Gunn made contact with Schetky whilst in Edinburgh during the early 1800s. However, Gunn had earlier recommended the works of Schetky in his cello treatise, suggesting knowledge of the German cellist a decade prior to his time in Edinburgh.

2.17 Gunn, Schetky and Reinagle: The Final Years

John Gunn’s Death, 1823

In 1824, a large sale ‘Catalogue of the Select and Entire Musical Library of the Late Mr. John Gunn’ was published. An addition to the title states ‘N.B. The Library of a Gentleman, deceased (removed from the Country) forming a Collection of Miscellaneous Literature, will be sold as above by Mr M. [Musgrave] on Thursday June 3’. The catalogue is stamped both December 1823 and May 1824, suggesting that Gunn died in 1823. The catalogue included ‘two other collections’ and therefore the full extent of Gunn’s musical collection is not known. The sale was divided into two days: the first for musical instruments and scores, and the second day for ‘Treatises, Instructions, and other works connected with science’. The list included thirty copies and plates of Mrs Gunn’s Introduction to the Thorough Bass and Modulation. Interestingly no cello treatises, or plates of Gunn’s treatises, are included. However, there were a variety of cello music, treatises in music theory (particularly those by the

725 Ibid.
727 Ibid.
German theorist, A. F. C. Kollmann) and other instrumental method books. There is no record of who purchased the collection. The list of instruments is impressive, but were perhaps not all owned by Gunn, and included ‘an old Violoncello, in a Deal case’ followed by ‘A purfled ditto [cello], in a painted ditto [case]’, ‘a remarkably fine toned Violoncello, with Bow, in an excellent Case, by ditto [Old Panormo]’, 12 violins, a number of bows, violas, brass instruments, flutes and pianofortes (upright, square and horizontal). Amongst a large catalogue of music, one lot was dedicated solely to cello music:

Violoncello Music, Boccherini’s Solos; Cervetto’s ditto, Op. 3; Benosi’s Duetts, Op. 1; Pleyel Op. 39; Eley Op. 2; Lindley Op. 1; 1 set each by Reinagle and Duporte [sic]; 2 sets by Breval, (1 impt.) and the following MSS.; a set of Solos each by Galleotti, Schetky and Cervetto, Jun.; 11 single ditto by Schlik, Duporte [sic], Chahabran, Reinagle, Luga, &c. &c.; 2 sets of French Airs as Duetts, &c.; 6 single ditto by Breval, and 1 single ditto by Schetky for Violin and Violoncello; Duett by Stamitz, for Tenor and ditto, and Concerto for ditto, chiefly in Mr Gunn’s hand-writing.

Much of the music is discussed by Gunn in his cello treatise. This lot also provides further evidence of a link with Schetky and Reinagle as there is a considerable number of publications by these two musicians, including an unpublished duet for violin and cello by Schetky.

**J. G. C. Schetky’s Death, 1824.**

Schetky’s death notice was printed in the *Aberdeen Journal* in 1824:

At Edinburgh, on the 30th ult. J. G. C. Schetky, Esq. Aged 85, for many years a professor of music in that city; and, at Cape Coast Castle, on the 5th September, his son, John Alexander Schetky, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, and Member of Council at Sierra Leone.  

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728 A copy of Schetky’s death notice is held at the National Library of Scotland (GB-En), MS.935, no. 56.  
729 *Aberdeen Journal*, 15 December 1824.
Fraser Harris states that he died of old age and that his body is ‘interred in the west side six feet north-west of Sharp’s ground, and four feet south-west of Langley’s stone.’

It was his son, John Schetky, who wished to purchase his father’s ‘Bass’ after his death, despite Schetky’s apparent request for the ‘Bass’ to be given to George. In a letter to George, Mary Schetky enquires as to his intentions for the instrument. However, it is not certain if what is described was a double bass or cello. As previously mentioned, Schetky’s son (presumably John), had performed in Dragonetti’s bass section at the Edinburgh Festival, 1815:

With regard to our Dear Father’s Bass, as you say, ‘he promised to you’, you will say what you wish to do with it, whether you wish it sold or not; if the former, John would buy it from you to keep it in the family, this is John’s earnest desire, but it is in want of repair, which cannot be done in Edin’r, but we shall keep it safe here till you write again.

To whom the instrument was given to, or if it was sold, remains unknown. S. F. L. Schetky, states that her father John was also a proficient cellist:

On these occasions John Schetky and his flute, or more often his violoncello (his ‘first wife’, as he used fondly to call it), were at once the joke and the admiration of the assembly. He seldom practiced between—whiles; his instrument frequently arrived at the rehearsals minus one of its strings, or woefully out of tune, and had to be put in order on the spot; he generally played as much from ear as from note; yet his part was always given with a facility of execution, and a perfection of taste and feeling, which would set his hard-working coadjutors railing at this comparatively dry correctness won by their persevering efforts. ‘Well it’s in the blood!’ was their consolation, when the erratic artist would from time to time produce some of his father’s delicately—veined violoncello music or graceful pianoforte sonatas.

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730 Fraser-Harris, 69.
731 L. O. Schetky, 190. Letter from Mary Schetky to her brother George Schetky, 21 April 1828.
732 S. F. L. Schetky, 132.
At the death of his mother, Maria, in 1795, John remained in Edinburgh to help care for his father and younger siblings. He later carved a successful career as a marine painter.

**Joseph Reinagle’s Death, 1825**

Despite a prolonged illness Reinagle performed his last benefit concert in May 1825. He died a number of months later, in November, having established himself as a renowned musician in Oxford:

Monday last died, after a lingering and very painful illness, Mr. Joseph Reinagle, for many years principal violoncello player in the Oxford Concerts; he was an excellent musician, and was highly respected by his professional brethren and all who knew him.

### 2.18 Conclusions

Reinagle and Schetky were fortunate to have had the backing of provincial musical societies during an era when subscriptions concerts were relatively successful ventures. Although both attempted brief periods in London, neither established careers in the capital. However, this did not prevent them from establishing publishing links in London. The case of John Gunn is different. His treatises suggest considerable cello experience, although he was not celebrated as a performer. It is therefore probable that his employment status was that of a music teacher.

As demonstrated, the provincial careers and personal circumstances of Reinagle, Schetky and Gunn were varied. However, they are unified by their contribution to the genre of cello treatises. As provincial cellists they were perhaps

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733 Ibid., 10. ‘Died on the 19th current, Mrs Maria Reinagle, spouse of Mr Schetky, music-master here’ (CM, 24 December 1795).
734 JOJ, 21 May 1825.
735 JOJ, 12 November 1825.
aware, more so than their cello counterparts in London, of the necessity for written cello teaching material. Their treatises provide further information regarding their cello influences and teaching practices. The following chapter reconsiders their treatises within the context of British and continental treatises of the period, establishing their role in the development of the cello in Britain.
Chapter 3

THE CELLO TREATISES OF JOHANN GEORGE CHRISTOPH SCHETKY,
JOSEPH REINAGLE AND JOHN GUNN

Introduction

And I shall think myself extremely happy, that if from this publication, a hint may be furnished to some more able Master to enrich the Musical World with a complete Treatise on Violoncello playing.¹

In c.1780, J. G. C. Schetky published *Twelve Duets for Two Violoncellos, with some Observations and Rules for Playing that Instrument*, a precursor to his cello treatise which was published in 1813. Schetky’s works frame the publications of Reinagle and Gunn, which were amongst the first cello treatises published in Britain. This chapter reconsiders these treatises individually and in chronological order, against the broader background of British and continental pedagogical publications from the mid-eighteenth century. It concludes with a comparative review of their cello treatises, which further considers their works in relation to modern mainstream and period-instrument practice.

3.1 Early Cello Treatise Material (~c.1790)

Early Manuscripts

The earliest reference of cello pedagogical material is located in a catalogue of music from a collection of the amateur musician and York Minster clergymen, Edward Finch (1663–1738). Roberts states:

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¹ SchetkyO, 3.
A holograph catalogue of music owned by ‘John Sharp [III], Trin. Coll.’ in DRe Bamburgh M194 lists two items: ‘Mr Jenkins – Airs for the Lute (fr[o[m] Hon: Mr Finch’s collect;)’ and ‘Lessons---for [th]e Violincello (from Mr Finch’s Collec[t]:)’.

Edward Finch received composition lessons, and possibly cello lessons from Lorenzo Bocchi in 1720. The Durham Cathedral Library [DRe] includes a copy of Finch’s sonatas, which were amended by Bocchi. It is not known if Finch’s cello lessons were printed, or if they exemplify hand-written memos taken during or after lessons. They may also demonstrate a set of pieces, as the term ‘lessons’ during the period did not necessarily imply pedagogical material.

In Italy, an unpublished cello treatise by the Italian cellist, Francesco Supriani [Scipriani] (1678–1753) survives in manuscript. Guido Olivieri remarks that Principi da imparare a suonare il Violoncello [n.d.], was a ‘remarkable exception in the Italian panorama’ as in Italy music teaching was ‘considered a craft the secrets of which were transmitted orally and by direct imitation from teacher to student’. The treatise begins with rudimentary theory, including an explanation of rhythmic values, clefs and note names. This is followed by short exercises demonstrating the use of thirds, fourths and octaves, and a chromatic scale. However, no left-hand fingerings are given. It is followed by twelve ‘Toccate’, for solo cello. These improvisatory style movements

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4 See Holman, ‘A Little Light on Lorenzo Bocchi’.
5 Roberts, 32.
7 F. P. Scipriani, Principi da imparare a suonare il Violoncello e con 12 Toccate à solo, Raffaele Sorrentino, ed. (Centro di Ricerca e di Sperimentazione Musicale, 2014), IMSLP.
are located in a later manuscript by Supriani, with the addition of a bass line accompaniment and embellished upper part.\(^8\)

**Michel Corrette, *Méthode, théorique et pratique, pour apprendre en peu de temps, le violoncelle dans sa perfection, 1741***

Michel Corrette (1707–95) was the first author to publish a systematic method of playing the cello, combining written commentary with musical explanation.\(^9\) Corrette was an organist and composer, and published treatises for flute, clavecin, treble viol (pardessus de viole) and two for violin.\(^10\) The use of violin technique is central to Corrette’s cello treatise, which was designed not only for the beginner cellist, but as a method for violinists to transfer their skills to the cello. The treatise also includes a brief chapter for viola da gamba players. As string players were often, by necessity, proficient on more than one instrument, the treatise offered a low cost, and simple method of transferring their string technique between instruments.

Early cello fingering stemmed from violin technique, that is, a diatonic system. In the diatonic system, the distance between each finger is generally a tone (ex. 3.1). In first position, violinists use the second finger to play either a tone or a semitone from the first finger. This method was replicated in early cello methods.

![Ex. 3.1 Standard violin fingering in first position](image-url)

\(^8\) See Olivieri, 122–5.
It is now standard practice in cello playing, that these intervals are taken by the second and third fingers. Therefore, the fourth finger in cello takes the place of the violinist’s third finger, as demonstrated in the diagram below (ex. 3.2):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note</th>
<th>Cello fingering</th>
<th>Violin fingering</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘E’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘F’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘F sharp’</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘G’</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ex. 3.2 Relationship between violin and cello standard fingering in first position

Modern standardised cello fingering is considered a chromatic system, where the interval between each finger is a semitone. The size between tones on the violin fingerboard is considerably smaller than on the cello, therefore, the use of the diatonic system on the cello often requires the hand to be placed at an oblique angle. This method was taught by the violinist and cellist, Joseph Reinagle, but disregarded by John Gunn, who appears to have only played the cello.\(^\text{11}\) The practice can also be traced in iconographic evidence. For example, a portrait of an unknown gentleman cellist by Francesco Renaldi (1755–98), illustrates the thumb curved around the fingerboard with the fingers oblique to the fingerboard, and the palm of the hand against the fingerboard.\(^\text{12}\) A portrait of a gentleman in 1720, who plays with the bow played underhand, also demonstrates this hand shape.\(^\text{13}\) Vanscheeuwijck traces the practice, not only to the transfer of violin technique, but to the sixteenth century, where the instrument was played in processions and held with a strap, with the hand partly

\(^\text{11}\) GunnE, 25.
supporting the instrument.\textsuperscript{14}

Corrette’s method provides evidence of left-hand practice from the period. He offers two methods: the first was for violinists, and the second, for viola da gamba players. He also presented solutions for cellists who continued to tune the top string to a ‘G’. Corrette states that this tuning was still practiced, demonstrating that cello tunings and fingering techniques were still in transition in the 1740s.

Corrette’s approach was to assign each finger a note, ignoring whether the note was sharpened or flattened. This results in the second finger playing an ‘E’ on the ‘C’ string, and ‘B’ on the ‘G’ string, where the third finger falls more naturally (for example in a C major scale). The application is also transferred to chromatic scales (illus. 3.1), where the hand shifts on the first, second and fourth fingers.\textsuperscript{15} It also requires that the second and fourth fingers play a semitone apart, which is not comfortable or natural for the hand. Presumably this method was considered easier for students to remember, as each note was assigned a finger.

\begin{center}
\textbf{Illustration 3.1 Extract from the facsimile edition, Methods & Treatises, Cello, France 1600–1800}
\end{center}

(Courlay: Editions J. M. Fuzeau, 1998) (Ref. 5559), 37

However, Corrette acknowledges another system in chapter XIV, which is the modern chromatic fingering. This system he credits to the Italians, but does not

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{15} C. D. Graves, ‘The Theoretical and Practical Method for Cello by Michael Corrette: Translation, Commentary, and Comparison with Seven other Eighteenth Century Cello Methods’, Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1972, 38. An English translation of Corrette’s treatise is provided by Graves.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
recommend it, as it was considered ‘standard viol fingering’. Surprisingly Corrette did not recognise the merits of this fingering, suggesting that his method was directed at violinists, more so than viola da gamba players. Unusually, Corrette does introduce the third finger in third and fourth positions (illus. 3.2). Corrette’s definition of the left-hand positions (e.g. first position, second position, etc.) is the standard terminology used today, yet despite this, many British treatises, including Gunn and MacDonald, introduced their own terminologies and systems.

Corrette often changes, by necessity, his initial fingering rule. For example, when playing double-stop chords the third finger is marked. Despite this he still returns to his initial premise, where the fourth and second finger play a semitone apart on adjacent strings whilst double-stopping. This places the hand at an uncomfortable angle that can easily be prevented by using the third finger. It is difficult to believe that any proficient cello player (or indeed string player) would have adopted, or taught Corrette’s rules. In fact, Corrette himself, in a later part of the treatise, suggests the use of the third finger

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in first position, but claims that violinists would have difficulty learning this new position and therefore suggests a return to the original rules. His principle, was that violin players would only need to learn fingering for one new string in order to play the cello, that is the ‘C’ string, as they were already familiar with the ‘G’, ‘D’, and ‘A’ strings.¹⁷

Whilst Corrette’s treatise demonstrates a lack of clarity in standard left-hand practice that was prevalent during the period, his method is frequently referenced for his detailing of three types of bow-hold, all overhand. Each bow-hold he recommends as good practice, but suggests that the individual cellist should experiment to discover which one enables the strongest sound. As to why this treatise became a prototype for future publications is unclear, as it clearly lacks cohesiveness. However, the lack of competition within the genre may partly explain its success. As will be discussed, it became the reference book for a number of early British beginner cello treatises, which although helped to popularise the instrument, did little to develop cello pedagogy alongside the advancements in cello technique.

**Henry Waylet, c.1750 and Peter Prelleur (1731)**

_The Gamut for the Violoncello_ was published by Henry Waylet in c.1750.¹⁸ This two-page work outlines the open strings as ‘C’, ‘G’, ‘D’, ‘A’, followed by the C major scale and a chromatic scale starting on ‘C’, with left-hand fingering (ex. 3.3). Waylet’s fingering for the chromatic scale is typical for the period, where each note is designated one finger. The same finger is then used when the note is sharpened or flattened. Leopold Mozart demonstrates this ‘slide-fingering’ practice, and it is also notated in

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¹⁷ Graves, 64–5.
numerous cello and violin treatises from the eighteenth century. Whether it should be adopted as a form of period performance is debatable. It can be used to great effect to mark chromaticism in the bass line in baroque and early classical music. However, a sound preference for clean shifts without portamento, means it is often avoided. In modern practice, a modified fingering system, 0, 1, 2, 3, 1, 2, 3, for chromatic scales is taught as standard.

Waylet continues with two lessons (illus. 3.3). The first lesson is a simple bass line tune in C major. The second lesson is in the tenor clef and is considerably more advanced than the first. The fingering is unsystematic and unwieldy, especially in the third and fourth bar of the third line, where the third finger shifts to the second finger, the second finger then shifts by a tone to the ‘E’, and finally the third finger plays one tone higher. This could easily be reduced to one shift by playing the ‘D’ with the fourth finger and the ‘E’ with the first finger. The ‘second lesson’ does not utilise the fourth finger on the ‘C’ or ‘G’ strings. However, oddly it appears to suggest the fourth finger on the ‘D’ string in first position (b. 18). The lessons demonstrate the multiple roles of the cello, firstly in accompaniment, and secondly, in a solo melodic line.

The same material is appended to a facsimile reproduction by Hyatt King of Peter Prelleur’s (1705–41) violin treatise (1731).¹⁰ This well-known treatise was part of a compilation of instructions for popular instruments of the period. However, the ‘Gamut’ is not evident in every edition of Prelleur’s book. For example, the British Library copy does not include the appended cello gamut.¹¹ It is not clear if the addition of Waylet’s printed cello gamut was made solely by Hyatt King, or if it had been lost from earlier editions. Henry Waylet was in business between c.1743 and 1765.¹² He printed the ‘Gamut’ in c.1750, suggesting that the pages were appended to the later

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¹² Ibid.
edition of Prelleur’s volume. Eric Halfpenny argues that ‘the careful way in which the consortium has been depicted in the frontispiece indicates at least an original intention [by Prelleur] to provide instructions for the ‘cello and bassoon’. However, he continues that as the ‘folding chart’ was made up of ‘single folding sheets’, it may have been lost, which could account for its omission in a number of the editions. The consortium includes images of both the bassoon and the cello. The cello bow is held underhand, a technique inherited from the viola da gamba and the viola da spalla. The viola da spalla was a bass instrument, like the cello, that was played across the body. The tuning was ‘D’, ‘G’, ‘D’, ‘A’. However, the angle of the fingerboard encouraged different fingerings to that of the cello. In 1677, Bartolomeo Bismantova illustrated a page of fingerings for the viola da spalla.

‘Instructions for the Violoncello or Bass Violin’ from Apollo’s Cabinet: or the Muse’s Delight, 1757 and Vincenzo Panerai, Principi di musica, c.1775

The Violoncello is an Instrument of great Service in Concert; and the Bass Part, in general, is not very difficult, a Person may soon perform so as to be useful on the Bass Violin.

In England, the term ‘bass violin’ described the cello, but with reference to its role in accompaniment. The larger accompanying cello, often referred to as the bass violin, had during the seventeenth century, been tuned to B flat. Mark Vanscheeuwijck examines different tunings of the cello during its evolvement, and on

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23 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
27 B. Bismantova, Compendio Musical (Ferrara, 1677); ME: (Firenze: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1978), 119.
28 Apollo’s Cabinet: or the Muses Delight, i (Liverpool: John Sadler, 1757), 47, ECCO. Also available on IMSLP.
the number of strings which may have been used in early cello repertoire. The true origins of the cello, including it tunings and size, remains a strongly debated subject, largely due to ‘the confusion arising from the many names applied to the instrument and the great variety of sizes it took in pictorial sources throughout its early years’. Stephen Bonta links the history of the cello to the development of wire-wound strings, which enabled the size of the instrument to be reduced. Apollo’s Cabinet demonstrates the equal exchange of terminology for the ‘bass violin’ and ‘violoncello’ which was evident in Britain during the period.

Apollo’s Cabinet included instructions for a number of instruments including the violin, harpsichord and flute. ‘Instructions for the Violoncello or Bass Violin’ consists of two pages of commentary and a diagram of the divisions of the fingerboard. It recommends fretting the cello with ink, in order to help the student play in tune. The fingering, 0124, 0124, 0124, 0124, is given for the one octave C major scale. Although the fourth finger is introduced throughout first position, the second finger is notated where it is more natural to use the third on the ‘C’ and ‘G’ strings. It is the same fingering offered by Robert Crome, demonstrating how the C major scale continued to be influenced by violin technique. It also resembles the fingering given in a similar general instrumental publication by the Italian composer and organist, Vincenzo Panerai. In the short example in Principj di musica, the gamut for the cello rises further into fourth position providing alternate solutions (illus. 3.4).

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30 S. Bonta, ‘From Violone to Violoncello: A question of strings?’, JAMIS, 3 (1977); S. Bonta, ‘Violoncello’, GMO.
32 Little is known of Panerai, however there is a short reference to this tract in F. Neumann, Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music: With Special Emphasis on J. S. Bach (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), 350.
Salvatore Lanzetti, *Principes ou l'application de violoncelle par tous les tons*, c.1756–67

The Italian cellist, Salvatore Lanzetti (c.1710–1780) was described as a ‘virtuoso of the violoncello’ in an advertisement for his London benefit concert on 7 May 1733. He is known to have performed in London in 1733 and again in 1754. Corrette credits the cellist in his treatise, for his ability to play numerous staccato notes within one bow. Lanzetti’s short method (fourteen pages in total), contains no written commentary, but consists of a series of exercises with left-hand fingerings and bass-line accompaniment. The work is not a beginner treatise, as it begins with the G major scale, followed by an intermediate study in first position, which includes chromatic extension of the fourth finger. A further more advanced improvisatory passage is provided in G major. In this exercise, Lanzetti does not adopt the standard eighteenth-

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35 Lindgren, 143.
37 S. Lanzetti, *Principes ou l’application de violoncelle par tous les tons de la maniere la plus facile* (Amsterdam: J. J. Hummel, c.1760).
century practice of playing notes written in the treble clef down the octave. Lanzetti’s choice of fingerings suggests that he played on a four-string cello, tuned ‘C’, ‘G’, ‘D’, ‘A’. However, Vanscheeuwijck suggests that earlier works by Lanzetti and Scripiani would have been performed on a five-string instrument, with an added ‘E’ string.\(^{38}\)

It was traditional for cellists of the period to play passages in the treble clef transposed down the octave. Duport in his cello treatise states, ‘I do not use the G clef as it is employed in the general system of clefs, but according to the method adopted during the last thirty years for the Violoncello’.\(^{39}\) Holman traces the notation to the 1700s amongst English viol players, which ‘enabled them to play any music written for soprano voices or instruments without having to arrange it.’\(^{40}\) Holman further states that:

By the 1720s the treble clef was well established among gamba players, so they could have played any of his [Handel’s] solo or trio sonatas without having to make or obtain a transcription.\(^{41}\)

The practice is clearly evident in duets published for a violin and cello, or two cellos. For example, the duets of James Cervetto’s (1747–1837), are published in the treble clef but marked ‘violoncello primo or violin’.\(^{42}\) The upper part of Hugh Reinagle’s *Six Duettos* op. 1 was also published in the treble clef.\(^{43}\) The gradual disappearance of this practice during the nineteenth century caused some confusion. A letter to *The Musical Times* in 1887, asks that cello music be published only in two clefs, bass and treble, and

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\(^{38}\) Vanscheeuwijck, ‘Recent re-evaluations of the Baroque cello’, 191, footnote 21.


\(^{41}\) P. Holman, *Life after Death* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 122.

\(^{42}\) J. Cervetto, *Three Duets for Two Violoncellos, or a Violin and a Violoncello*, op. 6 (London: Robert Birchall, c.1795).

\(^{43}\) H. Reinagle, *Six Duettos for a Violin and Violoncello or Two Violoncellos*, op. 1 (London: W. Forster, c.1784).
always at the pitch intended. The contributor states that regarding treble, ‘some publishers intending the notes to be played at the proper pitch, others again an octave lower than written, and in reading at sight it is often not very clear what is intended.’

Raoul clarifies that the marking ‘8---’ requires the cellist to play these notes at pitch. Schetky marks this ‘octava’ or ‘8ve’. However, Beethoven wrote that ‘in 8va’ should be played an octave higher and ‘loco’ at pitch. Bernhard Romberg (1767–1841) opposed the confusing system in his treatise (1839), and published his works at pitch, marking a universal departure from the ambiguity of pitch notation.

**Joseph Bonaventure Tillière, Methode pour le violoncelle, c.1764**

Joseph Bonaventure Tillière (c.1750–1790) was a French cellist and composer, and a student of the renowned cellist and teacher, Martin Berteau (c.1708–71). Berteau is often referred to as the ‘founder of the French school of cello playing’. Tillière’s method was imported to London by Longman & Broderip in c.1774, and translated into English in 1790. The quality of the English translation is poor, but the treatise in terms of cello technique was far superior to that which preceded it. The importation of such works highlight the diversity and cosmopolitan stature of the London music scene during the period.

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46 SchetkyT, 36.
48 Ibid., 77–8.
Tillière opens his treatise with an illustration representing the tuning of the open strings (‘C’, ‘G’, ‘D’, ‘A’). He then provides a series of scale patterns in thirds, fourths, fifths, etc., after which he begins scales in both the major and minor. In the final lessons, it is noticeable that Tillière organised his fingerings patterns by chordal passages, it is therefore perhaps no coincidence that he started his treatise with rising interval patterns, rather than traditional diatonic scales.

Tillière provides alternative fingerings for many of the scales. For example, in f minor, he offers the student the option of tailoring the fingering to their hand shape or to a particular phrasing (illus. 3.5). His method offered the student a variety of fingerings, therefore widening their technical skills.

Illus. 3.5 Extract from the facsimile edition, Methods & Treatises, Cello, France 1600–1800 (Courlay: Editions J. M. Fuzeau, 1998) (Ref. 5559), 95

Tillière’s explanation of bowing is minimal, stating only where a passage should begin on an up-bow or a down-bow (en tir, en tirant). The lessons progress through the keys with increasing difficulty, with fingering and bowing provided only where necessary. Tillière’s command of left-hand fingerings is clearly advanced, demonstrating his cello experience. He avoids unnecessary shifts by crossing the string where possible. Later he explains the use of alternative transposition for maintaining the quality of sound, taking into account sound aesthetics early in the cellist’s training.

The treatise advances quickly to utilise the thumb in higher positions for solo playing. Thumb position was first introduced in the method of Corrette, however, Vanscheeuwijck claims that it only became necessary when the ‘semi-standardized
four-string instrument tuned $C-G-d-a$ became accepted as the cello’. As was traditional during the period, Tillière’s lessons for the thumb started with the thumb on ‘G’ (on the ‘D’ string) and ‘D’ (on the ‘A’ string). In contemporary tutors, thumb position is often started on the harmonics ‘A’ and ‘D’, a fifth higher, as this is less strenuous on the left-hand. This enables student cellists to gain strength in their thumb and joint, and it is also easier to pitch. Tillière provides a bass line to accompany the lessons, undoubtedly to help the cellist with intonation, but also suggesting that a teacher should be present. Notably it is only within these more advanced exercises that Tillière expects the cellist to have knowledge of the soprano clef and treble clef (having already used the alto and bass clef). This suggests that the use of soprano and treble clefs were generally reserved for solo cello playing, or thumb position passages.

After a brief introduction to thumb position, Tillière provides examples of multiple accompaniment options. These exercises are beneficial to contemporary cellists studying key repertoire from the period and are also useful in developing technique especially for period performance. Tillière provides examples of arpeggio passages starting on an up-bow when ascending and on a down-bow when descending. He later incorporates these figures with thumb position exercises. Lesson twenty-four exemplifies block double-stop chords, which is followed by a lesson introducing the use of chords in a more melodic fashion. The treatise concludes with a sonata in D major. The work is in three movements with a single bass line accompaniment.

The Violoncello is an Excellent Instrument, not only in Concert, but also for playing Lessons.\(^{54}\)

Robert Crome’s treatise was heavily influenced by an amateur cello marketplace, and like the majority of British treatises was designed to facilitate amateurs who wished to learn simple tunes or bass lines on the cello. Crome was a violinist at the Covent Garden Theatre, London.\(^{55}\) He had previously published a violin treatise, however, it was strongly derivative of Prelleur’s violin method (1731).\(^{56}\) Crome’s cello method is best known for his endorsement of the endpin or cello spike:

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[B]\text{ut for the greater ease of a Learner we would advise him to have an [sic] hole made in the Tail-pin and a Wooden Peg to screw into it to rest on the Floor which may be taken out when he Pleases.}\(^{57}\)
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It was Crome’s intention that this would only be used as a learning device that could at a later stage be taken away. Larger accompaniment instruments were often placed on the ground, or raised by the foot, as illustrated by Simone da Passe in the 1612 engravings *Musizierende Gesellschaft* and *Musiziertende Studenten*.\(^{58}\) Images from *Musicalisches theatrum* depict a viola da gamba player with the instrument placed on a stool, and a violon player using a spike.\(^{59}\) The title page of Andreas Lidel’s ‘Three Quintettos’, op. 5 represents a cellist (possibly the composer) with a wooden spike.\(^{60}\) However, in this image the cello is played very low and upright. An early portrait of James Cervetto (1782) portrays him playing the cello resting on the ground with an

\(^{56}\) R. Crome, *The Fiddle New Model’d or a Useful Introduction for the Violin* (London: J. Tyther, c.1740); See Golby, 114.
\(^{57}\) Crome, *The Compleat Tutor for the Violoncello*, 1.
\(^{59}\) J. C. Weigel, *Musicalisches theatrum* (Nurnberg: Johann Christoph Weigel, c.1722), IMSLP.
\(^{60}\) Holman, *Life after Death*, plate 20.
underhand bow grip. However, this contrasts with a 1789 portrait of the same cellist, where the cello is held between the legs and the bow is played overhand. William Braun dissertation on the ‘evolution of the end pin’ includes two further late eighteenth-century images of cellists resting the cello on a stool and bar keg.

Crome’s peg was attached to the instrument by a screw and therefore could not be pushed into the cello after use, as is now generally the case. Documentary evidence suggests cellists used an endpin to stand and play, but Crome’s method was advertised as a learning device. Braun suggests that the endpin in the nineteenth century had ‘amateur or womanish overtones’. Therefore, Crome’s suggestion may not have been for a professional context, but as alternative for amateur and lady performers, who would often play side-saddle. Cello players held the instrument in multiple ways, such as, when marching or processing, where a strap was used. Undoubtedly tiredness, illness or injury also meant that cellists and gamba players looked for refinements, or different means of holding their instrument.

Crome’s treatise presented fairly basic content, however despite this it was regularly replicated. For example, a ‘house tutor’ by the publisher Goulding begins almost identically, often copying word for word explanations from ‘The Gamut of the Violoncello’, ‘A Perfect Scale for the Violoncello’ and ‘Of Stopping the Notes in Tune’, at which point Goulding digresses to original material. However notably, despite sharing a number of pages of material with Crome, Goulding adds in the third

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63 Braun, 10–1.
64 Ibid., 17.
65 See Braun, for further information.
66 New and Complete Instructions for the Violoncello (London: G. Goulding, [?1786–99]).
finger (ex. 3.4), which Crome omits, both in chromatic and diatonic scales (ex. 3.5):

Ex. 3.5 ‘A Perfect Scale for the Violoncello’ in New and Complete Instructions for the Violoncello (London: G. Goulding, [1786–99?]), 4

Ex. 3.4 R. Crome, The Compleat Tutor for the Violoncello (London: C. & S. Thompson, c.1765), 6

Crome’s publishers, Charles & Samuel Thompson, were amongst the first to produce a ‘house tutor’ from the same address. However, the content of this tutor also relies heavily on Crome’s method.

Crome, like Corrette, also suggested fretting the fingerboard ‘like that of the Guittar’, which could then be ‘filed down’. The English guitar was inlaid with metal frets which could not be easily smoothed down. It is therefore unlikely Crome intended a complete replication of this metal fret. Holman states that the practice of ‘tying gut frets onto violin necks, had been used since the seventeenth century.’

67 Thompson’s New Instructions for the Violoncello, Containing the Best Directions for Fingering (London: Messrs Thompson, [1790s]).
68 Crome, 6–7.
70 Holman, Life after Death, 167.
Playford recommended the use of frets for beginners in his 1658 publication. However, in 1789, Gunn states in his opening dissertation that the ‘Treble Tenor, and Bass Viols had six strings each, with frets; the Violin, on the contrary had only one string more that the Rebec; and like it, had no frets. Quantz acknowledges the practise, which suggests that the use of frets was not simply for the beginner cellist:

If the violoncello has frets, as is customary upon the viola da gamba, the violoncellist must, in playing notes marked with flats, depress the strings a little above the frets, and apply a little more pressure with his fingers, in order to stop them with the additional height (that is, of about a comma) that their ratios require as opposed to those of notes marked with sharps.

Players of the viola da gamba were proficient in using and changing gut frets, and it was this practice that Holman suggests inspired Charles Clagget’s (1740–c.1795) invention for the fingerboard.

