

The Business of Musical-Instrument Making
in
Early Industrial London

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

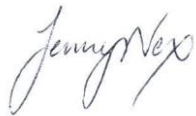
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2013

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by me and that the work described within is my own except where explicitly stated otherwise. I further declare that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jenny Nex".

Jenny Nex

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Abstract

This thesis is an exploration of musical-instrument making as a craft-based industry in London between c1760 and c1820. It is built upon an examination of a wide range of historical sources which have been used to gain an insight into the context of and processes involved in the operational side of this trade. As such, it is the first attempt to understand instrument making as a whole from a socio-economic perspective. Traditionally, organological projects have grown from an interest in surviving instruments and, as a result, have been focussed in general on the individual (usually male) whose name is inscribed on instruments and who was usually the founder of the firm. The tacit assumption has been that this person was responsible for all aspects of the instrument's production. I will demonstrate that in fact most firms relied on the contributions of more than one person and that women played a role which has largely remained unseen. I argue that in order to understand musical-instrument making more fully, we also need to place it in the context of the markets that makers were addressing and to explore the influence that different markets had on businesses. I examine the internal structures of the firms in terms of personnel and their relationships, focussing firstly on women and the family business and then on working practices and how labour was distributed. Furthermore, my examination of the monetary operations of firms helps us to see how they were managed and can be used to locate businesses within broader employment and financial structures. This work gives us not only a more grounded view of instrument making as a whole than has previously been attempted, but also offers the opportunity of placing it alongside comparable artisanal enterprises working in the same environment.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

bro^t: brought

CLRO: Corporation of London Records Office, London

commⁿ: commission(s)

d: pence

D^o or d^o: ditto

dec^d: deceased

&c: et cetera (etc)

f: folio

gn: guinea(s)

IGI: International Genealogical Index

l: used in some manuscripts in place of £ to denote pounds

LBL: The British Library, London

LGL: Guildhall Library, London

LMA: London Metropolitan Archives Centre, London. LMA ex LGL: Manuscripts which were transferred from the Guildhall Library to LMA.

Ms: Manuscript

Mf: Microfilm

NASDRO: Nottinghamshire Archives and Southwell Diocesan Record Office

Old Bailey: Proceedings of the Old Bailey, accessed at www.oldbaileyonline.org. The

Reference numbers include the date of the trial in the format year-month-day.

PCC: Prerogative Court of Canterbury

PRO: Public Record Office, London (now part of TNA)

RCM: Royal College of Music, London

r: recto

s: shilling(s)

SALS: Somerset Archives and Local Studies, Somerset Heritage Centre, Taunton,
formerly the Somerset Record Office

Sun Fire Office: References to insurance policies are given in the format LMA ex LGL
Ms 11936/volume number/page number, policy number, date. Some volumes
lack page numbers, or the numbers are illegible. The LMA's new catalogue
number is CLC/B/192/F/001/Ms 11936, but for brevity it appears here as 11936.

SHC: Surrey History Centre, Woking

TNA: The National Archives, London

v: verso

WCA: Westminster City Archives (or City of Westminster Archives Centre), London

ye: the ('y' represents the Old English character the thorn, which sounds 'th')

The symbol '/' is used in transcriptions to indicate the end of a line in the original document. Original spellings have been retained. Words which have been crossed out are included where they are legible, with a line through them. Inserted words are preceded by '^' and appear in superscript. Text in square brackets, such as '[blank]', has been added by the current author. Any text which is unclear has been transcribed to the best of my ability and included together with a question mark in square brackets. An idea of the page layout for the documents transcribed in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 has been given, although this is not precise.

Currency

Until 1971, English currency was divided into pounds (£), shillings (s) and pence (d). There were 12 pence in a shilling and 20 shillings in a pound. The guinea, abbreviated here as gn, was worth £1 1s and was largely used in upper class circles.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1: Background

This thesis is an exploration of musical-instrument making as a craft-based industry¹ in London between c1760 and c1820. It is built upon an examination of a wide range of historical sources which have been used to gain an insight into the context of and processes involved in the operational side of this trade. As such, it is the first attempt to try to understand instrument making as a whole while underpinning this with ideas developed by sociologists, historians and musicologists. Previous scholars have contributed invaluable work on individual workshops or specific sources of information, which has also been drawn on here. However, my work brings together data from many primary documents in order to gain insight into how musical-instrument makers in general and in particular were able to operate at a time when wider social structures and manufacturing processes were changing.

Musical instruments are of fundamental importance to musicians, be they amateur or professional, beginner or virtuoso. Most music is intended as an aural experience either for individuals or for groups of people coming together for musical or extra-musical purposes.² Indeed, composers often write for specific instruments, wanting not only the pitch of the note but also the timbre of a chosen instrument at a particular register in its range. The musical sounds we hear within any culture are therefore not only the result of the skills of musicians and composers, but are fundamentally reliant on how musical instruments are made, underlying which are the decisions made by their makers and the processes of production.

Furthermore, as well as their musical significance, musical instruments are socially important as visual representations of status, identity and taste.³ As well as contributing to the overall experience of an audience during performance, instruments remain visible

¹ I use the term 'industry' to mean 'a branch of trade or manufacture'. Sykes (1976), 551.

² Although it could be argued that some composers wrote some music as a purely intellectual exercise, this is rare.

³ Leppert (1988).

when they are not being played. The presence of a silent musical instrument suggests not only a musical atmosphere, itself socially significant, but also a wider cultural context in terms of property, education and social standing. As a result, the visual aspects of instruments are important in our understanding of social and cultural issues.

The study of musical instruments, organology, is generally categorised as a sub-discipline of musicology, and at its widest encompasses all the ways in which it is possible to consider a musical instrument. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* includes in its definition considerations of history, social function, design, construction and relation to performance.⁴ Most organology in the public domain relates to instruments as musical objects, their developments over time and the techniques necessary for their playing.⁵ While this project is organological in that it relates to the making of musical instruments, it stands outside traditional mainstream organology in that I am not examining the development of instruments, exploring taxonomy, focussing on the biography or output of a single maker or workshop, or exploring questions of performance practice. As a result, it has been fruitful to look to the disciplines of history, sociology and musicology more widely to find the tools necessary to develop a different way of thinking about musical-instrument making. This involves moving away from the assumption that there was a single craftsman working alone, producing all the component parts of instruments himself, and instead paints a picture of a complex industry constituting a wide range of business structures and contrasting approaches. As well as broadening organology itself, I hope that the interdisciplinary nature of this project will assist in making organology more generally relevant and in giving it a stronger position within wider scholarly debates, in particular those surrounding business history, the sociology of work and economic history.

The geographical location of this study was chosen because in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries London was the centre of musical-instrument making in Britain and Ireland, with only a few makers located permanently in the provinces, mainly in the larger cities and towns such as York, Dublin and Edinburgh.⁶ Even in these centres,

⁴ Duckles et al (2001).

⁵ S H Myers (2000).

⁶ Boalch (1995), 693–5 (England), 704 (Ireland), 711 (Scotland).

London-made instruments were sold through general music shops and specialist dealers. As a result, by exporting their products all over Britain and the world as well as sending out workers to tune and maintain instruments, London makers positioned themselves at the centre of the musical-instrument business.

London was one of the few places where a trade such as musical-instrument making could flourish. Instrument making requires a wide range of raw materials which would have been available due to London's importance as a port and trading centre. Also, there were enough people living in London to provide the workforce of individuals skilled in the different crafts needed for instrument making. These included carpenters, wood turners, metal workers, engravers and gut manufacturers. Furthermore, London was the centre of polite society so there were potential customers close at hand, particularly in the fashionable areas around Oxford Street and the West End.⁷

The period chosen for study saw major changes in British society and in manufacturing, particularly in terms of the development and application of new technologies and new sources of power. Some industries such as cotton production and coal mining have been studied and are given as paradigmatic examples of industrialisation.⁸ No detailed examination has yet been made of how these wider changes impacted on the working practices of musical-instrument makers at this time, considering factors such as the extent to which machinery and factory production could actually be applied universally in all trades. As well as the processes involved in manufacturing, I will consider the impact of challenges resulting from economic hardship and trading restrictions on how instrument-making firms dealt with problems such as debt and bankruptcy. In addition, a better understanding of the role of instrument makers within the complex structure of musical life in London, involving musicians, composers, concert organisers and private individuals, will contribute to our picture of developments in the music business at this time.

⁷ Ball & Sunderland (2001), 20–1.

⁸ For discussions, see, for example, Floud & McCloskey, eds (1994).

1.2: Introduction to the Main Examples

Although many firms operating in different subsections of the field are used as examples throughout this thesis, four companies form the main case studies at the end of each chapter. The four firms in question are: Broadwood; Erard; Clauss; and Longman & Broderip. These were chosen in no small part due to the survival of archives relating to their activities. It is fortunate that there are differences between these companies in terms of size, structure, output, customer base and financial behaviour as this has enabled me to gain some idea of the nature and diversity of musical-instrument making as a whole. However, the three specialist firms were working with stringed or keyboard instruments, enabling some direct comparisons to be made, but we lack a detailed case study examining wind instrument makers. Wind makers are included as much as possible in the main text and they feature in the sections that examine overarching themes such as insurance and bankruptcy, so they do nevertheless have a strong presence here.

