

Guittars and Guitars: A Note on a Musical Fashion

This essay has its genesis in Norm Cohen's comprehensive review of George Carney's *The Sounds of People and Places: Readings in the Geography of American Folk and Popular Music*.¹ Carney assumed that the so-called Spanish guitar came to the eastern United States from the Southwest. Cohen commented, "His [Carney's] argument that the guitar originated in the Southwest and spread to the North and East [sic] fails to take into account the popularity of the parlor guitar in colonial America in the eighteenth century." Cohen, in turn, seems unaware that the "parlor guitar in colonial America" was a quite different instrument from the "parlor guitar" of the 1830s. This essay attempts to clarify the issues raised by these two authors.

In the early 1960s, I visited the Henry Francis du Pont Museum at Winterthur, Delaware, to examine their musical instruments and especially to see Charles Willson Peale's portrait (1771) of the Edward Lloyd family in which Mrs. Lloyd is holding an "English guittar" in playing position.² It should be understood at the outset that an "English guittar" was *not* just an example of the usual six-string, six-course, wasp-waisted, gut- and silk-strung "Spanish" (or "Baroque") guitar that happens to have been made in eighteenth-century England, but a smaller and quite different, though possibly related, fretted instrument with ten wire strings in six courses, which had an astonishing popularity among elite ladies in England as well as English-speaking North America from the 1760s into the early nineteenth century.³ Both spellings were used in the past with no special attention to consistency. Hereafter I will use "guittar" for references to the English-type and "guitar" for all others, such as Baroque, Spanish, and Italian-made instruments. The popularity of the English guittar appears to have declined *before* the Spanish guitar began its slow rise to acceptance in the United States during the nineteenth century and eventual domination of popular music in the twentieth century. English guittars are now rarely seen outside of museums.

As I studied the Peale portrait with administrators at Winterthur, one

asked if I could do a demonstration program for them on an English guittar. I jocularly agreed to do so, if they would provide me the instrument. I also added that it would be possible, to a degree, to “fake” the sound but not the appearance, by putting metal strings on my Mexican “guitarrita,” similar in size to the English guittar, and tuning it to the customary open C-chord of the English guittar.⁴ They agreed to the latter and we set a date for the following season. On returning home I began practicing with my modified guitarrita.

A few months later, at the New York State Historical Association Museum in Cooperstown, New York, Minor Wine Thomas, then curator, showed me their newest treasure—a beautifully preserved English guittar in its original embossed leather case. It seemed identical to the instrument held by Mrs. Lloyd in the Peale portrait. Equally astonishing, it was almost in tune with itself and in good playing condition, needing only slight adjustments (i.e., putting a string back in its proper groove), for me to pick out some of the melodies in the instruction book that was also in the



The Edward Lloyd Family Portrait, Charles Willson Peale. Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.

case. Most surprising to me, when Mr. Thomas learned of my Winterthur engagement, he offered to lend me their instrument with case and instruction book for the event, asking only for an estimate of the value of the instrument for insurance purposes and such additional information as I might gather on English guittars.⁵

So with a handshake accepted as security, the association's lovely English guittar journeyed to Old Sturbridge Village, then my place of employment, where it was carefully photographed in color and black and white for its files; then to New York City, where I found an eighteenth-century watch key for tuning it; and thence to Winterthur, where curators and I confirmed its identity with the guittar in the Peale portrait before I featured it in an evening concert of early Anglo-American songs.

Most music instrument specialists of the twentieth century understand the difference between English and Spanish guitars and usually distinguish clearly between them.⁶ A few earlier music historians also remarked on the differences, although some twentieth-century writers have not. Early in the 1800s Charles Burney commented at length on "the large Spanish guitarra strung with cat-gut or bowel-strings" and pronounced it "superior in tone, expression and power to the common guitar [i.e., English guittar] strung with wire." Burney continued:

The common guitar used in England has frequently had fits of favour in this country. About 50 years ago [i.e., 1760s] its vogue was so great among all ranks of people, as nearly to break all the harpsichord and spinet makers, and indeed the harpsichord masters themselves. All the ladies disposed of their harpsichords at auction for one-third of their price, or exchanged them for guitars; till old Kirkman, the harpsichord maker, after almost ruining himself with buying in his instruments, for better times, purchased likewise some cheap guitars and made a present of several to girls in milliners' shops and to ballad singers in the streets, whom he had taught to accompany themselves, with a few chords and triplets, which soon made the ladies ashamed of their frivolous and vulgar taste, and return to their harpsichord.