Clagget’s invention featured a fingerboard which had ‘two interlocking pieces, one of which could be lowered to enable the other to serve as raised frets to the fingers of beginners’. Clagget’s ‘Improvements on the violin and other instruments played on the finger boards’ was initially patented in 1776. This invention was applied in principle to Preston and Son’s cello treatise, which includes a drawing of the fingerboard, as well as the promotion of Clagget’s patented fingerboard. Clagget was a violinist, and his brother, Walter, a cellist and viola da gamba player. They were born

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72 GunnT, 1st edn, 18.
75 Holman, Life after Death, 167.
76 Ibid. See Holman for further information regarding patents and inventions.
77 A New and Complete Tutor for the Violoncello (London: Preston & Son, [?1789–1800]).
in Waterford, but moved to England in their early teens. Clagget’s association with the inventor, James Watt (1736–1819), appears to have initiated his interest in musical instrument invention.\(^{78}\) Ebony pieces from Watt’s workshop have survived, which exemplify an early design of Clagget’s patent.\(^ {79} \)

Clagget’s patented fingerboard, as described in Preston & Son’s treatise, incorporates the use of moveable nuts, this invention, much like a guitar *capo*, assisted cellists with changing clefs and in finding ‘true’ fifths.\(^ {80} \)

These beauties are evident, but the difficulty of becoming perfect in as many Cliffs [sic] as are required on this instrument, and also the habit of making good Fifths by using the Thumb as a Nut, being difficult and in truth seldom conquered, these brought the Patentee to a resolution of forming Fingerboards to divide each Octave into twenty parts with the greatest Accuracy, and at the same time to place different Nuts, according to the various Cliffs [sic] in use, which may be brought on or discharged at the will of the performer in an instantaneous manner, by which means the Fifths will be always true.\(^ {81} \)

The design does not seem to have met with much enthusiasm and there is no evidence of a cellist endorsing the product. In the main section of the treatise, Preston & Son further recommended ‘a small Piece of Wood’ under the string to ‘prevent the String being forced out of a straight Line’.\(^ {82} \)

The practice of fretting the cello was not a new idea. In 1742, Corrette recommended that a luthier mark the fingerboard of the cello in semitone divisions. This he believed would accelerate the learning process by a number of months, however, he added:

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\(^{78}\) Holman, *Life after Death*, 165.
\(^{79}\) Ibid., 167.
\(^{81}\) *A New and Complete Tutor for the Violoncello*, 13.
\(^{82}\) Ibid., 8.
To the rest of those whom new discoveries never please in spite of the good which results, they can also learn the fingerboard of the cello in Chapters 4 and 5 where the old method is found which can be useful to teach them.\footnote{Graves, 6.}

This teaching practice for beginner cellists, is still prevalent today, although causing less permanent damage to the cello with the use of adhesive stickers. Goulding, like Crome, endorsed the marking of the fingerboard in order to train the beginner’s ear. However, Goulding suggests the use of sticking paper on the fingerboard, rather than a permanent mark, as described by Crome.\footnote{Goulding, 6.} Thompson advised fretting the fingerboard with a ‘fiddle string’.\footnote{Thompson’s New Instructions for the Violoncello, 6.}

John Gunn’s cello treatise (c.1789) was the first British cello treatise to be published after Crome. Gunn rejected Crome’s idea that frets could be used to assist the beginner with intonation. In tracing the history of the violin, Gunn remarks that the violin with practice could produce ‘a more perfect harmony than had ever been done by the Viols.’\footnote{GunnT, 1st edn, 19.} This he maintained was due to the fact that ‘the fingers, by practice, and the guidance of a good ear, effected a more accurate intonation, than could ever have been accomplished by the direction of frets, fixed on the finger-board with the utmost mathematical precision.’\footnote{Ibid.}

**Cupis, Méthode nouvelle et raisonnée, c.1772**

In France, Tillière’s treatise was succeeded by François Cupis (1732–1808), who was also a student of Berteau. Cupis’ *Méthode* was similarly imported to London, this time by the publishers Calkin and Budd. The importation occurred in the same year that it was published in France, and therefore arrived in Britain in advance of Tillière’s
treatise despite its later publication date. It was not translated into English, although it would have still been beneficial to students and teachers without any knowledge of the French language due to its extensive illustrative examples. After approximately five pages of commentary, with accompanying musical examples, the treatise concludes with an illustration of multiple bowing patterns. This is then followed by thirty-five lessons which progress in difficulty. Cupis’ thirty-fourth lesson is a set of variations displaying multiple bowing techniques. This would be a useful exercise for the contemporary student seeking a study for practise of the baroque or classical bow. The exercises are written in two parts, requiring a second cellist or teacher to cover one of the parts. The lessons do not include any bowing or left-hand fingerings, suggesting that it was designed as a teaching book, rather than for the self-taught cellist.

The early tutors equipped students with sufficient information to tackle an easy bass line or tune. However, they did not provide enough detail that would enable students to be self-taught to an advanced level. The use of bass-line accompaniments generally implied that the author intended a teacher to be present. However, as cello treatises advanced in complexity at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they undoubtedly required a teacher to demonstrate their methods.

Cupis’ commentary provides the basics of cello technique; this includes how to hold the instrument and the bow, the placing of the left hand, and how to play with good tone. He begins with diatonic scales, but there does not appear to be any system to his fingering, with each scale introducing a change of pattern. Like Tillière, no sign for left-hand extensions are used. Cupis’ fingerings share some similarities to Tillière. However, they do not go beyond an ‘A’ (the open harmonic on the ‘A’ string) and

therefore a comprehensive comparison cannot be made. Other differences include the minor scales where Cupis provides examples of harmonic minors, whereas Tillière opts for melodic minors. Cupis teaches a similar method of fingering within one hand position—that is, crossing the string and so reducing the need to shift. This is similar to that taught by Tillière, who shared the same teacher. Notably, Cupis does not discuss the role of the cellist in recitative, despite performing as a member of the ‘petit choeur’ in the Opéra orchestra, Paris. The importations of Cupis and Tillière’s method books provided the British cellist with an opportunity to advance their level of playing, far beyond that which was offered in Britain during the period.

**J. B. Baumgartner, *Instructions de musique, théorique et pratique, à l’usage du violoncello, 1774***

The first method to ‘deal comprehensively with basse d’accompagnement’, was by the German cellist, Jean Baptiste Baumgartner (1723–82), that is, a discussion of both accompanied and unaccompanied recitatives, and on the rules of good accompaniment and rhythm. The treatise was dedicated to the Prince of Orange-Nassau, William V (1748–1806), Statholder of the Dutch Republic. It was intended for use by Baumgartner’s own students, teachers, amateurs, and those who did not have access to a teacher but wanted to ‘make a profession’ of the instrument. Baumgartner enforced the need to practise; ‘I have given you the theory; the practice is up to you’.

Baumgartner guides the cellist through the rules of theory before tackling issues regarding the left-hand. However, the level of theory is more advanced than in previous

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89 Walden, 14 (citing Fétis).
91 Graves, 174.
92 Ibid., 199.
methods, and prepares the cellist with the theoretical knowledge for chordal accompaniment. Baumgartner demonstrates a working knowledge of fingering patterns, which facilitate left-hand passage-work, but, showing his cello experience, notes that exceptions always occur. He also provides practical performance defaults for accompanying, which are invaluable sources for modern period performance practice, such as playing an octave below when there is no double bass, and the use of detached strokes when no bowing markings are given.\textsuperscript{93} This contrasts with a modern approach to accompaniment where cellists, using modern bows, often favour legato bowing and avoid detached strokes. However, when using a baroque instrument with gut strings and a lighter baroque bow, the detached stroke is more instinctive. Rousseau describes \textit{detaché} as short, with silences between each stroke.\textsuperscript{94}

Baumgartner writes that cellists should play on good instruments, ‘cost what it may’, and with strings the correct size, confirming that this was still a period of transition for the cello.\textsuperscript{95} Strings were becoming thinner with the invention of wire-wound strings. It also suggests that there were a considerable number of cellos being made, which he deemed of low quality.

In relation to shifting, Baumgartner organised his method depending on the number of notes to be played or the highest note of the chord, in a manner similar to Gunn. In trills, he stated that the second finger should play the ‘note of the tremblement’ and the third or fourth finger, the tremblement.\textsuperscript{96} This would not always be the favoured choice of cellists, as the fourth finger is often the weakest, but it is a good means to strengthen the fourth finger. Baumgartner also discusses bowing technique, which is

\textsuperscript{93} Ibid., 200–1.
\textsuperscript{94} R. Stowell, \textit{Violin Technique and Performance Practice in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries} (Cambridge, New York: CUP, 1985), 168.
\textsuperscript{95} Graves, 199. See also S. Bonta, ‘From Violone to Violoncello: A question of strings?’.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., 185.
regularly ignored in cello treatises from the same period. For example, the different quality of sounds that can be achieved by playing nearer and further away from the bridge. Beginner methods from the period often recommend that the student play at a set distance from the bridge, but this is intended only as a learning technique, and not a performance practice.

Baumgartner states: ‘I give in this method the most sensible and easiest approach, not only to play pieces but even to accompany well since that is its primary role’. 97 Schetky also recognised that ‘Accompanyment should be the first Object of a Violoncellist, the Instrument being principally invented for that purpose.’ 98 Of particular interest and benefit to period performance practice are Baumgartner’s chordal fingerings for the realisation of chords in recitative and for modulations. Baumgartner emphasises the importance of knowing how to modulate, stating that ‘If you do not know how to modulate, you are not a good musician.’ 99 His treatise is unique to the period in that he provides detailed rules for double-stops, detailing how to play all intervals from unisons to octaves, with default fingerings. For example:

The unison may be played with any finger depending on the position and execution. It is usually played with the second finger and an open string. Seconds are played with any finger but the first, since the resolution is to the third. It is necessary also to use an open string and usually the little finger is placed on the lower note. [etc.] 100

He extends this to thumb position outlining what fingering should be used. He also takes into account the position of the hand for the resolution of the chord. In doing so, he builds a library of chordal hand positions that the cellist can utilise in the realisation

97 Ibid., 174.
98 SchetkyO, 1.
99 Graves, 197.
100 Ibid., 185–6.
of recitative. This is further extended when he provides fingering for cadences.\footnote{101} This aspect of Baumgartner’s work will be considered further in relation to John Gunn’s treatise \textit{An Essay Theoretical and Practical}, which was the first British treatise to tackle chordal accompaniment. Baumgartner’s treatise was the first to exemplify, with a musical example, the chordal accompaniment of vocal recitative. He also provides a list of rules for performance practice. This is discussed within the comparative review, which outlines recitative practices at the end of this chapter, and argues its relevance in modern performance practice.

After discussing recitative Baumgartner provides rules for chordal realisation of unfigured basses. For example, ‘if the bass leaps up a third or down a sixth, one plays a sixth’.\footnote{102} Baumgartner writes ‘Because it is very good, when you accompany a symphony or other large ensemble music, to sometimes play chords if there is occasion and if you are not too occupied with technique and shifting’.\footnote{103} Quantz opposed this view, suggesting it was common practice.\footnote{104} Baumgartner notates musical examples, which provide some clues as to his style of accompaniment. However, in chamber music, he advises to ‘play the notes exactly and observe well the dynamics and all the written signs.’ Adding that if there are no markings to ‘accompany neatly and with detached strokes’.\footnote{105}

The limitations of the pre-Tourte bow, that is a lighter bow to the modern Tourte-style bow, which was shorter and had a lower balance point, meant that the default stroke was as described by Stowell, ‘an articulated non-legato stroke’.\footnote{106} Crucially, Baumgartner concludes that is not permitted to ornament or add

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid., 194–5, 212.
\item Ibid., 196.
\item Ibid., 201.
\item Vanscheeuwijck, ‘The Baroque Cello and its Performance’, 95.
\item Graves, 201.
\item Stowell, \textit{Violin Technique}, 167.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
embellishments to this style of music. Quantz equally advised the cellist to avoid any unnecessary ornamentation, especially in larger ensembles.\textsuperscript{107} However, in solos, he advises the cellist when playing the bass line, to only ornament when the solo part has empty bars or rests, or if in imitation with the solo part.\textsuperscript{108} Baumgartner states that, ‘It is absolutely forbidden to add ornaments, passages or other things in the accompaniment. If you do so, you will show your ignorance.’\textsuperscript{109} He also wrote that in ‘accompanied recitative’ the cellist could ‘play a figure’ although it was not needed as the chord was already full.\textsuperscript{110}

The practical and detailed nature of the Baumgartner’s treatise demonstrates the mastery and experience of its author, and as a result it is a valuable source for modern baroque cellists, especially in relation to accompaniment.

**Ferdinand Kauer, Kurzgefasste Anweisung das Violoncell zu spielen, 1788**

The Austrian, Ferdinand Kauer (1751–1831), published a number of instrumental treatises, including methods for the violin, flute and piano. His short cello treatise begins with the obligatory rudimentary theory, followed by an introduction to cello technique, which is strongly influenced by the violin.\textsuperscript{111} For example, Kauer directs the student to play with the thickest part of the finger, with the left hand pronated, and elevates the right elbow when bowing. Kauer’s understanding of fingering for basic scales is in keeping with modern practice. He also shows a clear understanding of finger replacement, and the use of extensions. However, there are some discrepancies, for example, in raising a semitone he offers two options: firstly,

\textsuperscript{107} Quantz, 242–3.
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., 242.
\textsuperscript{109} Graves, 201.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., 190.
\textsuperscript{111} F. Kauer, *Kurzgefasste Anweisung das Violoncell zu spielen* (Vienna: Johann Cappi, 1788).
Mozart’s sliding finger method (ex. 3.6) and secondly where the hand bridges the notes, so that there is a tone between each finger, which requires a large extension back to the next note ‘E’ in first position (ex. 3.7). This second example would be an unusual choice for cellists, but possibly Kauer had a large hand, or a small cello.

Ex. 3.6 F. Kauer, *Kurzgefasste Anweisung das Violoncell zu spielen* (Vienna: Johann Cappi, 1788), 6

Kauer’s publication is most significant because of its description of the role of the cellist in recitative. Baumgartner and Kauer were the first cello treatises to provide an account of cello chordal accompaniment in recitative, a practice that is rarely heard in modern practice. Kauer’s role in the dissemination of this technique is discussed further in the comparative review.
3.2 J. G. C. Schetky, *Twelve Duets for Two Violoncellos, with some Observations and Rules for Playing that Instrument, c.1780 & c.1790: A Precursor to his Cello Treatise*

J. G. C. Schetky was quick to acknowledge in his ‘Observations’ that the cello was in need of further ‘instructive music’. This unusual work is the first known attempt by a British-based cellist to publish student cello music with accompanying guidelines. It was published firstly by John Welcker in *c.*1780, and again by Preston & Son in *c.*1790. Schetky’s ‘Observations’ cannot be defined as an example of a cello treatise, but can be viewed as a precursor to his cello method, published by Robert Birchall in 1813. Schetky states his intention to write, if necessary, a further method book providing that his current ‘attempt [be] favourably received by the public, and that no other Master shall undertake a Treatise on the same subject.’

Despite a number of treatises from cellists of repute, including J. L. Duport (1806) and another by Schetky’s brother-in-law, Joseph Reinagle (1799), Schetky continued to publish his own treatise, a number of years after these publications.

In his ‘Observations’, Schetky claims that a single bass line was not sufficient to keep the interest of a student:

> It may be asserted that every Bass part of a well composed piece of Music is a proper Lesson for the Violoncello, and this is true when the Performer is enabled to play a part along with others, but if he be not capable of doing this, I really think that a plain Bass is too tedious and insipid for a Beginner and rather tends to discourage than entice him to proceed.

He instead argues that popular tunes should be played on the cello. In doing so, the student is enticed to practise, whilst improving their ear:

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112 SchetkyO, 3.
114 SchetkyO, 1.
Since particular pieces of Music, the Airs of which are easily caught by the ear, are given to every beginner on other Instruments, the Violoncello may surely claim the same privilege [sic] and advantage; for piece of this kind will not only induce him to practice, but will quicken and improve his ear by making him sensible whether he stops in tune or not.\footnote{Ibid.}

However, Schetky was also aware that ‘very few Bass Players will make good Accompanyists [sic] if they have not a tolerable notion of singing or playing a first part.’\footnote{Ibid.} Schetky also observed that many students began playing in the higher register (‘tenor cliff’ [sic]) of the cello before they had established good sound production in the lower range of the instrument. This, he argued, was essential when accompanying.

A view also held by Quantz:

If on the contrary, he rushes immediately into solo playing, before knowing how to perform a ripieno bass well, and in consequence perhaps strings his instrument so feebly that he cannot be heard in accompaniment, he will be of little use to the ensemble.\footnote{Quantz, 246.}

When accompanying, Schetky advises maintaining good connection with the leader. He also observes that if the first cello and first violin stay together then the rest of the ‘band’ will remain intact. Schetky’s rules for cello playing are given below:

1. Make yourself Master of the lower notes of the Instrument as being principally necessary, for when you begin to play higher you will find that when the position of the Thumb comes in, it usually keeps for a whole passage, and a Sensible, Judicious Composer, who is acquainted with the Instrument will take care to give the Performer an opportunity of Shifting from one place to another.
2. Keep the longer Notes to their full extent without dragging, and play the shorter Notes with a precise distinctness, without Accelerating the time.
3. Be attentive to your Leader or first part and mark the different degrees of expression, Viz: Pianissimo, Piano, Forte, Fortissimo, &c. &c.\footnote{SchetkyO, 2.}

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\textsuperscript{115} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{117} Quantz, 246.
\textsuperscript{118} SchetkyO, 2.
Schetky’s cello publishing portfolio had begun prior to his ‘Observations’ and included *Six Solos for the Violoncello*, op. 4. These were written for the accomplished cellist and were undoubtedly representative of the solos he performed. They were not teaching works and demonstrated an advanced level of cello technique. The duets are considerably easier than that Schetky’s solos, while not aimed at the beginner cellist, they are clearly pedagogical works for the intermediate cellist.

The duets are in two short movements, and are written solely in the bass and tenor clef. They cover a range of keys, for example, no. 4 is in E flat major and no. 5 in A major. These keys are difficult for beginner cellists as they require frequent left-hand position changes and the use of left-hand extensions. Therefore, even the simpler second part requires the cellist to be more advanced than that of a beginner. Schetky intended that the student should play the first part, ‘twice or thrice with their Master’ and then the bass line, before returning to the first part. He also stressed that in cello duets it was important to be aware of the balance, especially when both cellists where playing in the lower part of the instrument, as ‘if they are not played with a particular accuracy and distinctness, nothing can be heard but an unintelligible jargon’. Schetky had ‘taken care’ to grade the difficulty, and maintained that having mastered thumb technique, as required in the last three duets, the first duets would seem simpler. However, he did not include didactic material, such as left-hand fingering. John Gunn, who assigns almost a page to the practise of these duets in the first edition of his cello treatise, changes the order, and provides left-hand fingering. It was not typical for cello works from the period to have fingering or bowings included. For example, Giacobbe Basevi Cervetto’s (c.1682–1783), *Six Lessons or Divertimentos for Two

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120 SchetkyO, 3.
121 Ibid.
122 GunnT, 67.
Violoncellos, does not mark any fingerings or bowings, despite its pedagogical title. However, fingering is found in Berteau’s *Sonate da camera a violoncello solo col basso continuo*, Jacob Klein’s *6 Sonate a violoncello solo e basso continuo*, and also in Corrette’s *Sonate pour deux violoncelles*, but Corrette had a pedagogical intention as the sonatas were published in his cello method.

In the case of Schetky the only didactic elements demonstrated in his cello music is the use of the thumb, which is marked ‘o’. The first page of the Schetky’s op. 4 solos states that ‘the letter o points out the Note on which the Thumb may be placed’. Interestingly these shorter sonatas are written in the bass, tenor and soprano clef, and do not use the treble clef. They also include a figured bass line. Schetky does not include thumb indications in his op. 13 cello solos, nor does he figure the bass line. Walden traces the German cellist, Bernhard Romberg’s (1767–1841) cello lineage to that of Schetky, stating:

> [I]t is from the notated compositions of Filtz, Schetky and Tricklir that the path to Romberg is most easily drawn. Like Romberg, all three made a point of marking thumb fingerings.

At present it is not possible to ascertain the impact of Schetky’s ‘Observations’ and accompanying duets. There is no evidence of a review, nor of the number of prints published. That two publishers undertook its publication suggests that there was a demand for this style of cello instructional material. However, the fact that the second print was published a decade later, also highlights the lack of advancement in this

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125 Schetky, *Six Solos for the Violoncello*, op. 4, 1.
127 Walden, 128.
particular genre in Britain. A similar trend is also seen in France where, with the exception of a treatise by P. H. Azaïs, no further cello treatises had been published.\textsuperscript{128} Azaïs’ \textit{Méthode de basse} was a short and concise guide (thirteen pages) for the beginner cellist. It provided simple exercises in the major scales up to four sharps and four flats, totaling forty-five short lessons.

Although Schetky’s duets are perhaps too short and musically too simple for a professional concert stage, they offer a fresh alternative for present day student duets at an intermediate level. Surprisingly they are not well-known, as they are worthy additions to today’s pedagogical repertoire. They offer finely structured classical-style miniatures, employing simple melodies and effective textural interplay between the two parts.

3.3 \textbf{John Gunn, The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello, c.1789}

London: Printed for, and sold by, the Author, at No. 1, Bennet-street, Rathbone-place; and by Mess. Birchall and Andrews, New Bond-street, and Mr. Foster, in the Strand: where such Subscribers as are in town may send for their copies; and the Author will forward the copies of such Subscribers as are in the country, to the places where their respective subscriptions were given in.\textsuperscript{129}

John Gunn was the first British author to offer a new style of cello pedagogic work to the market-place, and to publish in a style of academic authority not seen before. It is unique to the period, in that it is the first known British cello treatise to combine a dissertation on the origin of stringed instruments, alongside a practical and theoretical guide to playing the cello. The first edition was self-published in c.1789 and is significant in terms of its impact and legacy.\textsuperscript{130} The work begins with an extensive introduction to the ‘history of the art and science of music’ and the history of stringed

\textsuperscript{128} P. H. Azaïs, \textit{Methode de basse} (Chez l’Auteur, À Sorèse, par Revel, À Paris, chez Bignon, c.1775).
\textsuperscript{129} World, 21, 26 February 1789.
\textsuperscript{130} GunnT, 1st edn.
instruments beginning with the lyre of the ancient Greeks. The second part is divided into two sections: ‘The Theory of Fingering’, followed by ‘The Practice of Fingering’. ‘The Practice of Fingering’ directs the student through what is essentially a working guide to cello repertoire. This repertoire guide is still relevant today. It provides cellists with a comprehensive programme of study, with pedagogical commentary, on a wide range of repertoire from the period, including basso continuo lines, obligato and quartet excerpts, and solo cello repertoire. This is the only cello treatise of the eighteenth century to attempt such a study.

The treatise is a sizable volume of ninety-six pages, prefaced by a substantial subscription list.131 As Gunn’s treatise was self-published, this reduced the financial risk, however, there is no evidence of who printed Gunn’s treatise.132 The English composer and cellist, Stephen Paxton (1734–87) states that he had through his own ‘enquiry amongst the Music Printers’ discovered that they rarely undertook the printing of a work without hearing it first, or ‘being well acquainted with the Author’s Style, or indeed without his being in some favor with the Public.’133 Gunn’s apparent lack of a performance profile would have left him relatively hindered in this regard. John Marsh recounts his own experiences with publishers, including an episode where an anthem he had composed was rejected by Longman & Broderip.134 As a result, Marsh had plates engraved at his own cost and then printed by Preston, who also agreed to print his ‘Symphony in B flat’ for free, providing him with twenty-five copies.135 Preston sold Gunn’s flute treatises and Forty Scotch Airs, which were published as a supplement to

131 See Appendix A.
132 Y. L. An, 253.
135 Ibid.
his cello treatise.\textsuperscript{136} It is therefore conceivable that Preston also printed his cello treatise.

The style of Gunn’s work, in terms of scale and opening dissertation, shares some similarities to the more famous instrumental treatises of the period, such as those by Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773), Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–88) and Leopold Mozart (1719–87).\textsuperscript{137} Perhaps Gunn was attempting to recreate the comprehensiveness of these treatises in a cello method. Gunn as a German flute player and treatise author, would have undoubtedly been familiar with Quantz’s treatise.\textsuperscript{138} However, Gunn’s contribution to cello technique cannot be paralleled to Quantz’s work, which was considerably more advanced in content and scope. Gunn’s treatise shares more in common with Leopold Mozart’s violin treatise, which was not translated into English until 1948. Mozart, like Gunn, begins with a historical analysis of the violin, followed by the origins of music. However, Mozart deals more fully, and concisely, with violin technique and musical interpretation. Gunn, instead focuses on the development of a method for left-hand fingering, which, as has been shown, was prevalent to the development of cello technique during the period.

\textsuperscript{136} As stated on the title page of GunnT, 2nd edn. J. Gunn, \textit{Forty Favourite Scotch Airs, Adapted for a Violin, German Flute or Violoncello} (London: Editor, c.1789).


\textsuperscript{138} J. Gunn, \textit{The Art of Playing the German Flute} (London: Author, 1793); J. Gunn, \textit{The School of the German Flute} (London: Author, c.1795); J. Gunn, \textit{An Essay with Copious Examples Towards a More Easy and Scientific Method of Commencing and Pursuing the Study of the Pianoforte} (London: Preston, c.1811).

The Dissertation on the origin and improvements of the Stringed instruments, down to those now in use, will not, it is hoped, be thought improper to precede a treatise of this kind.\textsuperscript{139}

Gunn’s opening dissertation is an unusual and valuable historiographical source and is reflective of the broader culture of Enlightenment of the period. It begins by acknowledging the symbiotic relationship between the arts and sciences which was at the core of Enlightenment philosophy:

The Mechanic Arts have, by the accumulated experience of a long succession of ages, and by the assistance received from the sciences, arrived at their present high degree of perfection from the rudest beginnings. Those branches of knowledge that we dignify by the name of the Sciences, have themselves sprung from the Arts and their successive improvements. Maxims and rules of the Arts have, by continued observation and reflection, been gradually matured and refined into principles and theory, and this have become the elements of the Sciences: Hence the near relation that subsists between the Arts and the Sciences, and the reciprocal advantages they confer on each other.

Music therefore, considered either as a practical Art or a Science, must have had its infancy’ and the first attempts in its practice were undoubtedly awkward and artless.\textsuperscript{140}

Gunn was the first to apply Enlightenment thinking to a cello treatise. Interestingly this was furthered explored by the Scottish military writer, John MacDonald in his cello treatise from 1811:

Whoever has not taken a philosophical view of the general subject, has yet to consider it in its primary aspect. The practice of science, and the influence it is capable of producing in a moral point of view, are distinct considerations, which united, lead to consequences connected with the best interests of social order, which is in itself analogous to Harmony.\textsuperscript{141}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[139] GunnT, 1st edn, ‘advertisement’.
\item[140] Ibid., 1.
\item[141] MacDonaldT, vi, IMSLP.
\end{footnotes}
Gunn’s opening dissertation is thirty-two pages in length and is divided into the following sections:

Sect. I. Of the Invention and rude State of Musical Instruments
Sect. II. Of the Lyre of the Greeks
Sect. III. Of the Lyre, and stringed Instrument, of other Nations
Sect. IV. Of the Improvement of the Lyre by the moderns
Sect. V. Of the Bow, the Rebec, and the Viol
Sect. VI. Of the Violin, Tenor, and Violoncello
Sect. VII. Of the State of Instrumental Music

Fantasia, [by Henry Le Jeune] the first Composition in Parts for a Concert of Violins

Gunn borrows extensively from the music historical works of John Hawkins (1719–89) and Charles Burney (1726–1814). These works varied greatly in their ethos and expectations. Hawkins was a member of the Academy of Antient Music and his work was strongly representative of their idealogy to preserve ‘old’ music. In contrast, Burney had a more populist viewpoint of music. Tim Eggington describes the difference as a ‘philosophical divide’, describing Hawkins’ views as ‘the academician’s universalist premise’ and Burney as the advocate of ‘mainstream musical fashions, together with a historiography more obviously rooted in notions of progress’. Although Gunn acknowledges Hawkins, he rarely provides citations for references to his work. In contrast, Gunn often cites Burney, later complimenting the work as ‘his very ingenious and valuable History.’

Gunn also quotes in detail from the popular seventeenth- and eighteenth-century works of Marin Mersenne (1588–1648), Thomas Shaw (1694–1751) and Thomas Stanley (1625–78). Gunn cites the authors in great detail in his footnotes. However, in order to avoid being misjudged as ill-informed in his subject area, he clarifies his

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142 HawkinsH; BurneyH.
144 Ibid.
145 GunnT, 1st edn, 10.
reasoning:

He has generally given the words of the original authors, at the foot of the page, merely to prevent the learned reader from recurring to a multiplicity of books, and by no means to make as ostentatious display of the little knowledge the author has been able to attain of the learned languages, in the course of a very few years, by his own unassisted efforts, in the intervals of his study of the Violoncello, and of the duties of his profession.\textsuperscript{147}

Sections I and II are essentially a summary of the first four chapters of Hawkins’ (vol. 1), but Gunn quotes directly from the Roman poet, Lucretius, and Thomas Stanley’s translation of \textit{Manual of Harmonics}, by the pythagorean and philosopher, Nicomachus, Gunn does not attempt to replicate or compete with Hawkins’ work, but instead provides a successfully condensed version of this vast subject area. He begins with a short history of the lyre, and its relationship to the Grecian, Mercury. This differs from Burney’s account which describes how the Egyptian, Mercury, invented the lyre from a tortoise shell.\textsuperscript{148} However, Gunn does make reference to Burney’s version in Section III.\textsuperscript{149} Gunn provides a brief discussion as to how many strings were found on the original lyre of the Greeks, which he acknowledges remains uncertain. He also recognises the errors in Pythagoras’s initial findings, but states that ‘the honour of the discovery itself, and of making Music rank among the Sciences, can never be denied him.’\textsuperscript{150} Gunn quotes extensively in Latin and in Greek, and it appears he may have provided his own translations, representing notable academic ability.

Section III, contains considerable reference to Burney and his research of Egyptian history, including Burney’s references to conversations with the explorer James Bruce. Bruce had returned from travelling North East Africa and Abyssinia, but

\textsuperscript{147} GunnT, 1st edn, advertisement. This statement is also referenced in the \textit{Critical Review}, 1793.  
\textsuperscript{148} BurneyH, 173.  
\textsuperscript{149} GunnT, 1st edn, 11.  
\textsuperscript{150} Ibid., 7.
there was speculation as to the truth of his findings.\textsuperscript{151} This section provides a short history of the harp, which Gunn traces to Gothic origin. In his illustrations he provides a diagram of the ‘Cithara Anglica’ from the St. Blasius monastery (600AD). Gunn’s discussion of the harp anticipated his later publication for that instrument.\textsuperscript{152} However, his \textit{Historical Inquiry} appears to target a different audience to that of his cello treatise. As discussed in the previous chapter, it was written on behalf of a society whose aim was to preserve Scottish heritage and ‘cultural nationalism’.\textsuperscript{153} It was also a relatively new topic to Gunn, based largely on his own research, as there was little historical analysis of the ancestry of the Scottish harp published prior to this period. In contrast, the dissertation in his cello treatise relied heavily on secondary sources.

It was the lyre that most interested Gunn and its connections to the string family in his history of stringed instruments. Section IV traces the ‘improvement’ of the lyre, through the addition of the fingerboard or neck.\textsuperscript{154} This can be traced to the ancients through a sculpture of a vase in Giustiniani, Rome, and in an engraving of the ‘reformed lyre of Mercury’ as stated in Binachini’s instrumental treatise, with Gunn again citing Burney.\textsuperscript{155} Regarding innovations Gunn recounts the story of Pherecrates, as told by Plutarch, which is also found in Burney, and in more detail in Hawkins. It recites how a woman complains of being tortured, ‘her accusation is, “that in producing twelve notes or harmonies from five strings, he has so twisted and tortured her, that he had entirely destroyed her powers”.’\textsuperscript{156} Gunn extends the discussion to the cithara and the development of the triangular shape, as detailed in the epistles of St Jerome, and in the

\begin{itemize}
  \item[151] See A. A. Moorefield, ‘James Bruce: Ethnomusicologist or Abyssinian Lyre?’, \textit{JAMS}, 28, no. 3 (1975), 493–514.
  \item[153] Nelson, 26.
  \item[154] GunnT, 1st edn, 12.
  \item[155] Ibid.
  \item[156] Ibid., 13.
\end{itemize}
previously mentioned manuscript from the St. Blasius monastery.\textsuperscript{157} Drawings of these are provided at the end of his dissertation.

In section V, ‘Of the Bow, the Rebec, and the Viol’, Gunn comes closer to attempting to trace the cello’s heritage. Again the manuscript of St Blasius provides crucial evidence of the early use of a bow (illus. 3.6):

![Fig. 6](image)

Illus. 3.6 J. Gunn, \textit{The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello} (London: Author, c. 1789) [figured diagrams located after page 32], fig. 6

This leads to an extensive discussion of the rebec, as it was this instrument that Gunn believes was ‘unquestionably the first and more simple form of our modern Violin’.\textsuperscript{158} He traces the rebec to the Arabians, as described by Julius Pollox.\textsuperscript{159} The rebec began with two strings, increasing to three. Quoting Shaw’s \textit{Travels}, Gunn describes a two-string violin, played with a bow, named the Moorish ‘Rebeb’ [rabab].\textsuperscript{160} In tracing the origins of the rebec, Gunn sources his information from a wide range of sources, including the engraver, Monsaucon, the writers and poets, Father Guadix and Geoffrey Chaucer, and the antiquarian, L’Abbé Le Bouef. Moving to the viol, Gunn remarks that:

\textsuperscript{157} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid., 17.
\textsuperscript{159} Ibid., 16.
\textsuperscript{160} Ibid.
That the Viol was originally no other instrument than the Guitar or improved Cithara of the Ancients, played on with a Bow instead of the fingers, will appear very clearly, from a comparison of the forms of each of these instruments as they stood about the sixteenth century.\footnote{Ibid., 17.}

This he justifies by showing three representations of the guitar, one with the ‘tortoise-shape back’, and the second from Mersenne of the Spanish guitar. The last is a copy of a descendant of the Spanish guitar played with a bow, from \textit{Musurgia of Ottomarus Luscinus} (Strasburg, 1536) (illus. 3.7, fig. 13).\footnote{Ibid.}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{fig13}
\caption{J. Gunn, \textit{The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello} (London: Author, c.1789) [page of figured diagrams located after page 32], fig. 13}
\end{figure}

Gunn names this as a type of viol that had to be played across the body. This he acknowledges made for an awkward angle for the bow, but that the cello was originally held almost in the same manner, an early reference to the viola da spalla.\footnote{Ibid.} Gunn continues by describing that the role of the viol was to accompany singers, possibly in unison from around the twelfth century until the introduction of counterpoint, when the size of the instruments increased in the middle of the sixteenth century.\footnote{Ibid., 18.}

Section VI concludes Gunn’s history of the stringed instruments, ‘Of the Violin, Tenor, and Violoncello’. As is well documented Gunn acknowledges that the violin was slow to develop as it was ‘held in contempt’ and did not receive the same treatment
as the viol, which was preferred the instrument of the period.\textsuperscript{165} However, the violin was soon discovered to be better suited to the genre of Italian opera and the accompaniment of Church motets.\textsuperscript{166} Gunn provides the now established statement related to the history of the cello; that the violin over-powering the viol in ‘greater strength and brilliancy of tone’, it was required to find a match for the bass instrument.\textsuperscript{167} This was to be found in the larger violoncello, the size of which was dictated by the length of strings. The slow introduction of the cello into England, is exemplified in a citation from Thomas Mace’s, \textit{Musick’s Monument} (1676), who described how the ‘weak-sounding Bass viol’ had to compete with ‘two or three scolding violins’.\textsuperscript{168} In finding an instrument to compliment the violin, a bass instrument was designed in the same shape and ‘principles’. However, Gunn states that the ‘excellent structure of the Bass Viol would otherwise serve as a model, making the necessary alterations in the finger-board for four instead of six strings, and omitting the frets’.\textsuperscript{169} The fixed size ‘made it extremely awkward, and impossible to be held between the legs of the performer, and it was therefore hung obliquely across his breast [da spalla]; a manner of holding the instrument that was long after practiced in the churches of Italy’.\textsuperscript{170} The first mention of an instrument of this type is credited to Mersenne (1636), which was tuned, ‘Bflat’, ‘F’, ‘C’, ‘G’; a tone lower than the now standard cello tuning of ‘C’, ‘G’, ‘D’, ‘A’. The treatise provides English equivalents of the measurements from the instrument described by Mersenne, given as, four feet ten inches to five feet four inches.\textsuperscript{171} However, Gunn remarks that he had seen a larger

\textsuperscript{165} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{166} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid., 19.
\textsuperscript{168} T. Mace, \textit{Musick’s Monument} (London: T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson, 1676).
\textsuperscript{169} GunnT, 1st edn, 20.
\textsuperscript{170} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{171} Ibid.
cello, which he initially mistook for a double bass. Made in Danzig in 1623, it measured five foot ten inches, with four strings and five frets.\textsuperscript{172} This he believed was one of the first instruments to accompany the violin, and resembled in parts the viol and the cello.\textsuperscript{173} England’s adoption of the instrument occurred much later, towards the end of the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{174} Gunn quotes extensively from Mersenne, and appears to cite directly from this source, rather than through the secondary research of Burney or Hawkins.