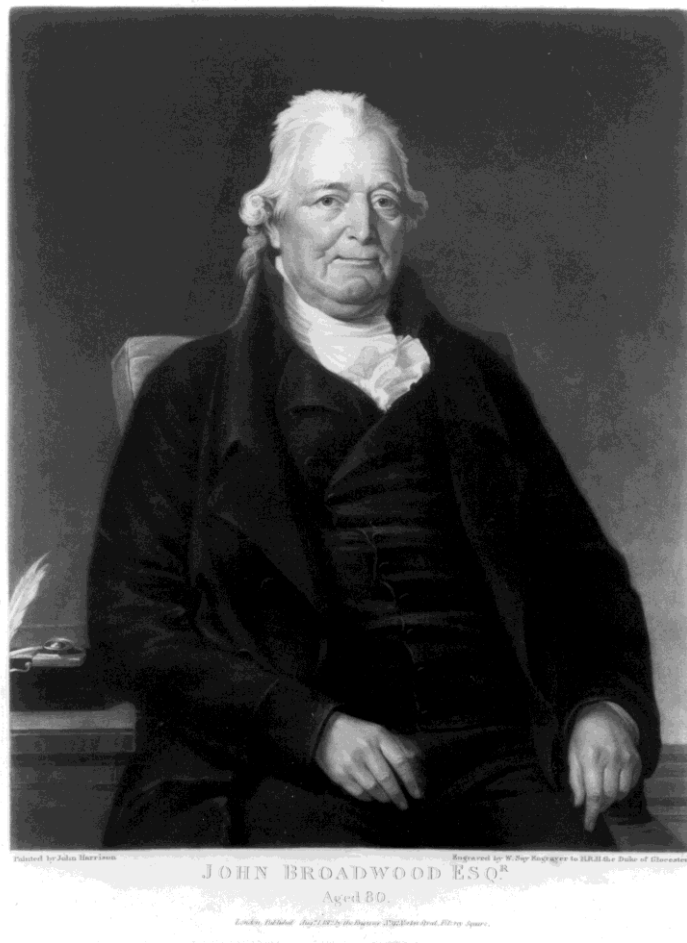


Figure 1.1: John Broadwood, engraving by W Say, 1812, RCM Special Collections

To introduce the four firms more fully, the company ultimately known as Broadwood's, which was established by Burkat Shudi in the late 1720s, focussed on stringed keyboard instruments, initially harpsichords, but later pianos. They became one of the largest firms of any kind operating in London. John Broadwood, a Scot and reputedly a skilled carpenter, worked for Shudi as a journeyman during the 1760s, married Shudi's daughter Barbara in 1769, became a partner a year later, and took over the business in 1782. He later brought two of his sons, James Shudi and Thomas into partnership with him and they carried the firm forwards into the mid-nineteenth century following Broadwood's death in 1812.⁹



Figure 1.2: Sébastien Erard, engraving by Charles Achille d'Hardiviller, 1830, RCM Special Collections

Erard's was also a top-end, successful firm, which appeared in London in the late eighteenth century, setting up an outpost of their Paris branch in the 1790s. Led by

⁹ Wainwright (1982).

Sébastien in Paris and supported by his nephew Pierre in London, the company made both harps and pianos, and were instrumental in the design and application of modifications to both instruments which form the basis of their mechanisms as we know them today.¹⁰



Figure 1.3: Harp by Erard, number 333, London, 1800, RCM 298

Christian Clauss was also a specialist maker, focussing mainly on English guittars,¹¹ which are a type of wire-strung cittern. The main selling point for Clauss's instruments

¹⁰ Nex (2011b) and Griffiths (2001).

¹¹ The name of this instrument appears in the historical record with both one and two ts, but two ts are used here to distinguish between this instrument and the Spanish guitar, the instrument we now know simply as the 'guitar'.

was his patented miniature keyboard mechanism which was added to these fleetingly popular instruments. This firm was much smaller in scale than both Broadwood's and Erard's and their market was different from that of the larger piano and harp makers, Clauss's instruments being much less expensive to make and to buy.¹²

Longman & Broderip's, on the other hand, was the one-stop shop for all things musical, selling a wide range of instruments and sheet music, accessories such as strings, music paper, mouthpieces and tuning hammers and novelty items including musical fans and playing cards. Based in Cheapside from the 1760s with further premises in the Haymarket and Tottenham Court Road later on, they developed markets in the City and the West End, across Great Britain and as far afield as Jamaica and India. The firm suffered bankruptcy in 1795 but was still a viable concern so was bought out and carried forwards by two groups of musicians, makers and businessmen. It continued to exist under a succession of names until the late twentieth century.¹³



Figure 1.4: Spinet by Longman & Broderip (Culliford), London, 1780, RCM 285

¹² Pouloupoulos (2011), 573–5.

¹³ Nex (2011a).

1.3: Thesis Outline

The thesis itself is divided into six chapters. Following the introduction, in the Literature Review, Methods and Methodology chapter I look at the work of other scholars in order to place mine in its wider context. I consider the different approaches to data gathering and analysis and the implications this has for direct comparisons with my own work. This chapter also includes a brief introduction to the main archival sources used, along with a discussion of their strengths and weaknesses.

In Chapter 3, I examine the musical markets which instrument makers were addressing. All musical-instrument makers operated within the market places accessible to them and some developed new ones as opportunities arose. These markets varied in terms of locality, gender, economic status and social positioning. I argue that different makers approached markets in contrasting ways depending on the type of instruments they made and the social placing of those instruments, their own social and economic standing, and their personal approach to instrument design, be it traditional or innovative.

Our understanding of musical life in London and further afield has been enhanced of late by a number of scholars working in this field.¹⁴ I add to this corpus by considering how musical-instrument makers fit into and address the networks of professional players, amateur musicians, audiences and performance spaces. In particular, I examine the different types of space in which musical instruments were to be found and consider how their nature affected the makers of those instruments. Within this context, I discuss what was considered appropriate musical behaviour in public and in private for women and men.¹⁵ Although music was an acceptable activity for both genders, the location and visibility of musical behaviour differed. For women, music was an acceptable amateur pastime but became problematic once public performance was involved. In contrast, for men amateur music making was only acceptable if it wasn't seen to take up too much time while public performance for professionals was the norm. Since

¹⁴ Herbert (1991) & (2003); McVeigh (1993), (2000) & (2010); Rohr (2001); W Weber (2004) & (2008); Woodfield (2000) & (2003).

¹⁵ Habermas (1961); Landes (1988); Shoemaker (1998); Bourdieu (1993).

instruments were also gendered, most obviously with large, expensive instruments such as keyboards and harps being largely the preserve of the amateur female with wind instruments (wood and brass) being essentially male, this had the effect of gendering the customer base for musical-instrument makers of different types.

The period under examination was one of change as London's music venues were expanding both in number and size in parallel with changes in the nature of performances themselves. I argue that some makers were pro-active in advertising and self-promotion, while others relied on word of mouth and a high reputation amongst the aristocracy. I also suggest that the location of their workplace was important to makers of some types of instrument in terms of access to specific markets. Case studies examining the demographics of the customers for Erard double action harps, Broadwood pianos and Clauss guitars close this chapter, demonstrating the gender differences and contrasts in status of the purchasers of different instruments. This provides another layer which can be added to our overall picture of social life and the growing market economy at this time.

In Chapter 4, family and gender in the business of musical-instrument making are examined. Musical-instrument makers have traditionally been studied as single individuals with respect to surviving instruments. However, since in many cases the home and workplace coincided, there was little distinction between the domestic and economic lives of those involved. I argue that most firms, if not all, had more than one person contributing to their activities and that in many cases these people were related to the head of the firm by blood, marriage, or long-term commitment. Since many instrument-making businesses were domestic economies, a different understanding of manufacturing processes is gleaned when they are examined within the construct of 'the family', itself a changing institution. This enables us to see that more people were involved in making instruments than just those whose names appear on surviving examples. It also recognises that the production of any object requires more than the act of manufacture itself with questions of business management and sales being crucial to the success of any business.

As well as showing that there were many men involved in instrument making, this opens a window on the contributions made by women. Women's history has grown

steadily since the 1970s through the work of feminists and historians,¹⁶ and this chapter adds another facet to our knowledge of the contributions of women to society in general and musical life in particular. I examine the evidence of women involved in instrument making and argue that their individual roles were influenced by their relationship with the male head of the firm and any other male family members present. The extent to which their contributions are visible is determined in part by the gendered nature of the archive. In general, women only become visible at particular points in their lives, so our understanding of their activities at other times is to a certain degree conjectural, but can be based on the evidence found of their work as it does exist.

I argue that for many firms, home and workplace coincided, so there was little distinction between domestic and economic life. In showing the significance of family businesses, I demonstrate that personal connections were of vital importance to the longevity and success of firms. The two case studies in this chapter examine the complex pattern of relationships within a single large firm, namely Longman & Broderip, in contrast to the structures of numerous individual firms within the industry of gut-string manufacture. The outcome of approaching the examination of instrument making in such a way that all contributors (male and female, high and low status) are included is the construction of a picture of instrument-making businesses which stretches beyond the names of the masters of the largest firms and brings it better in line with studies of other trades.

Chapter 5 examines industry and labour processes at this time, placing musical-instrument making within a wider context. The period 1760–1820 was one of great change in some areas of manufacture. Since some types of musical-instrument making continue to use craft-based artisanal techniques using hand tools and traditional methods even today, I examine the extent to which the concepts generally associated with ‘industrialisation’ can be applied in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. I argue that while some changes such as the use of fossil fuels for power, a dramatic increase in scale and a general move to larger premises have little relevance for the industry as a whole, others, most notably the division of labour, are useful in this context.

¹⁶ Davidoff & Hall (1987); Hufton (1995); Rendall (1990).

The relative sizes of firms in terms of their financial valuations can be seen through fire insurance records, establishing whether the overall weighting was towards smaller or larger businesses. A more detailed look at company premises has been gained from probate records to see how objects, materials and tools were distributed within the available spaces. These inventories provide additional evidence that for many makers, home and workplace were congruent. They also enable us to gain some understanding of how firms operated on a daily basis. I then consider the extent to which instrument-making firms operated in isolation, making all the separate elements of instruments in-house, and how much they were reliant on suppliers of raw materials and component parts, linking them to the wider artisanal world.

Here, different types of instruments will be examined separately since some instruments, such as pianos, became very popular. The growing market encouraged mass production and with their numerous parts, pianos lend themselves to specialist manufacture of the various components. In contrast, other types such as stringed instruments still require the skills of an individual craftsman to optimise the quality of the final output. I use the firms of Longman & Broderip and Erard as case studies to examine how two very different businesses were structured. This chapter furthers our understanding of the shape of instrument-making firms, from small to large companies. It also adds to the wider debate concerning the industrial revolution, asking how useful a model this actually is for all types of artisanal industry.