But during the guitar paroxysm, not a song or ballad was printed, without its being transposed and set for that instrument, at the bottom of the page; as in the beginning of the last century was done for the common flute.⁷

Clearly snobbery and fashion are more important than music as such in Burney's story. Francis Galpin, in 1910, accurately quoted Burney's account as it applied to English guittars.⁸ Unfortunately some later writers who quoted parts of Burney's story for its pertinence to musical fashion failed to indicate that Burney was referring to the English guittar not the Spanish variety. Before going further let us examine the principal differences between the two instruments (see Figure 1).

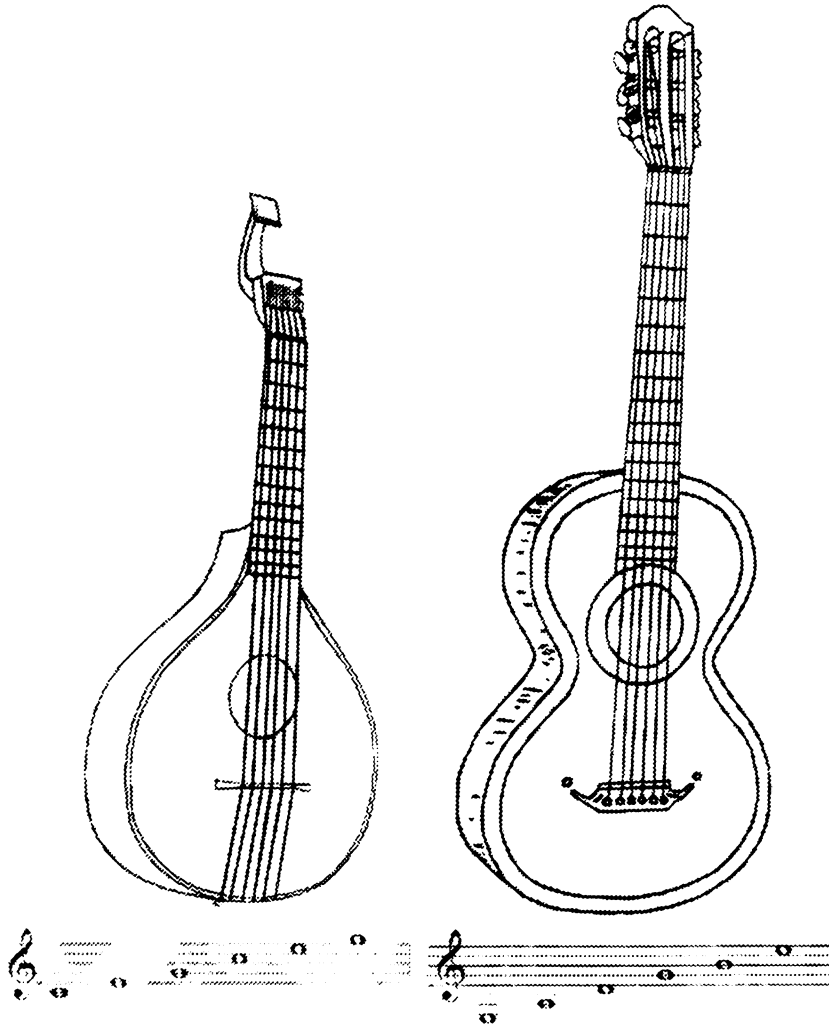


Figure 1. Left. “English Guittar” or “Cetra” or “Common Guitar.” Late eighteenth-century, made by Thompson, London. (The original is in Cooperstown, New York.)⁹ Right. “Spanish Guitar.” French, maker unknown, ca. 1840. Pitches below each instrument indicate open-string tunings.