Regarding terminology for the cello, Gunn states that the cello was known for some time as the ‘Bass Violin’ in England, ‘Basse de Violin’ in French, and ‘Violone’ in Italy.\textsuperscript{175} The term ‘Violone’ used in Corelli’s sonatas, op. 3, he therefore claims was a part written for the cello and not the organ.\textsuperscript{176} It was the invention of concerti grossi which required a larger instrument an octave lower, Gunn states this was named the ‘Violone’ and therefore the cello became known as the ‘violoncello’.\textsuperscript{177} His rather simplistic view perhaps suggests that the use of terminology, which causes considerable confusion in modern research, was not as prevalent during the late eighteenth century.

A large range of sources are referenced, both contemporary and historic, and Gunn cites from numerous fields, including philosophers, poets, engravers, historians, and mathematicians. He was undoubtedly well read and also had a great knowledge of languages. Further proof of the author’s own travels can be evidenced in a description of concerts in France. These are embedded in the footnotes, and provide an interesting account of what Gunn describes as ‘surprise’ music at the \textit{Concert Spirituel} in Thuillerie Palace in 1777, where the music of an additional orchestra came from the

\textsuperscript{172} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{173} Ibid., 21.
\textsuperscript{174} Ibid., 19–20.
\textsuperscript{175} Ibid., 21.
\textsuperscript{176} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{177} Ibid.  

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room above the audience. He further elaborates on a private Parisian concert where on ‘Saints’ day families would very often organise surprise parties, this included the unveiling of an orchestra. He continues:

Would not the effect of music be greatly heightened, if the instruments were tuned out of the hearing of the auditors, and no flourish, or sound of an instrument, heard before the beginning of a piece? Evidently the slow tuning of an orchestra prior to a performance caused Gunn some irritation. However gut strings can vary greatly with any change in temperature or environment, leaving the musicians no option but to retune. These accounts demonstrate time spent in France, where perhaps his research began.

Gunn concludes the dissertation with Section VII, ‘Of the State of Instrumental Music in the different Periods mentioned in the foregoing Dissertation’. He describes in detail the music of the Bards, the musical contests in Greece, proficiency of the harp as representative of ‘genteel education’, and the role troubadours in the development of music. Much of this information is also to be found in Burney’s history, but Gunn continues to cite the Spanish, Roman rhetorician, Quintilian (35–100) in his footnotes. Colson argues that knowledge of Quintilian’s writings had begun to diminish during the mid-eighteenth century in England. Therefore Gunn’s revival was undoubtedly to establish his academic credentials. Pope, who Gunn cites earlier in his dissertation, was also a known an admirer of Quintilian.

Gunn’s discussion continues with descriptions of the practice of the viol, and its role in accompaniment. He describes the initial role of the viol and lute, during the

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178 Ibid., 28 (footnote).
179 Ibid.
180 Ibid., 21–32.
181 Ibid., 23–4.
183 Colson, lxxxvi.
fifteenth century, in the unison accompaniment of song.\textsuperscript{184} Citing Hawkins, Gunn exemplifies the practice of instrumental music moving in parts, as first recorded in the sixteenth-century treatise ‘A Treatise of the Art of composing Fantasias for Instruments in three and four parts’ (1570), by Thomas a Sancta Maria.\textsuperscript{185} At this juncture, Gunn makes reference to the ‘Division Viol’ which he describes as ‘a kind of Viola da Gamba’.\textsuperscript{186} This instrument was used to play ‘descant or divisions on a given ground bass, which they appear to have done extempore’.\textsuperscript{187} The ground bass was played on the organ or on a viol. The genre is exemplified by Grounds by the French violinist, Michel Farinell (1649–1726) and Henry Purcell (1659–95), and in the treatise of Christopher Simpson, \textit{The Division Viol} (1664).

Another unusual genre of composition credited to the violists was described by Mersenne. It required a young child to sing the melody, whilst the viol player sang the tenor and played the bass line on the viol. Gunn states that the composer ‘Granier performed Concerts in three parts before Queen Margaret’ in this way.\textsuperscript{188} Queen Margaret of Valois (1553–1615), was the sister of Charles IX.\textsuperscript{189} Notably the discussion of the viol does not include its role in accompaniment. Gunn describes the viols as ‘the most perfect stringed instruments’ and that its popularity was not only amongst professional, but also amongst amateurs.\textsuperscript{190} It was therefore with ‘great reluctance’ that viol players brought the violin into their concerts.\textsuperscript{191} He concludes by listing a number of well-respected amateur viol players, including King Charles I (1600–49), Lord [Francis] North (1637–85), Lord [Nathaniel] Crew, Bishop of Durham (1633–1721),

\textsuperscript{184} GunnT, 1st edn, 26.
\textsuperscript{185} Ibid., 27.
\textsuperscript{186} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{187} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{188} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{189} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{190} Ibid., 28.
\textsuperscript{191} Ibid.
Sir Roger L’Estrange (1616–1704). However, his writings do not appear to suggest that he played the instrument himself.

Gunn’s discussion jumps to the beginnings of Italian opera, and the use of the orchestra in Monteverdi’s *L’Orfeo*. Noting that violins were yet to be used in opera, he refers to the early use of the violin in motets and masses to the churches of Italy. This leads to an opportunity to discuss the King’s Band of twenty-four violins, as again described by Mersenne. Mersenne considered it, ‘an establishment of some standing’, and ‘to be the first regular band of Violins of which we have any certain account’. Unique to Gunn’s treatise is an edition of a fantasia by Henry Le Jeune (1560–1635). Le Jeune was a member of the King’s band of violins. The fantasia is in five parts, and was originally found in Mersenne’s *Harmonie universelle*. A transcribed copy is provided in the treatise, where it is described as ‘a musical curiosity worth preserving, it being at the same time probably the first piece of music that was ever played by a regular band of Violins, tenors, and basses’. Gunn edited the work in modern staves, as Mersenne’s original was printed in separate parts without bar lines. The parts were originally for a treble, three tenors and a bass. However, he rewrites the music for two violins, two violas and a bass. Notably, he does not include, nor comment, on the use of ornamentation which is exemplified by Mersenne and prevalent to the study of this style of work. Regarding the technical difficulty of the music Gunn states that:

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192 Ibid.
193 GunnT, 1st edn, 29.
194 Ibid., 33–5. See Appendix C for a copy of Gunn’s edition of this work.
196 GunnT, 1st edn, 29.
It is remarkable that there is not, in any of the parts, a note higher than the common position of the hand, which plainly shows the little practice and attention that had been bestowed on the Violin so late as the year 1636, and the great progress that had been made on it in the course of a few years, on the invention of the Sonata, in which shifting is common.\footnote{198}{GunnT, 1st edn, 29.}

It appears Gunn was unaware of the extempore playing of violins during this period, therefore he remarks that after this time ‘the practice and improvement of the Violin seems to have proceeded with a rapid progress’.\footnote{199}{Ibid.} He exemplifies the genre of the sonata for two violins and a bass, as demonstrated in the works of the Italians, Giovanni Battista Bassani (c.1650–1716) and Corelli, and Purcell in England.\footnote{200}{Ibid.} He also acknowledges the work of the English composer [Benjamin] Rogers (1614–1698), who composed airs for the violin in four parts (from 1653), written for the Archduke Leopold (Emperor of Germany). The parts were for ‘two treble violins, tenor and bass’.\footnote{201}{Ibid., 30.} Gunn also notes the works of John Jenkins, who had written fantasias for viols in five or six parts. He claims Jenkins was the first Englishman to write a sonata, publishing ‘Twelve Sonatas for Two Violins and a Bass’ in c.1660.\footnote{202}{Ibid.}

Gunn describes the sonata genre as including a variety of movements, in contrast to the church and chamber sonata. Stating that before the sonata, violins would play ‘extempore ritornellos or flourishes to the chants’.\footnote{203}{Ibid.} Of the state of violin playing in the early seventeenth century, Gunn, citing Life of A. Wood, states that David [Davis] Mell in 1637 was ‘accounted a great Violinist and the best in London’, but that he was ‘surpassed’ by [the German] Thomas Baltazaer [Baltzar] who visited London in the same year.\footnote{204}{Ibid.} Mell was a member of King Charles II’s orchestra of Twenty-Four
Violins, established in 1660.\(^{205}\)

Gunn does not name any London cellists as he does for the violin. Instead he continues by tracing the history of private music concerts in London as provided by the ‘musical small coal man’, Thomas Britton (1644–1714), from 1668.\(^{206}\) The concerts attracted both professional and amateur performers. The repertoire consisted of sonatas for violins and bass, but after the 1700s the concerto grosso was introduced, for four violins, viola, cello and double bass.\(^{207}\) Michael C. Festing (1705–52), John Stanley (1712–86) and Charles Avison (1709–70) are credited as the most famous English composers of the concerto grosso.\(^{208}\) This section highlights the violin’s role in the development of music from the ‘lowest class’ into the opera houses.\(^{209}\) Unfortunately, Gunn does not provide a parallel discussion of the role of the cello in Britain from the 1700s.

The dissertation concludes stating that the overtures of Handel and Lully varied greatly to that of the ‘Moderns’, ‘of which Stamitz was the inventor’.\(^{210}\) This new style called ‘modern music’ began around the middle of the eighteenth century.\(^{211}\) Gunn does not enter into the ancient-modern music debate that was exemplified in the publications of Burney and Hawkins, and which will be discussed later in relation to John MacDonald’s cello treatise. At the end of his cello repertoire list, Gunn concludes with a brief analogy of the development of musical taste in England, stating that ‘the works recommended, will introduce the learner to all the variety of passages; and styles of


\(^{207}\) GunnT, 1st edn, 31.

\(^{208}\) Ibid.

\(^{209}\) Ibid., 28.

\(^{210}\) Ibid., 32.

\(^{211}\) Ibid.
composition, that have hitherto been adopted for the instrument’. 212 These, he noted, were not the works that ‘the practice on which our greatest masters were formed’, perhaps suggesting that cello repertoire had considerable catching up to do. 213 He advises the student to make use of new works as they think ‘proper’. 214 Gunn was evidently keen to avoid offence, and his dissertation is generally void of contentious opinion, which is not the case, as will be seen in An Essay (1802). 215

In terms of historiography, the dissertation provides a vast range of sources and commentary, not only on the state of music, but also on the state of music history at the end of the eighteenth century. To the late eighteenth-century reader, it offered a condensed and accessible history on the origins of music and stringed instruments. However, critically it offered little new evidence or scope on the history of music, and even less on the invention and history of the cello which was its main aim.

Gunn’s cello treatise was reviewed in the Critical Review and Monthly Review in 1793. 216 The Monthly Review was considered ‘Britain’s first modern literary review, and for many years its most prestigious’. 217 The cello treatise was the only method book of the period to receive such a literary review, which undoubtedly provided further advertisement for Gunn’s publications, and raised his profile amongst his targeted gentleman amateur audience. Gunn’s flute treatise, The Art of Playing the German Flute, also gained a positive review. It was published in the same year (1793) and it was perhaps this work, and not his cello treatise, that initially brought Gunn to the

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212 Ibid., 72.
213 Ibid.
214 Ibid.
215 Gunn E.
attention of the editors. The unnamed author of the piece in *The Critical Review* stated that, ‘Mr. Gunn’ was unknown to him.\(^{218}\) It is therefore also possible that Gunn personally sent copies to the editors.

In contrast to the more basic beginner cello treatises, the opening historical dissertation lent itself to review in literary periodicals. It was in keeping with the broader culture of Enlightenment, with which Gunn was associated, through his publications and memberships. Arguably it was not a necessary component of his treatise, and indeed was omitted from the second edition. It is not known if Gunn held the status of a ‘gentleman amateur’, or if he was a highly successful teacher, as for example, Charles Burney, although through his pedagogical publications it would appear to be the latter.

The *Critical Review* after quoting extensively from the dissertation in relation to the monochord and bowed-instruments, remarks that, ‘we have enlarged a little farther on this history, than its situation and circumstances require, from respect to the author, whose abilities and modesty have equally attracted our regard’.\(^{219}\) They were complimentary of the opening dissertation stating that it was ‘in a great measure compiled’.\(^{220}\) The *Monthly Review*, which was impressed by Gunn’s opening dissertation, however, states it was unsure of the relevance or benefit of this section to the beginner cellist.

As the ingenious author of this work seems to have mounted higher into remote antiquity than appears to have been absolutely necessary, in order to furnish students on the violoncello with musical history; so he appears to have dived deeper into the doctrine of vibrations and philosophy of sound than an elementary treatise required.\(^{221}\)

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\(^{218}\) *The Critical Review*, 237.

\(^{219}\) Ibid., 239.

\(^{220}\) Ibid., 237.

\(^{221}\) Ibid., 325.
It seems that Gunn was not writing with the view of educating a young cello student. Instead it appears he was attempting to expand the knowledge of accomplished cellists, teachers and gentleman amateurs who took an interest in the science and history of music. Gunn was attempting to establish himself as a scholarly expert in the field, linking the in-depth study of the instrument to Enlightenment principles. The *Monthly Review* continues by comparing the second part of the treatise to the methods of Lanzetti and Tillière. Evidently the reviewer saw little difference between the publications, which calls into question the musical credentials of the author.

We have compared these directions with *Les principes où l’application de violoncelle, par tous les tons*, by Lanzetti; and with the *Methode pur le violoncelle* by M. Tillière; and we find no other difference than that Mr. Gunn’s work is more copious, with the material addition of explanations and practical instructions, beside his theoretic and historical information.222

As Lanzetti’s method did not include any written commentary it is surprising that it was this publication that the reviewer chose to compare with Gunn’s treatise. However, there were only a few British cello treatises that could be used for comparison, and Lanzetti was a well-known virtuosic cellist in London.223

Beyond these literary reviews, little is known of the public reaction to Gunn’s treatise or his dissertation. Surely a novel historical and practical guide to the cello would have created a stir within the British string community of the eighteenth century? Preston’s endorsement of the abridged second edition would have made the practical work more readily available to the public. This revised treatise without the opening dissertation continued to have longevity, despite little historical evidence of its use or reception.

223 The cellist Lanzetti was also depicted playing the viola da spalla, in ‘an anonymous satire of Italian musicians in concert’. Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals* (New York, London: W. W. Norton, 2003), 219.
Part 2 – ‘The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello’

Arguably the opening chapter of Gunn’s treatise is not essential to a cello method book, as it does not benefit the beginner student in the development of cello technique. However, a method book or instruction book does not seem to have been the author’s sole intention. The first edition was targeted at the mature reader or teacher, whereas in the second edition Gunn embraced the idea of a practical cello method book, one more suitable for use on the music stand, with contextual musical examples. In the first edition, lessons are a secondary consideration, as even discussion of left-hand fingering for each of the scales is worded in a lengthy paragraph, where a single musical example would suffice (illus. 3.8).

Gunn describes each scale in turn with the same level of detail and concludes the chapter with the following statement:

It seemed necessary to premise these particulars, to show that, the principles upon which the following system of fingering proceeds, are founded in immutable laws of nature, and, with these for our guide, we do not despair of conducting the learner with ease and satisfaction, through the whole of this hitherto unexpected labyrinth; and of evincing him, that what has been deemed complex and intricate, is in reality simple and plain. We therefore proceed to the explanation of our system.  

These lengthy passages are omitted in the second edition as Gunn claims he had found a simpler method, based on numbered paragraphs with musical examples. His objective

224 Ibid., 43.
was to find a system of fingering patterns, but in doing so, he frequently places the hand in an unnatural position. For example, the use of the fingering 1-2-3, where there is a tone between the first and second finger. In many of these cases the use of 1-3-4 in a closed hand position is more natural. The suggested fingering of 1-2-3 (in first position) on the C string, is unlikely to be the choice for many modern cellists, as the hand is over-stretched. However, Gunn was aware of this problem, claiming in his second edition that it ‘cannot be denied that very good performers never use this mode of fingering in the lower part of the instrument’, as the stretch is too great, and possibly ‘unadvisable’ for some players, especially beginners. This fingering can also place the hand at an oblique angle, the very position which Gunn claimed was unsatisfactory. This is restated in An Essay, with an accompanying diagram that demonstrates how when playing with the left hand held at an oblique angle, fifths would be out of tune (‘h, i, k, l’ in illus 3.9).

Illus. 3.9 J. Gunn, An Essay, Theoretical and Practical, with Copious Examples, on the Application of the Principles of Harmony, Thorough Bass and Modulation, to the Violoncello (London: Preston, 1802), 25

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225 GunnT, 2nd edn, 19.
226 GunnE, 25.
227 Ibid.
In modern cello-playing it is often necessary to reshape the hand in order to fine tune fifths. This is also necessary on the baroque cello, which had a wider neck and a flatter fingerboard. Modern-day baroque cellists often avoid playing on these ‘authentic’ wide neck cellos simply for ease of playing and to prevent excess tension in the left hand. Older cellos are rarely found with the original neck intact, solely for this reason.\textsuperscript{228} However, it can be argued that this creates a sound world in keeping with present day preferences, rather than that of an eighteenth-century cellist, who would have had to tackle the difficulties and limitations associated with cellos with a wider neck, especially when playing the larger ‘bass violin’. The shorter neck also means that in fourth position the thumb does not necessarily hit the button on the back of the cello, where the upper bout meets the fingerboard. Players who have learnt on modern instruments often prefer this reference point in their baroque set-up. This is further discussed by Paul Laird in discussion with the instrument maker, Robin Aitchison.\textsuperscript{229}

The musical example below (illus. 3.10) exemplifies a fast semiquaver passage from Corelli’s concerto grosso in D major, op. 6, no. 1, where Gunn suggests using the fingering 1-2-3 in first position (bar 4). This fingering would create difficulties for many cellists, especially those with a smaller hand using the larger accompanying instrument which Gunn suggests. However, it is an advantageous fingering for ascending the cello if the hand is suitably flexible and not over-stretched.

\textsuperscript{228} P. Laird, \textit{The Baroque Cello Revival} (Lanham Md: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 9–10.
\textsuperscript{229} Ibid., 14–5.
This is also exemplified in Hugh Reinagle’s third duet (ex. 3.8), where Gunn chooses to remain within the parameters of his fingering for the D major scale, as demonstrated earlier in the main body of his cello treatise. The fingering 1-3 is more commonly utilised in contemporary playing, as it does not require an extension. However, Gunn’s choice of, 1-2, for a tone, is used appropriately to place the hand in an extended position to facilitate a further ascending passage of notes.

Gunn advocates the use of the fourth finger in thumb position. This method is used less frequently in modern practice, particularly when the note is sustained and

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230 GunnT, 1st edn, 91, ex. 93.
requires vibrato. However, repertoire from this period often dictates the use of the fourth finger in higher positions, especially in passagework as it avoids the need to shift between positions. This is very much a personal preference for cellists, with some players avoiding the practice, but it is particularly useful in music from this period. Interestingly a portrait of James Cervetto being tutored by his father (Giacobbe Cervetto) in c.1780, demonstrates the cellist playing the fourth finger in thumb position.231

Gunn delays the practicalities of holding the cello and bow, to near the end of his treatise (first edition). His illustrations are that of a baroque cello bow.232 Gunn was undecided as to what knowledge the learner should have before starting to play the cello. However, in his first edition he concludes that the study of music theory and cello technique should progress simultaneously. In contrast, the second edition begins with the basics on holding the cello, and on how one should sit. In addition, the left-hand fingering method is explained in a simpler manner, and the theory of different hand positions for major and minor thirds is made clear.

**Gunn’s Repertoire List**

One of the most interesting aspects of Gunn’s first edition, especially in relation to period performance practice, is his teaching plan. He provides a carefully ordered synopsis of works for the cello, including musical examples or excerpts from pieces that introduce the student to the core cello repertoire of the period. In doing so he provides a working catalogue of repertoire for student cellists, which is meticulously presented in a progressive order for the purpose of the advancing student. Below is a

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232 Gunn T, 1st edn, supplementary illustration page located between page 32 and 33.
list of the recommended works, and where possible the compositions have been titled.\textsuperscript{233}

Ex. 70–3  ‘First Sonata of Corelli’s second Opera’  
Corelli, Sonata No.1, from 12 Trio Sonatas, op. 2\textsuperscript{234}  
[bass in full – but no figured bass line]  
Adagio  
Allegro [this appears to be an error and should be marked Allemanda Largo]  
Corrente. Allegro  
Gavotta. Allegro

Ex. 74–7  ‘10th Sonata of Corelli’s 2\textsuperscript{d} Opera’  
Corelli, Sonata No. 10, from 12 Trio Sonatas, op. 2  
[bass in full – but no figured bass line]  
Preludio. Adagio  
Allemanda. Allegro  
Sarabanda. Largo.  
Corrente. Allegro

Excerpts (ex. 70–7) appear to be taken from John Walsh’s edition (London, 1735).

Ex. 78  ‘9\textsuperscript{th} Concerto of Corelli’  
Corelli, Concerto Grosso, No. 9, op. 6  
Allemanda. Allegro

[concertino cello line - includes editorial bowing - error in b.2 – crotchet should be a quaver]

Ex. 79  ‘1\textsuperscript{st} Concerto of Corelli’  
Corelli, Concerto Grosso, No. 1, op. 6  
[concertino cello line - includes editorial bowing]  
Allegro-Adagio-Allegro-Adagio-[Allegro]

Ex. 80  ‘10\textsuperscript{th} Concerto of Corelli’  
Corelli, Concerto Grosso, No. 10, op. 6  
[concertino cello line]  
Corrente. Vivace

Ex. 81  ‘9\textsuperscript{th} Solo of Corelli\textsuperscript{235}  
Corelli, Solo No. 9 from 12 Violin Sonatas, op. 5  
[Tempo di Gavotto] – Allegro

Ex. 82  ‘11\textsuperscript{th} Concerto of Corelli’  
Corelli, Concerto Grosso, No. 11, op. 6  
Allemanda – Allegro

Ex. 83  ‘Ye Sacred Priests, Handel’  
Handel, ‘Ye Sacred Priests’ from \textit{Jephtha}  
Allegro

Ex. 84  ‘12\textsuperscript{th} Solo of Corelli’  
Corelli, Solo No. 12, op. 5  
[final variation from ‘La Folia’]

\textsuperscript{233} GunnT, 1st edn, 79–96.  
\textsuperscript{234} Corelli, \textit{Trio Sonatas}, op. 2 (London: John Walsh, 1735).  
\textsuperscript{235} Corelli, \textit{12 Violin Sonatas}, op. 5 (London: John Walsh, c.1730).
Ex. 85–6  ‘Overture, Haydn’
Haydn, Overture [Symphony No. 49, ‘La Passione’]
[Allegro di molto]
[some repetitive bars have been omitted by Gunn, and a different ending has been added]
Menuetto [40 bars]

Ex. 87  ‘Overture, Haydn’
Vivace [source not known]
[Gunn states that this is from the same overture (ex. 85–6), but the bass line is not from Haydn’s, Symphony No. 49]

Ex. 88  ‘Quartetto, Haydn’
Haydn, String Quartet in G Major, Hob.III:41
Vivace [Finale. Allegretto]
[Two excerpts from the final movement have been combined in this example. The bowing is unusual at the beginning, and could be corrected in b. 1, to a slur across second, third, and fourth notes, with no slur after.]

Ex. 89  ‘Marcello’s Psalms’
Presto [from Marcello, Estro Peotico-Armonico, vi, psalm 33, Exultate justi in Dominio]
[see John Garth edition (London: John Johnson, 1757), vi, pp. 28–9.]
‘Praise ye Lord, with harp and psaltery’.]

Ex. 90  ‘3d Duett of Borghi’
Borghi, Duet No. 3 for violin and violoncello (‘minore’ from last movement)
Allegretto [Allegro – Minore]
[From the viola part, Six Duets for Violin and Viola (Venice: Antonio Zatta e Figle, n.d.)]236

Ex. 91  ‘2d Duett of Borghi’
Borghi, Duet No. 2 for violin and violoncello
Allegretto [Rondo]
[From the viola part, Six Duets for Violin and Viola (Venice: Antonio Zatta e Figle, n.d.)]237

Ex. 92  ‘1st Duett of Reinagle’
Hugh Reinagle, Duet No. 1 from Six Duettos for a Violin and Violoncello, op. 1 (London: W. Forster, c. 1784).
Allegro Moderato
[first movement, bb.22–48 & bb.96–122, cello part. Gunn maintains the use of the soprano clef and does not transpose it in this example.]

Ex. 93  ‘3d Duett of Reinagle’
Hugh Reinagle, Duet No. 6 from Six Duettos for a Violin and Violoncello, op. 1 (London: W. Forster, c. 1784).
Menuetto
[Third movement, bb.32–48, cello part]
Gunn states that this example is from duet, no. 3 but example is found in no. 6]

Ex. 93b
Hugh Reinagle, Duet No. 5 from Six Duettos for a Violin and Violoncello, op. 1 (London: W. Forster, c. 1784).
Allegretto
[second movement, bb.36–54, cello part]

236 IMSLP.
237 Ibid.
Ex. 94  ‘2d Duett of Reinagle’
Allegretto
[second movement, ‘minore’, bb.56–93, violin part transposed for the cello]

Ex. 95–6  ‘Duport’
Duport, Concerto for Violoncello, No. 1 in A major\textsuperscript{238}
[Allegro maestoso]
[first movement, second solo section. Gunn omits minor section.]

Rondo, Allegro
[second movement, opening eight bars, then cuts to minor section. Gunn omits final section]

Ex. 97  ‘Reinagle’
Hugh Reinagle - solo - not published
Allegro

Ex. 98  ‘Handel’
Handel, March from Scipio [Scipione] (in double stop chords)

Ex.99  ‘Luja’
[C. F. ]Luja
Manuscript solo of Luja, Je suis lindor
[source not known]
[Luja published three sonatas for cello in c.1790]
[etude-style use of double stops and octave scales]

Ex. 100 Variation on the previous air

Ex. 101  ‘Reinagle’
Hugh Reinagle – solo - not published
Allegro

Ex. 102  ‘Reicha’
Reicha, Cello Concerto in D Major, 1784
[Concerto, a violoncello principal, deux violons, alto et basse, cors et hautbois, ad libitum, Del Signor
Reicha, Tel qu’il a été exécuté au Concert Spirituel par Mr Dupot (Paris: Imbault, 1784)]
‘Minore’ [from third movement]

\textsuperscript{238} J. L. Duport, ‘Concerto for Violoncello’, no. 1 in A major (Paris: Imbault, c.1797).
The works are included within a lengthy commentary:

The following plan of study is the result of my reasoning and observations on the subject, confirmed by a very extensive, and, I may venture to add, a successful, experience for several years…

The plan of practice now to be recommended to the learner, will, in conformity to this rule, extend to the following subordinate ends: 1. The study and practice of tone, which, when simplified, we presume is very attainable in all its important qualities; the impediments to its acquisition being chiefly the attempting, at first, too great a complication of bowing and fingering, and not confining the practice of the bow, at this period, to simple notes. 2. The study and practice of time. 3. An early acquaintance with pure harmony, and a habit of accompanying, and attending to, a part different from that of the bass. And lastly, the powers, habits, and knowledge, acquired in the practice and study of these, will not only of immediate use in themselves, but be the proper means of rendering the succeeding part of the study easy and intelligible.239

After gaining command of the bow and left-hand, Gunn proposed that the student should postpone the study of melodies and instead begin the study of accompaniment, ‘or the proper bass parts of vocal or instrumental compositions’.240 This was to improve sound production, or the quality of tone, alongside rhythm. Despite arguing that he had written a treatise based on the art of fingering, his descriptions are based largely on the use of the bow. For example, the use of full bows in a Corelli accompaniment even if the stroke is fast or slow, and also the use of the wrist to achieve string crossings, a relatively advanced technique.241 The following description is given for execution of the ‘Ciaconna’ from Corelli’s Sonata No. 12, op. 2:

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239 GunnT, 1st edn, 62.
240 Ibid., 71.
241 Ibid., 63.

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It contains a few bars of six quavers each, towards the end, the action of the arm is not diminished, nor the bow drawn shorter, or with less force, in executing these; and the bar with only five quavers in it must begin with an up-bow, that is, drawing the wrist, from the full extension of the arm, near the right knee, in a direction towards the breast. And it may be here observed, that an elevation of the arm, that will admit of free bowing on the first string, is to be preferred, not only on account of its natural power in communicating more pressure to the bow in that elevation, but also because it will prevent any unnecessary motion of the arm in passing from a lower string to an upper one, or the contrary, which can be sufficiently accomplished by a small turn of the wrist alone; not to mention, that this position of the arm looks much better than a lower one.\textsuperscript{242}

Gunn appears to advocating the raised elbow also suggested by Kauer. It is worth noting that Gunn was cautious in dictating bowing, stating:

Besides, the principles of bowing are themselves so far from being properly ascertained, that almost every master seems to have adopted different principles. Hence that difference in tone, which distinguished almost every performer, but in a smaller degree those of the same school, who have followed nearly the same principles of bowing. These considerations discouraged us from entering with any confidence on this part of the subject; but, willing to impart the knowledge of whatever we conceive to be useful to the learner, we shall give such occasional directions for the attaining this important part of the study, as shall appear well founded, notwithstanding that, for the consciousness of the comparative imperfection of these, we have only ventured to give to this treatise the name of The Theory and Practice of Fingering.\textsuperscript{243}

It is interesting that in 1789 Gunn was speaking of a ‘school’ of cello playing, as there is little evidence of this in Britain during this period. However, it appears that there was a great diversity in the manner of how the bow was used by different players, and in the cello sounds they created.

Gunn organises his plan into two chapters; ‘Of Accompaniment, or proper Basses’, which provided an introduction to the study of accompaniment, which he maintained, and likewise stated by Schetky and Quantz, was the main role of the cello. This was followed by ‘Of the Practice of Melodies, and mixed Accompaniments’, and

\textsuperscript{242} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{243} Ibid., 59.
included a number of solos, concertos and duets.

Chapter I, focuses on the bass lines of Corelli’s violin sonatas, however, not all sonatas mentioned are given in the musical examples. Gunn believed that these equipped the student to tackle ‘any easy modern trios, such as Kammel’s ‘Notturnos’, and innumerable others he may meet with, and play the accompaniment of harpsichord music’. The composer and violinist, Antonin Kammel (1730–84), was associated with the London concerts of Bach and Abel. In the ‘Notturnos’, Gunn advises the use of four or more notes to one bow in order to avoid overpowering the other instruments. As a performer on the German flute, he would have been very aware of the how the cello can overpower the flute in accompaniment, and it is a problem that continues in baroque performance practice. Referring to repeated notes in the bass line, Gunn suggests taking them in one bow, with a new ‘impulse on each note’, he states, ‘disengaging the bow from the string after every note, in order to give a new impulse to the next.’ This stroke is often referred to as ‘slurred tremolo’. The second edition begins these untypically on an up-bow with a musical example (illus. 3.11), which is more in keeping with an underhand bow grip where the down-beat is often taken with an up bow.

![Illustration](illus. 3.11 J. Gunn, The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello (2nd edn, London: Author, c.1800), 39)

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244 Ibid., 64. A. Kammel, Six Notturnos for Two Violins and Bass, op. 6 (London: Author, [1785?]), IMSLP.
245 GunnT, 1st edn, 64.
246 GunnT, 2nd edn, 39.
Gunn follows the study of sonatas by introducing the obligato parts of Corelli’s concertos. He then includes bass lines from Haydn’s String Quartet in G Major, Hob.III:41 and Haydn’s Symphony ‘La Passione’, which he names as an overture in f minor.\textsuperscript{247} He suggests that Haydn’s overtures should be practised with two violins, viola and cello with ‘the parts of the other instruments being occasionally inserted in a smaller character’. The final example is the Presto from [Benedetto] Marcello’s \textit{Psalms}.\textsuperscript{248} This example includes falling arpeggio figures with octave leaps, which require a complete knowledge of the different hand positions in relation to the arpeggio keys. Furthermore, an exercise for different string positions is provided before the repertoire examples, but under the premise of adapting the same fingering to each of the transpositions (illus. 3.12).\textsuperscript{249}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{illus_3_12.png}
\caption{J. Gunn, \textit{The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello} (London: Author, c.1789), 80, ex. 69}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{247} GunnT, 2nd edn, 66.
\textsuperscript{248} Marcello, \textit{Presto} from \textit{Estro Peotico-Armonico}, vi, psalm 33.
\textsuperscript{249} GunnT, 1st edn, 80.
Gunn remarks that, ‘throughout the voluminous work of Marcello’s Psalms, the Violoncello is the principal accompaniment; and the practice of them with the voices will be improving.’ Marcello’s work was first published in Venice in 1724, however, John Garth published an English version in 1757.

Gunn maintained that the music of Corelli equipped the student with ‘firmness of finger’ and ‘fullness of tone, and spirited bowing’, besides occupying an important place in their repertoire. While it would be unwise to rely on a single author as the sole source for how to approach Corelli’s bass-lines, these statements provide an aspect of performance practice useful to contemporary readers. Regarding the obligato parts, Gunn explains that these are more difficult than a standard bass part, ‘meaning a part more than commonly difficult, or when it becomes a principal or solo parts, the other parts being for the time only the accompaniment to it.’ He encouraged the student to practise these bass lines with one or two violinists, or if required a viola player.

The treatise also included the bass part of Handel’s ‘Ye Sacred Priests’ (from Jephtha), which further developed bowing and left-hand technique, as it required regular left-hand shifting and also the use of the slur. Gunn concluded that, ‘the study of melody ought to be entered on soon after a competent knowledge in fingering, and a proper method in bowing plain notes, is acquired.’ This interpretation of the bass lines and the printed bowings, especially of Handel bass lines, are a beneficial and practical tool for modern baroque instrumentalists. It is important to note that Gunn did not suggest the use of improvisation, nor ornamentation, in the exemplified bass lines.

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250 Ibid.
251 J. Garth, The First Fifty Psalms, Set to Music by Benedetto Marcello Patrizio Veneto, and Adapted to the English Version (London: John Johnson, 1757).
252 GunnT, 1st edn, 65.
253 Ibid., 65.
254 GunnT, 1st edn, 66.
Chapter II tackles duets and solos works. In the introduction to this chapter, ‘Of the Practice of Melodies and Accompaniments’ Gunn claims that a different aspect of bowing must be learnt. He states that ‘giving force and velocity to the bow must be altered’.

That is, there should no longer be separation between notes, instead a more legato bowing is required, or, as described ‘swelled, sostenuto, and flowing.’

It is at this juncture that Gunn suggests the use of a second smaller cello and also the benefits of working with a good teacher.

The practice of playing accompaniments and solos on two differently sized instruments, with a smaller cello utilised for solo playing, dates back to the seventeenth century. During this period the lowest note of the larger instrument, often referred to as a bass violin, or violone, was usually tuned to ‘B flat’.

However, Gunn does not differentiate between tunings of the two sized instruments. Quantz also recommended two cellos; a larger instrument with thicker strings for ‘ripieno parts in large ensembles’ and a smaller cello for solos. He also advocates a ‘stronger’ bow with black hair, which ‘may be struck more sharply than with white ones’.