Having looked at the people involved, both in terms of their relationships and their contributions, in Chapter 6 I examine the financial workings of firms. I suggest that instrument makers appear to match the picture of income and wages found for workers in London in general, although there was inevitably a significant variation between the low paid, less skilled employees and the heads of the largest firms. I argue that instrument makers were not operating in an economic vacuum but that they were also part of a wider world of finance and credit, the structure of which was largely beyond their own control. As a time when financial stability fluctuated to extremes of prosperity and poverty, the period from 1760 to 1820 is significant here in demonstrating how musical-instrument makers fared both when finances were tight and when conspicuous consumption was the norm. Although many firms relied on short- and long-term loans, a small number were financially independent: I examine both types

and discuss the reasons behind their contrasting financial behaviour. Since very few archives of musical instrument-making firms survive from this period, a range of sources such as court cases, bank records, bankruptcy proceedings and prison records have been used to try to establish the impact of fluctuations in the wider economy on instrument makers.

I also examine the detail of the few company accounts that I have located in order to give an idea of the daily workings of firms and the relative demands on funds for materials, workers, advertising and other expenses. I use a selection of wills and bank records to demonstrate that some makers managed to accumulate considerable personal fortunes through their instrument-making activities, which they tended to invest in bank annuities or property (buildings and land). Then, in contrast to those companies which enjoyed financial success, I look at those whose debt problems dragged them into insolvency or bankruptcy. I argue that although they were in some respects operating in the same ways as their more successful contemporaries, there appear to have been significant variations in how their finances were managed, which meant the difference between success and failure. The culture of credit was useful when all parties were confident in each other's solvency, but when a debt was called in and the debtor unable to produce the necessary cash, mutual trust would disappear and problems would ensue. I also show that in the late eighteenth century patterns of failure were comparable between instrument makers and the broader picture as determined by economic historians. However, in the early years of the nineteenth century, instrument makers bucked the general trend and the number of failures remained stable, in contrast to increases overall.

From surviving accounts relating to two firms, I examine patterns of income and expenditure across the year and between different categories, comparing and contrasting the harp maker Erard with the guitar maker Clauss. The closing case study examines the financial dealings of Longman & Broderip, looking at how Longman built up the business through borrowing but then suffered bankruptcy as a result of over-stretching his credit. This chapter furthers our understanding of economic life in early industrial London. It also enables us for the first time to see how musical instrument-making firms operated financially, whether they were small firms, medium-sized manufactories or large companies.

Chapters 1 to 6 are brought together in the concluding chapter. Here, the questions of who was contributing to musical-instrument making in London during the reign of George III, how those that continued to operate managed to do so, why some firms fell by the wayside and whether the type of instrument being made was a significant contributory factor will be addressed. The importance of musical-instrument makers as exemplars of manufacturers working at the intersection between mass production and craft-based industries within the changing environment of early industrial London will be addressed.

The appendices at the end of the text include the main data sets used for analysis, being the accounts of Erard and Clauss. I also list the insurance policies used, as well as the wills from which information has been drawn. A listing of those who suffered insolvency and bankruptcy is included while the two main probate inventories referred to, those of Pinto and Shudi, are transcribed in full.

This thesis therefore contributes to developments in our understanding of musical life during the reign of George III. It places musical-instrument makers within the debates of other scholars looking at concert life and the activities of professional and amateur musicians. I also consider musical-instrument makers as businessmen and women. In order to do this, I analyse surviving company accounts alongside other archives in order to construct a picture of their financial operations. This work is limited by the sources that are currently available to us, but it is to be hoped that further searching by scholars and cataloguing by archivists and librarians will facilitate the development of this kind of study in the future. Now, though, the wider subject will be introduced by means of a review of relevant literature, predominantly from the three scholarly fields of musicology, history and sociology.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW, METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

2.1: Literature Review

Although this thesis rests most naturally in the discipline of organological musicology, there are clear links with debates in other academic areas. As a result this literature review and methodology touches on the work of individuals active in a number of areas of research, mainly within musicology, sociology and history. Although these disciplines have different approaches to theory and practice, there are very strong overlaps in subject matter and untangling problems with a plurality of techniques can benefit those working in all disciplines. In the last twenty or so years, a number of musicologists and organologists have broadened their approach, particularly following the publication of Kerman's *Musicology* in 1985 where he outlines a more inclusive discipline.¹ Since Kerman's critique, demonstrating how musicology was focussed almost exclusively on the western art music tradition and a canon of 'great works', musicology has taken on a much wider gamut of approaches, adopting techniques from history, anthropology, sociology and cultural studies in particular.² Ethnomusicology has also been brought in under the broader banner of musicology, rather than being positioned on or beyond its borders, and its techniques applied to general musicology. This has had the result that musicology is now more reflexive and inclusive. As well as the study of the notes on the page, as advocated by Williams,³ the consideration of musical contexts is embedded, as is the sharing of good practice between different areas of the discipline.⁴

My 'home discipline', organology, is the youngest of those relevant here, being named as a separate sub-discipline of musicology only in 1941.⁵ It was initially defined as the scientific study of musical instruments, focussing on their construction and acoustics

¹ Kerman (1985).

² A Williams (2001), viii.

³ P Williams (2000), 8.

⁴ Stobart, ed (2008), 3–13.

⁵ Bessaraboff (1941), xxvi.

and as such was quite narrow. Like musicology as a whole but lagging behind somewhat, organology is now taking wider contexts and broader influences into its academy. The difference can clearly be seen simply by looking at the definition of ‘organology’ in two *New Grove* dictionaries. Of the two most recent publications, the earlier, *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* from 1984, gives simply ‘the descriptive and analytical study of musical instruments’,⁶ while in 2001 *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* defines organology as ‘the study of musical instruments in terms of their history and social function, design, construction and relation to performance’,⁷ thus bringing in more angles from which to consider the subject.

Other aspects of organology which are now beginning to improve derive from its origin in antiquarianism. Recent scholars have been working to review information previously taken as ‘fact’ and to seek evidence in the archive to establish what can be relied on and what cannot. For example, it was stated in the mainstream literature that piano maker Johannes Zumpe returned to Germany in 1784,⁸ but two recent studies independently found that he actually retired to Paddington.⁹ This is only one of many such inaccuracies scattered liberally through the established literature which have led me to take an approach firmly grounded in archival evidence.

My own work has often been collaborative in nature, and in particular I have published numerous papers with Lance Whitehead.¹⁰ Together, we have been digging into archives not previously studied by organologists in order to find new makers and to establish factual information concerning those about whom we already know something. To date, these projects have often focussed on a particular archive in order to bring it to the attention of the musicological community in the hope that more people will make use of these sources. However, I am now adding a further element to organology and examining neither the instruments themselves nor the biographies of

⁶ ‘Organology’ in Sadie, ed (1984), v2, 916 (no author).

⁷ Libin (2001).

⁸ Boalch (1995), 214.

⁹ Cole (2000), 35 and Whitehead & Nex (2002), 12.

¹⁰ See, for example, Nex & Whitehead (2005), Whitehead & Nex (2003), Whitehead & Nex (2002a), Whitehead & Nex (2002).

their makers but rather how makers operated as businessmen and women within the wider socio-economic contexts of early industrial London. This is why I have looked not only to organology and musicology but also to social and cultural history, historical and cultural sociology, and cultural and economic history. Little or nothing has been written looking in detail at the financial side of instrument making, partly because no complete company archives survive. Indeed, relatively little information which was generated by the firms themselves remains accessible to us. This is the result of a number of factors, including devastating fires which have consumed many firms' archives over the last three hundred years, and also, when companies ceased to exist, few people have felt it useful or necessary to preserve their accounts. As a result, my work begins with bringing together a range of sources and archives generated beyond the daily workings of the businesses, each of which contains different types of information. Through this process, I hope to offer an enhanced understanding of musical and cultural aspects of history and how they are intimately linked with business and economic history.

In this chapter, I outline the work of other individuals which forms the corpus to which I am adding and relate their findings and conclusions to one another and to my work. Firstly, I will consider aspects of musicology, including the work of ethnographers, social musicologists, and historical musicologists. This leads through the work of Cyril Ehrlich into an examination of relevant economic, business and social histories. I then turn to literature which discusses aspects of family history, particularly the work of feminist historians who have opened up this field in the last fifty years. The work of industrial historians follows, before finally turning to cultural aspects of sociology. The chapter concludes with a description of each of the main types of source I have used and a discussion of the information which may be gleaned from each type of historical artefact.

Beginning then with the wider world of musicology, I now identify scholars whose approaches have been useful in their examination of a variety of aspects of cultural musicology. Some of the writers whose work is of most relevance here are those who have themselves used a multi-disciplinary approach. For example, ethnomusicologist Kevin Dawe has specifically considered musical instruments and points out that instruments are integrated into their social contexts as they are:

formed, structured, and carved out of personal and social experience as much as they are built up from a great variety of natural and synthetic materials. They exist at an intersection of material, social, and cultural worlds where they are as much constructed and fashioned by the force of minds, cultures, societies, and histories as axes, saws, drills, chisels, machines, and the ecology of wood.¹¹

Dawe also discusses the meanings of musical instruments beyond the sounds they make, which are specific to the socio-cultural context in which the instruments are both made and played. He states that, as a result, in order to understand the instruments fully, one must also gain some understanding of their social and cultural context. Turning this round, by considering instruments as material goods and meaning-bearing objects, we can perhaps come to a deeper understanding of different cultures and how music works within them. My approach is of this nature, considering the making and production of musical instruments as an example of how artisanal businesses operated within the social and economic markets of London and the wider world. This can then be reflected back on the musical world, demonstrating the extent to which it too was integral to culture and the wider society.

Another musicologist who considers musical instruments to be a significant part of musical processes is Trevor Herbert, who examines British musical traditions in contrast to Dawe's ethnomusicological projects. Dawe and Herbert sit well alongside each other as their subject matter and standpoints are in some ways different, but their contextual approaches are similar. As a trombonist, Herbert's work has centred on brass music, most notably in his study of the brass band movement. He explores the many extra-musical influences which impacted on the formation of bands and on the social structures in which they were inextricably positioned, including perhaps surprisingly the development of the British railway network.¹² In addition, Herbert looks at the human side of musical instrument development, rather than only approaching instruments as technical objects in a more abstract, extra-musical manner as many old-school organologists would.¹³ He also unusually combines questions of use with those of construction, underlying the often forgotten fact that there is a strong relationship between the two. This is again an approach which is useful to me as it

¹¹ K Dawe (2003), 275.

¹² Herbert & Wallace, eds (1997), 181; this is also discussed in Bevan (1991), 105.