The English guittar, 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, has ten wire strings in six courses with the four highest paired and the bass strings overwound. The strings are plucked with fingers and thumb (some twentieth-century studies claim flat picks, or plectra, were used, but I have found no period evidence to support the claim). The instrument is equipped with Preston patent tuning heads that use threaded rods turned by a separate watch key to move hooks that secure and tension the strings. This body shape seems most common. The Spanish guitar, shown on the right in the figure, is 36 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches in length. Strung with six strings—three gut strings (trebles) and three silk strings overwound with silver wire (basses)—tuning is achieved with worm gear tuning heads. Like the English guittar, the Spanish guitar is plucked with fingers and thumb. This instrument, from Old Sturbridge Village, is illustrated with its case in *The Antiques Magazine*, September, 1979, page 588. Both are tuned one octave lower than written.

The long, thin gut strings needed for Spanish guitars may (along with the Napoleonic Wars) have helped delay their popularity in the eastern

United States until after 1815 when they could more easily be procured from Spain and Italy. Andres Segovia described “the tribulations we all used to endure when we had only gut and silk strings [and metal winding on gut was rare and nylon unknown].”¹⁰ He gives a vivid account of the scarcity of good strings before World War II and then reports on his own desperate situation during that war when he feared he might have to stop concertizing altogether for lack of them. Segovia wrote of his twentieth-century experiences, but guitar string matters would not have been substantially different in the early nineteenth century. “They [the strings] were hardly ever perfectly in tune, the gut strings became unraveled and the basses lost their resonance.”

Eventually, Segovia found gut strings manufactured by the Pirastro firm were much the best but still not completely satisfactory. “The poor guitarist was the victim of the capricious variability of the organic material from which the strings were made. If the lamb who had donated his intestines was too young, the strings would lack the resistance and would break; if the lamb was too old the strings would lack elasticity and wouldn’t stretch far enough or else would have tendency to go sharp in pitch; if the pastures that year had suffered from either too much rain or too much sun these factors also were reflected in the quality of the sound and the durability of the strings.”¹¹

Of course, the Napoleonic Wars that turned Spain into a guerrilla battlefield from 1808 to 1813 (when the French armies were finally driven back to France by Wellington’s troops) could only have made matters worse for Spanish guitar lovers. In those days armies “lived off the land,” and any lambs caught by either side would have been roasted or boiled with scant thought that their intestines might have been used to make guitar strings.

Phillip Coggin concludes the English guittar was introduced into England around 1755 as a new variation on the much older cittern and “in the space of a few years became one of the most popular instruments in eighteenth-century Britain.”¹² At first the English guittar was played by both men and women but soon only by women. It was not commonly called “English guittar” until later.

The question of origins is complicated by one further matter, namely the possible relationship between the “Portuguese guitar,” which is still in use in that country, and the quite obsolete English guittar. Except for size (the Portuguese is larger), the two instruments are remarkably alike in shape and structure, more so than a simple common descent from the Elizabethan cittern could account for. The question of whether the Portuguese or English instrument came first is, I believe, still open, although Emilio Pujol (1886-1980), Spanish composer, concert artist, and professor of Spanish guitar at the Conservatory of Lisbon during the 1940s, asserted that the Portuguese guitar was “a derivation of the cistre (cittern) introduced into Portugal by the British in the middle of the eighteenth century.”¹³ An intriguing idea, but one for which, unfortunately, Pujol offers neither reasoning nor evidence.

As Pujol's conclusion implies, there was ample opportunity for either country to acquire the instrument from the other. From late medieval times to the nineteenth century, England and Portugal were frequently closely associated through royal marriages and treaties and as allies in war. In the fifteenth century Portugal's Prince Henry "the Navigator" and Henry V of England were first cousins, descendants of the same grandfather—John of Gaunt, father of Henry IV. Charles II of England married Catherine Braganza of Portugal in 1663. The Methuan treaty of 1703 made Portugal "for more than 150 years a commercial and political satellite of Great Britain."¹⁴ Wellington's troops, first based in Portugal, forced Napoleon's armies out of Spain in the early 1800s.