A review of a performance given by Robert Lindley in the Caledonian Mercury states that he played with thick strings, which contributed to his ‘strength of tone’:

The Continental violincellists [sic] generally play with thin strings, and in power of tone have no chance with a player like Lindley, who uses thick strings, and has great physical force in his bow hold.

The Italian cellist, Nicola Haym specified ‘violone e leuto’ for the continuo part of Sonata a tré, op. 2 (Amsterdam, 1704), but the ‘violoncello’ for the solos, this suggests

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255 Ibid.
256 Ibid., 67.
258 Quantz, 241.
259 Ibid.
260 CM, 19 October 1843.
the use of the larger bass violin for the continuo, and the use of the smaller violoncello for the solo parts.\textsuperscript{261} Gunn’s declaration suggests that the practice of employing two instruments continued throughout the eighteenth century.

The musical examples from chapter II start with Borghi’s duets, but the written commentary suggests starting with Schetky’s duets for two cellos [from Schetky’s ‘Observations’].\textsuperscript{262} Gunn provides his own order for tackling these duets, but advises that they should only be studied under the guidance of a teacher. However, if this was not possible, he recommends studying with a violin player the duets for violin and cello recently published by Bréval, which he claims were known to him before they were published.\textsuperscript{263}

Before examining his musical examples, Gunn recommends his supplementary \textit{Forty Scotch Airs}, stating that they are ordered in level of difficulty and in a variety of keys. He advises that they are ‘more especially intended for private practice, as their beautiful and simple style will always induce the learner to play them frequently’.\textsuperscript{264} He comments that the tunes were published in treble clef to facilitate the student reading the treble clef down an octave at sight, without the need to transpose into another clef. Gunn then digresses to remind the student to maintain their practice of Corelli’s bass lines, whilst also attempting the first set of string quartets by Jean-Baptiste Davaux (1742–1822) and the string quartets of the violinist [Antonin] Kammel (1730–c.1787), followed by the quartets of Pleyel and Haydn.\textsuperscript{265} Davaux’s quartet was available in Paris in 1772.\textsuperscript{266} These quartets had been performed in London and other provincial

\textsuperscript{261} Holman, \textit{Life after Death}, 97.
\textsuperscript{262} SchetkyO.
\textsuperscript{263} GunnT, 1st edn, 67. Possibly, J. B. Bréval, \textit{Six Duets for a Violin and Bass or Violin and Tenor}, op. 19 (London: J. Cooper, c.1785), IMSLP.
\textsuperscript{264} GunnT, 1st edn, 68.
\textsuperscript{265} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{266} J. B. Davaux, \textit{Six Quartettos}, op. 6 (Paris: Bailleux, 1772).
centres during the period. Kammel had visited Bath in 1769 and his quartet was published in London in 1770.\textsuperscript{267}

Gunn’s repertoire list provides valuable information on the standard works for cellists in solo and smaller ensembles in Britain during the period. In his commentary, he emphasises the need to practice with other musicians in order to improve one’s own playing. He reminds the reader of the need to learn how to accompany, to listen and to react to the other parts, before returning to solo playing, including the solos of Schetky. Gunn also recommends the solo parts from the trios of Pichl, Bréval, Pleyel, Giardini and Boccherini.\textsuperscript{268} After this lengthy diversion, the author returns to musical examples included in his treatise. The first two are by Luigi Borghi (c.1745–c.1806), an Italian violinist and composer, who moved to London in the 1770s.\textsuperscript{269} He was second violinist to Wilhelm Cramer at the Professional Concerts in London, having studied with Pugnani in Italy.\textsuperscript{270} Gunn states these examples are from Borghi’s duet for violin and cello, no. 2 and no. 3. However, the examples could not be located in the composer’s op. 1 (1772) or, op. 5 (1786) duets, and were later found in a work for violin and viola.\textsuperscript{271} Therefore there is some confusion as to the edition in Gunn’s possession. Borghi’s duets for violin and cello are familiar student works. The simplistic bass lines are figured and include little melodic interplay with the violin part. However, Gunn’s musical examples, which are transposed for the cello, are considerably more advanced.


\textsuperscript{268} [Vaclac] Pichl (1741–1805), [Jean Baptiste] Bréval (1753–1823), [Ignaz Joseph] Pleyel (1757–1831), [Felice] Giardini (1716–1796) and [Luigi] Boccherini (1743–1805). GunnT, 1st edn, 69. Gunn lists the editions of these works, including Pichl’s which was printed in Amsterdam but was not yet available in Britain.

\textsuperscript{269} GunnT, 1st edn, 70.


\textsuperscript{271} L. Borghi, \textit{Six Duets for Violin and Viola} (Venice: Antonio Zatta e Figle, [n.d.]).
using thumb position. He suggests the study of Bréval’s duets, op. 6 and op. 23 after Borghi, but notes that the parts were only available in Paris. In addition, he confusingly states that although Borghi’s duets are titled for two cellos, they were in fact, intended either for two cellos, or for a violin and cello. It is possible that Gunn had access to duets or transcriptions by Borghi that are now lost.

Having already recommended the work of the Scottish-based Schetky, Gunn turns his attention to his teacher, Hugh Reinagle. Considerable information about him can be gleaned from the commentary of Gunn’s cello treatise, which is the only source to connect both musicians. This is followed by passages from Duport’s cello concerto (published in Paris), where thumb position is utilised. Gunn notes that the only other published concertos ‘deserving the learner’s attention’ were by the cellists, Jean-Baptiste Bréval (1753–1823), the Czech cellist, Joseph Reicha (1752–95) and Jean Balthasar Tricklir (1750–1813), a French cellist who later worked in Dresden. The concertos of Bréval are well-known pedagogical works and are often set as student concertos. Although he relates that other excellent unpublished concertos include those by Schetky, [Hugh or Joseph?] Reinagle, Giovanni Mara [to whom a Stradivari cello is named], Antonio Rosetti (c.1750–92) and Reicha. There is notably no mention of Crosdill or other London-based cellists, who regularly performed their own concertos during the period.

The works of the provincial cellists, Schetky, Hugh Reinagle and Joseph Reinagle, are interspersed amongst well-known cellists and composers, such as Duport and Handel (including the March from Scipio and ‘Je Suis Lindor’, both of which utilise double-stopping). Gunn’s personal relationship to Hugh, is evidenced in the

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272 GunnT, 1st edn, 70.
273 These concertos can be viewed online, IMSLP.
274 GunnT, 1st edn, 71.
transcription of Hugh’s unpublished works, and also in his awareness of Hugh’s later works which Gunn claims were lost. However, Gunn did not have permission to publish Hugh’s works in full, which suggests they were to be published later. Whilst briefly drawing the learner’s attention to the works of Duport and Boccherini, Gunn returns again to promote the work of his colleagues:

[T]he amateurs may expect to be soon gratified by the publication of a set of beautiful solos, by Schetky, selected from the most numerous and most applauded collection that ever was composed for this instrument by one man. The passages are brilliant and pleasing, with the advantage of not being difficult; and a set of solos, in a very masterly and brilliant style, are in great forwardness, by Mr. Joseph Reinagle, brother to the late Mr. Reinagle.275

With such extravagant praise for Schetky’s works, considering the scale of his recommendations, Gunn risked losing credibility. It is also difficult to understand why there is not greater evidence of a friendship between Gunn, Schetky and Joseph Reinagle. Gunn’s publication provided him with an opportunity to advertise the works of his Scottish colleagues, Hugh Reinagle, Joseph Reinagle and J. G. C. Schetky. It is noteworthy that both Joseph Reinagle and Schetky subscribed to the first edition. Gunn continued this Scottish identity through the advertisement of his supplementary work _Forty Favorite Scotch Airs_, which he intended for solo practice.276

Gunn recommends that the student tackle Hugh Reinagle’s music after studying the duets and solos of composers such as Schetky, Bréval and Borghi. This would suggest that that as a cellist he found Hugh’s works technically more difficult, the study of which he claimed would lead to a ‘more masterly command of the instrument’.277 He describes them as ‘chiefly founded on the practice of ascending and descending scales’, and therefore suggests revising scales at the same time.278 An order for

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275 Ibid.
276 Ibid., 68.
277 Ibid.
278 Ibid.
progressive study for the duets is provided starting with the easier second duet, followed by the fourth. However, the musical examples are taken from the first, third, fifth and second duets (in that order). The examples include left-hand fingerings and bowings, including articulations. However, Gunn’s slurs often differ from those printed in an edition by Forster (c. 1784).²⁷⁹

As a modern cellist, there is great benefit in working through Gunn’s musical examples utilising his given fingerings. They demonstrate difficulties encountered by cellists during the period regarding a set method versus practical solutions, and its effect on a number of issues such as left hand-shape, timbre, sonority and possible tempos. They highlight how cellists during the period were struggling to find the best means of tackling left-hand fingering issues. Although it is not always necessary to keep the hand in an extended position, as Gunn suggests, his fingerings are often logical, incorporating appropriate strings-crossings in different positions.

**Gunn’s fingerings as exemplified in the musical examples from Hugh Reinagle’s cello works**

Gunn’s fingerings exemplify an attempt to apply his method of fingering to contemporary works, which had not been done before. In addition, as a student of Hugh Reinagle, there is a possibility that these fingerings also exemplify elements of his mentor’s teaching. Whilst the majority of the fingerings are clearly marked, there are some issues of ambiguity. For example, in ‘example 92’, which is taken from Hugh Reinagle’s, ‘Duetto I’, bar 29 (cello 2). Bar 8 of the example appears to be marked on the ‘D’ string, as the previous three bars are marked in thumb position (thumb marked ‘x’ on ‘B’) in this position (illus. 3.13).²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ GunnT, 1st edn, 90.
This requires that the hand shifts backwards and moves to the ‘A’ string in bar 9, which results in a dramatic and unwarranted change in timbre. This can be avoided if bar 8 is played on the ‘A’ string. However, Gunn appears to be suggesting bar 8 is played on the ‘D’ string, which creates a more muted sound. His intention is unclear, as bar 9 could also be played on the ‘D’ string with the use of the fourth finger. This enables the thumb to begin bar 14, rather than a large shift to this note, as would be necessary if the previous bars were played on the ‘A’ string. However, he appears to be writing fingering for the ‘D’ string, moving to the ‘A’ string, as a similar phrase (bar 103, Duet I) is played with the second and fourth finger (illus. 3.14).

281 H. Reinagle, Duet, no. 1, bb.103–4.
It is noteworthy that in illus. 3.13, bars 8–13, the second cello plays in thirds with the upper cello part. It would therefore be favourable for both cellos to play on the same string (on either the ‘D’ or the ‘A’ string) in order to match their sound. This example illustrates the multiple possible interpretations of Gunn’s fingerings.

In the same duet, Gunn exemplifies the use of the fourth finger above fourth position (bar 1, illus. 3.13). If this was a brief note, such as a semiquaver, the fourth finger would be fairly common practice, especially for the period as can be seen in the works by Schetky. However, this is a melodic note and modern players would generally choose to use the third finger in this position, firstly as it is stronger and the hand is more balanced, and also because it enables the next two notes to be taken comfortably with the first and second fingers. Notably Gunn appears throughout to avoid shifting backwards on the first finger, preferring this type of shift to be taken on the second finger (illus. 3.15).

Gunn’s preference for stretch of tone between the first and second finger and a semitone between the second and the third, is evident in example 93, taken from Hugh Reinagle’s Duetto III, Minuetto (illus. 3.16). The fingerling 1, 2, 3 is consistently used in first position on the ‘A’ string, where a 1, 2, 4 fingering would be more comfortable and was standard during the period. In fact, the note ‘D’ on the ‘A’ string is never played with a fourth finger in Gunn’s fingering for this movement.
Although not the preference of every cellist, Gunn’s fingerings are, with a few exceptions, mostly logical, and equally workable on modern and baroque set-ups. It is worth noting that whilst standard fingerings for scales are provided in graded syllabi, in practice when trying to apply this fingering to repertoire it often becomes a personal preference, taking into account technical demands and sound aesthetics. What is evident from this study is the preference of cellists of the period to remain in thumb position wherever possible, crossing all four strings.

The final example is taken from the upper violin part of Hugh Reinagle’s Duet no. 2, not the lower cello part, as was the case in his earlier musical examples. However, rather than expecting the cellist to transpose the treble clef down an octave, Gunn transposes most of the example into the tenor clef. The use of the thumb (x) is prevalent in this example, where the thumb is used on sustained melody notes in order to avoid shifting (illus. 3.17). This would suggest that Gunn used limited vibrato, if any at all.
John Gunn’s, Forty Favorite Scotch Airs Adapted for a Violin, German Flute or Violoncello

John Gunn’s Forty Favorite Scotch Airs were published as a supplement to his cello treatise. Claire Nelson highlights the ‘enormous market for Scottish music in London’, but argues that it was ‘initially the presence of Scottish musicians, publishers, and instrument makers and dealers who provided one of the primary methods for the dissemination of ‘the Scotch style’ in London’.\(^\text{282}\) Scottish tunes were integrated into instrumental method books and song collections.\(^\text{283}\) The extent of publication of Gunn’s Scotch Airs is not known, but given the popularity of these Scottish tunes during the period, it is likely that it was a successful financial venture. It was astute to publish the airs separately, as a supplement to his treatise, rather than including them in the main body of the work, as was customary practice for cello treatises. The work also specifically targeted a wider audience through being written in the treble clef.


\(^{283}\) Ibid.
They were published for the violin, German flute or cello. Gunn presented these tunes in treble clef with left-hand fingering for cello. It was normal practice for cellists of the period to read tunes in the treble clef, and transpose them down the octave at sight. Whilst the Scotch Airs were technically aimed at the student market, they can also be considered exemplary of Scottish Enlightenment philosophy, in their simplicity and avoidance of ornamentation or excessive harmonisation. Claire Nelson states that ‘in line with Rousseau, Scottish philosophers believed that their native music should be accompanied with only the most basic figured bass.’

There is considerable evidence of this philosophy in music circles at the time. The cellist and composer, James Oswald (1710–69) ‘was noted for playing Scots tunes on the violoncello’. Benjamin Franklin complimented Oswald’s performances of the tunes, but remarked they could ‘please more’ if they were played with less ornamentation. The composer, Francesco Barsanti (1690–1775), stated in 1742 that in order to do justice to the tunes he applied, ‘a proper and natural Bass to each tune, with the strictest regard to the Tune itself’. The Scottish lawyer and author, William Tytler (1711–92), also claimed that ‘the proper accompaniment of a Scottish song is a plain, thin, dropping bass, on the harpsichord or guittar.’ The singer, Pietro Urbani (1749–1816), commented on the harmonisation of the tunes, which he believed should be accompanied in ‘true harmony’. Holman interprets this expression as the ‘galant idiom, with its elegant but simple progressions often using pedal-points, rather than the Baroque style, with its active bass lines and fast-moving harmony.’

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284 Nelson, 154–5.
287 Ibid., 210.
288 Ibid., 211.
289 Ibid., 212.
290 Ibid.
Gunn provided a simple bass line accompaniment without figured bass. He also presented a number of the tunes in duet form, where the melody is treated in canon. In the duets, he provides fingering for both players, as described in his cello treatise:

The proper fingering is marked under the notes; and as the study of these ought to be followed by that of national airs, and the best regular vocal compositions of the Italian and others masters, these Scotch airs are set on the treble clef, which will prepare the learner to play any airs, that he may afterwards wish to practise, without the necessity of transposing them to another clef than that of the treble, in which they are always printed.\(^{291}\)

Within his cello treatise commentary, Gunn explains the use of asterisks [*] in his performer’s edition as signifying the length of phrases with a short rest. He parallels this to the break between sentences in speech.\(^{292}\) However, much of the phrasing is two bars in length, where a longer phrase would have been preferable. Similar breath marks in short phrases were also used by Corri in ‘A Select Collection of the most Admired Songs & c.’, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, c.1799), suggesting a style of performance.\(^{293}\)

The four tunes that were recorded, using Gunn’s fingerings, to accompany this study are: ‘Tweed Side’, ‘Lachaber’ [sic], ‘Corn Riggs are Bonny’ and ‘Gilderoy’. ‘Tweed Side’ and ‘Gilderoy’ (the ballad found in William Thomson’s ‘Orpheus Caledonius’) are written as duets.\(^{294}\) The ‘Corn Riggs are Bonny’ and ‘Lachaber’ [sic] are presented as melodies with bass line accompaniment. Gunn often avoids string crossings, despite recommending this in his treatise, which would result in a smoother approach to left-hand fingering and more secure intonation. In the slower melodic tunes, he avoids the use of the open ‘A’ string, but utilises this sound in more rustic sounding songs, for example in ‘Tweed Side’.

\(^{291}\) GunnT, 1st edn, 68.
\(^{292}\) Ibid. The application of rhetoric in baroque and early classical music is well documented.
\(^{293}\) Holman, ‘Geminian, David Rizzio and the Italian Cult of Scottish Music’, 198.
\(^{294}\) R. Fiske, Scotland in Music: A European Enthusiasm (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), 43; W. Thomson, Orpheus Caledonius (London, 1725). Recordings and copies of the music can be found in Appendix E.
Gunn’s suggested fingerings are often quite clumsy, for example, as stated earlier, he prefers to use the left hand in extension when it could remain in a neutral position. However, his fingerings show an awareness for sound aesthetics, favouring open strings in fast tunes or when the tune is more rustic in nature. He also utilises open strings in his left-hand fingerings for accompaniment passages, contained in his repertoire list. However, Gunn avoids open strings, especially the ‘A’ string, in more melodic tunes, where the phrasing should not be interrupted and the timbre needs to be evenly maintained. The practice of avoiding open strings is often related to modern practice, because of the use of wire strung strings, the open ‘A’ string can sound too harsh. This becomes even more obvious if the open ‘A’ is played before or after stopped notes, especially within a melodic line. That Gunn was aware of these aesthetics in gut strings shows an early preoccupation with sound quality. This can be traced to Quantz, who discusses the practice of shifting to avoid open strings. In terms of modern performance practice, it challenges the often clichéd idea, that baroque music should be played where possible in first position using open strings. This rationale likely stems from simple beginner treatises, which suggest the use of open strings as an easier option.

The tune ‘Tweed Side’ ends uncomfortably on a thumb, where modern players might opt for an open string, or play the preceding trill on the ‘A’ string and cross over to the ‘D’ string to resolve the trill. The thumb has been used in the accompanying recording, in order to be authentic to Gunn’s notation. Joseph Reinagle also included ‘Tweed Side’ in his treatise, although in a different arrangement.

296 ReinagleT, Lesson XVI, 18.
In ‘Lachaber’ [sic] Gunn avoids the open ‘A’ string, and therefore appears to be suggesting a more sustained lyrical sound. ‘Lachaber’ or ‘Lochaber’, is one of only a small number of the Scotch Airs in which Gunn includes dynamic indications. ‘Lochaber’ was first found in print in Francesco Barsanti’s (1690–1772) ‘Collection of Old Scot Tunes’ (1742).\(^\text{297}\) John MacDonald also included this popular tune in his musical examples, but with different fingerings to that of Gunn.\(^\text{298}\) This has been added below for comparison purposes. In addition, MacDonald provides a version of the same tune with an obligato cello part by a ‘Mr Binger’.\(^\text{299}\) Of note is MacDonald’s choice of fingerings, for example, in bar 2, where he shifts during the slur. Gunn avoids this fingering, which can cause an unwanted portamento. MacDonald also utilises the fourth finger in bars 15–16, whereas Gunn advises the more comfortable use of the third finger. However, MacDonald returns to the use of the third finger in this position in bar 19 (illus. 3.18).

\(^{297}\) Fiske, Scotland in Music, 194–5.
\(^{298}\) MacDonaldT, musical examples, 16–7, IMSLP.
\(^{299}\) Ibid.
'Corn Riggs are Bonny' is credited to the English composer, Thomas Farmer, written for D’Urfey’s comedy, *The Virtuous Wife* (1680). Allan Ramsay later added lyrics, which led to its known title. Gunn favours octave leaps in this tune, rather than string crossings (bb. 2 and 4). These leaps are found at the end of phrases, and therefore force a break in the sound. Although crossing the string often guarantees better intonation, it sometimes results in an unwanted change of tone quality, as playing a string two strings lower results in a different tessitura. In this tune, Gunn uses the extended fingering 1, 2, 3 more than is perhaps needed, for example in bars 1 and 3. This would often be avoided in modern performance practice, where the aim is keep the hand released of tension as much possible.
3.4 A Summary of Cello ‘House Tutors’ and Treatises by Vidal, c.1790 and Hardy, c.1795

‘House Tutors’

A number of publications separate the first and second editions of Gunn’s treatise. These include publications by the Oxford-based musicians, Henry Hardy and Joseph Reinagle, and a manuscript by the Spanish cellist Pablo Vidal. In addition, a number of ‘house tutors’ published by the major publishing houses were produced. Those published between Gunn’s editions were by Goulding, Preston & Son, Thompson, Chausac & Sons and Broderip and Wilkinson. Publishers rarely advertised their instrumental ‘house tutors’ in newspaper advertisements. Instead, the title pages often claimed that instrumental tutors for every instrument were available from the publisher, and this appeared to be sufficient advertising. The aspect of ‘new’ was equally important as a sales strategy, and each ‘house tutor’ of the period declared this in their title, despite the fact they regularly included significant repetitions or replications from earlier treatises. Broderip & Wilkinson’s cello treatise advertised ‘Excellent Examples by the late Mr. Cervetto, that were never before made Public’ on the title page. The cellist and instrument dealer Cervetto was born in Italy, but made London his permanent residence. However, the lessons are in reality short bass lines, four or eight bars in duration. They offer poor value to the buyer, who was familiar with Cervetto’s works and reputation. The publication is an excellent example of false or extravagant advertising often exemplified in this genre.

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303 New and Complete Instructions for the Violoncello; A New and Complete Tutor for the Violoncello; Thompson’s New Instructions for the Violoncello, Containing the Best Directions for Fingering (London: Messrs Thompson, [1790s]); New Instructions for the Violoncello (London: Cahusac & Sons, [c.1794–8]); Broderip and Wilkinson’s Complete Treatise for the Violoncello, Together with Excellent Examples by the Late Mr. Cervetto (London: The Editors, c.1800).

The ‘house tutors’ were basic method books aimed at the beginner amateur, and as a result did very little to develop the genre. However, as there was a scarcity of British cello teaching material at the beginning of the nineteenth century the publishing houses filled this void, through the ‘house tutor’ publications, establishing a trend in cello treatise publication. The basic cello ‘house tutors’ did not rival contemporary French treatises, which were progressive in terms of clarity, quality and technical difficulty. Crome’s publishers, Charles & Samuel Thompson, were amongst the first to produce a ‘house tutor’. The content of the tutor relies heavily on Crome’s method and is therefore also closely related to Corrette’s treatise. However, C. & S. Thompson do not credit either author.

The layout of the cello ‘house tutors’ was inherited from earlier instrumental tutors, such as those for the violin and flute. Each starts with a short paragraph introducing the instrument, with the exception of Preston & Son. The format of the introduction stems from Crome, and very often Cromes’ wording is used or can be detected. For example, Goulding begins and concludes his paragraph with almost identical wording to Crome. Whilst the content of ‘house tutors’ provide insufficient practical information to the modern cellist with regard to period performance practice, they present evidence regarding a style of pedagogy, which was aimed at self-instruction for the gentleman amateur. The ‘house tutors’ shared little in common with the authored treatises of Gunn, Reinagle and Schetky. However, they do show similarities to Hardy’s *The Violoncello Preceptor*, which makes it possible to re-evaluate his treatise within this genre.

305 Thompson’s New Instructions for the Violoncello.
Pablo Vidal, ‘Arte e esquela de violoncello’, c.1790

Pablo Vidal (d. c.1808) was the ‘first cellist’ of the Convent of the Incarnation in Madrid and worked in the Casa de Osuna orchestra which was directed by Boccherini. His ‘Art and School of Cello’ contains a number of musical examples with no commentary. It includes examples of fingerings, but is most notable for the use of chords at cadences (illus. 3.19).

The fingering for the chords is uncomfortably spaced, with a third finger on the ‘F sharp’ and a second on the ‘A’, where it would be more comfortable to play this 2, 2, 4 or 1, 1, 3. This is again repeated on the final chord where a fourth finger on the top ‘G’ would lie more naturally in the hand. This suggests that the author played with a violin hold, at an oblique angle. The manuscript is notable for a curious example of recitative and is the only Spanish source of cello bass-line realisation from this period. It is considered further in relation to the practice of recitative in the comparative review.

Henry Hardy, The Violoncello Preceptor, c.1795

Henry Hardy’s The Violoncello Preceptor was published and sold by the author in Oxford. It is the sole cello treatise of the period to be published outside London. To

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306 P. Vidal, Arte e esquela de violoncello (c.1790), IMSLP. Little is known of Vidal, see short biography by J. Bassal and K. Anderson in CD booklet of Boccherini Cello Sonatas, performed by Joseph Bassal and Wolfgang Lehner, Naxos, recorded in L’Auditorium, Girona, Spain 29–30 December 2004, 8.557795, https://www.chandos.net/chanimages/Booklets/NA7795.pdf.
date, it has been largely ignored, and this may be partly due to its publication history.

Much like Gunn, little is known of Hardy, either as a musician or as a publisher. Susan Wollenberg describes Hardy as a violinist with the Holywell Band who taught ‘Gentlemen of the University’ and who took over ‘Matthew’s music business in High Street (from 1792).’ 307 William Matthews was a singer and music seller in Oxford. 308 John Mee states that, Hardy was a student of Pinto on the violin, linking him to Joseph Reinagle who was also a student when he was resident in Edinburgh. 309 According to the Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Hardy died in 1804. 310 The dictionary claims that he was expelled from the Oxford Loyal Volunteers in 1800 and left Oxford in 1804, ‘to live near Carfax, where he sold musical instruments belonging to gentlemen of the University who had gone down.’ 311 However, Hardy was still performing as a violinist in the band at the ‘Grand Musical Festival’, Oxford in 1810, suggesting he had not left Oxford, nor that he had died (unless there was a son of the same name). 312 His shop was also advertised as a venue where tickets could be bought for the same festival in 1805. 313 Although known as a violinist, Hardy showed an early interest in the cello through his subscription to Gunn’s cello treatise (c. 1789). 314 Yu Lee An’s listings of publishers catalogues includes Hardy’s treatise within Robert Birchall’s Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music, dated c. 1795, (‘Hardy, for the Violoncello’). 315

Hardy’s treatise is a beginner’s tutor for the cello and includes an introduction to music theory. Hardy’s motivation to produce such a cello method is unknown.

309 Ibid., 30.
311 Ibid., 102.
312 JOJ, 2, 23, 30 June 1810.
313 JOJ, 22 June 1805.
314 ‘H. Hardy, Oxford’.
315 Y. L. An, part 2, 23–4.
However, it appears that he also taught the cello in Oxford:

I will not keep my pupil in suspense [sic], but it will be necessary for him to read the following note, before I put the Violoncello into his hand.\footnote{Hardy, introduction, 1.}

It is possible to reconsider Hardy’s treatise as a further example of a ‘house tutor’. It shares the same style of publication as the basic method books, and there is also considerable evidence of replication. Evidence of Hardy’s ‘borrowings’ from earlier ‘house tutors’ include multiple sections from Goulding’s treatise. For example, Hardy replicates Goulding’s introduction to the treble clef, ‘Position’ [of the cello], ‘Of the Bow’, ‘example in Common’, and ‘triple time’. The treble clef was generally omitted from the majority of ‘house tutors’, as it required a more advanced technique to play higher on the instrument, and to transpose down the octave, which was beyond the scope of the basic instrumental methods. Of particular note, is the replication of an advanced fingering for the scales of C, G, D, A, E, F, B flat, E flat, and key of A with a minor or flat third ascending, from Goulding. These are presented in the same manner as Goulding, starting from the lowest string (‘C’) and spanning four octaves, with semitones marked. However, Hardy provides alternative left-hand fingering, which Goulding does not, and the musical examples after each scale are also different. Goulding and Hardy share tunes from Gunn’s \textit{Forty Favorite Scotch Airs}, with a more deliberate copy made by Hardy who, although transcribing Gunn’s versions into bass and tenor clef (rather than treble clef as published by Gunn), also prints Gunn’s fingering and bass lines.

Hardy’s publication differs from the ‘house tutors’ in that he gives left-hand fingering in his final musical exercises. This provides a more valuable treatise, especially to those who were self-taught. However, the tutor was priced at the
considerably more expensive price of six shillings, whereas the ‘house tutors’, were priced at two or three shillings. Hardy’s tutor was self-published and this is therefore reflected in the price.

3.5 Joseph Reinagle, *A Concise Introduction to the Art of Playing the Violoncello, 1799*

**New Music**
This day is published by Goulding, Phipps, & D’Almaine, real Manufactures of Military Musical Instruments, and Music Sellers to their Royal Highness the Prince and Princess of Wales, 45, Pall Mall.
A new, concise introduction to the Art of playing the Violoncello, including a short and early Treatise on Music; to which is added thirty progressive Lessons by J. Reinagle, price 8s.317

Newspaper entries reveal that Reinagle’s cello treatise was available from October 1799. However, it should be noted that ‘This day is published’ does not necessarily mean that the work was published on that day, as this statement was often repeated in subsequent advertisements. Goulding had entered into partnership with Phipps & D’Almaine in early 1799. Reinagle’s treatise was therefore one of the first ventures for the company.318 Reinagle had already received recognition for his cello compositions in John Gunn’s cello treatise. However, these were yet to be published at the time of Gunn’s publication. Reinagle’s first publication was his *Six Easy Duetts for Two Violoncellos, in which Several Favorite Scotch and Welch Airs are Introduced* in 1795. The inclusion of ‘easy’ in the title left no doubt of the composer’s target audience, however, they were more advanced than a further set of duets for beginners which was

317 *Morning Herald*, 18, 20 October 1799; *Morning Chronicle*, 18, 24 October 1799; *Sun*, 4, 9, 17 October 1799; *Star* 3, 17 October 1799. List of publications in newspaper advertisement also included, *A Grand Medley Overture, Consisting of Favourite Airs for the Piano Forte*, by J. Reinagle, price 1s.6d.
318 Kidson, 53. Yu Lee An states that the partnership of Goulding Phipps & D’Almaine, 45 Pall Mall began in early 1798 (Y. L. An, 109).
published by Preston in c.1805.\textsuperscript{319} The duets, which are in two or three movements, progress in difficulty and demonstrate a didactic purpose.\textsuperscript{320} They are printed in two parts, violoncello primo and violoncello secondo, although the second part is considerably easier than the first. The duets include some indications of left-hand fingering, used as a guide to thumb position and left-hand position changes. The marking ‘0’ indicates the use of the thumb, and indeed Reinagle’s version of ‘Lochaber’ (Duet III) and ‘Braes of Ballenden’ (Duet V) can be played solely in thumb position. The two high ‘E’s in ‘Lochaber’ can be taken with the fourth finger, so staying in thumb position, as was a popular practice during the period. It was also advocated by John Gunn in his cello treatise. The ‘Braes of Ballenden’ tune can be played across four strings in thumb position, a method also adopted by J. G. C. Schetky, but used less often in modern practice. The use of well-known tunes was often used as a means for students to easily pitch passages in thumb position, and as a method to practice treble clef passages which were played down the octave. This popular teaching practice is still prevalent today.

Reinagle also adds a single example of fingering to his later duet for violin and cello, where he explains how a passage should be played on the cello.\textsuperscript{321} He writes, ‘N.B. place the 1\textsuperscript{st} finger on the 3\textsuperscript{d} String for E and 2\textsuperscript{d} finger on the 2\textsuperscript{d} String for C and the A is 1\textsuperscript{st} String open. Keep that position throughout.’\textsuperscript{322} Reinagle intended the cellist to play the whole section in fifth position and adds fingering accordingly.

\textsuperscript{319} J. Reinagle, \textit{Six Easy Duetts for Two Violoncellos in which Several Favorite Scotch and Welch Airs are Introduced} (London: F. Linley, 1795); J. Reinagle, \textit{Twelve Progressive Duetts for Two Violoncellos, Expressly Composed for the Use of Beginners}, op. 2 (London: Preston, [c.1805]).
\textsuperscript{320} J. Reinagle, \textit{Six Easy Duetts for Two Violoncellos}.
\textsuperscript{321} J. Reinagle, \textit{Duetto for a Violin and Violoncello and a Favorite Scotch Tune, [My Ain Kind Dearie] with Variations} (Oxford: J. Davenport, 1804). Recording and copy of music available in Appendix E.
\textsuperscript{322} Ibid., cello part, 4.
Reinagle’s cello treatise underwent a total of five ‘editions’ in the period between 1799 and c.1837. However, the first three editions were essentially reprints, with small errors remaining uncorrected. The exception is the fourth and fifth edition. The fifth, which was published after Reinagle’s death, was extended from thirty to forty-six progressive tunes.

2nd edition: (not available in the British Library)
Published again in London by F. W. Chanot, [1887].

On the title page, Reinagle gave his cello credentials as ‘Professor of the Violoncello, Oxford’, although in 1799, the cellist had yet to settle full-time in Oxford. Priced at eight shillings the treatise included ‘A Short and Easy Treatise on the Theory of Music’ followed by ‘Thirty Progressive Lessons’. Reinagle begins with the very basics of theory, and in doing so establishes that the treatise was intended for the music novice. In addition to the traditional cello clefs, of bass, tenor, and treble (transposed down the octave), he also teaches the soprano and alto, which were used less often during this period in cello music. He notates the soprano and treble clefs briefly in scales. However, in his musical examples, he applies only the bass clef and occasionally the tenor clef.

Reinagle provides a short description on how to hold the cello and the bow. This is reminiscent of the ‘house tutors’, although not directly quoted. His use of the fingerboard chart is similar to that used by Preston & Son and Hardy. In terms of the

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323 The first and fourth editions are available to view online, IMSLP.
324 Further copies of the treatise were published in 1887 by F. W. Chanot, London. Thirty progressive Lessons where published in 1982 by Grancino editions. These lessons are currently out of print but are named in the 2010 Grancino catalogue as ‘scheduled to print’, http://grancinoeditions.com/catalog.html.
325 ReinagleT, 34–5.
326 Ibid., 37.
327 Ibid., 4.
position of the left-hand, Reinagle favours a violin-style hold. The hand is set in place by positioning the second and fourth fingers with the first finger raised. He then brings the ‘ball of the hand close to the Neck’. 328 This contradicts the teaching of his contemporaries, Gunn and Schetky. With regards to bowing, the fingers touch the hair of the bow, and the thumb is opposite the middle finger. He does not detail if the bow is held near the nut, however, if the fingers were touching the hair, it is likely that he held it higher than the modern bow hold. Leopold Mozart in his illustrations demonstrated Reinagle’s grip as ‘faulty’. 329 However, Corrette who names this the Italian grip, equally praises a number of bow holds as illustrated in his treatise. 330 In 1827, Crouch provides explanation of the grip, described by Reinagle, stating ‘…the end of the second finger by being placed on the hair keeps it firm on the strings’ so that the bow remains balanced on the strings. 331

Reinagle states that the bow should not be lifted off the string, adding that ‘this rule should be strictly adhered to’. 332 It is likely that he meant this as a beginner technique and therefore it should not be considered as an element of his own performance practice. As these are pedagogically focused publications it raises an issue as to the value of these early treatises in terms of performance practice evidence. Beginner treatises can often be taken too literally to demonstrate aspects of period performance practice and as representative of the standard of performance at the time. Much of the content of these treatises was simply learning strategies for the beginner cellist.