¹³ Herbert (2003), 153.

brings together influences both from within the musical world and external to it, to demonstrate that musicians and musical-instrument makers were not working in a vacuum but were integral to society and moved with its influences. I also concur with Herbert in trying to move away from the ‘positivist and elitist’ nature of a great deal of musicology¹⁴ (and indeed organology) to try to find out more about the lesser known individuals involved in musical life in order better to understand the whole.

At a more personal level, Deborah Rohr has examined the working lives of musicians making a living in Britain between 1750 and 1850 and has shown that there are many parallels between the lives of performing musicians then and now, with ambiguous social status, portfolio careers and the reliance to a greater or lesser extent on financial support from church, state, individual patronage or corporate sponsorship.¹⁵ This relates strongly to my own findings since musical-instrument makers too often mixed their activities in order to earn a living. Patronage was of central importance to all those in the music industry, including musical-instrument makers. For example, Nex and Whitehead have found that harpsichord builder Ferdinand Weber had a side-line selling imported porcelain.¹⁶ Both musicians and instrument makers often came from low social positions but due to their skills and training gained direct access to those of the highest social standing, even including the royal family in some cases. However, even though musicians would be mixing with those of high status, they were not uniformly treated as equals. John Westcott, who served as band master for the first battalion of the twenty sixth division of the Cameronian Regiment of Foot, was present during the troubles in Portugal in 1811–12 and recalls social evenings there ‘where music equalized, as well as harmonized the company not as in England, where the harmony is acceptable but the musician neglected.’¹⁷ Thus, in London the status of musicians was ambiguous, being partly reliant on birth but also on the views of their patrons or customers. Rohr identifies four main reasons for becoming a musician: family tradition; talent; the hope of great financial gain; and the lack of other options when economic hardship has come about through other means. This appears to have been true also for

¹⁴ Herbert (2003), 151.

¹⁵ Rohr (2001).

¹⁶ Nex & Whitehead (2000).

¹⁷ LBL, *Journal of the Campaign in Portugal 1811–12*, Western Manuscripts, Add MS 32468.

musical-instrument makers, as my chapters on the family and on finance will demonstrate.

Rohr's micro-historical approach contrasts with and complements the macro-history of musical life created by Simon McVeigh, who looks at the history of concerts and the establishing of the canon of 'great works' which form the core repertoire for many orchestras and choirs. His work, particularly that examining cultural aspects of musical life and questions of when, in what forms and in which spaces music is and has been performed, is relevant to my discussion of musical markets since the nature of the space in terms of its size, use and the gender of its main users has a direct impact on the way in which instrument makers interact with their customers. McVeigh's research on concert life in London in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries brings together a wide range of sources in order to construct a picture of how composers, performers, concert impresarios, theatre owners, instrument makers and the public in its variety of shapes and sizes all had an impact on the development of public and private music making.¹⁸ Of particular relevance for musical-instrument makers are the changes in demands made on instruments which resulted from ever larger spaces being used, requiring instruments with more volume and projection.

A further aspect which becomes apparent through McVeigh's writings on consumerism is the commercialisation of leisure as a whole and particularly of music as a leisure activity.¹⁹ Some composers, musicians and instrument makers directly addressed audiences wishing to fill their time and spaces with something new and exciting. The potter Josiah Wedgwood (1730–95) manipulated his sales through working to an elite market whilst also making comparable products of a price reachable by those aspiring to climb the social ladder.²⁰ Similarly, while some instruments remained expensive, other makers were reducing their prices significantly, making some instruments more widely accessible to a larger middling class of consumers. As a result, while some makers achieved financial success through exclusivity, others did so by the volume of their sales, with a range of approaches in between. Although I would question McVeigh's

¹⁸ McVeigh (1993).

¹⁹ McVeigh (2010).

²⁰ McVeigh (2010), 3–4.

assertion that ‘Broadwood was the Wedgwood of the piano’²¹ since pianos could simply not be made at as low a cost as pots and were still therefore mostly for an elite market, it is interesting to compare the different commodities and how producers related to their consumers. As Cyril Ehrlich states, even in 1851, ‘good pianos were still luxury goods, produced by craftsmen along traditional lines without machinery, and therefore expensive’.²²

As an eminent scholar who looked at musical instruments, particularly the piano, from a point of view outside organology, Ehrlich is important here in providing an economic historian’s take on music and its instruments. Ehrlich is critical of the organological mainstream stating that our view of the history of the piano is distorted by ‘the antiquarianism of its more recent practitioners’.²³ His writings show an interest in and understanding of markets and the delay which often occurs between the initial invention of an object (or its ‘improvement’) and the widespread adoption of that object in society.

I do agree with Ehrlich in that organological projects have often lacked an academic rigour. However, although Ehrlich appears to be happy with the use of harpsichords for older repertoire, he does not enjoy early piano music played on the instruments which would have been familiar to the composers and is very much of the view that composers were pushing piano design with makers struggling to keep up.²⁴ This modernist standpoint is unhelpful and I feel does not stand up to scrutiny since it would not have been possible to predict the direction in which piano making was going and composers would have wanted their music to be playable at that time by as many potential customers as possible. If pianos were not fulfilling their needs, they would simply have written for something else. We also know that piano makers were themselves pushing the boundaries, with makers like Broadwood consulting with acousticians and natural philosophers, so the situation was one of great complexity.²⁵ Ehrlich does acknowledge

²¹ McVeigh (2010), 8.

²² Ehrlich (1990), 9.

²³ Ehrlich (1990), 9.

²⁴ Ehrlich (1990), 5, 26.

²⁵ Wainwright (1982), 72.

that ‘instruments cannot be assessed with complete objectivity’²⁶ as each listener has their own tastes and expectations, which was of course true for eighteenth-century ears as well as our own. Ehrlich’s assertion that pianos tend not to improve with age is also true, and was recognised by the early makers who were constructing instruments for their existing customers and not for posterity.²⁷ According to Clinkscale, for example, when Christian Clauss was focussed on piano building, the firm warranted instruments for only two years.²⁸ This demonstrates the potentially fleeting nature of pianos as commodities at this time, not far different from the modern technologies of today.

The world of the piano is perhaps the most thoroughly researched to date as the instrument is the most ubiquitous. As well as Ehrlich’s volume, numerous histories of the piano, such as those by Pollens and Rowland,²⁹ include useful information about the development of the instrument and its repertoire together with a certain amount of social context. Individual firms have been examined, such as Wainwright’s and Cole’s volumes on Broadwood³⁰ and papers on lesser-known individuals such as Geib and Frecker.³¹ However, there is little information on the inner workings of the firms, often simply due to a lack of surviving evidence. Although there are significant archives relating to Broadwood’s,³² they are organised in such a way as to make a general overview of their business difficult, either due to only partial survival or to a lack of detail in each account book.

For many musicologists and economic historians, only those firms like Broadwood’s which are deemed to have been successful are of interest. However, I concur with Hoppit in the view that we cannot fully understand the economic processes and financial structures within which individuals were working unless we examine both sides of the coin. Hoppit’s work on *Risk and Failure in English Businesses 1700–1800*

²⁶ Ehrlich (1990), 25.

²⁷ Ehrlich (1990), 25.

²⁸ Clinkscale (1993), 67.

²⁹ Pollens (1995), Rowland, ed (1998).

³⁰ Wainwright (1982), Cole (2005).

³¹ Strange & Nex (2010); Kent (2012).

³² SHC, Ms 2185/JB

is of particular significance here.³³ It is easy to see the firms which succeeded, but much harder to find information about those who struggled and perhaps suffered bankruptcy. Yet such cases can tell us a great deal about the industry in question in terms of how individual businesses were run, the aims of the makers, the desires of the market place and what can happen if these are not well-matched. I use Hoppit's statistics to place musical-instrument makers within the overall picture of insolvency and failure.

In order to consider instrument making more generally within this wider economic context, the work of Floud and McCloskey, who examine the economic landscape in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has been drawn upon.³⁴ Their examinations of questions of trade (both at home and abroad), investment, industrial organisation and other issues will be used during the course of this work.

On a more detailed level, I have made significant attempts to find analyses of businesses operating in other artisanal fields, such as carpenters, goldsmiths and scientific-instrument makers, and although there is much of interest, they too suffer from a lack of surviving accounts from which to draw conclusions. A study of scientific-instrument makers by Morrison-Low³⁵ has been particularly useful in enabling me to show that there are many parallels between the worlds of musical- and scientific-instrument makers, both in their own times and in the approaches made by researchers today. In both disciplines, the modern focus has been on the instruments themselves rather than their makers or contexts. Many businesses were home-based and as family enterprises enjoyed contributions from men, women and children. Also, the adoption of mechanisation occurred gradually in both fields, with hand technology existing alongside modern inventions well into the nineteenth century. In terms of markets, there was a need for equipment from professionals in both areas which ran in parallel with an amateur interest amongst those whose finances permitted an investment of time and money in scientific or musical pursuits. Unfortunately, though, there are no

³³ Hoppit (1987).

³⁴ Floud & McCloskey, eds (1994).

³⁵ Morrison-Low (2007). I am grateful to Alison Morrison-Low for her assistance.

company accounts with which to compare those I have used available at the moment, although it is to be hoped that some will be uncovered at some stage in the future.

Many social historians shy away from discussions of music, although Brewer does include music in his examination of eighteenth-century English culture and outlines some of the problems it creates. This viewpoint from within another discipline is helpful in enabling us better to contextualise the views of musicologists. While the actual practice of music does indeed require specialist skills and training, an understanding of its social and historical contexts can be sought by cultural and social historians in the same way that architecture and painting are already better integrated: it need not be treated as a special case. Brewer demonstrates that how one approached music was dependent in part on one's gender and status, so could be problematic for men and women if individuals did not conform to social norms. As Brewer neatly summarises, 'the study of music as a science was legitimate, but the passions aroused by musical performance were more troubling'.³⁶ This was true for both amateurs and professionals, although the precise boundaries were different depending on whether one was undertaking a leisure activity or trying to make a living.