Returning to the principal subject of this essay, my own conclusions are at variance with three prevailing conceptions—I would say misconceptions—about the guitar in early Anglo-America; namely that: (1) the word "guitar" in print sources during the Colonial period refers to the six-stringed, wasp-waisted Spanish guitar or its predecessor, the "Baroque guitar"; (2) such guitars must have been widely popular or at least fairly well-known in the thirteen colonies; and (3) the Spanish guitar first came into the eastern United States via Mexico during the era of the War with Mexico (1846-1848). On the contrary, I contend: (1) The term "guittar" or "guitar" without a nationality modifier almost always means "English guittar" in Anglo-America from about 1760 to sometime after 1815; (2) "Spanish" guitars and their Baroque predecessors appeared only occasionally in Anglo-America even as late as 1800; and (3) the fashion for Spanish guitars and the concurrent demand for simple upper-class parlor song accompaniments in sheet music came to the eastern United States from England and non-Hispanic European Continental sources between 1815 and 1830. The conquest of California and the Southwest in the 1840s may well have brought Mexican-made Spanish guitars to Anglo-American working people in those regions, but this had little or nothing to do with Spanish guitars in the eastern United States where the published music shows the instrument had been firmly established for more than a decade.

The first conclusion above is strongly supported by my personal examination of all "guitar" music listed in the Sonneck and Wolfe bibliographies, materials held by the American Antiquarian Society or the Music Division of the New York Public Library, and by reports from librarians at repositories I could not visit.¹⁵ Examination of the bibliographic record of English guittar song sheets in America shows that the fashion for the instrument did not die out in the 1780s as some writers have claimed. Sonneck and Upton's bibliography shows two imprints recorded in 1792; nine in 1793; twenty-six in 1794; seventeen in 1796; sixteen in 1798; and twenty-four in 1800. My third conclusion is supported by the Thompson and Homans music catalog (1830s?) from "Washington City" (Washington, D.C.) in which a whole page is devoted to a listing of sheet music for the Spanish guitar.¹⁶ The probable publication date for this catalog is too early to show American Southwest influence.

Reinforcement of the misconceptions referred to above comes from movies such as *Music of Williamsburg*,¹⁷ which imaginatively recreates, among other music events, part of a musical evening in the Governor's Palace. The "orchestra" includes an instrumentalist struggling to play on an eighteenth-century, French-made Spanish guitar borrowed from the Smithsonian Institution. The inclusion of the Spanish guitar was admittedly guesswork on the part of the producers, but viewers have no way of knowing this without consulting the *Teacher's Guide* to the movie, which concedes the lack of firm evidence on the point. Other alleged evidence comes from Oscar Sonneck (1949), the leading pioneer of American music bibliography, who once, contrary to his normal critical practice, published a broad and unsupported statement attesting to the popularity of guitars among *men* in America. His groundless assumption has been quoted often by others and so the fallacy has spread. When authorities such as Colonial Williamsburg and Oscar Sonneck casually suggest a significant place for guitar (which nowadays we automatically take to mean "Spanish guitar") in eighteenth-century Anglo-America, it is little wonder that some popular writers are less than rigorous in their search for supporting evidence. The beautifully designed and printed twentieth-century periodical *Guitar Review* has also contributed to the confusion. While it has published invaluable memoirs, oral interviews, and well-documented articles about the Spanish guitar in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, unfortunately, some of the key articles in the special "American" issue (June 1959) are historically inept.¹⁸ So *Guitar Review*, though an important source on guitar history in general, must be used with caution in matters pertaining to the Spanish guitar in early America.

Additional support for the misconceptions noted above has come from commentaries implying that well-known early Americans were associated with the guitar in some way. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Francis Hopkinson, and Benjamin Franklin have all been linked to guitars, but none of the accounts indicate the specific type. Washington's account books report the purchase of some kind of guitar and strings for ladies in his household. The Longman and Broderipp guittar I have seen in the Mount Vernon Collection is an English instrument with a keyboard attachment first developed in the 1780s, but it is not known if this guittar is the original instrument referred to in the account books.