328 Ibid.
329 Boyden, 373.
330 Walden, 81.
332 ReinagleT, 4.
Reinagle’s treatise continues with short self-composed pieces based on each of the scales, a method he favoured over the practice of scales in isolation. The lessons are not of a beginner standard as they also require knowledge of arpeggio figures and double stops. Each scale is clearly marked with left-hand fingering, but he gradually reduces the amount of fingering, introducing only new elements, such as extensions. A full list of scales is provided much later, on page thirty-six of the treatise. The scale provided before each piece is more of a fingering guide and does not necessarily start on the tonic. Reinagle’s fingering is in keeping with modern standards and demonstrates his working knowledge of the instrument. He provides alternative fingerings for an exercise in three and four flats, and an exercise in five sharps. The position changes are marked with two vertical dots. Keys in more than three flats often caused confusion for treatise authors looking for a system of fingering. Reinagle’s two methods demonstrate both a beginner model, where the hand negotiates the notes with limited position changes, and a second more advanced model, where notes are organised to be played within different hand positions. Reinagle does not use a sign to mark the extension, although he does mark these [ ] in the summary of his scales (illus. 3.20). This sign is omitted in later editions. The same sign is used by Schetky in his 1813 cello treatise.

Illus. 3.20 J. Reinagle, A Concise Introduction to the Art of Playing the Violoncello (London: Goulding, Phipps & D’Almaine, 1799), 36

333 Ibid., 20.
334 Ibid., 36–7.
335 ReinagleT. IMSLP. File is part of the Sibley Mirroring Project.
Reinagle’s fingering patterns in scales, show a preference for 1, 2, 3 / 1, 2, 3 when ascending the ‘A’ string, where 1, 2 / 1, 2 / 1, 2, 3 would often now be considered good practice (illus. 3.21). However, he sporadically provides this fingering in a few of his scales, suggesting he had yet to formalise his fingering patterns for all scales. The latter fingering was the preference of Schetky, as will be discussed in a full comparison of fingering patterns in scales from the treatises of Gunn, Reinagle and Schetky.


The ordering of Reinagle’s scales demonstrate limited knowledge of basic harmony and harmonic terminology. In terms of a formal musical education, Reinagle appears to be less tutored than Schetky and Gunn. Schetky orders his scales by the circle of fifths, starting with C major. However, Reinagle lists the scales: C, D, E flat, E sharp, F, G, A flat, A sharp, B flat, B sharp, C, etc. The sharp is used to describe a major scale, for example, ‘E sharp’ is E major. However this is not always consistent. Notably, Reinagle does not include the scales of F sharp major and D flat. He also avoids minor scales in his musical examples, which were an important part of Gunn’s and Schetky’s treatises. However, he does provide a written explanation of the natural minor scale.

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337 ReinagleT, 36–7.
338 Ibid., 42.
Whilst the basics of Reinagle’s fingerings are now essentially standard practice, for example, in simpler two octave scales, such as C major, G major and F major. Discrepancies or difficulties arrive when providing fingering for scales that include three or more sharps. Reinagle had yet to establish that these scales could be started on the first finger, which leads to a pattern of playing three notes, then shifting, and so on (Ex. 3.9). Interestingly Gunn had adopted this pattern in 1789, which is discussed further in the comparative review.\(^{339}\) It is therefore unlikely that Reinagle had consulted Gunn’s treatise prior to compiling his own method.\(^{340}\)

Ex. 3.9 Fingering for a B Major scale

Further discrepancies in Reinagle’s treatise include the fingering of the harmonic ‘A’ (above fourth position on the A string). He suggests playing this with the fourth finger despite the previous G sharp being played with a second finger.\(^{343}\) The most logical finger is the third finger, which he uses in the succeeding example.\(^{344}\) Therefore this may be a misprint. However, Reinagle again suggests the use of the fourth finger in a description of ‘4\(^{th}\) position’.\(^{345}\) On this occasion the hand is within a position where this is possible, although it would be a personal preference for individual

\(^{339}\) GunnT, 1st edn, 73–8.  
\(^{340}\) Further comparison is made between Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn and the fingering of scales in the comparative review.  
\(^{341}\) GunnT, 1st edn, 74.  
\(^{342}\) ReinagleT, 37.  
\(^{343}\) Ibid., 5, 14.  
\(^{344}\) Ibid.  
\(^{345}\) Ibid., 45.
cellists, rather than standard practice.

Reinagle does not include any indication on how to bow his examples. This is frequently the case in treatises from the period, where the focus is on the left-hand. However, he later provides a page of exercises where he states that each should start with a down-bow. These are of little practical aid to the student reading his musical exercises. The lack of detailed bowing instructions suggest that Reinagle intended his treatise to be studied under the guidance of a teacher.

Unique to Reinagle’s treatises are his examples of short preludes and cadential flourishes. These short excerpts offer a glimpse of the cellist’s style of improvisation, a practice that was rarely dictated, especially in cello treatises of the period. Short preludes precede each lesson and essentially meander around the scale, acting as warm-up for the left hand and preparing position changes which are marked. For example, the prelude in E flat starts in first position, but moves to third position on the second note ‘G’ (illus. 3.22).
In the fourth edition, these preparatory preludes are omitted from the beginning of the lessons and are instead printed on a single page (illus. 3.22). The reason for this change is not evident.

The art of preluding can be traced to the seventeenth century. Lasocki and Mather state that ‘Seventeenth-century English musicians “preluded” or “flourished” while tuning their instruments and warming up for a purely musical performance.’

This is demonstrated in Lewis Granom’s flute treatise (1766), which was the first English method to provide an example of an improvised woodwind prelude. However, Lasocki states that the practice was frequently advertised in recorder methods from the eighteenth century:

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347 The Art of Preluding, 6.
Typical title-page descriptions are: “a flourish in every key,” “preludes or flourishes in all keys,” “a prelude, proper to play before any lesson [tune],” and “preludes to introduce the following airs, in their several keys.” Unfortunately, only one such set has survived…These short preludes consist mainly of chord tones and basically stepwise passagework in the home key and without regular meter.\textsuperscript{348}

Corrette also advocated the practice in his flute treatise (1740), writing that ‘The prelude is a kind of caprice that is usually composed on the spot before playing a piece.’\textsuperscript{349} Notably, he does not include any examples in his cello treatise. Preludes were similar in style to cadenzas and in the case of woodwind literature, they were more typically notated than cadenzas.\textsuperscript{350} Woodwind tutors often provided examples of preludes as warm-up exercises.\textsuperscript{351} Notably Reinagle’s examples contain no bar lines or ornamentation, and are short in length. They familiarise the student with the key, often cadencing in the dominant before returning to the tonic. Fingering is added, further emphasising the pedagogic nature of the examples. Unlike Hotteterre (1719), who provides instructions on how to play the prelude examples in his treatise, \textit{L’art de préluder}, Reinagle does not provide any explanation on how they should be performed.\textsuperscript{352}

Reinagle provides two short examples of cadential flourishes. The first is an unbarred cadence over the dominant bass note, before the da capo in F major (illus. 3.23). This is named by Baillot as \textit{point d’orgue}, as the organ would have originally held a dominant or tonic pedal.\textsuperscript{353}

\textsuperscript{348} Ibid., 6.
\textsuperscript{349} Ibid., 7.
\textsuperscript{351} \textit{The Classical Woodwind Cadenza}, 12.
\textsuperscript{352} \textit{The Art of Preluding}, 17.
The second example leads from G major back to the tonic, C major. In printed works from this period, it was standard practice that sharps notated at the beginning of the bar remained until the end of the bar in all octaves. However, this is not the case in Reinagle’s cadences, which is further confirmed by his fingering suggestion at the end of the bar. The same example is found in the fourth edition, but the bowing is erased, and it is renamed, ‘cadenza’ from the Italian. Türk and Quantz trace the origins of the cadenza, where the bass line pauses to between 1710 and 1716. Prior to this a cadence was simply an embellishment within the bar. Reinagle does not resolve his cadenza before continuing. Instead his short cadential flourishes share some similarity to the improvisations of a singer in a da capo aria, or to the recapitulation of an instrumental rondo (illus. 3.24). In keeping with Türk’s principles they are short, and are perhaps better thought of as brief embellishments of the fermata, as advocated by Baillot.

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354 Reinagle, 4th edn, 29.
355 Quantz, 179. D. G. Türk, School of Clavier Playing or Instructions in Playing the Clavier for Teachers and Students, trans. R. Haggh (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 1982), 297.
It is likely that these improvisatory flourishes were exemplary of Reinagle’s playing style. However, performers from the period, especially cello players, rarely wrote down or printed improvisatory preludes or cadential passages. These examples are therefore rare in classical cello scholarship. Reinagle’s purpose in doing so was undoubtedly pedagogical, as was likely to have been Mozart’s reason, who dictated many of his piano concerti cadenzas. Performers often added embellishment or flourishes at the end of works to ‘surprise the audience’ or ‘heighten the intensity of the music.’\(^{357}\) In a later cello treatise by Baudiot, the author explains that it was sometimes necessary for a cellist to improvise when an actor had stayed too long on stage, perhaps forgetting his words. Baudiot states that ‘when this is the case the accompanist may play short preludes and embellishments of his own fancy; but he should be restrained in his ornaments and know their proper place; and play always with taste.’\(^ {358}\) However, this was not to everyone’s taste, as described in a review of a performance by Robert Lindley at the Edinburgh Music Festival in 1824:

\(^{357}\) The Classical Woodwind Cadenza, 1.

\(^ {358}\) Baudiot, Methode, ii, 193 (trans. Walden, 267).
Braham was very fine in Alexis, and his accompanier Lindley equally so. Can Lindley not be persuaded to abstain from his uncouth and clumsy and unmeaning cadences, and to give us a shake and be done with it. Braham seemed heartily tired of standing so long after his song was done.359

Almost twenty years later, an improvisation on the same aria into a Scots tune received a more favorable review:

Mr Hobbs’ “Alexis,” was applauded more for the excellency of the violoncello accompaniment, than the merits of the singer, though the latter were considerable. Towards the finish Mr Lindley threw in a few bars of a beautiful Scotch air, which had an electrical effect upon the audience, who thundered applause and encored the performance.360

Reinagle’s treatise is well graded in developing the student’s knowledge of the left-hand positions and gaining familiarity with the fingerboard in different keys. In addition, he teaches thumb position in multiple positions, starting in half-position, which leads to exercises in octaves. The final section ‘Of time’, seems to be out of progression, as by this stage the reader would have needed sufficient knowledge of rhythm to play Reinagle’s earlier examples. However, it may have been intended solely as a reference section.

3.6 John Gunn, The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello, second edition, c.1800

To the historical dissertation on the invention and improvement of stringed instruments and to the geometrical and other minute explanations of the system of fingering, which preceded these examples, is now substituted a more simple mode of explanation.361

The title pages of both the first and second edition are almost identical, except to allow for the change in publication details. However, the second edition of Gunn’s treatise was shortened to sixty-four pages and the written explanation simplified. The second

359 Scotsman, 30 October 1824.
360 Durham County Advertiser, 30 September 1842.
361 GunnT, 2nd edn, 3.
edition was available for sale from Preston, but like the first edition it was also ‘printed for the author’ and sold by Gunn. The decision to remove the opening dissertation from the second edition, may therefore have been a financial decision in order to reduce printing costs.

To date there has been considerable ambiguity regarding the publication date of the second edition. It was the first edition, and not the revised second, that was reviewed in the *Critical Review* and *Monthly Review* in 1793. Gunn also continued to advertise the first edition of his cello treatise on the title page of *The School of the German Flute*, which can be dated c.1795. The second edition was advertised in the *Times* in June and July of 1800. In this notice Gunn details the amendments to the first edition:

> The Second edition, containing all the former examples, with corrections; and to the Dissertation on the Invention and Improvement of stringed instruments, and former Explanation of the System, is substituted an entirely new and more familiar illustration, with 72 additional Examples, which are chiefly favourite English, Scotch, and French Airs, set for the Violoncello, and also for the Violin and Flute, with a bass, progressively arranged, so as to explain and remove the chief Difficulties of the Finger Board.\(^{362}\)

The advertisement implies that the second edition was published in 1800, a year after Joseph Reinagle’s treatise. It was the second edition that Gunn continued to promote in 1802 on the front page of his *An Essay Theoretical and Practical*. The title page reads that the ‘treatise for the Violoncello’ was available for sale at 15s. The first edition was priced at £1.1s. The second edition continued to be advertised in *The Morning Chronicle* in 1812.\(^{363}\) However, Preston had now taken over the printing. In 1812 the advertisement begins: ‘Treatise on the Violoncello, Printed and sold by Preston, at his Wholesale Warehouse, 97, Strand; and by the author, 102, Great Portland-street.’\(^{364}\) In 1827, four years after Gunn’s death, the second edition was

\(^{362}\) *Times*, 7 June, 3 July 1800.

\(^{363}\) *MC*, April 9 1812.

\(^{364}\) Ibid.
Violoncello Music. New Edition of
1. The Theory and Practice of fingering the Violoncello; containing Rules and progressive Lessons for attaining the knowledge and command of the whole compass of the instrument. By John Gunn, Price 15s. Also a Supplement to the above, of
2. Forty Favourite Scottish Melodies, with the phrases marked, and proper fingering for practice. By John Gunn. Price 7s.6d.

“Omne tutie punctum qui miscuit wile duici.” Horace
Published by Preston, 71, Dean-Street, Soho.365

Preston’s relaunch of Gunn’s works in 1827 may have been as a result of the competition from Charles Eley’s ‘Improved Method of Instruction for the Violoncello’, which was published by Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis in the same year.366 Charles Eley (1756–1832), the principal cellist of the Academy of Ancient Music, was a subscriber to Gunn’s first edition. As a composer, he published a number of duets for two cellos, and for violin and cello during the 1790s.

Gunn’s second edition differs not only in content, but in his approach to teaching. In the first edition he is adamant that a student should learn to be a good accompanist before tackling solos. A similar viewpoint is taken by Schetky in his ‘Observations’, although Schetky equally states that a beginner should learn easy tunes to encourage them to practice and improve their ear.367 Gunn states in his first edition:

365 MC, 21 March, 30 March, 16 April 1827. A copy of the ‘new edition’ of Gunn’s second edition as described in the 1827 newspaper advertisements has yet to be located, however it is most likely a reprint.
367 SchetkyO.
I understand the usual practice in teaching to be, after showing the learner a single scale, to give him some familiar easy tune, in one position of the hand, for the purpose of making his fingers and bow go together. The difficulty of attending to the number of different actions necessary to performance, is so great at the beginning, that masters are glad to take advantage of any inducement that can be held out to the learner, to make him practise; but I am afraid this method, sometimes necessary as first, is pursued too far.  

Gunn was concerned that the premature study of tunes could result in the student developing bad habits in their technique. As a result, this would affect their tone development and rhythm. His system was intended to avoid these ‘fallacies’.  

Although Schetky advocated the early learning of easy tunes, he shared the view that students should not play in the tenor clef or more advanced solos until they were proficient in accompanying. 

In a significant departure from his first edition, Gunn’s states in his second edition that the initial study of the cello can be ‘unentertaining to the Learner’, and that the use of tunes could help the beginner overcome some of their technical frustrations. In doing so, Gunn shares some similarities with Schetky regarding the initial learning process. Gunn claims:  

With this view, the Author has presumed that the Learner will have a better means of judging of, and correcting his performance, by the practice and study of well known and favourite Airs, than by that of lessons or Sonatas, the time, accents, and meanings whereof must be to a beginner, to say the least; comparatively more obscure. 

The second edition provides a greater range of general rules for left-hand fingering. Gunn groups fingering patterns by the number of notes that need to be played. That is, for example, rules for four or five notes in succession, taking into consideration slurs and articulations. For example, when playing four notes (Ex. 3.10): 

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368 GunnT, 1st edn, 61.  
369 Ibid., 62.  
370 SchetkyO, 1.  
371 GunnT, 2nd edn, 3.  
372 Ibid., 34–5.
The second bar of ex. 3.10, appears to be an error and should be ‘2, 1’ rather than ‘1, 2’. When playing six notes Gunn groups the fingering, three and three, and for seven notes he suggests; two, plus two, plus three (ex. 3.11). However, exceptions are provided if notes are specifically articulated, or if the passage is in thirds (see ex. 3.12).\footnote{Ibid., 35.}


For the octave. Gunn advocates playing two notes followed by a shift, three notes,
shift again and then the final three notes (ex. 3.13):


These fingering patterns are illustrative of modern practices. Although
inevitably the choice of fingering is a personal preference, depending on the size of the
hand, and also the size of the instrument. For example, my preference in bar of ex.3.11
[‘rule for seven notes’] would be 1, 3, 4 [F, G, A flat] on a modern instrument, but on
a baroque set-up with a thicker neck, I would then consider Gunn’s fingerings as it is
easier to reach a third finger on the top note, rather than stretch the fourth. Gunn’s
patterns are an extension of Baumgartner’s rule, where if notes ascend in twos or threes
he shifts accordingly.\(^{374}\)

\(^{374}\) Graves, 185.
Fifteen notes, or two octaves, are taken in five positions, that is, in groups of three notes (ex. 3.14).\footnote{GunnT, 2nd edn, 36.}

The fingering in the final line (ex. 3.14) is unusual, perhaps Gunn had mistaken the key signature. For example, for the first set of triplets, the fingering given is 1, 2, 4, playing ‘C sharp’, ‘D sharp’ and ‘E’, which would require a semitone to be played between the second and fourth fingers. It is more natural to play 1, 3, 4. The final triplet would be easier played 1, 2, 4, as there is only a semitone A sharp and B. There are also missing symbols [-] for an extension on this line of music [e.g. B to C sharp].

Gunn’s choice of fingering is dictated by how the phrase is slurred, in order to avoid shifting within the slur.\footnote{Ibid., 27.} These methods exemplify not only an advanced knowledge of the instrument, but also his awareness of sound aesthetics and phrasing. Gunn also suggested that the student practice double stops in order to improve their intonation—a principle that is still accepted today.
Bowing and Articulation

Gunn’s treatise was based on the art of fingering. He therefore focused less on bowing. However, the second edition outlined some bowing rules that should be considered. For example, the up-bow should match the down-bow, using the ‘same velocity and pressure’ in order to provide ‘equal notes’. Gunn also provides a written explanation of the position of the right arm. However, if this description is taken too literally, the cellist would play with a very high upper arm, which is unlikely to have been his intention. For the beginner, fast notes should be played just above the balance point of the bow, but then to progress to the middle part of the bow. Rules for bowing include the typical practice of beginning on an up-bow for a passage of ascending octaves. Further musical examples are provided below (see ex. 3.15).

Gunn taught the use of the right wrist to facilitate changing between two consecutive strings. This is now standard practice but tracing it to an eighteenth-century source highlights that economy of movement is as relevant in the performance practice of works during this era, as it is in modern performance.

377 Ibid., 39.
378 Ibid., 37.
379 Ibid., 38.
Gunn provides further advice on how the cellist should tackle bass lines in his second edition, where he states that when playing an ‘Air’, the cellist should play the bass line short against the tune which is ‘played full and connected in the manner of singing’.\(^{380}\) In modern practice this appears an over-simplified approach, as surely it depends on the nature of the two lines. It also contradicts a contemporary style of playing where the bass line player often attempts to complement or blend with the upper line, unless specifically marked. This is often transferred to baroque performance practice where the continuo cellist often softens the articulation in slow movements to create the same effect as the soloist. However, it appears Gunn expected an attack similar to that of the harpsichord. The style is further clarified in the Paris Conservatoire method, which suggests that the bass line should be played *detaché* ‘to contrast with the melody which should always be connected or sustained’.\(^{381}\) However the Conservatoire method also clarifies that music should blend when similar melodies were to be played between parts. The Paris Conservatoire method exemplifies the style with an excerpt from a slow movement by the violinist, Guiseppe Tartini (1692–1770), and a bassline from a Mozart quartet (illus. 3.25, 1 and 2). Unfortunately, the example does not demonstrate how this should be bowed, that is, whether the first of the demi-semiquavers should be played with a down bow, i.e. ‘a re-take’ (illus. 3.25, 2).

\(^{380}\) Ibid., 10–1.
\(^{381}\) Trans. Walden, 250; PCM, 245.
Although the second edition considerably improved on the first edition, in terms of simpler explanations and relevancy to learning the cello, it lacked the written descriptions that provided significant context to the final musical examples or repertoire list. This is particularly relevant as it was the second edition that continued in print, and not the first. These examples were reprinted in the second edition, but lose purpose without Gunn’s written commentary detailing how to study them. Furthermore, had it not been for this chapter in the first edition, considerable evidence regarding Gunn’s education and cello tuition under Hugh Reinagle would have remained unknown. As the first cellist with Scottish connections to publish a cello method, Gunn was the forerunner, pre-empting the legacies of his contemporaries, Schetky and Reinagle. However, as will be discussed, they did not teach in the same style.

Gunn was the first British cello treatise author to tackle fully the role of cello in accompaniment, as was considered its primary role during the period. It was published by Preston (97 Strand, London) and sold at the price of 12s., which was considerably more expensive than cello treatises from the same period. However, this work was not for the beginner and targeted the advanced cello player. Unusually for Gunn, the year 1802 is printed on the title page. Engraved publications were not normally dated so that plates could be stored and used for future reprints, unlike typeset publications, which had to be set up in type each time they were reprinted.

Gunn acknowledges that his own knowledge of the study was ‘practical or analytical’, as the practice of harmony on the cello was often passed from teacher to student. The ‘analytical’ being the mastering of cello technique and fingering patterns involved, which with practice, leads to an understanding of the theory. However, for the purpose of his treatise Gunn begins with the ‘synthetical’ approach, which he describes as the study, or understanding of the theory, before tackling the practicalities on the cello. He also outlines a method in which the book can be used to learn ‘practically’. This involves jumping between directed exercises, beginning with ten simple examples of arpeggiated cadential chordal patterns. The illustration below exemplifies the first two (illus. 3.26):

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382 GunnE.
383 GunnE, 1.
They are similar to those presented by Schetky but Gunn provides more examples and also indicates bowing. After further short exercises and commentary on how to play major and minor dominant sevenths, as well as interval calculation, the ‘synthetical’ joins the ‘practical’ from ‘Of the preparation and resolution of discords’ (chapter III, part II). Arguably this approach does not prepare the student sufficiently for a full and complete understanding of the theory required to provide their own harmonic accompaniment, especially that of a figured bass.

Gunn’s *Art of Playing the Flute* was reviewed in the *Monthly Review* (1793) where the reviewer states, ‘but a complete treatise on the *Art of Modulation*, however compressed, would require a voluminous work, instead of a single chapter, to render it intelligible.’ It appears that Gunn took on this challenge for the cello. He begins by stating ‘The subject of the present Essay has been ever a desideratum in the study of this noble instrument’. He continues by exemplifying ‘men of genius’ who were capable of ‘extemporary flights’ on the cello in recitative and capriccios, which required full knowledge of the instrument and harmonic awareness. In a footnote,

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384 SchetkyT, 39.
385 GunnE, 32.
387 GunnE, 1.
388 Ibid.
Gunn does not name the cellists, but provides clues to their identities:

We have had two instances of pre-eminence in this respect in our own Countrypmen, acknowledged by all Europe. The frequenters of the Italian Opera some years ago, have often admired the unrivall’d powers of one in recitative; and the praises of the other in Capriccios, are thus recorded by an English Author more than once alluded to in this Essay, who has heard a greater variety of musical excellence, with more taste and exquisite sensibility, than most other men. “It is my good fortune” says he “frequently to hear the extemporary flights of an astonishing performer on the Violoncello, which, if they could be written down and publish’d, would not only prove a valuable treasure to the Amateurs of that manly instrument in England, but to the most brilliant professors on the continent.”

The cellists were James Cervetto and John Crosdill, and the author, William Shield (1748–1829), a composer and violinist, as clarified in the *British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review*. It was stated of James Cervetto, in 1782, ‘that for the Accompaniment of the Recitative, no Violoncello could be more perfectly excellent than Cervetto’s’. Cervetto was the teacher of Robert Lindley who, as will be discussed, was noted for his elaborate accompaniment of recitatives. This exemplifies how, as Gunn stated, the practice was passed between generations of students and teachers. An Essay was therefore an attempt ‘to explore, this new, and hitherto obstructed way, and to conduct the more timid adventurer through its mazes’.

Gunn presumes considerable prior cello knowledge as detailed in his cello treatise, therefore *An Essay* acts a continuation to his previous publications. It is divided into two parts; the first part focuses on academic study, with expansive written explanations interspersed with a few musical examples, and the second part applies these principles to the cello.

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389 Ibid. (footnote).
391 Walden, 260; *PA*, 24 October 1782.
392 GunnE, 1.
Chapter II provides rudimentary theory of intervals, their construction and inversions. However, in Chapter III, Gunn provides more scientific detail on sound production and harmonic theories. He references *Methodus Incrementorum Directa et Inversa* (1715), by the mathematician, Dr Brook Taylor (1685–1731) and his fundamental theorem:

Dr Brook Taylor in 1715, and many after him, have ascertained the most predominant of these sounds to be 1, the octave, 2, twelfth, 3, double octave, and 4, the major seventeenth to the original sound.

Regarding Rousseau’s statement ‘harmony is a useless production of art’, Gunn states that this has long been ‘overthrown’ and that its origins can be found in nature. The discovery of the phenomena ‘that two concordant acute sounds, generate a third, which shall be their fundamental’, Gunn credits to Tartini, but continues that it has been furthered demonstrated by the German organist and theorist, Abbé Vogler (also known as Georg Joseph), in ‘Data for Acoustics’, which had yet to be published. The composer and violinist, Giusseppe Tartini (1692–1770) published his theories in *Trattato di musica secondo la vera scienza dell’armonia* (Padua, 1754).

Gunn appears to have had musical connections in Germany, as in a footnote he describes that since writing *An Essay*, he had since been sent works from Germany, including ‘Abbé’s interesting ideas on the effects of the music in Westminster Abbey at Handel’s commemoration’. Gunn planned to include these in a new work, entitled ‘in the mode of conducting musical Studies with a view of arriving at greater excellence.

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394 GunnE, 5.
395 Ibid., 6.
in much shorter time that is generally though attainable, in familiar letters address’d to
the Amateurs of this country'. 397 This work was never published, but demonstrates his
preoccupation with works for teaching.

Gunn continues with a discussion of string ‘harmonics’, that is, the lightly
touching of the strings at certain distances from the nut. He explains where they can be
found on the cello, and at what pitch they sound (illus. 3.27). 398

Illus. 3.27 J. Gunn, An Essay, Theoretical and Practical (London: Preston, 1802), 6, ex. 5 & 6

The use of harmonics was not new to cello playing, and although earlier treatises had
not introduced the topic, the cellist, Berteau, was complimented by Rousseau for his
use of the technique. 399 The French composer, François Martin, was possibly the first
to utilise harmonics on the cello, as illustrated in his fourth cello sonata, op. 2 (1746). 400

In this work the cellist has to hold the lowest note of a triple-stopped chord with their
chin. Both techniques appear to be added as ‘special effects’ or novelty, pushing the
boundaries of the instrument. 401 However, Gunn was not advocating their use, but
describing their scientific and theoretical properties, and relationship to the

397 Ibid.
398 Ibid., 7.
399 Walden, 14; Cyr, Style and Performance, 190.
400 Cyr, Style and Performance, 127; François Martin, Six Sonates pour le violonchelle, y compris un
duo pour un violon, et un violonchelle, op. 2 (Paris, [1746]).
401 Cyr, Style and Performance, 127.
fundamental.

The mathematician and amateur cellist, Robert Smith (1689–1768) had discussed the division of the string played lightly with the finger, on the violin and cello in 1749, which is now referred to as a ‘harmonic’. In *Harmonics, or the Philosophy of Musical Sounds* Smith’s use of the terminology differed, using the word ‘harmonics’ to refer to other aspects of the science of music, such as temperament and acoustics, rather than specifically the notes of the harmonic series.

Gunn progresses by summarising ‘pure harmony’ which requires further definitions of intervals, for example, tone major and tone minor, concluding that the ‘more accurate division of an octave, is into three major tones, two minor tones, and two semitones.’ Gunn was describing and provides the ratios of ‘just intonation’. The tone major is in the ratio 8 to 9, the minor tone in the ratio 9 to 10 and the comma 80 to 81. Unlike his dissertation, Gunn does not cite nor trace the origin of this system.

Rousseau claimed that the interval of the comma was so small that it was not possible to hear this interval, only calculate it. Gunn ‘examine[s] the truth of his assertion’, with an example on the cello. Firstly he perfectly tunes the strings, and plays the open ‘G’ string against an ‘E’ a sixth above on the ‘D’ string. The same ‘E’ is then played against the open ‘A’ string, observing that it is likely the cellist will want to sharpen the E. This interval is known as the comma: ‘the second station being a tone major from the open string D, and the former a tone minor’.

This chapter was, like his dissertation, arguably unnecessary for the practical cellist, but Gunn’s intention was

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403 Ibid.
404 GunnE, 8.
405 Ibid.
406 Ibid.
407 Ibid., 9.
to clarify why chordal accompaniment required small adjustments for chords to sound in tune. In the culture of Enlightenment, it was necessary to question these issues and not only accept their practicalities. The chapter concludes with a series of descriptions of intervals on the cello, and where they have to be adjusted to sound pure. This is a useful exercise for cellists, especially in establishing the flexibility required in the left-hand to adjust the intonation to the required interval. Gunn acknowledges that when a player on a string instrument plays a quick succession of notes but was to hold one, it may be a comma too high or low, but this would not, as described by Rousseau be heard when playing the passage in full.\(^{408}\) However, Gunn remarks that to play with someone who always plays out of tune is difficult, as it is not possible to constantly adjust to inaccurate tuning.\(^{409}\)

MacDonald in his cello treatise also provides a synopsis of the main writers on harmony and a mathematical account of temperament, explaining which notes need to be sharpened or flattened in the chord.\(^{410}\) The scientific detail is beyond the scope of a beginner cello treatise yet MacDonald concludes his introduction: ‘To the practical player on the Violoncello, and not to those deeply skilled in the science of Music, this work is addressed’.\(^{411}\)

In Chapter IV ‘Of the General principles of Thorough bass’, Gunn presents a theoretical summary of chords and their inversions, starting with the basic theory of chordal structure and terminology. It is in this chapter that Gunn introduces figured bass, by providing commentary on its rules. He begins with standard three note chords and their inversions, followed by seventh chords and their inversions. When adding the minor seventh, Gunn states that:

\(^{408}\) Ibid., 10. 
\(^{409}\) Ibid. 
\(^{410}\) MacDonaldT, 10-1. 
\(^{411}\) Ibid., ix.
The latter has from its peculiar qualities attracted the notice of all practical musicians: Geminiani has resolved discords by it: The Abbé Vogler calls it the entertaining chord. The ingenious Mr Knecht aptly stiles it, the boundary betwixt concord and discord, and the most pleasing and favorite passages of modern melody are derived from its intervals.\textsuperscript{412}

The composer and theorist was Justin Heinrich Knecht (1752–1817), who was a student of Vogler. Gunn extends his chordal description to the chords of the ninth, eleventh and thirteenth chords. The chords of the ninth and eleventh are explained using Rameau’s ‘supposition’ theory, that is ‘placing the bass by thirds below’.\textsuperscript{413} The invention of the thirteenth chord he credits to Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–1795) (illus. 3.28). Gunn describes Marpurg, ‘whom all the Harmonists of Europe consider as the greatest modern theorist’.\textsuperscript{414} The theorist, Georg Andreas Sorge (1703–78) in his \textit{Compendium Harmonicum} (1760) criticised Marpurg on a number of issues. Sorge advocated chords based on rising thirds. The chords of the eleventh and thirteenth, he considered as chordal embellishments.\textsuperscript{415} As Marpurg’s theoretical works were not translated into English, Gunn states that in England his findings were only available in ‘compositions which conform to it’, and in the teachings of two German Masters who were resident in England during the period.\textsuperscript{416} In a footnote they are named as [Charles Frederick] Baumgarten (1738–1824) and [Joseph] Diettenhofer (c.1743–99). These teachers where based in London, and contributed to the Bach revival. The method of arriving at these chords caused some controversy amongst theorists and Gunn enters into this prominent theoretical debate stating:

\textsuperscript{412} GunnE, 16.  
\textsuperscript{413} Ibid., 17.  
\textsuperscript{414} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{415} D. Damschroder, \textit{Thinking About Harmony: Historical Perspectives on Analysis} (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), 280.  
\textsuperscript{416} GunnE, 17.
A late writer on thorough bass, a German, of a very inferior class to his two countrymen, in endeavouring to introduce into theory, an unadmitted innovation of Kirnberger’s, who in other respects is justly accounted a great mass of harmony, has most unwarrantly accused two late writers of this Country, of having “revived a confused and obsolete system,” merely for their having followed Rameau and Marpurg to these chords, as will appear from the following example.\footnote{Ibid.
Johann Kirnberger (1721–1783).}

![Illustration of chords](image)

Illus. 3.28 J. Gunn, *An Essay, Theoretical and Practical* (London: Preston, 1802), 17, ex. 55

The ‘late writer’ was A. F. C. Kollmann (1756–1829) and the two other writers in question were William Shield (1748–1829) and Matthew Peter King (1773–1823).\footnote{See M. Kassler, *A. F. C. Kollmann’s Quarterly Musical Register (1812): An Annotated Edition with An Introduction to His Life and Works* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 68.} King challenged Kollmann in an advertisement and in his treatise, who responded in his ‘Vindication of a Passage in his Practical Guide to Thorough Bass, against an Advertisement of Mr. P. King’\footnote{‘A. F. C. Kollmann’s Vindication of a Passage in his Practical Guide to Thorough Bass, against an Advertisement of Mr. P. King’ (Printed for the Author, Friary-Street, St James’s Palace) in *The British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review*, xx (F. and C. Rivington, 1802), 487–93, at 488, https://books.google.com/books?id=AACwAAAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA488.} In this vindication Kollmann details, amongst a series of concerns, how his work was plagiarised by King and how King had often misunderstood his theories.\footnote{Ibid.} In a commentary of this public argument, found in the *The British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review* the author of the article notes Gunn’s allegiance to King, but states his intention to further publish Gunn’s writings on the matter, with proof of the validity of Kirnberger’s system:
We have not yet finished with these opposite systems, for Mr. Gunn, in his new publication on *Harmony, as applied to the Violoncello*, has taken part with Mr. King, and termed the system of Kollmann and Kirnberger, an unadmitted innovation.421

Gunn asserts that this system is not obsolete in England stating:

The assertion therefore, that the system is obsolete, so far as it respects this Country, is evidently false; and with respect to Germany, one of the greatest and most admired masters in Europe, [John Cramer] who by a late tour in Germany has happily re-established his health, observed on this subject, that were an Englishman to ask any man of science in that Country, whether the Germans look’d on the system of Marpurg to be confused and obsolete, he would probably make no other reply than asking another question, namely, whether the system of Newton was look’d upon as confused and obsolete in England; and such I can assert to the prevailing system from the compleatest [sic] series of German publications on the Science I can procure from the continent; out of which I select the following example from the new system of Mr Knecht which Abbé Vogler is a late publication mentions as having now cleared up what was left unascertained by Marpurg and Kirnberger.422

Illus. 3.29 J. Gunn, *An Essay, Theoretical and Practical* (London: Preston, 1802), 18, ex. 16

In summary, Gunn acknowledges that the description of these chords in King’s ‘General Treatise of Music’ is in keeping with Knecht (illus. 3.29). King’s treatise was published in London in 1800, a month prior to Knecht’s in Germany.423 Gunn returns to the practical application of ‘chords by supposition’, noting that it was not practical

421 Ibid.
422 GunnE, 18.
to play chords of the ninth and thirteenth on the cello, but demonstrates how chords of
the eleventh could be used effectively to conclude phrases.424

Part II of Gunn’s essay deals with the practicalities of his method. It is divided
into the following chapters:

Part II, The Application of the Principles of Harmony to the practice of the Violoncello
Chap. I. Of the manner in which all the fundamental chords and discords with their
inversions are to be taken
Chap. II. Of Cadences
Chap. III. Of the preparation and resolution of discords
Chap. IV. Of the harmonies or Accompaniments to the major and minor Scales in all the keys
Chap. V. Of modulation
Chap. VI. Of Suspensions and Anticipations

Baumgartner and Gunn shared similar views on the relationship between music and
science. Baumgartner states:425

It is true that there are very few among the amateurs and even among the
musicians who take pains to read books which deal with music. However, I
know of few arts where reading and speculative thinking are more necessary.426

He continues by thanking and recommending the work of Rousseau, who Gunn also
quotes but with reservation.427 Whilst Gunn’s theory is common to most figured bass
treatises, he provides cello fingering for each chord, suggesting that the knowledge of
a set or patterned fingering would also enable the cellist to play through the different
keys. For example, he advises students to play first inversion chords with the first finger
and the second finger across two strings [1, 2, 2], creating a three-part chord.428 Second
inversion chords can be played with the first finger, third finger and fourth finger [1, 3,
4] (illus. 3.30).