However, not all social historians are as successful, particularly where specialist knowledge is necessary in order to understand the more subtle nuances of the capabilities of different instruments. For instance, Blanning states, when examining the rise of the piano, that 'the advance of opera and the move away from polyphony during the late seventeenth century intensified the need for an instrument that would be more expressive – one that would combine the power of the harpsichord with the dynamic range of the clavichord'.³⁷ Although there is a core of truth here, both the clavichord and harpsichord are expressive instruments when played by skilled musicians, and the dynamic range of the clavichord is, in fact, tiny. Furthermore, the suggestion that 'the harpsichord is restricted dynamically, being unable to move from soft to loud and back again' is a fallacy held by many who do not understand the instrument or how to use it. Yes, an instrument in which the string is plucked cannot vary its dynamic by touch, as is possible with instruments in which the string is struck (the obvious example of this

³⁶ Brewer (1997), 532.

³⁷ Blanning (2008), 176.

being the piano), but dynamics can be achieved through other means, such as engaging different registers or changing the placing of notes to give either full or rolled chords. There are further examples of difficulties with Blanning's text, but they are too numerous to challenge individually here.

Many of the windows through which historians look at the past could be equally well used for musical-instrument making and as a result add to our wider view of manufacturing in England at this time. Instrument makers were craftspeople and artisans who, like furniture makers or clock makers, had to source their raw materials, find or train skilled workers, deal with their finances, and sell their finished products. In addition, they were positioned within their own family structures both in terms of their professional and private lives. Porter discusses the family and the extent to which this unit was significant as a 'key institution' within society.³⁸ I have taken this work and the work of others in the same field to underpin my explorations of musical-instrument making as a family business. As discussed by Hill, when, as was often the case at this time, home and workplace coincided, numerous members of the 'family' contributed to the household's economy, be it through paid work or by undertaking supporting roles such as account keeping or domestic work.³⁹ I have found this to be true for musical-instrument makers, as Morrison-Low has for scientific-instrument makers.⁴⁰ The term 'family' itself can be interpreted in different ways, from those related by blood to those living under one roof and therefore tied to one another financially or emotionally, perhaps including journeymen and apprentices as well as domestic servants. Marriage was an important step since as well as personal relationships between two individuals, marriages were often alliances between families and their businesses. Both parties could benefit, sometimes financially and at other times in gaining reputation through association. Davidoff and Hall have found that men from the working classes often married when they had finished their apprenticeships and training, and were looking to set up a home and business of their own.⁴¹ At this more than any other time a good connection could establish them for life, while cementing a contact with a well-established master in the same or a similar trade would

³⁸ Porter (1990), 159–60.

³⁹ B Hill (1989), 24.

⁴⁰ Morrison-Low (2007), 36.

⁴¹ Davidoff & Hall (1987), 323.

have been extremely useful. In turn, the master would have wanted to see his daughter with a husband who was capable of making a good living and generating income sufficient for her to live comfortably and to continue the family line.

As well as the central role of the family, another key area of relevance is that of industrial change. Historians have found much to debate in the developments of business and the economy in the second half of the long eighteenth century. This period is often explored in terms of technological changes and rapid growth from small scale production to the factory system.⁴² Although this type of ‘industrialisation’ may be seen in some areas of manufacturing, most notably cotton and iron, many others developed in different ways or show only some of the trends visible in these particular examples. The received wisdom is that there were relatively quick changes (‘revolution’) from small scale craft manufacture (literally ‘hand’ making), to large, factory-based businesses with huge numbers of employees, vast outputs and machinery doing the bulk of the work (‘industrial’).⁴³ As Hardy expresses it, a ‘sharp discontinuity’ is ‘characterised by the meteoric rise of the cotton mills, the adoption of Watt’s steam engine, and the emergence of a new class-based social order’.⁴⁴

However, recently this view has been questioned by historians, including Hardy, whose work explores the history of the term ‘industrial revolution’ itself and how historians’ interpretation of events has changed over the last two hundred years. While it is indeed the case that many areas of commerce did see dramatic changes, other areas remained small in scale (the Welsh mining village remained a village) and craft-like in nature. In addition, the issue of whether change was rapid enough to be called ‘revolutionary’ has been called into question. However, there were fundamental changes in some aspects of society, such as a general move from rural to urban areas, and as O’Brien and Quinault express it, it seems to be generally agreed that ‘something profound happened in Britain between circa 1750 and 1825’ and that it was ‘concentrated in just a few leading industries linked to foreign trade and state power’.⁴⁵

⁴² Berg (1994), 123–5.

⁴³ For example, see Plumb (1950), 77–84.

⁴⁴ Hardy (2006), blurb.

⁴⁵ O’Brien & Quinault, eds (1993), 26.

The extent to which musical-instrument making falls into any of the paradigmatic structures built around the histories of other industries will be explored in this thesis. One of the factors discussed by historians as being part of industrialisation is the general movement of population away from the countryside and into towns. Indeed, musical-instrument making would probably not have grown to the size it did, had it not been for the rapid increase in the number of people living in towns. This pattern of urbanisation in England and Wales saw a rise from 15 towns with a population of over 20,000 inhabitants in 1801 to 63 towns in 1851.⁴⁶ Instrument making had grown into a sizeable manufacturing industry only in cities where there are enough affluent people to afford its products, as well as the possibilities for acquiring raw materials and transporting instruments to a home market and often also abroad. In the eighteenth century, this was basically the main capital cities such as London, Paris, Vienna and Lisbon together with independent cities including Hamburg.

Certainly the building of some instrument types, such as pianos, did conform to aspects of factory production, the division of labour and the generation of new markets, but as Ehrlich has found, the mechanisation of production processes is less apparent, and little economy of scale was actually achieved.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the impact of industrialisation on other instrument groups during this period has been little explored and appears to have been lower even than that experienced by the piano trade.

Another aspect of business development is the dichotomy of product innovation and process innovation discussed by Joel Mokyr.⁴⁸ While these are undoubtedly linked, product innovation can be seen in terms of developing markets and new audiences for particular goods while process innovation sees changes in the way objects were made, be it through mechanisation, division of labour, or centralisation of a work place. Certainly in the musical instrument trade both processes can be seen, with advertisements for new instruments and developments to those already popular (such as the piano) as well as the move in some cases from small home-based workshops to large manufactories. However, establishing the extent to which these were universal in the

⁴⁶ O'Brien & Quinault, eds (1993), 235.

⁴⁷ Ehrlich (1990), 19.

⁴⁸ Mokyr (1994), 14.

trade or whether we currently have a biased view as the result of examining only a few specific examples which demonstrate the received wisdom of industrialisation is one of the aims of this thesis.

Another important side of musical-instrument making in contrast to the construction side is its contextual placing within music as a human activity. Cultural sociology can help when considering the social placing of music and hence the markets within which instrument makers were working. In this context, 'culture' refers not only to high culture, but also to the all-encompassing concept of culture as everything we enact as members of different societies.⁴⁹ Elias was of the view that culture is very slow to change, as is the individual's *habitus*, which is developed as a result of each person's position within their culture and is derivative of their upbringing and life experiences.⁵⁰ Thus studying the culture of past generations can be useful in trying to understand modern cultures since, in Elias's view, *habitus* and culture can only really be explored over long periods of time. The concept of *habitus* is developed by Bourdieu, and involves individuals having a 'set of dispositions which generates practices and perceptions'.⁵¹ Class and gender are central to this, both of which have an impact on the working lives of musical-instrument makers. *Habitus* can be viewed as a major contributor to social stability through the development and sharing of values and accepted behaviours, with those who react against their *habitus*, either subversively or openly challenging what is deemed to be appropriate behaviour, driving social change.⁵² This is important when reflecting on the nature of the family business.

Habitus is significant when considering musical-instrument making in London during the latter part of the eighteenth century since many of those involved in the trade were born into families already involved in music, either in performance, publishing or instrument making. As a result, they would have grown up knowing about the musical world of London and how it operated. On the other hand, a number of other makers were born outside London, many outside England. As a result, their early cultural experiences would be numerous and varied, giving rise to the possibility of a wide

⁴⁹ Robbins (2000), xi.

⁵⁰ van Krieken (1998), 49.

⁵¹ Bourdieu (1993), 5.

⁵² Gunn (2006), 77.

variation in approaches to instrument making. Since there was little or no regulation of instrument making as an industry, the guilds being less powerful than in previous centuries and with no guild specifically relating to instrument making, it was possible for individuals to find their own ways of managing their businesses within certain limitations.

Part of the structure of musical life at this time relates to the differential between 'public' and 'private'. Habermas' discussions of *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* can be considered with specific reference to musical life in eighteenth-century London and hence to musical instruments. The meaning of 'public' is different depending on the context in which it is used. For example, it can mean 'open to all', but it can also refer to the state.⁵³ The public sphere is broadly defined by Habermas at this time as 'the sphere of private people come together as a public'.⁵⁴ Although his discussions refer primarily to governance and to capitalism, the main themes can be applied to other areas of social life.

For Habermas, the transformation involved the relationship between capitalism and the state. During the eighteenth century in England, the power of the crown diminished while that of the state increased. Fundamentally, an educated elite class formed who were able to come together and discuss pertinent issues of the day, forming a 'public opinion' on matters of national and international significance.⁵⁵ Crucially, it was the element of education, not of wealth itself or political standing, which permitted entry into this group and although these assets did often go together, it was possible for those of lower birth to climb up and join in. Music too relies more on aspects of education than status for participation and musicians and instrument makers, as part of this society, were in some cases able to move up the social hierarchy to become part of this educated 'public'. The prime example of this is the Broadwood family. John Broadwood came down from Scotland to London in 1761 to work as a journeyman but was able to build on the work of his master Burkat Shudi, whose business he took over,⁵⁶ and give a good education to his own children, two of whom would later own

⁵³ Habermas (1961), 27.

⁵⁴ Habermas (1961), 2.

⁵⁵ Calhoun, ed (1992), 3–18.

⁵⁶ Boalch (1995), 25.

large estates in the Surrey and Sussex countryside and become high-profile public figures, acting as High Sheriffs of each county.⁵⁷

In contradistinction to Habermas' public sphere is the private realm, which also has gradations within it. Even in our private homes, we have spaces where we generally allow some public admittance, albeit to a controlled group of individuals, whereas there are other rooms which would normally only be accessible to those who lived in the house. In the eighteenth century, the working classes, who perhaps were not part of Habermas' 'public', did not have a separate concept of 'private' since work and home were not only co-located but also often involved the same core group of people. Thus, only the most affluent musical-instrument makers would have been part of Habermas' 'public', alongside many of the customers who were purchasing the most expensive instruments such as pianos and harps.