Helen Cripe's careful study, *Thomas Jefferson and Music*, contains thirteen documented references to "guitar" (though only four made it into her index). As with Washington, the association between Jefferson and guittars or guitars is made only on behalf of women in his household for whom he purchased instruments and music. Monticello has a "little ten-string guitar" traditionally reported to have belonged to Jefferson's daughter, Virginia.¹⁹ Given the period, a "ten-string guitar" would seem to indicate an English, not a Spanish or a Baroque guitar. Jefferson also reportedly bought Virginia "an expensive Spanish guitar in 1816."²⁰

Francis Hopkinson's reported connection to guittar or guitar was at

least more direct than that given for Washington or Jefferson. In the *Guitar Review* Clinton Simpson tells us Hopkinson “wrote to his future wife, Ann [Nancy] Bordon of Bordontown, probably in 1768: ‘My dear Nancy: This morning I wrote the enclosed Song which I shall set to Music & play for you on the Guitar when I visit you next.’”²¹ Simpson indicated neither his source nor the nature of his cuts in the text but the original letter, printed in full in Hastings, *Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson*, appears to be accurate.²² Neither Simpson nor Hastings can tell us whether the reference is to an English or Spanish guitar, because Hopkinson does not specify. A musician of Hopkinson’s abilities could have learned to play either type of guitar well enough to accompany one of his own songs, but the evidence from engraved music and the portraits discussed below favor the English guittar over the Spanish guitar in Philadelphia during the late eighteenth century.

If Benjamin Franklin had some connection with the guittar or the guitar it might have been more direct than Washington’s or Jefferson’s, but it is also less well documented. The question of Franklin’s association with any kind of guitar is confused rather than clarified by Oscar Sonneck’s statement in his essay “Benjamin Franklin’s Musical Side,” that “Certainly Franklin, like most gentlemen of his time, knew how to play guitar.”²³ But Sonneck nowhere adduces evidence to support the statement, and indeed, it seems rather offhand, even out of place, in his otherwise closely documented study of Franklin’s work with the armonica, the discussion of the kinds of songs Franklin composed and sang, and his well-known satirical comments on Handellian singing conventions.²⁴ Quite aside from the question of Franklin’s association with specific instruments, Sonneck’s phrase suggesting that “most gentlemen” knew how “to play guitar” would seem to be uninformed speculation—a wish rather than a fact. Certainly his statement does not literally apply in England or the Colonies.

Perhaps the best known story about Franklin and guitar is that he offered “to teach guitar” to Leigh Hunt’s mother as reported in Hunt’s autobiography.²⁵ However, literary historian and Franklin expert J. A. Leo Lemay told me emphatically that any claim that Franklin played guitar is “nonsense.” Furthermore, Ellen R. Cohn, author of the essay “Benjamin Franklin and Traditional Music,” which is partly based on a thorough canvass of the Franklin papers, finds no evidence that Franklin ever owned or played any kind of guitar, although his skills on other instruments, the harp and viola da gamba in addition to his famous armonica, are amply attested.²⁶

It may be that Hunt, Cohn, and Lemay have got it right rather than the others. If the guitar referred to by Hunt were an English guittar, Franklin could have felt confident that his considerable practical knowledge of music would permit him “to teach” while learning some simple tunes on that simple instrument. Offering to teach the instrument to Mrs. Hunt (an offer she declined) could be chalked up as one of Franklin’s famous “galantries.” In other words, I don’t find it implausible that Franklin might have offered to teach English guittar to a lady without ever having owned

or played one. It would have been enough for him to know about the C-chord open tuning and to have seen and heard one being played, particularly since Franklin owned and played more demanding instruments.

In summary, when the Founding Father's verifiable association with guittars or guitars is examined, only that of Francis Hopkinson suggests some personal familiarity with a guitar of some kind—and that probably English. Washington likely paid for guittars and strings for the ladies in his household since the instrument preserved at Mount Vernon is an English guittar. The “ten-string guitar” referred to at Monticello by Helen Cripe is also most likely of the English type; however, the 1816 purchase date for an “expensive Spanish guitar” for Jefferson's daughter, Virginia, is especially interesting because it tallies with the earliest dates for “Spanish guitar” music, *labeled as such* and published in the United States. Finally, Leigh Hunt's memory of his mother's reminiscence of conversations with Franklin for lessons on some kind of guitar may be rationalized as I have done. In any event, Hunt's recollection is supported by none of the copious evidence of Franklin's wide-ranging musical interests.