424 GunnE, 48.
425 J. Baumgartner, Instructions de musique, théorique et pratique, à l’usage du violoncello (The
Hague: Daniel Monnier, 1774).
427 GunnE, 6.
428 Ibid., 21.
This is varied for chords taken on the ‘A’, ‘D’ and ‘G’ strings where the second inversion chord is played with the following fingering, 1-2-3, with an extension, or tone, between the first and second finger.

Gunn summarises these with a series of useful charts of chords, for drilling this method. Firstly, ‘major perfect chords’ and inversions, then ‘minor perfect chords and their inversions’, and finally ‘chords of the fundamental minor seventh and its three inversions’ (or dominant sevenths). In each example, a left-hand fingering is given. However, Gunn’s attempt to create a specific pattern, results in the hand making uncomfortable extensions that could be remedied with a change of fingering or the use of the open string. This differs to Baumgartner whose triple chords are placed comfortably in the hand, but not necessarily in a systematic way. In fact, Baumgartner advises the student to play double stops more often than triple chords stating that, ‘It is not always necessary to use a triple stop since you will be extremely constrained and liable to play false. Instead of a triple stop, use a double stop.’ This is the most significant difference between Baumgartner and Gunn and reveals that Baumgartner’s cello experience was most likely more considerable than that of Gunn. Gunn concentrates on triple chords, where in fact the practicalities of cello playing would suggest that accompaniment, especially in recitative, could be made with a variety of

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429 GunnE, 22–4.
430 Graves, 192.
double and triple stops, especially when the double bass plays the bass note. In order to execute chords, Gunn advises the student to play with an arched hand shape on the tips of the fingers.\(^{431}\) The exception is when playing fifths where the finger is flat on the string.

Gunn adds a pedagogical function to his treatise, as in the style of a workbook he omits the middle note in three-part chords for accompanying scales in all keys, leaving the student to fill in the answers. Although the treatise is very detailed, it arguably fails to provide the cellist with a functioning technique to tackle more advanced accompaniment. Baumgartner achieves this much more coherently than Gunn, with more practical advice that can be applied to specific styles of accompaniment. Many of Gunn’s musical examples are abstract, that is, they are not in the context of the actual practice of a recitative, and are not drawn from specific examples from the repertoire, as was the case in his cello treatise.

In relation to the practice of cadences, Gunn provides examples on how to conclude phrases using arpeggio figures with bowing marked.\(^{432}\) He advises these to be practiced in all the keys (see earlier illus. 3.26). This is followed by an explanation, with exemplary fingering, for medial and interrupted cadences, and a short chapter on preparing and resolving intervals. An example of how to prepare and resolve the flat seventh, second, false fifth and tritone in two parts is provided. In addition, an example of how to prepare and resolve the flattened seventh, fifth and tritone in three parts, and the unprepared flattened fifth. Gunn gives much less detail in this section, presumably as it was more difficult to find a systemic fingering like he had done so in previous methods. It is worth noting than many modern cellists, especially orchestral cellists,

\(^{431}\) GunnE, 25.
\(^{432}\) Ibid., 29.
rarely have to consider these methods of harmony, as it is not part of their role to provide harmonic improvisation or realisation. It is therefore of interest that Gunn and Baumgartner deemed the publication of such works important, implying the need for cellists from the period to have a greater harmonic awareness on their instrument than many current cellists would consider necessary. It also provides evidence that chordal ornamentation and improvisation in accompaniment was more prevalent on the cello during the eighteenth century than is practiced by modern period performance cellists.

Chapter IV deals with how to harmonise the diatonic scale. Gunn explains that this is more difficult on the cello than on a keyboard instrument, but provides a solution where the chords are adapted, sometimes requiring the third of the chord to be omitted (illus. 3.31).

Illus. 3.31 J. Gunn, *An Essay, Theoretical and Practical* (London: Preston, 1802), 35, ex. 49
Gunn later revises this example to provide a more idiomatic way of playing, resulting in it being more applicable to cello repertoire (illus. 3.32).

This is followed by two musical examples of the French Air, ‘Ah vous dirai je’ [‘Twinkle Twinkle Little Star’] and ‘La Folia’ by Corelli, where Gunn applies the harmony of the scale. The French air utilizes only the first six notes of the key (illus. 3.33). In ‘La Folia’, two cadences are used, one in D minor, the other in the relative major, F major (illus. 3.33).

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433 Ibid., 39.
These examples provide insight into the use of the cello in accompaniment beyond that of its role in recitative, which will be further considered in the comparative review.

Chapter V provides the rules for modulation. Gunn applies this to cello playing by providing an exercise of the circle of fifths using thumb position. This is a valuable warm-up exercise. However, the author warns that the open D is likely to sound too sharp at the end of the modulation (illus. 3.34).
Gunn extends the practice of modulation by descending and ascending fifths, providing a system of fingerings which can be transferred to different keys. The patterns are again presented in block chords in a theoretical manner, however, Gunn advises the student not only to learn the fingerings but to consider the keys and their relationship, and in addition to write out the bass line with relevant figures. In doing so, pre-empting vocal recitative accompaniment. Unfortunately, he does not go further and discuss how a cellist should accompany a vocal recitative as Baumgartner had done. ‘Suspensions’ and ‘anticipations’ are introduced and the chapter ends with examples of these in two parts, including an advanced example in thumb position. Unfortunately, it does not clarify how this should be bowed (illus. 3.35).

Illus. 3.35 J. Gunn, *An Essay, Theoretical and Practical* (London: Preston, 1802), 50, ex. 72

The detailed treatise highlights the limited technical content of other British cello treatises of the period. Many ignored the practice of harmonisation and modulation, which were essential aspects of cello playing during the period. This raises the question as to whether there was a sharp divide between performers who could harmonise, and those who could not, and whether it was possible for a cellist to survive

434 GunnE, 45.
in the world of performance without a competent knowledge of harmonic accompaniment. Presumably it was possible that a gentleman amateur could sit in the orchestra without ever having to play a recitative, this being the role of a more proficient cellist or ‘professional’. Certainly this was often the case in provincial music societies. In 1811, the German musician and theorist, Gottfried Weber commented that should the cellist not be able to read figured bass the director should write it out for him.435

Gunn’s new treatise further advanced the knowledge and the requirements of the role of the cellist to the general public. However, as David Watkin argues, ‘theoretical evidence often occurs in retrospect, perhaps by its nature; evidence for the realization of figured bass on the cello is no exception.’436 It is unclear as why Gunn did not tackle a written musical representation of recitative. He alluded to this in his introduction quoting Shaw stating ‘if they could be written down and publish’d, would not only prove a valuable treasure to the Amateurs of that manly instrument in England, but to the most brilliant professors on the continent.’437 It is therefore all the more surprising that Gunn stopped short in engaging in this challenge.

An Essay was reviewed in The British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, where the reviewer was complimentary of Gunn’s qualifications, offering high praise: ‘is not only, by his years and experience, enabled to give weight to his opinions, but appears, in literary attainments, to be exceeded by Dr. Burney alone’.438 Quoting extensively from the opening dissertation of the first edition of Gunn’s cello treatise, the author remarks that copies of this work were now hard to come by:

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435 Brown, Classical and Romantic, 603.
437 GunnE, 1.
438 The British Critic, xxii, 45.
As his first publication (mentioned in the title of this work) was printed several years before our Review began; and, as the former edition, which contains the historical letter-press, is now scarce, we may be allowed just to point out some parts of that treatise worthy of remark, and which will also justify our character of Mr. Gunn’s scientific talents.439

After further commentary, the reviewer notes that Gunn must have been ‘a man of travel and observation, and entitled to every attention which criticism can pay’.440 The review is mostly a summary of quotations from Gunn’s system. Although he receives some criticism in what the reviewer regards as Gunn’s adopted system of Marpurg, rather than the ‘simplicity of Kirnberger’s theory’.441 The review, which was concluded the following month, states:

Having already given a considerable number of extracts and drawn out Mr Gunn’s principles at some length, we shall postpone our further remarks till the following month.442

In a later edition the author still debated the benefits of Kirnberger’s and Kollmann’s theories, but concluded:

In consequence of reading these remarks, we promised to give some particular proofs in favour of Mr. Kollmann’s system; but as Mrs. Gunn has produced her extended work on the Musical Games, and Mr. Kollmann has announced a new work, which is to prove the truth of Kirnberger’s theory by examples, adduced from the earliest writers of counterpoint to the present times, we are induced to suspend our intentions, until those works shall be reviewed, concluding at present with the remark, that Mr. Gunn does not appear fully to understand the particular point on which the whole question depends.443

An Essay was John Gunn’s last publication for the cello before he moved to Edinburgh in 1802.

439 Ibid.
440 Ibid., 49.
441 Ibid., 55.
442 Ibid.
3.8 John MacDonald, *A Treatise Explanatory of the Principles Constituting the Practice and Theory of the Violoncello, 1811*

John MacDonald (1759–1831) was not a professional musician and his lack of credentials may explain why his cello treatise is frequently overlooked. In addition, to date it has been difficult to locate a copy of his work until it became available online. MacDonald was born on the Isle of Skye and attended Edinburgh High School where the Reinagle brothers also studied. He became a Lieutenant-colonel and worked as a military engineer. As part of his military service he lived for a long period in India, but he also spent time in France, London and Ireland, dying in Exeter. The introduction to his cello treatise provides some biographical information, including his military travels to France and India. For example, ‘when I visited France with a view of unfolding the state of tactics and discipline of that country, I marked the powerful application of music to warlike purposes.’ After his death in 1831 a memoir of his life was published by J. L. Cox & Son, London. The author is not given, but it appears to be a compilation of MacDonald’s own words and that of a close friend, or family member:

He was likewise the author of several original works, all displaying talents and extensive acquirements. His knowledge of music was unusually refined, as appears by his Treatise explanatory of the principles constituting the practice and theory of the violoncello, and also that on the harmonic system of stringed instruments. The merits of these works have been acknowledged by the most eminent musical professors of the day.

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444 MacDonaldT.
445 The treatise is now available to view online on IMSLP in association with Sibley Music Library, University of Rochester. This file was made available in 2013.
446 DNB, xxxv, 40–1.
447 Ibid.
448 Ibid.
449 MacDonaldT, i. For further biographical information, see DNB, xxxv, 40–1 and http://www.electricscotland.com/history/other/macdonald_john.htm.
451 Ibid., 19.
MacDonald’s publications prior to his cello treatise reflect his military background and philosophical thinking. Quoting from a provincial paper, the memoir states that, ‘and in the strictest sense he maintained with unblemished splendor the high character of a gentleman and philosopher’.\(^{452}\) MacDonald was a regular contributor to the Gentleman’s Magazine and his philosophical writings, combined with an engineering background, exemplify him as an Enlightenment writer of the period.\(^{453}\)

MacDonald’s cello experience in comparison to contemporary treatise authors and cellists, such as Duport and Schetky remains questionable. However, his cello treatise demonstrates a good understanding of the instrument, suggesting that he had first-hand knowledge of the cello, but was perhaps self-taught. The production of string harmonics (that is, the lightly touch of the string) dominated his treatise, and were further explored in his later publication.\(^{454}\)

Golby comments that, ‘There was sometimes a greater ‘scientific’ bias in works intended for the gentleman, such as J. MacDonald’s violin and cello tutors, which purposefully set out to present ‘useful’ knowledge’.\(^{455}\) This statement is also applicable to Gunn’s treatise, with which MacDonald’s work shared many similarities in content and scope. Whether these two musicians had any personal contact is not known, however, the similarity between MacDonald and Gunn’s formats is surely not coincidental. MacDonald refers to the title of Gunn’s treatise, although he does not credit its author:

\(^{452}\) Ibid., 21.
\(^{454}\) J. MacDonald, A Treatise on the Harmonic System...particularly to the practice of the violin, tenor, violoncello, and double-bass (London: Author, 1822).
\(^{455}\) Golby, 81, 306.
It is not the intention here, to give any detailed account of the *Elements and Principles of Music*. It will, however, be necessary to state the doctrine generally, and as far as it may be connected with the *Theory and Practice of the Violoncello*, the nature of which cannot be thoroughly understood, without some description of the Harmonics of Strings.\(^{456}\)

It is clear that this was a reference to Gunn’s publication and indeed MacDonald’s often summarises Gunn’s content, as will be discussed. In his preface, MacDonald disregards the cello terminology of ‘*shift, back shift, and full shift*’ which had been utilised by Gunn.\(^ {457}\)

MacDonald’s preface provides a brief synopsis of the history of stringed instruments, which is further explored in the main chapter. He traces the origin of the cello to that of the two strung ‘basso relievo’, with iconographic evidence of a pillar that was destroyed in the Sack of Rome in 1527.\(^ {458}\) Burney described the same image found on the pillar as resembling the ‘Calascione’ found in Naples.\(^ {459}\) He continues that ‘the moderns’ increased the number of strings to four and tuned it in fifths, as ‘seen on the obelisk of Heliopolis’.\(^ {460}\) MacDonald maintains that this is where the violin string family originated, concluding that these ‘may be traced, without having recourse to more fanciful origins’.\(^ {461}\) Perhaps he was making a judgement on Gunn’s conclusions, whose history of stringed instruments is more extensive to that of MacDonald. MacDonald later expands on his fairly simplistic thoughts on the history of the cello, by stating that the viol reduced from six to four strings ‘gave rise to the modern Violoncello, called originally Violone’.\(^ {462}\) He further traces the double bass to the rebec, ‘The *Double Bass* of our time, resembles, on an increased scale, the *Rebec* of three

\(^{456}\) MacDonaldT, 7.
\(^ {457}\) Ibid., vii.
\(^ {458}\) Ibid., vi.
\(^ {459}\) BurneyH, 170.
\(^ {460}\) MacDonaldT, vi.
\(^ {461}\) Ibid., vii.
\(^ {462}\) Ibid., 6.
strings, which preceded the *Violin*.\textsuperscript{463} Indirectly, he provides a similar history to Gunn, but in trying to condense it further, causes some confusion as to the history of stringed instruments.

MacDonald’s preface is typical of philosophical Enlightenment thinking that appealed to the Gentleman amateur reader. However, arguably the history of the lyre, the concerto grosso, temperament, Pythagoras’ theorem and the use of weights to establish intervals (furthered researched by Galileo), were popular discussions of the period, albeit not within the context of cello treatises. However, MacDonald was not introducing anything new and these topics had been already extensively explored by earlier scholars such as Hawkins and Burney.

However, MacDonald does enter into the ancient-modern debate that was prevalent at the time and exemplified by the attitudes of Burney and Hawkins:

It is highly probable, that modern composition, which so frequently steps out of nature into mere frivolous movement, captivating only to the eye, will, ere long, undergo an advantageous change; and thus lose the reproach of scientific nonsense applicable to a large portion of modern music. We are falling fast, in these respects, into a vitiated taste of admiring only what we deem difficult, while we forget the legitimate ends of music, \textit{viz.} its charming effect in exciting the finest emotions of the mind, on subjects involving the best interests of virtue, and human happiness.\textsuperscript{464}

He states further:

In the present age, Composition, under the guidance of abstract science, has arrived at a state deemed by many almost a \textit{maximum}; but from the multiplicity of refinements (many of them equally capricious and fastidious) which have been introduced, it is much to be feared, that truth and nature are too frequently lost sight of; and when such a case becomes applicable to a science founded on feeling and cultivated taste, its degeneracy is at no great distance. We sincerely deprecate this evil, and trust that the great Composers of the day will look to what music was, when Handel and Corelli corrected the exuberance of fancy, and confined it within those legitimate limits, beyond which imperfection must commence.\textsuperscript{465}

\textsuperscript{463} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{464} Ibid., 5.
\textsuperscript{465} Ibid., preface, v.
MacDonald, appeared to share Hawkins’ stance, who had the same concerns regarding
‘virtuosity, innovation, novelty, fashion and the corruption of popular taste’.466

This destructive rage for novelty had resulted in a music abounding in ‘noise and clamour’ and lacking art, elegance, or ‘those grave and solemn measure’ that correspond to ‘the most delightful of our sensations’. In the new symphonies, concertos, and quartets, such styles sated an ignorant public with ‘little frittered passages and common-place phrases, difficult to execute, and for the most part so rapid in the utterance, that they elude the judgement of the ear’.467

However, in the main chapter, MacDonald relates a more positive approach to modern music in line with Burney’s views. Burney, who had begun his musical career in what Weber describes as ‘the secular life of the music societies–The Corellian heritage’, had developed a more cosmopolitan appreciation of new music, and on how it should be judged.468 MacDonald also appears to welcome virtuosity:

A wonderful change took place in musical composition, about the middle of last century. The majestic and beautiful style of the eminent composers enumerated, was succeeded by what is called, with great propriety, Modern Music. It is very shewy, and abounds with difficulties in execution, the conquering of which requires a life-time, and seems to be almost the only reward it confers on its indefatigable and assiduous scholars. Whether this gratification of unwielded labour compensates for the frequent absence of the pathos and affecting harmony of past times, we leave it to more adequate judges to determine. At the same time, it is far from being meant, that Modern Music does not number among its composers men equally celebrated by the science of their works, and the beauty and taste displayed in their various styles.

However, he was aware of its limitations and how it should be curtailed.

It may not, probably, be too much to say, that the rapidity of the Modern Music has attained its acme; and that this invention of a man of the name of Stamitz, may undergo some modification, calculated to re-conduct it to the approved and confirmed standard from which it has gradually departed.469

468 Weber, 221.
469 MacDonald, 7.
William Crotch argued that the re-instatement of science into music, that is, the ‘return of counterpoint’ into modern overtures and concerts greatly improved this music.\footnote{470} MacDonald seems to be unsure of what stance to take. Although he advocated an ‘old school’ of composition, in some instances he shared Burney’s cosmopolitan appreciation of music. For example, he includes a solo cello concerto by Duport in his musical examples, which is arguably virtuosic.\footnote{471} Equally MacDonald’s interest and excessive use of harmonics in performance could be deemed ‘frivolous’. Exactly what MacDonald argues against. McVeigh states that, ‘The English prided themselves on their discernment in rejecting empty virtuosity and excessive embellishment, preferring instead melodic directness and music that ‘spoke to the heart’.\footnote{472} MacDonald appears to be restricted by the intellectual need to remain within an old school approach to harmony and music, but a scientific curiosity to discover new ways of playing the cello.

MacDonald’s explanation of the principles of harmony, like Gunn, relies on the theories of Tartini and Rameau, claiming, they ‘are amongst the clearest foreign expositors of this subject, though Rameau is deemed too fanciful in reducing his theory to practice’.\footnote{473} Regarding harmonics and the vibrations of strings, MacDonald refers to the work of the French physicist, Claud Perrault and the mathematician, Brooke Taylor (also referred to by Gunn). He concludes by crediting Robert Smith, who ‘clearly established the properties and nature of the harmonic curve’.\footnote{474} MacDonald relates much of this discussion to the cello, so that it does not become an abstract study.

In regards to cello playing, MacDonald returns to the basics and recognises the difficulty in providing a written description of how to hold the instrument. He

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item[471] MacDonald, \textit{musical examples}, 39–41.
\item[472] McVeigh, \textit{Concert Life}, 144.
\item[473] MacDonald, \textit{musical examples}, 7.
\item[474] Ibid., 9.
\end{itemize}}
recommends this task to a teacher. However, he observes that the cello was very often, ‘held too low’ which resulted in the cellist leaning forward when playing in the higher ranges of the instrument.\textsuperscript{475} His description is that of a six-foot man, stating that his eyes should be level with the upper tuning pegs, which equally suggests a low cello position.\textsuperscript{476} Regarding the left-hand position he recommends that the fingers should be curved at right angles to the fingerboard and the thumb opposite the middle finger. However, this is achieved more easily if the hand is slightly slanted. MacDonald remarks that the thumb is naturally placed behind the first finger but should be moved to behind the middle finger. He also recommends that it should support the instrument, which seems unnatural, especially if the cello is in fact supported by the legs. Even in higher positions, MacDonald suggests that the fingers should remain at right angles to the fingerboard with the elbow raised. He continues by claiming that all the fingers behind the finger playing the note should remain pressed for a better quality of sound. In fact, this is not the case, and MacDonald’s approach suggests considerable and unnecessary tension.

MacDonald was acutely aware of sound aesthetics, and describes the advantages of limiting one’s playing to only part of the fingerboard. For example, choosing to play across the strings, rather than shifting on one string:

This is so much the more necessary, as many tolerable bass players are not in habits of considering this; and confine their common accompanying practice to the lower compass of the instrument, when the same passage might be played with a finer expression and effect in the middle compass, and at the extremity of the lower compass.\textsuperscript{477}

MacDonald most likely means bass-line players, and is not referring to double-bass players in this instance. He defines the sound achieved by playing in the lower part of

\textsuperscript{475} Ibid., 28.
\textsuperscript{476} Ibid., 27.
\textsuperscript{477} MacDonaldT, 19.
the fingerboard as a ‘softness and sweetness of tone’. In doing so he demonstrates a preoccupation with timbre, more so than any previous British cello treatise author. In addition, he argues that within different keys some positions were more suited to the sound of the instrument:

Some of the positions are more peculiarly applicable to flat, than to sharp keys; and vice versa. For instance, the first, third, sixth, and eight, are generally flat positions; and the fourth, ninth, and eleventh, sharp positions. The fifth, second, and seventh, are, generally, natural positions. But this remark applies only generally, as all the positions change their characters according to some transitions from one key to another.

MacDonald is critical of prior treatises regarding methods of fingering, which he did not believe equipped the player the means to transfer their knowledge to musical content. Although he does not name the treatises:

There are works on the science of this instrument, which, in other respects, are masterly; but as indicating the taking of positions of the hand the best adapted to music in various clefs and keys, it must be acknowledged that they are deficient, and leave this essential subject involved in equal uncertainty and doubt.

MacDonald’s fingering suggests the use of the fourth finger in positions where the hand would normally shift or be taken by a harmonic. His fingerings are therefore not always practical. In presenting his new system of left-hand fingering, MacDonald provides a substantial, and arguably unnecessary, amount of information under every note. His descriptions include: which position, which string to use, extensions (notated by a dot), the use of the thumb, and harmonics. This results in a vast amount of information for the cellist to absorb, making the study process slow and somewhat laborious. The practice stems from the viola da gamba and can also be traced in Jacob Klein’s 6 Sonate a violoncello solo e basso continuo, where Klein notates fingerings and demonstrates

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478 Ibid., vii.
479 Ibid., 27.
480 Ibid., 26.
on which string the note should be played. An example of MacDonald’s system is given below (illus. 3.36):

![Image of musical notation]

Illus. 3.36 J. MacDonald, _A Treatise Explanatory... of the Violoncello_ (London: Author, 1811), musical examples, 1

In the second example (illus. 3.36), the first note is played with the first finger; as this is an ‘E flat’, there is a gap of a tone between the first and second finger, therefore a dot is given as the hand is in an extended hand position. The ‘E flat’ is in first position, i.e. ‘1’ and played on the second string, i.e. ‘2’. In further examples this is further complicated by an additional dot suggesting the use of a harmonic (illus. 3.37).

![Image of musical notation]

Illus. 3.37 J. MacDonald, _A Treatise Explanatory... of the Violoncello_ (London: Author, 1811), musical examples, 1

In the above example (illus. 3.37), the first ‘G’ and ‘C’ minim are played in ‘ninth position’ as a harmonic. The dot beside the top figure notates the harmonic. MacDonald describes the use of harmonics as ‘a thing which always gives a peculiar sweetness and

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481 J. Klein, _6 Sonata a violoncello solo e basso continuo_, op. 4 (Amsterdam: Gerhard Frederik Witvogel, 1746).
482 IMSLP.
483 Ibid.
expression to the passage’. The word ‘expression’ in Britain took on a different meaning during the eighteenth century, when it was no longer, as McVeigh explains, used to ‘describe the process of communication, but also to suggest an emotional response in itself.’

Egginton describes ‘Burney’s concern for the listener’s subjective response to this universal language of the heart that placed his approach to criticism within the sphere of broader arts disclosure as opposed to Hawkin’s aspiration for an objective, autonomous science of music.’

MacDonald shared much in common with Burney’s musical interaction, despite his scientific background and practical cello aspirations.

MacDonald’s shows a clear preference for harmonics over stopped notes, and these are frequently marked in his musical examples. He also recommends that the cellist use harmonics in ‘rapid passages’. Practically, this is not always possible, and depends on the tempo, as if it is too fast, the note might not speak in time, especially when using gut strings.

The successive running of notes…may be played with the same fingering, in general, in a lower position; but the effect will not be adequate, independent (particularly in slow movements) of introducing, frequently, the very fine harmonics.

In 1815, MacDonald produced an appendix to his treatise, which further exemplified his fascination with harmonics:

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484 MacDonaldT, 29.
486 Egginton, 131.
487 MacDonaldT, vii.
488 Ibid.
489 Ibid.
The writer of these sheets has read much of what is printed on the subject of Music in general. How far he may have benefited by the perusal of a multiplicity of authors, he will not presumed to decide. One thing he finds little hesitation in advancing; which is that as may be understood on the subject of harmonics, much more evidently remains to be demonstrated. Discoveries in science ought to be claimed with much more caution; more especially when it is recorded fact, that philosophers in different countries, at nearly the same period, have made the same discoveries, involving similar scientific improvements. 490

Duport’s cello treatise and that of the Paris Conservatoire model pre-date MacDonald's treatise, yet they provide a more advanced system of fingering. It is unlikely MacDonald knew of these works, but perhaps he chose to disregard their methods, as he holds an authoritative stance:

If examples are found fingered differently from what appears in other works of repute, no disapprobation in intended; as the reasons, which it is trusted are well founded, are fully assigned. 491

A culmination of MacDonald’s unusual technique is found in his short description of thorough bass. No context is provided, and the fingering is overly complicated in thumb position. It is not written using cello spacing and would require the chords to be arpeggiated (illus. 3.38).

Illus. 3.38 J. MacDonald, A Treatise Explanatory...of the Violoncello (London: Author, 1811), musical examples, 9

490 Ibid., viii.
491 Ibid., vii.
MacDonald continues with scales, starting with arpeggios, followed by a falling rhythmic passage (illus. 3.39). He provides numerous choices for fingering, but in reality this only causes confusion, especially for the less advanced student. He does not suggest the best solution, and many of the examples are impractical and do not assist the student in creating default fingering patterns preferable for early to intermediate learning (illus. 3.39).

In a similar manner to Gunn, MacDonald provides considerable written explanation, which is arguably unnecessary alongside the annotated musical examples. Equally the examples are not particularly beneficial to a beginner cellist, and do not map out a programme of study. However, MacDonald was confident of his ‘new system’ stating:

Before it thus reaches the public, it has experienced the marked approbation of eminent judges of the subject it involves. It is the result of much reflection, and continual study of a science elucidated by few.\textsuperscript{493}

MacDonald’s treatise goes well beyond the level of a complete beginner. Despite this, he introduces basic rhythmic explanations. However, he expands these simple

\textsuperscript{492} IMSLP.
\textsuperscript{493} MacDonaldT, 37.
examples by providing further explanation. Interestingly, the commentary stipulates the length of a pendulum and how to make one, which corresponds to a tempo, for example, Adagio, Largo etc. For Largo, MacDonald’s explanation of the chronometer, states that ‘a pendulum twenty-four inches in length, which will vibrate about eighty times in a minute, will give vibrations nearly equal to this time.’\footnote{Ibid., 38.} This preceded Maelzel’s invention of the metronome in 1815.\footnote{J. Montagu, ‘Metronome’, \textit{The Oxford Companion to Music}, \textit{Oxford Music Online} (OUP), http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e4390.} MacDonald acknowledges Joseph Reinagle’s treatise where he ‘borrows’ two of his rhythmic musical examples. He also exemplifies Reinagle’s octaves and arpeggios examples, but provides fingering by his own method.\footnote{MacDonaldT, 38, 40. Musical example from ReinagleT, 44–5.}

MacDonald concludes his commentary with a detailed account of his choice of musical examples, taken from Corelli, and Handel, with some Scotch Airs and Variations of Mr Binger.\footnote{See Kassler, \textit{Quarterly Musical Register}, 75–6.} George Binger was a violinist based in Plymouth, 1810–4. The regularity that MacDonald refers to his talent and also the use of his arrangements suggests a friendship. The style of MacDonald’s accounts is reminiscent of Gunn’s Part II [‘Of Accompaniment, or proper Basses’ and ‘Of the Practice of Melodies, and mixed Accompaniments’], especially in regards to the works of Corelli.

Below is a list of the works that MacDonald advises the student to practice. The multiple works that were found in Gunn’s cello treatise and supplementary \textit{Forty Favorite Scotch Airs} and are marked with an asterisk. As stated above, MacDonald does not use Gunn’s fingerings in the Airs, but his fingerings are used in the example of Corelli’s, Sonata No.1, from 12 Trio Sonatas, op. 2 [see no. 6 below]. MacDonald then offers alternative fingering where the ‘A’ string is avoided [no. 7]. It is worth
noting that MacDonald’s musical examples do not include any works by the Reinagle brothers. However, he does recommend Schetky’s duets alongside those by Lindley, Bréval and the German cellist, [Carl Siegemund] Schonebeck (1758–?).

1. Handel, The 104th Psalm (for two cellos)
2. God Save the King
3. The Yellow Haired Laddie*
4. same tune in a higher position
5. Same tune in *alt*o and with a duet-variation by Mr Binger
6. ‘Corelli, op. 1’, Largo, Allegro, Allegro Corrente, Allegro Gavotta, Taken from Corelli, Sonata No.1, from 12 Trio Sonatas, op. 2. [It is not op.1 as stated by MacDonald]
   [This is also in Gunn (1st edn, ex. 70–3, 81) using the same fingering]
7. The same sonata with differing fingering [avoids open string]
8. Lochaber or the Lake of woody Banks*
9. Variation of the same tune by Mr Binger, Largo
10. Lochaber, for two Violoncellos (obligato bass line written by Mr Binger)
11. *The Braes of Ballenden (performed by Tenducci in the Hanover Square Rooms)
12. Largo (‘same air set in the treble clef’)
13. The Birks of Invermay* (‘tune introduced in the Opera of the Duenna’)
14. My aine kind Dearie
15. I love my Love in Secret (‘Haydn’s favourite Scotch tune’)
16. Variations of the same tune by Mr Binger
17. There’s nae luck aboot the Hoose (simple Ballad)
18. Fourth [Cello] Sonata of Bréval, Allegro, Tempo di Minuetto – Grave
19. Braes of Auchtertyre; a Scotch Reel
20. Corelli, Concerto III (C minor), Largo, Allegro, Grave, Vivace, Allegro
21. Corelli, Concerto XI, Preludio (Andante Largo), *Allemanda (Allegro),
   *Adagio, Andante Largo, Sarabanda Largo, Giga Vivace
22. Handel, *Ye Sacred Priests, Allegro* and Fischer’s Minuet
23. Corelli, Concerto I, Largo, etc.*
24. Haydn, Overture, Minuetto, Vivace* ['La Passione’ - Haydn]
25. Handel, March in Scipio*
26. Pleyel’s German Hymn
27. Duport, Solo Concerto [to illustrate solo playing]*

MacDonald applies his ‘new system’ of fingering to the musical examples, taking into account the key signature and sonority, but again these are not always the most practical choices, even for baroque cellists. However, as explained earlier, on occasion he

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498 MacDonaldT, 50.
499 Ibid., 41–50 and supplementary musical examples, 10–41.
provides additional options.

MacDonald offers a humorous view on accompaniment stating, ‘that the Violoncello performer should, as a constant memento, mark the work PIANO on his instrument’.\footnote{Ibid., 48.} Suggesting that, in his opinion, he had witnessed many cello players performing too loud. Regarding solo playing he remarks:

The modern style will be acquired by joining, frequently, in playing the works of Haydn, Beethoven, Mozart and Pleyel. Lindley’s, Schetky’s, Breval’s, and Schonebeck’s duets, are useful and improving practice, for playing with precise accuracy and distinctness, and without dragging, in slow time.\footnote{Ibid., 50.}

MacDonald advocates the playing of the London cellist, Robert Lindley, especially in thumb position, stating, ‘To come up to a Lindley in wonderful execution, brilliancy, and force, would be a vain effort to attempt’.\footnote{Ibid., 30.} Robert Lindley was famed for a rendition of ‘Over the hills and far away’ in harmonics.\footnote{Palmer, 117.} He continues with an anecdote of another un-named player, who it is now possible to identify as the previously discussed, Humphrey Aram Hole, a subscriber to the first edition of Gunn’s cello treatise:

[B]ut we are acquainted with a private gentleman who is only secondary to this celebrated performer [Lindley]. The respectable gentleman meant, accidentally lost the fore-finger of his left hand. This has forced him to use his thumb in the lower compass; and the consequence is, that his tones, from the firmness of his action, are finer and more expressive there, than common fingering can produce.\footnote{MacDonaldT, 30.}

MacDonald’s publication further promotes Reinagle and Schetky, and indirectly Gunn’s Scotch Airs. Remarkably, MacDonald does not acknowledge Gunn by name, in what is a similar, although inferior treatise, perhaps suggesting some rivalry.
between the authors. MacDonald concludes that, ‘Rules and examples, founded on a sound rationale, aid powerfully; but he who has studied the genius of the instrument will, in time, learn to be rule to himself.’