As well as the issues of music and musical instruments being defining aspects of *habitus*, Bourdieu's work is also useful here in his *Critique of the Judgement of Taste*.⁵⁸ Works of art, which can include music and instruments, fall into three categories of taste: 'Legitimate taste', that of the dominant class; 'Middlebrow taste', that of the middling classes, often comprising intellectuals; and 'Popular taste', that of the largest group of society with the least education.⁵⁹ The extrovert display of one's taste is used either as a way of distinguishing oneself from the common people or of demonstrating one's level of 'Legitimate taste'. Of course one's financial capital is also important since the flaunting of wealth is achieved partly through overt displays of 'taste'. As Leppert discusses, musical instruments, as well as being sound-producing objects which are necessary in order for us to create our music, are visual and spatial representations of that music and therefore of the groups to which we belong, even when they are silent.⁶⁰ This is true whatever the music in question. Highly decorated instruments or those by the most famous companies were desirable to some simply as objects, rather than for musical purposes. While at the top end of the market, what customers were paying for is the reputation of the maker and the cultural capital which comes with

⁵⁷ Wainwright (1982).

⁵⁸ Bourdieu (1979).

⁵⁹ Bourdieu (1979), 16.

⁶⁰ Leppert (1993), 8.

owning an example of their output, further down, simply having an example in one's home would have carried the same *éclat* amongst one's peers. These issues are all of significance when examining the markets in which instrument makers sell their products since makers could target whichever part of the marketplace they felt would give them the greatest rewards.

This outline has introduced the main themes of this thesis and those scholars whose work is of particular significance here. My aim has been to draw together ideas and approaches from different disciplines in a way advocated by recent scholars centred in a variety of fields. As Monelle points out, there is still room for greater interdisciplinarity and collaboration between those working in parallel areas:

for musicians and other scholars have been apt to eye each other suspiciously, each suspecting that the others want to create distraction from the proper concerns of their science.⁶¹

By using the strengths of each discipline, we can come to a greater understanding of matters relating to social and cultural history, to music's place as a human activity and to musical instruments as the tools and symbols of musicality. Now follows a short discussion of the main sources I have used and their strengths and weaknesses.

2.2: Methods and Methodology

Archival evidence can be of great importance to musicologists and those working in its sub-disciplines. The significance of archival research to organology can be best understood when one realises that this is a relatively young academic area which has hitherto largely relied on surviving musical instruments as its primary source of information when constructing biographies and chronologies. Although this is undoubtedly an important resource, using instruments alone only brings to light the people whose names appear on those objects. Archives, on the other hand, bring to light anyone who describes themselves or has been described by others as an instrument maker within the areas of society for which the sources were generated, thus giving a much fuller (albeit still incomplete) impression of the industry as a whole. The

⁶¹ Monelle (2006), 273.

information held within archives, as well as giving us the names of previously unknown makers, enables us to make links between individuals and firm, to see how firms operated in terms of location, personnel and finances, and to build a picture of musical-instrument making businesses of different sizes and types.

Since I have not gone to the archives looking for named individuals but instead searched for those whose profession relates to musical instruments, people have been identified who were previously unknown to organologists and a broader picture of musical-instrument making in London is emerging.⁶² Yet the archive itself has formed and been constructed in particular ways, so here too some groups of people remain difficult to see.

Some archival documents exist as the result of a deliberate act on the part of the instrument maker, and therefore do tell us something about their daily practices, while others are the result of outside agencies such as tax collectors or parish clerks undertaking their daily work on behalf of the city or state. As Latour states,

It is because all these inscriptions can be superimposed, reshuffled, recombined, and summarized and that totally new phenomena emerge, hidden from the other people from whom all these inscriptions have been exacted.⁶³

However, it is rare that the hand responsible for writing the documents is that of the instrument maker, so the extent to which makers were in contact with and in control of the precise content is debatable and varies between sources.

In cases where archives were created by the firms themselves, there are two main types which need to be considered differently. If the data was created as part of the everyday running of the firm, it can shed light on internal processes in a very direct way. If, in contrast, the material was made for external use, there will be the gloss of the public face of the business to work through. Of course this gloss is in itself useful since it helps us to ascertain how firms were publicising themselves and suggests what might have been important facets of marketing. When documents were created by external agencies, the data is often more contextual in nature, but particular facts, such as an

⁶² For example, thirteen previously unidentified keyboard instruments makers were discovered by Whitehead & Nex. See Whitehead & Nex (2002), 4–25.

⁶³ Latour (1986).

address or a valuation, can be useful when combined with information from other sources. It is in the weaving together of the various strands of material that the rich tapestry of musical life and the music businesses is revealed.

Further important aspects of the content of repositories which ought to be considered are the gendering of the archive and the extent to which it reflects the structure of society in terms of class. The majority of business records and documents of record (such as census returns, marriage certificates, acts of parliament) focus on the activities of men: as well as hiding men of lower social ranking groups and non-naturalised foreigners, women are often very difficult to see, if they are not completely invisible. At least until the Married Women's Property Act of 1857,⁶⁴ all of a woman's property was under the complete control of her husband, so it is only unmarried women or widows who appear in many surviving records. For example, considering wills from the point of view of gender reveals that only a portion of the population is visible since the women who are represented by surviving wills are largely from these same two groups of single women. Significantly, women's wills from the late eighteenth century often differ in content from those of their male contemporaries. The property outlined in them tends to be domestic in nature, including furniture, bedding, jewellery and trinkets, rather than the workshops and businesses bequeathed by men, but some also have investments and annuities which they are able to pass on to the following generation. It is rare that an archive can be searched specifically by gender but it is one of the options available in the on-line transcriptions of the *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*.⁶⁵ These archives also provide rare glimpses of the lives of women of the lower social classes, one of the least visible historical groups.

As has already been noted, very few archives specifically of musical instrument-making firms survive from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Therefore, in order to build up any idea of how such firms operated, it is necessary to extend one's horizons and examine a range of different data sources. As well as increasing the size of the data set, this has the advantage of permitting triangulation between the sources to be undertaken. If information from a variety of sources which were created for different

⁶⁴ Belchem & Price, eds (1996), 365.

⁶⁵ www.oldbaileyonline.org.

purposes is brought together and a single conclusion is apparent, then we can be more secure in thinking our conclusion may be correct. Furthermore, more individuals are to be found in archival sources than on surviving instruments, and as a result a bigger and it is to be hoped more complete picture of instrument making emerges. The key types of archive used in this study will be discussed in turn, grouped according to the nature of the information which has been drawn from them.

2.3: Document Types

2.3.1: Archives Directly Relating to Instrument Production

As has already been indicated, few company records from this period survive. Of the major firms whose archives are in Britain, most date from the nineteenth century: the Wheatstone & Co concertina archives date from 1834 onwards;⁶⁶ the flute archives of Rudall, Rose and Carte from 1821 to 1939;⁶⁷ and the Bechstein piano archives from 1880 to 1946,⁶⁸ all therefore falling outwith the scope of this study. When firms ceased to exist, their records were simply discarded, or, as in many cases such as the Longman & Broderip – Clementi & Co – Collard & Collard – Chappells dynasty, which also took over the major firm of Kirkman's, fires have destroyed entire archives.⁶⁹

However, company records from the Broadwood piano firm are preserved at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Surrey History Centre and give insight into an important London-based international keyboard instrument operation. Although this archive is strongest later into the nineteenth century, there are some late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century documents which contribute to our understanding of the business at this time. In addition, the three volumes of sales ledgers from the Erard company of harp manufacturers begin in 1798 (see Figure 2.1),⁷⁰ and a section of

⁶⁶ Horniman Museum, dating from May 1834 to December 1891 and 1910 to 1974. Available on CD ROM, and the nineteenth-century ledgers on www.horniman.info.

⁶⁷ Bigio (2005).

⁶⁸ RCM Library Special Collections.

⁶⁹ As well as a fire in 1807, the firm suffered the complete loss of their newly completed workshops in 1851 and a further two fires in the twentieth century.

⁷⁰ RCM 497, RCM Special Collections.

workshop accounts dating from 1807–9 has been used to examine how this firm operated on a daily basis. Another section of this archive relates to the sales of instruments, so an idea both of who was purchasing harps from the firm as well as income versus expenditure can be constructed. Furthermore, the theoretical income based on instruments leaving the shop compared to actual income based on money being paid can be calculated and contrasted.



Figure 2.1: Erard London Harp Ledgers, RCM 497

Information concerning the number and status of people working in any given workshop is also difficult to find. However, it is possible to access information relating to apprentices, either at The National Archives for companies in Middlesex or through the archives of the various Guilds for those located within the square mile of the City of London.⁷¹ Care must again be taken when drawing conclusions since musical-instrument making was not as strictly regulated as other industries so many apprenticeships were arranged informally and are not included in these sources. Therefore, although it can be stated with some certainty that these apprenticeships did

⁷¹ LGL.

take place, it cannot be assumed that others did not. Indeed, as will become apparent in Chapter 4, we know from other sources that the daughters of some makers were trained in the business but they did not normally serve a formal apprenticeship and therefore do not appear in these archives.

The final type of source under this heading is that of patents. These again increase in number the later one looks but can give an indication of which firms felt it worthwhile to take out a patent in order to try to protect their ideas. Of course, one needed to have the ability to follow up any breaches of the owner's rights, so it was not only the cost of the initial registration but the ability to sue if necessary which was important. One of the ways in which these sources are used here is to examine the extent to which those taking out patents succeeded because their ideas caught on, compared with those whose innovation was not popular and resulted in difficulty and perhaps failure.

2.3.2: Newspapers and Directories

An ever increasing number of newspapers were available in the eighteenth century, including *The London Evening Post* (established in 1727), *The Public Advertiser* (1752), *The Times* (1785), *The Star* (1788) and *The Observer* (1791).⁷² It is estimated that in the 1780s, there were nine daily papers (published six days a week), eight which were published three times a week and a further nine weekly newspapers being published in London alone.⁷³ From surviving archives (which are inevitably incomplete) it is thought that some 25,000 papers were published each day in 1782, each copy of which could have been read by about ten people.⁷⁴ This gives a readership equivalent in size to one third of the population of London, although it is difficult to be certain what the demographic of the readership actually was. Readers would themselves have needed to be literate, although those who couldn't read themselves may have heard others reading aloud. As Barker notes, the content of the papers can give at least an idea of who their intended audiences were, with advertisements focussing on the growing commercial and consumerist middle ranks as well as the

⁷² Newspaper references have generally been traced through www.gale.cengage.com/DigitalCollections, which includes the Burney Collection of newspapers belonging to the British Library. *The Times* has been accessed via CD ROM at the British Library.