Oscar Sonneck's contribution to the study of guitar in early Anglo-America goes far beyond his unfortunate comment relative to “gentlemen” playing guitar. Sonneck's bibliographic efforts, richly supplemented by William Treat Upton's 1945 revision of his bibliography, give us between 130 and 140 citations of guittar or guitar music depending on how one counts reissues. Again, the index is inadequate in that it lists only seven of at least 130 “guittar” or “guitar” entries in the body of the bibliography. The entries I have examined as original music at the American Antiquarian Society and at the Music Division of the New York Public Library or which librarians have checked for me at other repositories clearly show they were engraved for the English guittar, not the Spanish guitar.

Newspaper accounts and advertisements seldom tell us which type of guitar is referred to, but when one is aware of the lowest range of the Spanish guitars as compared to the English (or even the five-course Baroque guitar) it becomes virtually impossible to mistake the music of one for the other. Prose accounts may be ambiguous—the engraved music never is.

If we turn from eminent Colonial leaders to performing musicians we find, as before, references seldom specify the nationality of guitars until 1815, when Edward Riley in New York City published “Oh Breathe Her Name” with an accompaniment “for the pianoforte and Spanish guitar.”²⁷ This was soon followed by Willig's *New Instructions for the Spanish Guitar* published in Philadelphia, 1816.²⁸

Some early references to the Spanish guitar in Anglo-America are contained in *Performing Arts in Colonial American Newspapers* index (known as PACAN).²⁹ The song “The Spanish Guitar” appeared as sheet music in New York City in 1801 and later in a songbook, *The Nightingale*, published in Portsmouth, New Hampshire in 1804.³⁰ The song had been pirated and adapted from Samuel Arnold's pantomime *Obi, or, Three-finger'd Jack*. Lon-

don, 1800. The song tells about a lady in Seville who, “on her Spanish guitar played a ditty.” Neither the English copy (British Library G 305 J)³¹ nor the American variants have English or Spanish guitar notation.

Some forty-five citations in Sonneck’s *Early Concert Life in America* refer to the talented Henri Capron.³² On at least one occasion in Philadelphia in 1787 he offered to teach “English or Spanish guitar.”³³ Capron is also listed as performing a “Sonata (English guitar and song)”³⁴ as well as sonatas in four other concerts with no details on whether he played English or Spanish guitar. Thus, six of the forty-five Capron references note the presence of some kind of guitar. He also played violoncello twenty-six times in concert and sang solos, duets, or trios nine times, if the newspaper announcements are to be believed.

In summary, Clinton Simpson, in his short *Guitar Review* article referred to above, names six performers in this early period, concluding, “Most of them played Spanish Guitar.” Simpson seems to have compiled most of his examples from Sonneck’s *Early Concert Life in America*, though he does not specifically cite any source. Examination of what Sonneck described for each of his performers suggests that Spanish guitar was not especially important to any of them. Only three are specifically identified with performing on or teaching “Spanish guitar” and one of these, Capron, also performed on and taught “English guittar” and performed more often in other ways. Another of the Spanish guitar performers, a Mr. Luby of New York City (1790), may have been a “gentleman amateur,” since Sonneck found no other reference to him.³⁵ A Charleston, South Carolina advertisement in December 1795, notes, “Between the acts Mr. Le Roy will perform several pieces on the Spanish guitar.”³⁶ But earlier in that same benefit concert for himself, Mr. Le Roy is featured in a Pleyel “Concerto on the basse.” Perhaps this is the same Le Roy who performed “A Sonete and a Song with accompaniment of guitar” in Boston in 1793, but Le Roy seems also to be listed as a violinist in the same concert and as an “Amateur” [*sic*] in another concert six weeks later, also in Boston.³⁷

It is still not clear from the evidence at hand when the adoption of the six-string “Spanish guitar” in preference to the five-course, ten-string “Baroque guitar” took place in English-speaking countries, but most likely it happened first in England. The 1815 Philadelphia tutor cited above is certainly intended for students of six-string Spanish guitar. However, Burney, writing at nearly the same time (1814) suggests that the Baroque instrument was still in fashion. In the *Cyclopedia* article cited earlier, he speaks of the “guitarra” as having five courses—that is “five double strings of which the first three are tuned unisons, and the fourth and fifth octaves,” adding that “sometimes the fifth string has no octave lest it should overpower the rest” and “the first string is so often false that it is frequently played single.” It may be that Burney was simply out of date and the changeover had already begun in England, but his explanation of the practical problems facing the Baroque guitarist is the best I have seen.