3.9 A Synopsis of French Cello Treatises from the early 1800s

France during the first decade of the nineteenth century witnessed a considerable advance in the quality and numbers of cello treatises:

- Bideau, D. *Grande et nouvelle méthode raisonnée pur le violoncelle* (Paris: Nadermann, 1802)

J. M. Raoul (1766–1837) was a lawyer and amateur musician. His treatise provides a list of chords, with fingerings useful for recitative. He clarifies that the role of the bass is to determine the intonation, guide the singer and announce key changes. He was amongst the first to write of the development of the bow, ‘like the bow of the violin, the bow of the violoncello has been endlessly modified’. His treatise is notable for his explanation of trills, providing examples of double stop trills, and instances where the trill becomes part of the accompaniment. Dominique Bideau (n.d.–1820), was ‘le premier Violoncello du prince Edouard’. His treatise includes no less than 242 bowing exercises. The French treatises detailed the role of the bow much more cohesively than in early British treatises. His fingerings avoid excessive shifts and as a result often shift on the first finger.

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505 Ibid.
506 Walden, 67.
507 See Walden, 217–20.
The cellist, Pierre Aubert (1763–c.1830) was reportedly self-taught, and his method was essentially a beginner’s treatise. He provided an alternative means to hold large accompaniment instruments, or for those who played in an orchestra and had less space. This was to place the cello on the left foot as described by Aubert and Raoul. The Paris Conservatoire method, discussed the practice but did not recommend it. Jean Baptiste Bréval’s (1753–1823), was reputedly a student of Berteau and Cupis. His treatise includes considerable musical examples, more so than commentary. The musical exercises demonstrate a high technical level, and he adds a chapter on string harmonics.

These works were followed by the Paris Conservatoire method in 1805. This was a collective volume with contributions from Pierre Baillot, Jean Henri Levasseur, Charles Simon Catel and Charles Nicolas Baudiot. The conservatoire method is most useful for its explanation of the role of the cello in accompaniment, as will be discussed in the comparative review. The method teaches that to accompany well, a complete knowledge of the cello technique and those of harmony is required:

If the bass player is not certain of the resolutions of discords, if he is unable positively to indicate to the singer when he is to make a, complete or a broken cadence, if in his concords he does not know how to avoid forbidden fifths and octaves – he is in danger of confusing the singer, and in any case he will produce a most disagreeable effect.

In 1806, J. L. Duport’s published his own method, which is recognised as a pioneering work for left-hand technique. In his treatise he clarifies his book amongst the genre:

508 Ibid., 19.
509 This title was adopted by the Paris Conservatoire and has been named the ‘Paris Conservatoire Method’ [PCM] in works by George Kennaway and Valerie Walden.
511 Wasielewski, 51.
My design in writing this treatise is not to produce one of those books called a METHOD – books in which the principles are lightly touched on, and in which are given an immense number of progressive airs in every key, that become old as soon as written. Every master can find such things ready to his hand, or can compose them for his pupils if necessary.\textsuperscript{512}

The rapid improvement and development of French treatises was undoubtedly linked to the establishment of the Paris Conservatoire in 1795. London had yet to establish such a conservatoire, with the Royal Academy of Music founded in 1822.

Present day scholarship has provided extensive insight into these treatises, for example the comparative works by Valerie Walden and George Kennaway. It is therefore only necessary to consider them briefly for the purpose of this study. However, relevant aspects of their teachings will be considered in the final comparative review, especially in relation to the practice of accompaniment.

British publishers in the late eighteenth century had previously imported treatises by Tillière and Cupis. However, there is no evidence that the Conservatoire method nor Duport’s treatise were imported in the same manner, although undoubtedly cello enthusiasts would have sourced copies. According to Michael Kassler, the publisher Clementi had written to Collard in September 1804 regarding Duport’s treatise.\textsuperscript{513}

Duport expects 200 Louis (Prussian money) for his school for the violoncello. I shall talk to Härtel about it, and if he will go halves for Germany & France I think we should accept.\textsuperscript{514}

Clementi & Co. did not publish the treatise, however Duport’s method, was later translated into English by John Bishop and published and sold by Robert Cocks and Co. for 36s. in 1853.\textsuperscript{515} In the same year, Cocks and Co. also sold the Conservatoire

\textsuperscript{514} Ibid.
method (which was translated by A. Merrick, c.1832) for 12s., and Gunn’s Essay (1802) at the price of 12s. The renowned London cellist, Robert Lindley, who was a founding cello teacher at the Royal Academy of Music, teaching from 1822 to 1851, published his cello treatise in 1855 after his retirement.\textsuperscript{516} Robert Lindley’s collection of ‘Capriccios and Exercises for the Violoncello’, published earlier in the century, indicate didactic elements such as changes in hand position, and the use of the thumb marked with an ‘x’.\textsuperscript{517} Lindley also included fingerings in his solo works, including the fantasia, played on the ‘A’ string, and a cello solo dedicated to John Crosdill.\textsuperscript{518}

Duport’s treatise, like many earlier French treatises paid homage to Berteau, who also taught his elder brother, Jean Pierre Duport. Duport’s treatise is extensive, similar in size to Gunn’s treatise, but with considerably more practical advice for the student. This ranges from how to hold the cello and the bow, the establishment of a left-hand system and bowing styles and techniques, a topic which was often overlooked in earlier treatises. In terms of contemporary performance practice, Duport’s method is perhaps the most referenced treatise from this period. It is utilised not only in performance practice, but in modern pedagogy, as Duport’s ‘Twenty-One Etudes’ remain core student repertoire. However, unfortunately these are often edited, omitting the bass line. It does not appear that British cello treatise authors were familiar with Duport’s work until much later in the century.

\textsuperscript{516} R. Lindley, \textit{Lindley’s Handbook for the Violoncello} (London: The Musical Bouquet Office, [before 1855]).
\textsuperscript{518} R. Lindley, \textit{Fantasia for the Violoncello, Obligato, to be Performed on the First String Only}, op. 18 (London: Author, 1849) and \textit{A Solo for the Violoncello}, op. 13 (London: Birchall, 1811).

Schetky in his ‘Observations’, highlights his future intention to write a cello method:

I shall in the course of time, endeavor to the utmost of my Abilities to point out to the curious how they may proceed to accomplish themselves as Performers on the Violoncello.519

His treatise was published twenty-four years after the first edition of Gunn’s treatise, and fourteen years after Reinagle’s method.520 Schetky, as the elder cellist and mentor to Joseph Reinagle, Hugh Reinagle and Gunn, undoubtedly wished to claim his position in the history of cello technique. Schetky states in the opening preface that ‘By presenting, the following Practical and Progressive Lessons to the Public, my wish is to promote and facilitate the knowledge of the Violoncello.’521 He continues by acknowledging that whilst there have been many ‘eminent’ teachers who had written lessons before him, he maintains that his lessons will be equally beneficial:

I am sensible that several eminent Professors have written Treatises for that Instrument; yet I trust that upon a candid trial, these Lessons will be found very useful.522

The preface is preceded by a letter from Schetky to John Crosdill, who was amongst the most prominent London cellists of the period:

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519 SchetkyO, 3.
520 SchetkyT.
521 Ibid., preface.
522 Ibid. ‘Entered at Stationers’ Hall, Price 8s; R. T. Birchall, 133 New Bond Street of whom may be had all the above Authors Works’.
Sir, I consider your sanction to this work as a particular mark of your Friendship towards me, for by the approbation of a Man of your eminence the World will be convinced that it is not unworthy of notice. And the Gentlemen Professors & Amateurs of Music will be enabled to adopt it with confidences should they require a Work of this kind.
I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most Obed.t Sev.
J. G. C. Schetky

There is no evidence that Crosdill played in Edinburgh, nor is there any known correspondence between Crosdill and Schetky. However, it is likely that Schetky met Crosdill during his brief visit to London in 1772, when Crosdill was principal cellist of the Bach-Abel concerts. Crosdill was teacher to the Prince of Wales and highly sought of as a solo performer and pedagogue throughout Europe. It was therefore profitable for Schetky to seek his endorsement, as his dedication added a credible and valuable association.

Schetky was the first British author to emulate earlier French methods by dedicating and associating his work with the name of a well-known cellist or teacher. Cupis and Tillière had both claimed Berteau as their teacher in their treatises. In a marketplace where so many ‘non-cellists’ published method books, it was useful for cellists to highlight their qualifications and associations. In Britain, Reinagle gave his credentials as ‘Professor of the Violoncello, Oxford’ and Gunn similarly declared himself as a ‘Teacher of the Violoncello’. These titles conferred credibility to their material, and also entitled the authors to raise the price of their treatises beyond that of the basic ‘house tutors’. Schetky’s last cello work to be published in London was his Six Solos for a Violoncello and Bass, op. 13 (1791). It is therefore unlikely that Schetky was well known in London amongst his intended readership in 1813.

523 Ibid., preface.
524 Walden, 30–1.
525 Ibid., 31.
The rationale for Schetky in publishing a treatise at this time is unclear, particularly in a London context. It was published over twenty years after his ‘Observations’ and at the end of his performance career. Schetky was now aged seventy-six and appears to have retired from playing. However, it appears that he was propelled by his daughter’s interest in teaching, which is demonstrated in newspaper advertisements from the period. His cello treatise may have also served to advertise his expertise as a teacher, as he no longer held a performance profile.

Schetky’s treatise is systematic and clearly organised, and demonstrates his cello experience. The material is presented more coherently than in previous British methods, with the progression of the beginner to intermediate student in mind. The treatise follows the same format as numerous books for the beginner cellist, even in the present day, by introducing a scale, followed by exercises or tunes to facilitate learning the new key. However, the tunes include limited fingering. This is repeated for exercises in the minor scales, thumb position and for double-stops. Due to its content and practical approach, the treatise could easily be republished for contemporary use with very few modifications.

Schetky advises that the arm should move as little as possible from the shoulder to the elbow, but that the wrist ‘should act freely and rather supple’. This technique is prominent for playing string-crossings utilised in virtuosic passagework found in his solo sonatas. Schetky further suggested that the wood of the bow be slightly slanted towards the fingerboard. Although he recommends starting each bar with a down-bow, he acknowledges that this is not always possible, and therefore advises the student to practice both ways. Therefore, he viewed with freedom the ‘rule of the down bow’, where each down beat was taken with a down-bow.

526 Schetky T, 2.
Schetky’s list of scales illustrates that the last three notes of a two-octave scale (where the scale extends beyond fourth position) are to be taken with the first, second and third finger, as is the recognised method in most contemporary cello scale books. For example (ex. 3.16):


Although Schetky only provides fingering for two-octave scales in his treatise, he does provide examples on how to play a two-octave scale on one string. This provides further evidence of his fingering preferences when ascending the fingerboard. The use of 1, 2, 1, 2, 1, 2, 3, is in line with modern teaching of scales (ex. 3.17).


Schetky recommends the use of the fourth finger in thumb position, but acknowledges that many teachers do not.\footnote{Ibid., 13.} He adds that the method facilitates passages where the hand would have to shift in order to cover only a single note that can be taken by the little finger.\footnote{Ibid., 30.} Schetky’s musical examples, titled ‘Position and Practices for the Thumb’ do not evidence that he generally put this into practice, however, it’s use is evident in his op. 13 solos.\footnote{Schetky, Six Solos, op. 13.}
Schetky’s treatise concludes with an explanation of the trill or shake further suggesting that all combinations of fingering should be used to strengthen the fingers. However, of particular importance are the final four pages, which provide useful accompaniment techniques including the striking of chords, an illustration of recitative, and the bowing of arpeggios. He provides examples of how chords should be played, where the ‘bow rests on the highest note’ [ex. 3.18].

3 Notes:

4 Notes:


This contrasted with earlier French methods, such as those by Raoul and the conservatoire method, which lengthened the bass and final note. As will be discussed in relation to the chordal accompaniment of recitative.

**Schetky and the Underhand Bow Hold Technique: Myth or Fact?**

Schetky’s treatise offers little evidence on bowing, as the musical examples from his treatise are not marked. Writing in 1799, Buri states that Schetky played with an ‘unusual’ bow hold. What he describes seems to replicate the underhand bow hold

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530 SchetkyT, 38.
531 E. Buri, ‘Biographische Nachrichten: Christoph Schetky der Violoncellist,’ Allgemeine Musikalische Zetiung, 3 (16 October 1799), 83–8. Translated to English on request by Andreas D. Bolt.
associated with the viola da gamba. It was not unusual for cellists to perform using an underhand bow hold, however in 1799 it would have been deemed an old-fashioned technique.\textsuperscript{532} The cello performed with an underhand grip was pertinent in pictures prior to 1750.\textsuperscript{533} Vanscheeuwijck claims that cellists during the 1760s adopted the overhand grip.\textsuperscript{534} Therefore he suggests wider use of the underhand bow hold by modern baroque cellists for music written before this period:

The one thing that I now seriously question is whether it make sense for today’s Baroque cellists to keep playing their violoncellos and violoni exclusively with overhand bow grip in music before c.1730. This is because I believe that Corrette’s 1741 method is indeed a landmark that indicates something fairly revolutionary, and that includes the use of an overhand bow grip, thumb position and purely semi-chromatic left-hand technique.\textsuperscript{535}

Gerber remarks that Schetky’s bow hold, ‘was the more to be wondered at, because he took the Bow like the old Gambists, the thumb upon the Fag & the lower fingers upon the hair’.\textsuperscript{536} These sources continue to be widely quoted and Schetky is often named as a representative of the underhand bow technique. However, Schetky did not advocate this in his treatise. He states, ‘Place the thumb on the Left or lower part of the Stick, the 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2\textsuperscript{d} and 3\textsuperscript{d} fingers on the Right or upper side, lengthen the 2\textsuperscript{d} finger so that the point of it takes hold of the hair, press it gently on the String.’\textsuperscript{537} Schetky claims to have begun his studies on the violin. Therefore, the transition from an overhand to an underhand bow hold would be unusual. If Buri’s account is accurate, Schetky most likely learnt the underhand bow hold from Abel. Unfortunately, there is insufficient evidence to be conclusive as to whether Schetky performed underhand or

\textsuperscript{533} See Vanscheeuwijck, ‘Recent re-evaluations of the Baroque cello’, 184.
\textsuperscript{534} Ibid., 183–4.
\textsuperscript{535} Ibid., 189.
\textsuperscript{536} Gerber, trans. J. C. Wolle, in L. O. Schetky, 57. Straeten also remarks on this bow hold as his source was Buri (Straeten, 192).
\textsuperscript{537} SchetkyT, 2.
overhand, but perhaps he utilised both bow holds. Interestingly John Gunn’s translation and corrections of Buri’s article neither amends nor confirms this issue.

Unfortunately, there is no iconographical evidence of Schetky performing on the cello, except for the picture of the cellist from Robert Burns’s inauguration as Poet Laureate in the Lodge of Canongate Kilwinning. But this does not provide enough detail.

3.11 A Comparative Review of the Cello Treatises of Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn

The following comparative review of the treatises of Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn, enables further consideration of the connections between these three treatise authors, and re-examines Walden’s theory of a Scottish school of playing. Although the authors were linked by their provincial statuses, and as early exponents of the cello treatise genre, their different educational backgrounds are reflected in their views on technique and teaching.

Price

The treatises of Reinagle and Schetky were each priced at 8s. despite the fact they were published fourteen years apart. This was considerably more expensive than the ‘house tutors’ which were available at 2s. or 3s. In contrast, Gunn’s edited second edition was sold for 15s. and his Essay was priced at 12s. Gunn’s first edition was available for £1.1s., however this work was self-published and included the lengthy dissertation, which would therefore result in more financial outgoings. The cost of Schetky’s and Reinagle’s treatises were comparable to that of their cello duets. However, Schetky’s, op. 7 duets, which contained his ‘Observations’, were priced at the higher price of 10s.6d. despite the earlier publication date. The cost of Reinagle’s
cello works varied, but were most regularly priced, 7s.6d.

Position of the Cello

Unlike Gunn, both Schetky and Reinagle kept written commentary to a minimum. Reinagle begins with the traditional rudiments of theory, whilst Schetky presumes prior musical knowledge, starting immediately with the positioning of the left and right hand. Considering the familial and musical connections between Schetky and Reinagle, it could have been presumed that each positioned the left hand in a similar manner. On the contrary, Schetky establishes the left hand by placing the first and second finger on the string with the thumb nearing the second finger behind the fingerboard, essentially an open hand position. As stated earlier, Reinagle (in the fashion of a violinist) dips the hand forward by establishing the third and fourth fingers first, advising that the first finger does not touch the string at the same time. He continues by suggesting ‘the ball of the hand’ should be ‘close to the neck’ in direct opposition to Schetky’s description. It was not atypical that Reinagle transferred his violin technique to the cello, as he continued to play the viola and violin throughout his career. Gunn provides a more scientific approach to the left hand, highlighting specific distances and angles. However, his diagram specifies that Reinagle’s position (that is, the position of the left hand in the third diagram), was a violinist’s approach to cello playing, and should be avoided (illus. 3.40).

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538 ‘John Gunn explains posture at exhaustive length.’ (Kennaway, 4).
539 ReinagleT, 4.
540 GunnT, 2nd edn, 6.
It should be noted that Gunn wrote his commentary prior to Reinagle’s publication and therefore was not personally ridiculing Reinagle. Whether Gunn’s approach to the left hand was inherited from his teacher Hugh Reinagle, or as a result of his own study, is unknown. What is evident is that Gunn and Schetky shared a similar approach, which opposed Reinagle’s adoption of violin technique to the cello. Therefore, it is plausible that Schetky published his own tutor in order to oppose his brother-in-law, Reinagle’s method. In contemporary playing there are multiple teaching methods regarding left-hand position. This is often dictated by the size of the hand, and also by the position of the cello, including the length and angle of the spike. In the lower positions a square-hand position is frequently utilised. However, the slightly slanted left-hand position is most often taught, where the hand remains in this position to facilitate ease of movement up and down the fingerboard. There is little difference between modern-day and baroque cellists regarding this practice, especially as many
modern baroque cellists rarely play with the thicker, ‘baroque style’ fingerboard. In this case, the hand position tends to be more square to the fingerboard, in order to reach across to the ‘C’ string. It is not possible to have a default method of hand position where double and triple double stop chords have to be played. This requires the cellist to discover different hand and arm positions, where all the notes can be found under the hand.

Interestingly Straeten claimed that Schetky played with the cello hiding a blind eye. This would have brought the left hand more forward than the normal position and as result the right arm would extend further away from the body. The use of the spike tends to result in the cellist playing with the fingerboard further behind the neck, if compared to the instrument held gamba-style without a spike. But again this depends on the physical make-up of the player.

He [Schetky] was blind in his left eye, but to those who did not know him well this was scarcely noticeable. ‘When playing he used to hid the left eye behind the neck of his instrument while reading the smallest notes with the right eye at an incredible distance’(!).542

The Practice of the Bow

As previously ascertained Schetky’s treatise states that the second (or middle) finger should be in contact with the hair. This suggests the use of an earlier baroque bow where the hair tension was controlled by the second finger before the invention of the screw. Reinagle’s understanding differs slightly by suggesting that the bow is held between the thumb and middle finger (specifically the second joint) and the hair of the middle of the first joint. He then claims that if the hair touches the third finger the hand is in the right position. Gunn is more theoretical in his approach to the bow hold.

541 Straeten, 192.
542 Ibid. The two exclamation marks are by Straeten. The original statement was made by Buri.
Interestingly, his bow hold discussion occurs much later in his treatise (page thirty-seven), after exemplifying scales and the rules of fingering. Therefore, providing evidence that Gunn was not writing a progressive workbook. Gunn’s bow hold is similar to Schetky’s, but he adds further instruction by suggesting that the first and second finger should be slightly parted, this gives more control to the bow grip. All three appear to suggest playing higher up on the stick, as they have contact with the hair of the bow. It is not known what bow these cellists were using. Duport advocated the newly developed Tourte bow. The Tourte bow was heavier, and the player did not have to vary the tension of the hair with their finger. It was developed at the end of the eighteenth century, but many players were slow to change. This is important to note, as it suggests that British music from this period, was probably played on a baroque style bow, gripped higher on the stick. Therefore, in early classical performance practice during this transitional period, it is important to consider where and who composed the music in relation to the style of the bow and bow hold. Stowell argues that the number of bow strokes was limited before the invention of the Tourte bow and this is represented in treatise commentary.\textsuperscript{543}

Prior to the treatises of Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn, there was little discussion of the movement of the bow arm. Schetky claims the wrist should be free to move but the arm from the shoulder to the wrist should remain fairly static. It is possible that Schetky’s technique was influenced by the viola da gamba. Reinagle does not discuss these more advanced movements, but Gunn lifts this part of the arm to almost a horizontal angle, allocating an entire paragraph to the movements of the wrist and positioning of the arm. He suggests that the elbow remains in much of the same position and therefore the lower arm creates the movement. The wrist is therefore extremely

\textsuperscript{543} Stowell, \textit{Violin Technique}, 166.
active when changing between strings and in creating articulations. Quantz equally recommends the movement of the hand by moving the wrist for short notes. In modern cello playing, it is possible to use less wrist movement as the modern metal strings speak with less effort than gut strings. In period baroque set-up the cellist essentially pulls the sound out of the string by playing towards the torso. This is not as necessary in modern playing where the bow is more evenly weighted, and the pressure of the first finger into the string, via the bow, controls the volume of the sound. Gunn’s approach suggests that he spent considerable time experimenting with the angles of the instrument and bow positioning. However, his written description is often difficult to digest and considerably more advanced than many beginner students would have been capable of understanding.

The Left Hand

It has been established that Schetky and Gunn shared similar ideas regarding the physical approaches to left- and right-arm technique. However, the organised format of Schetky’s and Reinagle’s tutors share similarities, in contrast to Gunn’s wordy approach spending equal time explaining techniques he deemed unsuitable. Reinagle presents a scale followed by an exemplary lesson based on the key. These basic lessons were either simple bass line studies or duets, including those by Pleyel and Haydn, with additional traditional tunes (mostly Scottish). The lessons then progress to presenting the positions, from first to fourth position and also half-position. These do not correlate with modern-day terminology but are self-explanatory to the reader and therefore serve their purpose. However, they highlight that Duport’s system had yet to be adopted across Europe. Each exercise includes detailed fingerings, leaving

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544 Quantz, 243.
the student in no doubt of what the author intended. Reinagle’s fingerings are in line with basic standard practices, however, Reinagle’s logical fingering of simpler scales do not always carry over into the practice of his exercises. It is interesting to note that the bass lines do not include any fingering, suggesting that these were to be played by the teacher. Reinagle continues with basic bow exercises and simple double stops illustrating his own experience of accompaniment.

Schetky’s presentation of left-hand technique can be described as simpler and a more organised method. It is a slower-paced guide, establishing the first position chromatically, with eighteen exercises in this position. These basic exercises are not marked with fingering and therefore require the student to associate the notes with the appropriate finger. This is arguably a better method of learning, that is, if the student is capable of grasping the concept reasonably quickly. It establishes if the student has a clear understanding of where the notes can be found on the cello. After securing the left-hand in first position, Schetky begins to clearly guide the cellists towards accompaniment by introducing the keys in the form of arpeggios. Schetky also illustrates positions but these are not numerically identified with an actual position. The extensions (i.e. a tone or more) are clearly marked and also the semitones by the following symbols:

\[\text{\_\_\_} \text{‘next finger should be stretched’}\]
\[\text{\_\_\_\_} \text{‘to keep the fingers closer’}\]545

Beyond fourth position Schetky exchanges the fourth finger for the third. However, Schetky clearly states that there are other methods for fingering, but that he presents only one, so as not to confuse the student. This may have been in reaction to many of the French treatises which contain multiple suggestions, or to that by MacDonald and

545 Schetky T, 12.
Gunn. Schetky continues by establishing each of the scales (Gamut) with exercises.\textsuperscript{546} The melodies contain minimal fingering suggestions, where in fact, it would have been useful to the student to see more detailed fingerings in the practice of different positions. In addition to the lack of bow markings, it can be presumed that Schetky expected a teacher to explain his method further. Schetky strongly believed musicians should learn from watching the masters. In a letter to his son George he writes: ‘practice hard George and listen with attention to Mennel [Menel], look to his fingers and bow. You learn a great deal from that.’\textsuperscript{547}

A diagram of major scales and the how they are fingered by all three treatise authors is provided below (Table 2). Recommended fingering from the ABRSM cello scale book have been added to demonstrate moderns practice.\textsuperscript{548} From the comparison a number of points can be gleaned regarding their varied levels in the development of left-hand technique. Gunn’s preference when ascending the ‘A’ string was the fingering 1 2 3, 1, 2, 3, for example in the third octave of the C major scale. This can also be traced in Reinagle’s choice of fingering, but for example, in A major and C major, he shows a better understanding of advanced cello technique where he presents, 1 2, 1, 2, 1, 2, 3, on the ‘A’ string. This is the preference for many modern day cellists (and for Duport) for scales, although the choice of fingering varies depending on context. Although Schetky did not present scales above two octaves, he did provide a fingering for the two-octave scale on a single string, where he also prefers 1, 2, 1, 2, 1, 2, 3.\textsuperscript{549} This places the hand in an optimal shape to ascend the fingerboard.

Schetky and Reinagle choose to use open strings where possible, therefore simplifying the scale. For example, in G, D, A and E major they mark an open ‘A’

\textsuperscript{546} Kennaway provides a table of ‘scales from cello methods c.1765–c.1851’. Kennaway, 54.

\textsuperscript{547} L. O. Schetky, 160–1.

\textsuperscript{548} Cello Scales & Arpeggios, ABRSM Grades 6–8, from 2012 (London: ABRSM, 2011).

\textsuperscript{549} SchetkyT, 39.
string. However, Gunn provides an alternative option, which illustrates his preference for ascending in groups of threes. This demonstrates his preoccupation with finding a system of fingering, where the final notes are played 1 2 4 (or 3), 1 2 3, 1 2 3. It is not possible to make a complete comparison as Schetky only demonstrates two-octave scales.

Despite Gunn’s choice of fingering on the ‘A’ string, he was the first of the three cellists to establish a fingering in the lower part of the instrument for more difficult scales, such as E major. He begins this scale out of first position, that is, the first finger plays the E. He then groups his fingering in threes: 1 2 4, 1 2 4, 1 2 4. This is the present day preference for fingering as exemplified in numerous modern scale books. Reinagle and Schetky had yet to discover, or perhaps wanted to avoid, larger shifts during this part of the learning process, as is illustrated in their choice of fingerings. For example, in E major, Schetky shifts on the first finger from the G sharp to the A. This fingering was also preferred by Baumgartner as demonstrated in his treatise, who also stated that ‘You will find all sorts of ways to finger–it is necessary to know when to choose the best because there is hardly any rule without exception.’ Reinagle starts in first position but then shifts on the C string before ascending in pattern of threes, which is similar to Gunn’s approach. Modern-day baroque cellists normally apply modern practice to their fingerings. However, in repertoire it is important to consider chromatic and diatonic fingering, and how this may be applied to the use of portamento and the affect required. Schetky limited the number of scales he presented, maintaining a particular level of playing and it is therefore a possibility that he considered his fingerings exemplary of student capabilities rather than of professional standard.

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Graves, 184.
Table 4. Comparison of [Major] Scales and Fingering of Gunn, Reinagle and Schetky.

Key:
G. = Gunn
R. = Reinagle
S. = Schetky
ABRSM. = The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music

C Major:

G. 0 1 3 4 0 1 3 4 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 2 2 4 1 2 4 1 2 3
2 1 2
1 2 4 1 2 3 1 2

R. 0 1 3 4 0 1 3 4 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 2 2 4 1 2 4 1 2 3
2 4 1 2 4 1 2 3
[next octave: 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3]

S. 0 1 3 4 0 1 3 4 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 2 2 4 1 2 4 1 2 3
2 4 1 2 4
[next octave: 3 1 2 1 2 1 2 3]

ABRSM.

G Major:

G. 0 1 3 4 0 1 3 4 4 0 1 2 4 1 2 3
2 1 3
1 2 4 1 2 4 1 2

R. 0 1 3 4 0 1 3 4 4 0 1 2 4 1 3 4
2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3
[next octave: 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3]

S. 3 3
4 1 3 4

ABRSM.

D Major:

G. 1 2 4 0 1 2 4 0 0 1 2 3 0 1 2 3
2 4 1 2 3 1 2 3
0 1 2 1 2 4 1 2
0 1 3 4 0 1 2 3

R. 1 2 4 0 1 2 4 0 0 1 3 4 0 1 3 4
2 4 1 2 3 1 2 3
[next octave: 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3]

S. 1 2 4 0 1 2 4 0 0 1 3 4 0 1 3 4
2 1 2 3
4 1 2 1 2 1 2 3

ABRSM.

551 Gunn and Schetky provide fingerings for minor scales, but Reinagle does not.
A Major:

G. 1 2 4 0 1 2 1 2 2 4 1 2 4 1 2 3
    0 1 2 1 2 4 1 2 2 3 1 2 3
R. 1 2 4 0 1 2 4 0 0 1 3 1 3 1 2 3
    0 1 3 1 3 1 2 3 3 1 2 1 2 1 2 3
S. 1 2 4 0 1 2 4 0 0 1 2 1 2 1 2 3

ABRSM. 2 1 2 1 3 1 2 1 2 1

E Major:

G. 1 2 4 1 2 4 1 2 2 4 1 2 4 1 2 3
    1 3 4
R. 2 1 3 4 2 1 3 4 1 2 4 0 1 3 1 2
    1 2 4 0 1 3 1 2 2 4 1 2 3 1 2 3
S. 2 4 1 1 2 4 1 1 2 2 4 0 1 2 1 2
    2 1 2 3

ABRSM. 1 4 1 4 1 4 1 4 1 2 1 2 1

B Major:

G. 1 2 4 1 2 4 1 2 2 4 1 2 4 1 2 3
R. - 1 3 4 2 1 3 4 1 2 4 1 2 3
    1 3

S. ABRSM 1 4 1 4 1 4 1 4 1

F sharp Major:

G. 1 2 4 1 2 4 1 2 2 4 1 2 4 1 2 3
    1 3 4
R. -
S. ABRSM 1 4 1 4 1 4 1 4 1 2 1 2 1

335
C sharp Major:

G. 1 2 4 1 2 4 1 2 4 1 2 4 1 2 4 1 3 4 1 2 3
R. 1 2 1 2 4 1 3 4 2 4 1 2 4 1 2 3
S. or 4

F Major:

G. 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 2 1 3 4 1 2 3
R. 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 2 1 3 4 or 3
S. 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 2 1 3 4
ABRSM. 2 4 1 2 1 2 1

B flat Major:

G. 2 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 2 1 2 4 1 2 3
R. 2 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 1 or 3 2 1 2 4 1 2 3 1 2 3
S. 2 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 2 1 2 4 1 2 3
ABRSM. 2 1 2 4 1 3 1 2 1 2 1

E flat Major:

G. 2 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 1 2 1 2 4 1 3 4 1 2 3
1 2 4 1 2 4 1 2 2 4 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3
R. 2 4 1 2 1 2 4 2 4 1 2 3 1 2 3
1 2 4 1 2 3 1 2 3
S. 2 4 0 1 2 4 0 1 1 2 1 2 4 1 3 4 1 3 1 2 4
3 1 2 1 2 4 1 3 4 1 3 1 2 4
ABRSM. 2 1 4 1 4 1 2 1 2 1
Gunn also provides fingerings for scales descending, however Schetky states that the same fingering should be used, as is often taught in modern grade examples. However, it is arguably of benefit to more advanced students to vary their fingerings, so that all patterns are learnt. Schetky and Gunn illustrate fingerings for minor scales, however as discussed, Reinagle only covers major scales. Schetky’s introduction of minor scales is again organised simply for the beginner student, presenting the major scale alongside the relative minor. This was unusual for British treatises of the period.

Schetky provides fingerings for arpeggios, which was unique to his treatise. He appears to group the fingering in twos, which results in scales such as E and E flat major starting with an extension. However, in doing so, the same fingering pattern is utilised. The widely adopted modern versions of fingerings for these arpeggios have been listed below (ex. 3.19):
This system would generally be used in both modern and baroque practice, as it reduces the need for large extensions, where the shift is often taken after the tonic is played. In baroque instruments, modelled on those with a wider neck, this reduces the amount of tension in the left hand. However, it is important to note that not all players use the same fingerings. Equally passagework in cello repertoire often requires digression from standard fingering patterns that are learnt from scale books. Gunn’s treatise demonstrates a freedom to use open strings in accompaniment as demonstrated in the works of Corelli. However, it is not clear if Gunn deemed this music of a period when open strings were used more frequently, or if this was his preferred method for simple accompaniment.
‘Of the Cliffs’

As Schetky’s treatise was the last published, it is interesting to note his interpretation of the standardised cello clefs of bass, tenor and treble, where the treble clef was read an octave lower, unless marked, ‘Octava’ or ‘8va’. As previously discussed, cello music written in the treble clef was transposed down the octave. This was done at sight by the performer and was standard practice for cellists, who often played tunes printed in the treble. This practice continued to the mid-twentieth century, where for example, cello notation by Dvořák expects the cellist to transpose music written in the treble clef down the octave. For example, in the Poco Adagio of Dvořák’s, Symphony, No. 7 and in the first movement of his String Quartet, No. 8, op. 80. As discussed previously, this continues to causes confusion, especially in orchestral music, and in modern editions where the transpositions have already been made by the editor. It is a great advantage to the modern contemporary and baroque cellist to be able to transpose all clefs, as this widens the repertoire possibilities, without the need for written out transpositions.

Schetky continues by recommending that the student learn to read the counter-tenor (alto) and soprano clefs as they ‘have and are sometime yet used and should be known.’ Reinagle, in 1799, similarly introduces the bass, alto soprano and treble clef. Later in the treatise he provides further methods of reading the clefs. For example, in an explanation of how to read the tenor clef, he advises the student to read the notes as if they were written in the bass clef, but played up one string higher. The treble is played six notes higher than the bass, taking into account it is played an octave

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552 Reinagle T, 3.
553 Schetky T, 30.
554 Available on IMSLP.
555 Schetky T, 30.
556 Reinagle T, 3.
557 Ibid., 34.
lower than printed. The soprano clef is three notes lower than the treble clef, and the counter-tenor (alto) is seven notes higher that the bass clef. However, it ‘may be played one note lower than the bass’ (Illus. 3.41). Reinagle clarifies that it should be played at pitch in musical passages:

Illus. 3.41 J. Reinagle, *A Concise Introduction to the Art of Playing the Violoncello* (London: Goulding, Phipps & D’Almaine, 1799), 35

Reinagle expected cellists to be proficient using the soprano, counter-tenor, treble and bass clefs. However, he only utilises the bass clef in his musical examples prior to page thirty-four of his cello treatise. After this, his examples ‘Of the scales and the Fingering’, thumb position, and octave exercises exemplify the use of the soprano and counter-tenor clefs in addition to the now standardised cello clefs of bass, treble and tenor. The practice of multiple clefs is exemplified in the published cello works of his brother, Hugh Reinagle. However, by the 1800s, cello music was mostly published limited to the use of three clefs. This can be traced in the cello works of Schetky, Joseph Reinagle and Hugh Reinagle.