⁷³ Barker (1998), 23.

⁷⁴ Barker (1998), 23, based on figures from 1782.

upper classes.⁷⁵ As a result, the influence of the press can be estimated to have been extremely significant. Papers tended to include advertising as well as political information and comment together with daily news items such as shipping news, court circulars and news from abroad. The monthly sales figures of some papers, such as *The Public Advertiser*, reveal that sales dropped outside the London season, suggesting that many of its readers were of the social classes which moved out to their country retreats for the hotter summer months.⁷⁶ Others, such as *The Gazetteer*, saw less variation, implying that their readership was more stationary, perhaps comprising tradesmen who remained in the capital all year.⁷⁷

Adverts and notices placed in newspapers fulfil specific purposes such as promoting a firm or bringing something perceived to be of importance to the attention of the target audience of each paper. As a result, information found there should be treated with an awareness that it comes from a specific standpoint with a particular purpose in mind. Some musical-instrument makers seem to have felt it important to place regular notices in certain publications while others are rarely to be found. It cost money to advertise, so while some felt it a worthwhile investment, others presumably did not. Indeed, those who repeatedly advertised must have found it to be productive or one might assume they would have stopped doing so.

A newspaper of particular significance in this study is *The London Gazette*. It was obligatory for those changing formal business partnership arrangements to advertise this fact in the *Gazette*, as well as for all notices relating to insolvency or bankruptcy to appear here. As a result, this is an extremely important source when examining how

⁷⁵ Barker (1998), 32.

⁷⁶ The beginning and end points of the season were not fixed but were in part dictated by when Parliament was sitting. Dates were also influenced by movements of the royal family and by events in the social and sporting calendars. Vickery (1998), 261–6 states that it usually ran from November to May, while Foreman (1999), 32–3 identifies October to June. *The Penny Magazine* from 1837 states that in the late eighteenth century, the season usually ran from November to May, but that by 1806 it had slipped later in the year, from January until early August. All seem to agree that the high point of the season was after Easter and that it had ended by 12 August when the grouse shooting season began so land owners would want to be back on their country estates. See www.regencyhistory.net/2013/05/when-was-london-season.html. For analytical purposes I use February to July as the most active part of the season.

⁷⁷ Barker (1998), 25.

businesses changed and particularly when examining those who struggled financially. When the research for this project was begun it was necessary to search by hand at The National Archives,⁷⁸ but now these records are also searchable online.⁷⁹ Data concerning the numbers of instrument makers suffering financial problems has been extracted and how this pattern changed during the period under examination will be discussed within the context of wider economic issues in Britain and Europe.

Trades Directories too were growing in importance during this period. Although there were few in the 1760s, and those which did exist included little or no information concerning instrument makers, towards the end of the century this was changing, with Doane publishing his specialist directory of all things musical in 1794.⁸⁰ Directories usually provide at least the name and address of the firm as well as the products or services offered. It is not clear whether such descriptions are written by the individuals concerned or whether the person compiling the directory uses a limited vocabulary to facilitate indexing. However, when comparisons are made with information concerning location found in other sources, it becomes apparent that the directories can lag behind by a number of years when entries have not been regularly updated. As a result, any temporal inferences gleaned from directories have been treated with care, particularly at the end points of a firm's residence at a particular address.

2.3.3: Births, Marriages and Deaths

It was not until 1837 that a central register of births, deaths and marriages came into existence.⁸¹ Until then, each parish would record such events in their own registers although those which survive are now generally held in the central archive centres. As a result, they can be inconsistent in the levels of information recorded and in many cases there is so little that it is not possible to be certain that one has found the right person. Here is where triangulation, perhaps with a name, address and date matching with those found elsewhere, can be crucial. It is not yet possible to search all of these archives

⁷⁸ TNA: PRO ZJ1.

⁷⁹ www.london-gazette.co.uk.

⁸⁰ Doane (1794).

⁸¹ See, for example, www.1837.com.

other than by working from the beginning of a microfilm to its end, although some are now included in family history sites such as Ancestry.co.⁸²

Wills are records which are linked with the ends of people's lives and show an individual's desire to control their property once they can no longer use it themselves. As well as giving the name, address and occupation of the writer, wills can contain information concerning family members, property in terms of houses, clothing, and personal items, investments, and other business-related detail. The wills proved through the Prerogative Court of Canterbury are searchable at The National Archives and may also be accessed online;⁸³ the archives of other ecclesiastical courts are less easy to access but do exist at various archive centres.

For those who failed to provide a will or where there is some dispute over its contents, probate inventories were made. These can include lists of all the property located within the individual's living quarters and their workshops, which gives an invaluable insight into how domestic industries operated. Some also include financial valuations, which can be used for comparative purposes, either with other information known about that individual, or with what we know about other makers.

2.3.4: Legal Documents

Information has also been drawn from legal cases held before the various courts in London and further afield. The central criminal court, the Old Bailey, now has its records available online, enabling the researcher to search using a number of different terms.⁸⁴ These records have provided information about working practices (legal and otherwise), links between makers, and the social context in which makers worked. Other court documents, such as those of the Kings Bench, are preserved at The National Archives. The catalogue provides access by surname alone, so difficulties can arise, but if a relevant document is found, they can again provide a great deal of information. However, these records are much more difficult to understand than those from the Old Bailey since their language is more legalistic and the documents themselves are often

⁸² www.Ancestry.co.uk, www.familysearch.org, and others.

⁸³ www.nationalarchives.gov.uk, TNA: PRO PROB11.

⁸⁴ www.oldbaileyonline.org.

over a metre square, covered in small handwriting, requiring a great deal of time and concentration to transcribe. Furthermore, legal proceedings had to work within the structures of the law, so the surviving documents are bound within these rules and the text is not free-flowing prose.

It must also be remembered that these sources concern disputes, so the information is likely to be from a very specific point of view and couched in terms to encourage the court to find in their favour. Such sources have brought to light a number of people involved in musical-instrument making at all levels since porters, workmen and shopmen have all been called upon to bear witness and provide evidence to the court. Some also include details of financial issues relating to the dispute in question, so can provide numerical data as well as textual.

As well as these records of legal disagreements, other types of legal document relate to agreements, such as the lease. Although some makers owned their premises, others leased them from outside individuals or companies. These records can give us information about the premises themselves as well as the dates when companies were present at particular addresses. In some cases, a plan of the premises is included, which shows the basic layout and footprint of the building. Although only two dimensional themselves, these floor plans, when brought together with other documents such as inventories, can help us to construct a three-dimensional picture of workshops and living quarters.

2.3.5: Financial Records

Financial records are among those which are the hardest to search as most are not yet digitised or even indexed in some cases. Some banks which date back to the eighteenth century retain their own records while others have collections relating to companies they have taken over in the past. For example, the archives of Drummond's Bank are held by Barclays, while Coutts still have their own records. The Bank of England's archive is very important since many instrument makers held stocks there, as is evidenced by their wills. However, an initial search revealed that finding information here is extremely difficult due to the structure of the archive, so only limited use has been made of it here.

Parish archives also include financial information as well as details of births, marriages and deaths. There were numerous taxes which were levied on house owners at the time, including poor rates, land tax and water rates. These can show the dates at which individuals were resident in particular premises and can also include information when the resident failed to pay, suggesting a financial or other problem on their part. The amount that they were paying can also be used to add to an overall picture of business expenditure over the year, which can be fruitful particularly when investigating financial problems.

2.3.6: Insurance Records

Insurance records yield a great deal of information concerning the contents of properties, sizes and locations of workshops, and the relative wealth of makers. The records of the Sun Fire Insurance Company, which begin in 1711, are not fully indexed and except for a short period from 1775 to 1787 are only really accessible by working through the large company ledgers looking for instrument makers.

It may be assumed that an eighteenth-century insurance policy, as an official document, should be largely accurate. Indeed, it was in the interests of the insured to ensure that the address on the policy was correct as this could determine not only whether a fire engine would arrive in case of conflagration but also whether payment would be forthcoming after such an event. However, the valuations have been treated with care since it was usually the policy holder who decided on this figure rather than an independent expert. This could mean that some figures are inflated to ensure high remuneration should a claim be made, while others could be an underestimate in order to keep premiums low.⁸⁵ Most of the figures are in round numbers such as £50 or £100 again suggesting that detailed accuracy was not required by the insurer.

As well as financial information, these records have proved to be revealing in demonstrating that many businesses were located in, behind or next to the residence of the master, which led me to develop ideas concerning the family business and the extent to which working and domestic lives overlapped. One crucial aspect of this has been

⁸⁵ For full discussions of the use of insurance policies, see Dickson (1960) and Wulko (1970).

the contributions of women, an awareness of which first emerged through a short study of Sun Fire Insurance policies.

2.3.7: Observations, Reviews, Diaries and Letters

Sources also include the writings of those who were present at the time of an event or in a particular place and who had a comment to make relevant to this study. For example, the gentleman composer and musician John Marsh wrote extensive diaries which he then converted into an 'official' version from which music-related excerpts have been published.⁸⁶ As someone involved in the music business who dealt with publishers, instrument makers and musicians in general, Marsh gives us a window into London musical life from his personal, rather privileged standpoint. Also, the organist R J S Stevens gives an alternative point of view as a working musician of lower social status than Marsh but working very much within the same environments.⁸⁷ The similarities and differences between these two writers can be revealing for this reason.

Another type of personal document which has some elements of being a public source is the letter. Letters can come in many different forms from the extremely personal to open letters intended for public consumption. In between and of greatest use here are letters between individuals or from one individual to their colleagues concerning matters of business. A recently published example concerns the correspondence to and from the composer, musician and businessman Muzio Clementi which is available with a scholarly commentary and various additional documents compiled by David Rowland.⁸⁸ They give an insight into Clementi's hand in the business which bore his name and show that he was continually thinking about how their pianos should be developed as well as promoting them and generating sales while he toured around Europe and Russia. The letters which passed from the London branch of Erard's to their Paris headquarters are also revealing as they show how Pierre was managing the firm and its financial dealings.