Thomas F. Heck makes a case for the emergence of the six-string guitar

as having first taken place in Italy, ca. 1780, concluding, “The six-string guitar, is—as an instrument of art music—of Italian origin, apparently owing only its figure-8 shape to Spain. It acquired its six strings and its mensural notation in Italy.”³⁸ But Heck gives us no help in determining when this six-string Italian/Spanish guitar began to appear in English-speaking North America. In the absence of other evidence we are forced to rely upon the appearance of the music, which itself is unambiguous. Just as Arnold’s song “The Spanish Guitar” was pirated and printed in the United States within a year of its publication in England, so also, it is reasonable to assume that music publishers here would have been quick to supply a perceived market for six-string Spanish guitar music and tutors in 1815-16.

My first visit to Winterthur and Peale’s Lloyd Family portrait led me to ask and attempt to answer several questions about North American guitar history, performance, teaching, and provenance. Because Charles Willson Peale painted other well-to-do women near or holding carefully delineated English guittars and because he is important enough in American painting history to have had his work carefully reproduced and cataloged, I have been able to study in detail what he can tell us about English guittars in particular, although I have actually seen only the Edward Lloyd Family portrait at Winterthur as an original.³⁹ What stands out for me is the fact that the instruments and playing positions are shown in clear detail and that all the instruments seem to be identical to the Preston exemplar at Cooperstown. This suggests that Peale supplied an instrument of his own as a prop for the portraits. Not at Winterthur, but clearly shown in a color reproduction on the cover of *The Kennedy Quarterly* (vol. 7, no. 4, Dec. 1967), is the Peale frontal portrait of Rebecca Lewis Innis (1775). Her Preston model English guittar shows an ivory “capo” on its neck, and she is not using a flat pick or finger picks.

Winterthur now also owns a John Durand painting of Dorothy Biggs Carroll Pleasants in which she is holding a finely detailed English guittar (Preston model) in playing position. The fingers of her right hand are spread out in a way that makes it impossible for her to be holding a flat pick or wearing finger picks.⁴⁰ (See description of English Guittar, following Figure 1).

To summarize, many American eighteenth-century and earlier music sources mention guittars or guitars, but few distinguish the “Spanish” (or “Baroque”) guitar from the quite different “English” guittar (or “Cetra”), which flourished in England and Anglo-America after the 1750s. This essay has examined the engraved music evidence, a scattering of print evidence and historical speculations, and some portraits to conclude that the English guittar predominated in Anglo-America from the 1760s until shortly before the War of 1812 and that the earliest fad for Spanish guitar appeared in the eastern United States between 1816 and 1830. It appears to have entered the country through English and non-Hispanic routes rather than through the American Southwest during the period of Texas independence (1836-1845) and the Mexican War (1846-1848).

Notes

1. Book review by Norm Cohen of George O. Carney, ed. *The Sounds of People and Places: Readings in the Geography of American Folk and Popular Music*, *American Music* 6, no. 3 (Fall 1988): 327-31.

2. The portrait shows the guittar in "playing position," but I can't tell if she is playing or just posing.

3. "Frets" are the raised metal strips imbedded in the necks of English guittars and modern banjos, mandolins, and guitars. They are more important for playing chords than for finding notes.

4. This "open C chord" tuning makes it easy to play simple tunes on English guittars and very difficult to play more complicated music not arranged for this tuning. My guitaritta was basically a small Spanish guitar of the kind played in 1950s Mexican mariachi orchestras. It was later destroyed in a house fire.

5. Even in the 1960s this kind of generosity was rare. Nowadays, a performing loan would probably require paper work and permission from the insurance company.