Gunn in 1789 writes that the tenor clef is ‘most used in compositions for the violoncello’. However, his scale examples present the soprano clef in addition to the bass, treble, and tenor clefs. The only musical example in Gunn’s treatise, which

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558 Ibid., 35.
559 GunnT, 1st edn, 68.
560 Ibid., 73–80.
exemplifies soprano clef, is from an excerpt by Hugh Reinagle from his duets *Six Duettos for a Violin and Violoncello or Two Violoncellos*, op. 1 (Duet no. 1, example 92).\textsuperscript{561} Gunn provides an explanation of the tenor, counter-tenor, soprano and ‘true treble’ (that is, at pitch),\textsuperscript{562} which he explains are ‘occasionally made use of’.\textsuperscript{563} However, prior to this, he states that ‘the bass and treble clef, as in compositions for keyed instruments, are found to be fully sufficient to express any passage or series of notes in the compass of the instrument’.\textsuperscript{564}

**Ornamentation**

There is limited evidence of the practice of ornamentation in the treatises of Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn. Schetky provides only a brief discussion ‘Of the Shake or Trill’.\textsuperscript{565} He illustrates long trills, in semiquavers over a full bar, starting on the upper note and resolving on the second bar. This appears to be solely for the purpose of practice and not the intended length of the ornament, which he further states should be practiced slowly before increasing the speed of the trill. Schetky advises practicing the trill with the 3\textsuperscript{rd} and 4\textsuperscript{th} fingers, then the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 4\textsuperscript{th}, followed by 3\textsuperscript{rd} and 1\textsuperscript{st}, and finally 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 1\textsuperscript{st}, in order to strengthen the fingers, a familiar drill with modern string players. Surprisingly, Gunn does not discuss ornamentation, and Reinagle introduces ornamentation purely in theoretical terms, prior to his explanation on the how to hold the cello, where he states that the trill (tr.) starts on the note and a mordent should start from the upper note. However, his previously discussed preludes and cadences demonstrate unique examples of extempore playing.

\textsuperscript{561} Ibid., 90. H. Reinagle, *Six Duettos for a Violin & Violoncello or Two Violoncellos*, op. 1 (London: W. Forster, 1784).
\textsuperscript{562} Ibid., 34.
\textsuperscript{563} GunnT, 2nd edn, 33.
\textsuperscript{564} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{565} SchetkyT, 35.
The Use of the Thumb

Schetky explains that the thumb must remain pressed securely on the string, as remains standard pedagogical practice. He advises that the thumb should be placed over the top two strings, but in a manner that enables the hand to cover the lower strings. Like Gunn, he also advocates the use of the fourth finger, but Schetky notes that many cellists do not advise this to their students. The use of the fourth finger in higher positions is easier to achieve on gut strings, where the action is often lower (than on metal), and therefore requires weight or pressure to hold the string securely against the fingerboard. Unlike modern practices, the initial positioning of the thumb, are often begun on the ‘D’ (fourth finger in first position on the ‘A’ string) and ‘G’ (on the ‘D’ string), which Schetky calls ‘Position in G’ (illus. 3.42).\textsuperscript{566} It is therefore clear from Schetky’s method that music should be played in thumb position in the lower positions more often that is practiced by modern cellists, transferring their knowledge to the baroque cello. This reduces the need to shift, but can also compromise tone quality, which is why modern cellists often avoid it, showing a preference for more consistent timbres.

\textsuperscript{566} Ibid., 31.
In current teaching practice, the student often starts thumb position exercises on the open harmonics (A–D) above fourth position, as the fifth is easier to pitch and a weaker hand can press lightly on the harmonics, rather than having to press down fully on the string. Schetky provides exercises up to a ‘position in F’ (‘F’ on the D string and ‘C’ on the A string), a seventh above his starting position. Interestingly Gunn appears to set the hand in thumb position on these harmonics, although he does not provide a rationale for this choice. Gunn marks thumb position with a ‘x’, whereas both Schetky and Reinagle use the now standardised ‘o’. Gunn in the second edition provides a titled paragraph ‘of the thumb positions’, but in contrast to his usual theoretical analysis, he provides only a brief explanation.\(^567\) However, he states that with practice passages than can be taken within the octave, created by using thumb position, will become easier to recognise:

A little practice rendered these position more certain, and easier to be taken than is generally imagined: and use will soon render the inspection of a passage a sufficient indication of the position or octave into which it is resolvable.\(^568\)

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567 GunnT, 2nd edn, 33.
568 Ibid.
Reinagle does not provide a physical description of thumb position, but begins thumb position in half position and rises diatonically. By modern standards, it is unusual that a treatise for the beginner to intermediate level would introduce the thumb in all positions. However, it provides evidence of Reinagle’s style of playing and his preference to avoid shifting by using the thumb in all positions of the fingerboard. Reinagle’s scales in thumb position are densely fingered and suggest that he did not advise the use of the fourth finger in thumb position.

**Recitative Accompaniment**

The technique of accompanying recitative has undergone a revival in modern-day period performance practice. One advocate is the cellist David Watkin, who is incidentally now Edinburgh-based:

David Watkin has revived the eighteenth-century practice of realising figured bass (improvising chordal accompaniments) on the cello, using it as a ‘repetiteur’ instrument in Mozart Operas with Mackerras and SCO (DG) and OAE (Chandos), as well as in Corelli with Andrew Manze (hmsa with AAM) and John Holloway (Novalis).  

Joseph Crouch has continued this practice and where possible he provides a chordal harmony alongside the harpsichord, with the double bass playing single notes. Crouch argues that this should be an established practice, but that it requires opera productions and conductors to be open to the possibility. It is also requires an extended rehearsal time, so this is a factor in its exploration. Vanscheeuwijck also

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recommends that in recitative the cello should accompany with chords, based on historic documentary evidence.\textsuperscript{572} The practice of realising a chordal bass line in recitative is evidenced in the treatises of Kauer, Baumgartner, Schetky, and in the Paris Conservatoire method. Treatises published later in the nineteenth century also describe the practice, for example, Crouch, Stiasny and Baudiot.\textsuperscript{573} Gunn does not deal directly with how a recitative should be performed, however his \textit{Essay} prepares the cellist for chordal accompaniment, and reading of figured bass.

A combined chordal bass formed by the cello and double bass was made famous in Britain by the cellist, Lindley, and double-bassist, Dragonetti. However, earlier exponents of chordal accompaniment included the Italian cellist, Giuseppe Jacchini (1667–1727), who famously accompanied singers in a chordal fashion with ‘melodic ornamentation’, and in England by the previously mentioned, James Cervetto, Lindley’s teacher.\textsuperscript{574}

That the practice continued into the nineteenth century is evidenced in concert reviews. A review from 1823 states that, ‘In the light of history, the recitative playing of the two artists [Lindley and Dragonetti] is understood today as being of a specific style which mainly developed in England.’\textsuperscript{575} Edward Holmes, on a visit to Vienna in 1828, states that the practice still occurred in the opera in Vienna, but that the arpeggio ‘effect is tame’ in comparison to Lindley:

The chords are indeed struck upon the violoncello (without the \textit{arpeggio} and brilliancy, the unique excellence of Robert Lindley), but their effect is tame.\textsuperscript{576}

\textsuperscript{572} Vanscheeuwijck, ‘The Baroque Cello and its Performance’, 95.
\textsuperscript{574} Vanscheeuwijck, ‘The Baroque Cello and Its Performance’, 89.
\textsuperscript{575} Palmer, 115.
\textsuperscript{576} Ibid., 116.
The popularity of Lindley and Dragonetti’s style of accompaniment is demonstrated in a further review of a performance of Don Giovanni in 1837, where the reviewer remarks with disappointment at the use of the pianoforte, in replace of the cello and double bass.\textsuperscript{577} The French cellist, Baudiot, who also contributed to the Paris Conservatoire method, provided a realised recitative example from the second act of this work in his cello treatise.\textsuperscript{578}

Stainer and Barrett, in 1876, remarked that ‘on the removal of harpsichords from our theatres and concert rooms, which took place at the close of the last century, an arpeggio chord on the violoncello was substituted for the harpsichord-part, a double bass (as before) sustaining the lowest note of the chord.’\textsuperscript{579} They continued that an ‘excellent’ cellist was required to perform recitatives, but that very often they were ‘cruelly out of tune’. However, in 1854, George MacFarren, a student of Lindley, claimed that this method was not the composer’s intention, nor a desirable effect, but is ‘peculiar to this country [England]’.\textsuperscript{580} He advised that the ‘proper’ method was to play the harmony on a keyboard instrument, and that practice of playing recitative with solo cello and double bass was established by Lindley and Dragonetti.\textsuperscript{581} Kauer’s and Baumgartner’s description of recitative establish that this method of accompaniment was evident in Germany prior to the appointment of Lindley and Dragonetti in the mid-1790s to the Italian Opera Orchestra in London. The method is also detailed in French treatises from the beginning of the nineteenth century and eluded to in Corrette’s cello treatise from 1741. Although the major exponent of chordal accompaniment, Lindley, surprisingly did not include how to accompany recitative in his own cello treatise.

\textsuperscript{577} Ibid., 117.
\textsuperscript{578} Baudiot, 198–201.
\textsuperscript{579} Palmer, 115
\textsuperscript{580} H. C. Bannister, George, Alexander MacFarren; His Life, Works and Influence (London: G. Bell, 1891), 244.
\textsuperscript{581} Bannister, 244.
Although Rockstro, who provided an imitation of Lindley’s style of recitative, stated that, ‘the general style of their accompaniment was exceedingly simple, consisting only of plain chords, played arpeggiando; but occasionally the two old friends would launch out into passages as those shown in the following example; Dragonetti playing the large notes, and Lindley the small ones’.\textsuperscript{582} By 1809 an article in ‘Allgemeine Musikzeitung’ states that ‘at that time the “art of accompaniment” had greatly decreased as players did no longer study sufficient “thorough bass” (the contemporary name for “harmony”).’\textsuperscript{583} It therefore appears that the technique became less frequent in the continent before doing so in England.

The practice of recitative undoubtedly varied due to resources and the proficiency of the cellist available. In the amateur music-world it is unlikely that all cellists were capable of providing a chordal accompaniment. The size and accessibility of certain venues would have also dictated if a keyboard instrument was available. Whilst there are numerous reviews of the singers of recitatives in British newspapers, the accompanists were rarely credited, nor was the method of accompaniment described. Gunn in the introduction to his Essay comments on the ‘pathless region’ of recitative and chordal accompaniment.

Men of genius, possessing the entire command of the instrument, have be able to penetrate into this pathless region, without having, however, left a single trace of their footsteps, whereby to direct their admiring, but discouraged followers.\textsuperscript{584}

His comments perhaps highlight how chordal accompaniment was often beyond the limitations of standard cellists, and therefore an added attraction rather than the expected norm.

\textsuperscript{582} See L. MacGregor and C. Bashford, ‘Robert Lindley’, \textit{GMO}.
\textsuperscript{583} Straeten, 373.
\textsuperscript{584} GunnE, 1.
Baumgartner (1774) was the first cello treatise author to discuss a number of elements pertaining to the accompaniment of recitative. He states that in ordinary recitative the cellist is required to play chords. He advises that the students learn to read the notes of the singer so that they can realise a bass line without figures, suggesting the practice was not restricted solely to music with figured bass lines. He instructs that the cellist should start by giving the singer their note. The bass note is played short, and the next new bass note is given when the singer is finished providing the next melodic note at the top of the chord. Kauer (1788) provides one example of chordal realisation, where he also recommends playing the note that the singer is about to sing (illus. 3.43).

Illus. 3.43 F. Kauer, *Kurzgefasste Anweisung das Violoncell zu spielen* (Vienna: Johann Cappi, 1788), 12

This method was also exemplified by Schetky in 1813. Regarding the placement of bass chords Schetky states that, ‘In Recitativo, the Violoncellist should fashion the Chords in such a manner that the highest note is the Singers [sic] next one and should be struck as soon as the Singer has pronounced the last word’ (illus. 3.44). It is worth noting that this description is not fully represented in his musical example:

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585 Kauer, 12.
586 SchetkyT, 38.
MacFarren stated that less experienced accompanists often struck the chord before the voice was finished. Instead ‘the chords should be played after, rather than with, the voice at the conclusion, and before the voice at the commencement of a sentence.’

Kauer advises that the cellist only plays chords that are comfortable, that is, those that lie easily under the hand. In addition, if performing with a double bass it was not necessary to play the bass note, and instead to add other notes to the chord. However, Baumgartner disagrees stating that in finding a chord that fits on the cello, the bass note should not be changed, only if it is necessary to play it down the octave to facilitate a chord. Baumgartners’ recitative example demonstrates this practise where he drops the bass line down the octave to achieve a fuller chord (e.g. bar 9, illus. 3.45). However, he warns that it is better to play a double-stopped chord or even a single note, rather than an incorrect chord.

587 Bannister, 245.
Baumgartner’s chords in his musical examples are written so as not to extend beyond fourth position on the cello. They therefore do not demonstrate the higher chordal passages in thumb position which he had exemplified in the body of his treatise. This is also the case in Schetky’s method and in the Paris Conservatoire treatise examples. Baumgartner also writes that the bass of the chord should be played ‘relatively loud’ with the rest of the chord less so. The Paris Conservatoire method example indicates that not all chords were necessarily spread, but no specific rules were given as to when to play a double stop or to spread the chord (illus. 3.46).

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589 PCM (Fuzeau edn), 243.
The Conservatoire rules for accompaniment state that the role of the accompanist was to support the singer, but that the chord should not be repeated and the cellist should not improvise. Although it adds that if improvisation it is required, it should be based only on the notes of the chord. Finally, it states that the cellist should not play repeated arpeggios in recitative.\textsuperscript{590} These rules were reiterated by Crouch in 1826, who stated that accompaniment was a ‘separate branch of study’, which ‘requires great practice to Accompany the Voice or any Solo player, or in joining the performance of Music in parts’.\textsuperscript{591}

Schetky states that the final resolution should not be ‘took quick’ and further clarifies that, ‘In Recitativo accompanied by the Violin & c, the Bass is kept on from one harmony to the other.’ He continues, ‘NB: As this branch of the Violoncello requires a particular study and experience, the Student is referred to a judicious Master.’\textsuperscript{592} Unfortunately Schetky did not address this issue further or explain why he felt it unnecessary. It suggests that harmonic realisation of recitative was not always tackled by student or amateurs, his target audience. Certainly it would require a more advanced technique than that covered in his treatise. Schetky acknowledges the student scope of his treatise by concluding, ‘Finally I refer the Student to an able Master, who will fill up on those deficiencies which are inadvertently omitted.’\textsuperscript{593}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{590} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{591} Crouch, 45.
\item \textsuperscript{592} Schetky\textsuperscript{T}, 38.
\item \textsuperscript{593} Schetky\textsuperscript{T}, 29.
\end{itemize}
stated that amateurs rarely performed recitative as this required playing chords.\textsuperscript{594} Reinagle does not tackle the accompaniment of recitative in his treatise, although he undoubtedly performed the recitative parts in Oxford and as principal cello of numerous festival orchestras. However, a short exercise from his treatise demonstrates a simple arpeggio realisation of an unfigured bass line, which perhaps demonstrates his style of accompaniment (illus. 3.47).

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{illus3_47.png}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{594} Graves, 191.

Interestingly, no cello treatise from this period explains the role or historical context of the keyboard instrument, or chordal instrument such as the theorbo, in relation to the cello role in recitative. However, Quantz states that at cadences in Italian recitative, the cello and double bass should play the descending fifth, short, with two down bows,
whilst the keyboard player plays full chords.\textsuperscript{595}

An example of recitative is found in a manuscript by Pablo Vidal and evidences a style of chordal accompaniment from Spain (illus. 3.48).

![Illustration of chordal accompaniment from Pablo Vidal's manuscript](image)

Illus. 3.48 P. Vidal, \textit{Arte e Esquela de Violoncello}, c.1790

The original bass line is not provided and no commentary is given as to how it should be played. In addition, it is not clear what is meant by the slanted lines under the chords, although it can be presumed the chord was ‘rolled’. Vidal’s realisation is more elaborate than the comparatively sparse accompaniment illustrated in the treatises of Schetky.

Gunn was the first British cellist of the period to tackle the theory and practical techniques of accompaniment. Although the work does not provide written musical examples to contextualise his theory on how to accompany recitative, it does provide detailed and valuable analysis of how figured bass was realised on the cello, including default fingerings patterns which help to simplify the process. This is of huge value to the modern baroque cellist, especially in establishing a method through left-hand patterns to facilitate chordal harmonic movement. However, it is perhaps best studied in tandem with Baumgartner’s treatise, who demonstrates more practical cello experience. Baumgartner provides a general set of rules for accompanying figures,

\textsuperscript{595} Quantz, 292.
before proceeding with more detail for cadences:

The second is accompanied with the fourth and the sixth
The third with the fifth
The fourth with the second and the sixth when the ligature is in the lower part.
When the ligature is in the upper part with the fifth and the octave.
The tritone is treated as the fourth with the ligature in the bass
The fifth is accompanied by the third
The false fifth by the third and the sixth
The sixth with the third
The seventh with the third and the fifth and sometimes also with the octave
The ninth with the third and the fifth and it can also exist with the seventh.\(^\text{596}\)

Harmony, Baumgartner explains, is ‘no more than a string of cadences’.\(^\text{597}\) In his rules
for playing cadences, he again provides simplified default fingerings.\(^\text{598}\) Whilst he does
provide a written explanation his musical examples are clear (illus. 3.49).

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\(^{596}\) Graves, 192.
\(^{597}\) Ibid., 193.
\(^{598}\) Ibid., 194–5.  

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Gunn’s Essay deals with the theory in more detail, and in doing loses the practical element so evident in Baumgartner’s treatise. It is not until page twenty-two that Gunn begins to apply cello fingering to the chords. However, he drills the cadential figures more successfully than Baumgartner. His choice of fingering was limited to triple-stopped chords, therefore there is little discrepancy between how it can be tackled on modern and baroque instruments. Gunn initially provides fingering for the inversions of each chord, then dominant sevenths in each inversion, in each key. Returning to theory he then lists cadences in a similar manner as before, providing harmonisation of scales. Of particular interest are his bowing options for embellishing cadential figures (illus. 3.50), and the accompaniment of the G major and minor scales (illus. 3.51).\(^{599}\)

\(^{599}\) GunnE, 29, 35.
Illus. 3.50 J. Gunn, *An Essay, Theoretical and Practical* (London: Preston, 1802), 29
He later provides a full chart of all the scales, which can be applied in the same manner. In each example he borrows the same bass line, again drilling the practical elements into the left hand.

Kauer preceded his recitative example with a table of chords with figured bass for the preparation of chordal realisation (illus. 3.52). However, these chords are not practical on the cello, and without fingering it is not possible to know if Kauer intended the cellist to arpeggiate them.

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600 GunnE, 38.
Schetky also prepares the student in the practise of chords, for example, of thirds, fourths, etc. and octaves in thumb position, but he does not teach harmonic analysis or figured bass. Gunn concludes his Essay with the basics of modulation, diminished chords, and suspensions and anticipations. Arguably Gunn prepares the cellist to produce their own compositions and extemporary improvisations, in addition to realising figure bass. The cellist is fully equipped with the harmonic theoretical knowledge, but not in the practical etiquette for playing recitative. Remarkably given such knowledge, Gunn did not publish any compositions or studies for the cello, nor expand practically on the role of the cellist in recitative.

That Schetky added the practice of recitative to his nineteenth century treatise surely suggests that this was the practice he performed in Edinburgh, perhaps with or without a keyboard instrument. The EMS regularly contracted a harpsichord player, for example in 1768, Giusto F. Tenducci was contracted ‘to sing and play on the harpsichord in the concert and at the oratorio’. However, it is likely that Schetky also performed without a keyboard instrument when it was necessary. The double bass player, John Thomson, would have been capable of playing the bass line in these

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601 Macleod, 122.
scenarios.

It is not known if Reinagle performed recitatives chordally in the style made famous by Lindley. Certainly the preludes and cadences in his treatise suggests that he practiced some form of improvisations in his performances. However, it does raise the question as to how many provincial musical societies were imitating the musical practices at the King’s Theatre. Unquestionably Schetky and Reinagle were capable of harmonising as demonstrated in their compositions, whether they were expected or asked to do so remains debatable.

3.12 Conclusions

To date, British cello treatises have been often overlooked in the study of European treatises and this study readdresses this balance. Research has focused on the more informative French treatises of the period, as well as treatises published later in the nineteenth century. These treatises were more advanced and therefore provide more scope for comparison and evidence of performance practice. British cello treatises were slow to advance the development of cello technique, especially to those who depended on self-teaching. A symptom of this is the large number of ‘house tutors’ from the period. This study proposes that many of the early British methods were based upon the methodology of Michel Corrette, which was further diffused in a series of ‘house tutors’ and in Hardy’s cello treatise, which quotes Corrette as a source.

British cello treatises (with the exception of Hardy’s treatise) were published in London. As a result, the residencies of the authors is not interrogated, and London residency is presumed. The study of Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn highlights a strong provincial trend in early cello treatise authorship. This is often overlooked in tracing the development of the cello in Britain, which in the case of Gunn, Reinagle and
Schetky was being undertaken in Cambridge, Oxford and Edinburgh. A further connection between Scotland and cello treatise authorship is evident in John MacDonald’s publications.

Reinagle, Schetky and Gunn, although geographically linked, and with family connections in the case of Reinagle and Schetky, shared little in common regarding their educational backgrounds and performing practice. Gunn, via his treatise, is connected to Schetky and the Reinagle brothers through his promotion of their works, suggesting a personal link between the cellists. Although in direct contrast to Schetky in terms of his extensive commentary, Gunn’s method imparts similar views regarding cello technique. This implies that Hugh Reinagle (Gunn’s teacher) was either taught by or strongly influenced by his brother-in-law, Schetky.

The cello treatises of Schetky and Reinagle share similar format, that is workable methods that could be placed on the music stand. However, they show little in common regarding cello technique. Joseph Reinagle was instead an exponent of early violin tutelage, transferring this violin technique to the cello. This was typical of a number of string players; evidence of the practice was exemplified by Corrette, who in his treatise provided a method for violinists to transfer their violin technique to the cello.

This study has highlighted the central position that the treatises by Gunn, Reinagle and Schetky held within the genre, establishing their pivotal role in the development of cello pedagogy during the period. This is more remarkable considering their provincial statuses and intrinsic links to Scotland. Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn were among the first to publish cello treatises in Britain, pre-empting the cello pedagogic marketplace of nineteenth-century Britain.
CONCLUSION

The aim of this dissertation was to provide a greater contextual understanding and evaluation of British provincial cello playing in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, through detailed analysis of the biographical histories and pedagogical publications of three representative cellists and cello treatise authors, J. G. C. Schetky, J. Reinagle and J. Gunn. Through expansion of their biographical profiles, in combination with a contextual view of their cello treatises, a provincial trend in British cello treatise authorship has been revealed.

The diverse musical careers of Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn provided the opportunity to examine a wealth of topics relating to the education, role, career trajectories and social status of the provincial cellist. This study adds to the knowledge and understanding of the role of the provincial cellist, their associations and dependency on local musical societies, and their relationship to the treatise publishing and authorship trade, all of which provide avenues for future research. In addition, it provides a re-assessment of British cello treatise history, an area of research that has, to date, remained under-examined. It also evaluates technical content within the treatises, establishing further avenues of study for eighteenth-century performance practice techniques.

This dissertation has re-evaluated a number of nineteenth-century biographical sources in relation to Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn. The continual repetition of inaccurate or incomplete material is a key issue in British cello history, which is particularly prevalent in British provincial cello research. Larger research studies, such as those of provincial musical centres, have to date focused on the management of specific musical societies, their concert repertoire and prominent performers, therefore
the only available references to less-known cellists are often merely citations from nineteenth-century biographical sources. It is now possible to extensively re-examine and progress the biographies of these cellists. Considerable new information has been gleaned regarding the musical careers of Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn and their contribution to British cello history, through the investigation of newspaper sources, personal diaries, letters, family testimony, treatises, and the minutes and concert programmes of musical societies. Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn did not share the public profiles of more famous London-based cellists, it is therefore possible that had they not published cello treatises, their biographical histories may have remained forgotten or overlooked.

The study of Schetky and Reinagle demonstrates the influence that the EMS had on both local and foreign musicians. Although both Schetky and Reinagle resided for short periods in London, neither sustained a performance career in the capital, although they did publish a number of works from London. However, it appears that unfortunate timing played a part in their life trajectories. Schetky arrived in London in the 1770s when the city was already saturated with cellists from Italy and Germany. The city could sustain considerably fewer cellists than violinists. Whereas, Reinagle arrived in London relatively inexperienced in cello playing, as previously the violin had been his principal instrument.

Schetky and Reinagle were heavily dependent on and influenced by the musical societies to which they were contracted. It is unlikely that during the period they would have been able to remain solely in provincial centres without the financial and social connections provided by musical societies. New and more advanced repertoire required cellists of a higher standard and as a result the role of the cellist became almost comparable to the violin leader, although not yet in monetary terms. As composers and
cellists experimented with more complex cello lines, public taste also developed with requests for cello solos, duets and concertos. Societies therefore required cellists of ability and experience, and Schetky and Reinagle fulfilled this enhanced resident cello role.

The cello repertoire heard at local centres was dependant on the resident cello player, with Edinburgh enjoying many cello concertos performed by Schetky. Whereas in Oxford, Reinagle and his violin partners, John Mahon and John Marsh, presented a number of new duo works for violin and cello. As part of his concert duties, Reinagle also accompanied a vocal aria in almost every concert, with Handel’s ‘Softly sweet’ from *Alexander’s Feast* the most frequently played. After the demise of the EMS, Schetky, who was by then in his sixties, performed Haydn quartets and other works, which left little space in concert programmes for cello solos. This also coincided with new concert organisers, such as the new Professional Concerts headed by Natale Corri, who introduced a wide range of new repertoire.

Reinagle’s story provides an interesting perspective of the multi-instrumental performer, who was also ‘locally’ born, and the apparent advantages and disadvantages of this status. He benefited from the expert tuition of visiting artists from the EMS, and was soon provided a contract as a violinist. However, he was never paid the higher salary of a guest leader, despite leading the band. Diary sources add considerably to Reinagle scholarship and have enabled the tracing of his career between Edinburgh and Oxford.

Association to musical societies raised social status and provided opportunities for teaching work and further private concerts. Reinagle and Schetky’s involvement in teaching undoubtedly led to their interest in cello pedagogy as demonstrated in their treatise publications. None of the cello treatises published before 1813 were written by
cellists based in London, which suggests that provincial cellists were more aware of the need for teaching material than their London counterparts.

The biographical studies of Schetky and Reinagle have widened the knowledge of cellists in Britain during the period through analysis of their varied and atypical career paths. Gunn’s career differs dramatically to that of Schetky’s and Reinagle’s, as he was not associated to a musical society. This study has reconsidered Gunn’s profile as a cellist, through analysis of his cello treatises.

It is now possible to evaluate British cello treatises by dividing them in two distinct categories: firstly, those that were produced by publishing houses, which Golby effectively names as ‘house tutors’, and secondly, those that were ‘authored’. These ‘authored’ treatises varied greatly in quality, often reflecting the cello experience and expertise of the author. The early ‘authored’ treatises had a strong provincial lineage, which includes Reinagle, Gunn and Schetky, but also Hardy and MacDonald.

Gunn’s association with Enlightenment antiquarian research can be traced in his cello treatises, demonstrated by the wide-ranging opening dissertation in his first edition and the analytical commentaries. The Scottish military writer, John MacDonald, attempted a similar publication to Gunn’s first edition in 1811. However, this treatise is regularly omitted in British cello treatise scholarship. The works of Gunn and MacDonald demonstrate a market for advanced cello technical works, but with additional historical references that also appealed to the educated gentleman amateur audience.

Although biographical analysis of Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn reveals that all three musicians had links to Scotland, they do not represent a definitive ‘school’ of cello playing. Despite geographical links, the cello treatises of Schetky and Reinagle are quite different, despite Reinagle claiming Schetky as his teacher. For example,
Reinagle demonstrates a left-hand technique that stems from his violin training, a technique, which Gunn had earlier rejected in his treatise. However, Gunn and Schetky share some postural techniques, which suggests some shared tutelage. Gunn’s teacher was Hugh Reinagle, albeit briefly, and therefore it can be argued that by extension Gunn is linked to Schetky’s teaching tradition, as Hugh Reinagle studied with his brother-in-law [Schetky].

The cello treatises of Schetky, Reinagle and Gunn establish the central role that provincial cellists undertook in the development of cello pedagogy and in the early promotion of the instrument in Britain. It is largely due to their cello treatise publications that their names have remained etched in British cello history. Their stories establish trends in cello playing during the period. However, it is only through a wider study of British cellists that a more complete picture of early British cello playing can be fully understood.

**Future research**

It is intended that this study will promote further biographical research of cellists from the period, not only those that were London-based, but also the many provincial cellists and gentleman amateurs, who contributed to the local musical societies. As yet there is no complete volume chronicling the history of the instrument and its exponents in Britain. The careers, contributions and works of the Paxton brothers, John Garth, Walter Clagget and the more celebrated John Crosdill and James Cervetto, warrant further study. Other less-known names discussed in this study require further investigation, such as Giovanni Sperati (Reinagle’s predecessor in Dublin), John Simpson (the London-based cellist), Charles Ashwood (Reinagle’s predecessor in Oxford) and C. Eley (the author of numerous duets and a cello treatise).
In addition, more can be done to relate the content of the treatises to cello repertoire, including not only solo and chamber works, but the application of treatise material, terminology and markings to cello accompaniment, therefore challenging modern ‘historically informed’ practice against eighteenth-century evidence. The music compositions of British-based cellists are certainly worthy of further exploration, especially the duets for two cellos, as well as for violin and cello. The author hopes to continue this study, not only by preparing editions of the three case study cellists and Hugh Reinagle, but also through promoting these works in performance. It is only through a combination of biographical and technical analysis, in tandem with performance, that a fully comprehensive history of the cello in Britain can be established.
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Appendix A.

THE SUBSCRIPTION LIST OF JOHN GUNN,
THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF FINGERING
THE VIOLONCELLO, c.1789

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Rev. Mr. Warburton, Jesus college, Cambridge

Rev. Mr. Yates, Solehill, Warwick.
Appendix B.

AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM JOSEPH REINAGLE TO JOHN D. SAINSBURY (MS Euing R.d. 87/163)
By permission of The University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections
The recovery of his health was attended with great pleasure to all connoisseurs of music. The name by which he had acquired so great a reputation as a composer, and by which his works had been so highly esteemed by the celebrators of music, Dr. John Machin and others, was now assumed by the great artist, and he had ever since been regarded with as much esteem as he had ever enjoyed. The public was not disappointed in their expectations, for the new musical talent was on the same level with the old.

Mr. Cramer, Morgan's friend, was announced to play the organ in the favorite concert in St. Paul's. The organist having been so successful in the performance with his former friends, the public was not disappointed in the new talent. One of his most celebrated Concertos was performed at this time by Dr. Glazier, the organist. The public was not allowed to be ungrateful to his organist's talent. The public was not disappointed in their expectations, for the new musical talent was on the same level with the old.

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Appendix C.

‘FANTASIA’ by HENRY LE JENUE in JOHN GUNN, *THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF FINGERING THE VIOLONCELLO* (c.1789), 33–5
© British Library Board, Music Collections, g.500.(6.).
Appendix D.

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS AND CONCERT DATABASE
CD Database: [Filemaker]

Supporting data of concerts, reviews, music classes and music published relating to this study.

Concert material collected from newspapers, concert programmes and also from secondary source material, such as, Simon McVeigh ‘Calendar of London Concerts, 1750–1800’. ¹

The filename, ‘Sorting Date’, is based on the date that the concert or event took place. If this is not known, the newspaper advertisement date has been used.

It is the author’s intention to make this database available as an online early British cello history resource and to extend the scope to include additional eighteenth-century cello players resident in Britain.

Appendix E.

Recording of and Copies of Music: 
[on accompanying CD, WAV (.wav) files]

Tweed Side, Lachaber, Corn Riggs are Bonny and Gilderoy, from John Gunn, 
*Forty Favorite Scotch Airs* (London: Printed for and Sold by the Editor, 
c.1789).

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<td>Yue Tang</td>
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Sonata V from J. G. C. Schetky, *Six Solos for a Violoncello and Bass*, op. 13 

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<td>Violin</td>
<td>Sarah Sew</td>
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<td>Cello</td>
<td>Margaret Doris</td>
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Recorded by Ben Rawlins at DIT Conservatory of Music and Drama, 
Rathmines, Dublin, 22 June, 2015.

Copies made by permission:

John Gunn, *Forty Favorite Scotch Airs* (London: Printed for and Sold by the Editor, 
c.1789) © British Library Board (Music Collections g.500.(7.), g.24.(10.))

Sonata V from J. G. C. Schetky, *Six Solos for a Violoncello and Bass*, op. 13 
(London: J. Bland, 1791) © British Library Board (Music Collections g.221.(5.))

Joseph Reinagle, *Duetto for a Violin and Violoncello and a Favorite Scotch Tune*, 
['My ain kind dearie'] with Variations (Oxford: J. Davenport, 1804) © British Library 
Board (Music Collections (h.122.(5.))
Forty favorite Scotch Airs,
adapted for a Violin, German Flute or Violoncello,
with the Phrases marked and proper fingering for the latter Instrument:
being a Supplement to the Examples in the Theory & Practice of fingering the Violoncello
by John Gunn

Entered at Stationers Hall. Price 7/6.

LONDON.
Printed for & sold by the Editor, at 15, Bond-street, Rathbone-place,
where may be also had the Theory & Practice of fingering the Violoncello.
The light time I came o'er the Moor.

Ainante

Tweed side. Duett.

Affettuoso
Woé my Heart—that we shou’d sinder.

Affettuoso

Largo

Gilderoy. Duet.
SIX SOLOS
for a
VIOLONCELLO
& Bass.
Dedicated by Permission
To His Royal Highness the
Prince of Wales
by
J. G. Schetky
Op. E
London Printed & Sold by J. Bland, at his Music Warehouse at Holborn.
Where to be had:
Mollers Duetts Violin and Violoncello 3/6
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VIOLIN & VIOLONCELLO,

and a favorite Scotch Tune.

With Variations.

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may be had of Goulding, Philp &Dillmaine, 117, New Bond St., London.

Goulding, Farrow & Co., Waterlow's Yard, Dublin; James Stevens, Glasgow.
N.B. place the 1st finger on the 3rd string for E and 2nd finger on the 3rd string for C and the A is 1st string open, keep on that position throughout.