6. Francis W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music* (London: Methuen and Co., 1910), 34-36; Anthony Baines, *Catalogue of Musical Instruments, Vol. 2, Non-Keyboard Instruments* (London: H.M.S.O., 1968), 47-51 and Figures 70-75; Sibyl Marcuse, *Musical Instruments, A Comprehensive Dictionary* (New York: Norton, 1975), 172.

7. Charles Burney, *Cyclopaedia*, n.p., n.d., s.v. "Guitarra" [a Philadelphia pirating of an English edition usually dated 1819].

8. Francis Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, 35.

9. For other body shapes see Francis Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music* (f.p. 34), and Anthony Baines, *Catalogue of Musical Instruments*, 42-52 and plates, Figs. 70-75.

10. Andres Segovia, "Guitar Strings Before and After Albert Augustine," *Guitar Review*, no. 17 (1955): 145-148.

11. *Ibid.*, 146.

12. Phillip Coggin, "'This Easy and Agreeable Instrument.' A History of the English Guittar," *Early Music* (May 1987): 204-218.

13. Emilio Pujol, "The Guitar in Portugal," *Guitar Review*, no. 5 (1948): 114-115.

14. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v. "Portugal."

15. Oscar Sonneck and William Upton, *A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music* (Washington, D.C.: H. L. McQueen, 1945) and Richard J. Wolfe, *Secular Music in America, 1801-1825*, three volumes (New York: New York Public Library, 1964).

16. Thompson and Homans, *Supplementary Catalogue of Music* (Washington City, n.d. [1830s?]), s.v. "Guitar," 12.

17. *Music of Williamsburg*, Colonial Williamsburg Film, Williamsburg, Virginia. n.d.

18. *Guitar Review*, no. 23, (June 1959, misnumbered as "22" on cover).

19. Helen Cripe, *Thomas Jefferson and Music* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974), 48.

20. *Ibid.*, 126.

21. Clinton Simpson, "Some Early American Guitarists," *Guitar Review*, no. 23, 16 (see note 17 above).

22. George E. Hastings, *Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), 164.

23. Oscar Sonneck, "Benjamin Franklin's Musical Side," *Suum Cuique* (New York: Sonneck, 1916).

24. *Ibid.*, 81-83.

25. Gilbert Chase, *America's Music* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955), 88.

26. Ellen Cohn, "Benjamin Franklin and Traditional Music," in J. A. Leo Lemay, ed., *Reappraising Benjamin Franklin* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993), 293.

27. Wolfe, *Secular Music in America*, no. 7234.

28. Wolfe, no. 6556 (at the Library of Congress with page 2 specifying "Arranged for English guittar or clarinet"), Wolfe date [1815].

29. Personal communication from Kate Van Winkle Keller with printouts from *Performing Arts in Colonial American Newspapers, 1690-1783* (New York: University

Music Editions, 1997), CD-ROM. Keller was Technical Director of PACAN. PACAN contains references to music, lyrics, dance, and theater found in American newspapers from 1690 to the end of the Revolutionary War (1783), featuring full text transcriptions, a general index, an index of first lines of poems and songs, 37 images of unique woodcuts, and an issue-by-issue bibliography of the 162 titles covered.

30. Wolfe, nos. 8475 and 8476.

31. Oscar Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America* (New York: Musurgia, 1949).

32. Ibid.; my copy doesn't note that this book was previously published in German, nor that Sonneck died in 1928.

33. Ibid., 130.

34. Ibid., 83.

35. Ibid., 183.

36. Ibid., 32.

37. Ibid., 292; Sonneck didn't say if there were two different "Le Roys" but a performer couldn't be an amateur and a professional at the same time.

38. Thomas F. Heck, "The Role of Italy in the Early History of the Classic Guitar: A Sidelight on the House of Ricordi, Part One: The Earliest Music for the Classic Guitar," *Guitar Review*, no. 34 (Winter 1971): 1-4.

39. Edgar Richardson, Brooke Hindle, Lillian B. Miller, *Charles Willson Peale and His World* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1983), 44, 55, 69, and Charles Coleman Sellers in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 42, Part I (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1952).

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