⁸⁶ Robins, ed (1998).

⁸⁷ Argent (1992).

⁸⁸ Rowland (2010).

As well as documents such as diaries and letters generated by particular individuals, some writers and commentators have left us more general descriptions of music. The first two major musical histories, which have something of the nature of dictionaries about them, appeared during this period, giving some idea of musical life and those involved within it through the eyes of their compilers, Dr Charles Burney⁸⁹ and Sir John Hawkins.⁹⁰ In a more informal way, writers such as Thomas Busby have left us with anecdotes of musical life which can be revealing.⁹¹ However, contained within the nature of anecdotes is the need for entertainment and amusement, so their content must be read with this in mind. That is not to say, however, that there is no truth in such sources.

One can also gain some idea of context from novels of the period, particularly from authors such as Fanny Burney who were deeply involved in musical life in London, the provinces and Europe.⁹² Jane Austen also included music as one of the female accomplishments with which she constructed the different character traits of some of her heroines.⁹³ However, since such works are intentionally fictitious, the reader must take care that they use such information accordingly. Situations may be exaggerated or otherwise enhanced to make a point within the context of the story which would appear differently in a 'real' situation. Nevertheless, since these stories are situated in the period in which they were written and for the audience of their period, it can be argued that they give some sense of that time since the original readers would need to recognise their own society in order to find the work believable.

2.3.8: Personal and Family Archives

Archives of personal and familial accounts have occasionally been drawn upon, particularly to see who some of the customers of instrument makers were. However, there is at present no way of gaining any kind of complete picture since many records don't survive while others are either un-indexed or simply inaccessible at the present time due to being kept in private family archives. However, in some cases previous

⁸⁹ C Burney (1776–89).

⁹⁰ Hawkins (1776).

⁹¹ Busby (1825).

⁹² For example, F Burney (1796) and C Burney (1776).

⁹³ See, for example, the Bennet sisters in Austen (1813), and Marianne in Austen (1811).

researchers have examined the records of a particular family and their published findings have been used here.⁹⁴

2.3.9: Two- and Three-dimensional Works of Art

Within this final category I am including depictions of musical subjects within two-dimensional works of visual art, such as oil paintings, prints and etchings, together with three-dimensional objects including sculpture and the musical instruments themselves. These are grouped together here since similar issues arise when using them. Furthermore, these sources, although important in other contexts, are used least within this particular thesis.

Iconography can be an extremely insightful tool, but as with using any source, care must always be taken when interpreting the content of visual images. For example, when a musical instrument appears in a painting, it can be present for a number of reasons.⁹⁵ While some illustrations are simply depicting an object, instruments are frequently used as a symbol for something beyond themselves. Music, symbolised through instruments or musical texts, is included among the vanities as well as in depictions of the senses. The social context of the instrument in question can also be important: if a young lady is seated at a harpsichord in an eighteenth-century conversation piece, she and her occupation are often symbolic of her father's or husband's well-ordered and affluent home.

The accuracy of the picture as an exact depiction of reality should also be interrogated. Although many artists are unaware of the significance of the parts of an instrument to the musical iconographer, such as the placing of the frets on a lute or guitar, others will depict what they see in precise detail. In some schools of art, detail is not important since it is a mood or emotion which is conveyed, so while the viewer can see a specific instrument, its proportions and detail are veiled as the painting is not intended to be a photographic reproduction of 'reality'. Indeed, genres such as caricature may be portraying an exaggerated and ridiculed version of a particular event or person, while the medium chosen by the artist inevitably has an effect on the end product. Therefore,

⁹⁴ For example, Anonymous (1906).

⁹⁵ Leppert (1993).

with both graphic and textual sources, interpretation must take into account numerous contextual facets associated with the source.

A three-dimensional artefact which is in some senses textual is that of a gravestone or tomb. The style and grandeur of the memorial itself can tell one something about the taste and wealth of surviving relatives. Of more significance here, though, is the information found inscribed on the surface. Although some memorials only bear the name of one individual, they can be helpful in establishing details such as the spelling of names as well as birth and death dates. Others are inscribed with three or four generations of names, helping to create a family tree which can be used to interrogate the line of familial descent within the firm. Such a source should be accurate since grave markers are of importance to the surviving family and every effort is likely to have been made to make the carved information correct.

I have used musical instruments as a source for the names of their makers, located either externally or internally on specific parts of the instrument. As well as increasing our pool of named individuals involved in the trade, this can also help to suggest when a specialist was employed to make component parts, such as the keyboard of harpsichords. The number of surviving instruments can also give some indication of the output of particular workshops, although this as ever must be treated with care: it is not always clear why some instruments have survived and it may be that those with the name of a well-known maker would be retained for reasons of status longer than an example from a little-known workshop. In addition, our knowledge of the pool of surviving instruments is incomplete as some private owners prefer not to be included in public listings.⁹⁶ However, the study of Sun Fire Insurance policies undertaken by Whitehead and Nex does show that there is a correlation between the amount for which a keyboard instrument workshop was insured and the number of known surviving instruments from the same workshop,⁹⁷ so this can be used as an indicator of scale, if not as an absolute delineator of output.

⁹⁶ There are standard reference texts for harpsichord, clavichord and piano makers which include lists of known surviving instruments, but only indexes of makers for other instrument types. See Boalch (1995); Clinkscale (1993); Clinkscale (1999); Waterhouse (1993); and von Lütgendorff (1968).

⁹⁷ Whitehead & Nex (2002), 18.

2.4: Summary and Conclusions

Musical-instrument making as a business has not previously been examined beyond studies of individual firms. Since these have usually been the larger and more successful firms (Broadwood, Ruckers, Hass),⁹⁸ and have usually focussed on surviving instruments, the current picture of musical-instrument making is monochromatic and lacks detailed information concerning small workshops and those who struggled or failed to keep afloat. Furthermore, we have relatively little knowledge of the workers, of who was contributing to businesses both large and small, and significantly what women were able to undertake as daughters, wives and widows.

In the last ten years, steps have begun to be made in exploring some of the archival sources which had previously been under- or un-explored by organologists and musicologists. In the last five years, some sources, including the records of the Old Bailey, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century newspapers, census returns, and numerous parish archives, have become available online, either free of charge or for a small fee. This has seen a rise in single-source studies,⁹⁹ some of which are single-subject single-source studies, examining, for example, flute makers found in newspaper adverts.¹⁰⁰ A few of these projects also include analysis of the information retrieved,¹⁰¹ but others aim only to make data available to other researchers and, as a result, are little more than extended lists.¹⁰² Of course making data easily retrievable is laudable and of great importance to fellow researchers, but in some cases the lack of considered opinions and analysis leave us little the wiser as to what these sources are actually telling us.

Using archives is a fruitful method of constructing and illuminating histories of particular periods of time or groups of people. Due to the multifarious nature of such sources, it is often possible to employ one of a variety of techniques or to combine them in multi-strategy research. However, the nature of the archive, its reasons for existing

⁹⁸ Wainwright (1982); Cole (2005); O'Brien (1990); Whitehead (1994).

⁹⁹ See, for example, Nex & Whitehead (2005).

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Lasocki (2010).

¹⁰¹ See, for example, Whitehead & Nex (2002) and Nex & Whitehead (2000).

¹⁰² See, for example, Whitehead & Nex (2003) and Whitehead & Nex (2002a). This *Handbook* series is specifically for making data available for scholars.

and the systems used to organise it all have strong influences on what information can be gleaned as well as the extent to which it can be relied upon. The medium in which the information is stored also partly dictates what data exists and how it can be retrieved.

For organologists, there exists a vast array of archives which have not yet been fully tapped. Such archives can illuminate musical-instrument making as an industry, particularly from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards. Care must always be taken when interpreting historical documents since the reasons for the creation and the contexts in which they were written in part dictate their content as well as their tone. Thus, when a variety of sources can be accessed and the information checked and assessed through triangulation, a stronger narrative can be written. Furthermore, when combined with other types of source such as surviving instruments and visual representations, a three-dimensional image of the musical-instrument making industry can be constructed.

Music is a difficult subject to include in general historical studies due to its nature as a creative art form which requires some level of study to undertake. As a result, its presence in literature focussed on history in general and cultural history more specifically is limited. However, examining musical artefacts, how they were used and how they were made can add to our broader understanding and interpretation of historical material relating to culture, manufacture and finance.

I have used an empirical approach with findings grounded in the surviving evidence. Together with this, reading texts by other authors has been undertaken as widely as possible in order to underpin and contextualise the specifics of this study. Perhaps most fundamentally, an inclusive stance is taken in the desire to discover more about all those working in the musical instrument trade and not just those with the most influence and financial capital. It is hoped that the resulting narrative is of interest to musicologists, sociologists and historians alike.

CHAPTER 3: SPACES, PERFORMANCE AND CULTURE

3.1: Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the markets which were being addressed by musical-instrument makers. I am using the term ‘market’ as defined by Levačić to mean a ‘voluntary exchange of goods and services between two parties at a known price’.¹ Although in the broadest sense musical-instrument makers were addressing the market consisting of all those who wanted to make music, I will divide this into discrete categories since different groups required different things from their instruments. Hence, a network of musical markets can be envisaged. One of the main differentiations between these markets is that of the gender of the customer, which is closely linked with the distinction between professional and amateur players. As will be shown, some instruments, such as the harp, guitar and piano, were dominated by the female amateur market alongside a few professional males, while military instruments were exclusively male and mostly professional.

Firstly, I will consider markets from the consumer’s side, examining the main centres of musical activity in London in turn, exploring the effects of different spaces and the politics operating within them on musical-instrument makers. Decisions could have been made by the person or institution who was paying for the instrument, the individual or individuals who would be playing it, or a group of stakeholders who were involved in various ways. They may well have considered many interdependent factors including the space or building in which instruments would be situated, the finances available, and the gender of the musician who would be playing the instrument. The extent to which their focus was on public performance or private entertainment also had a part to play. Furthermore, in some cases, decisions would be influenced by whether they were interested mainly in the music itself or were actually attempting to convey some extra-musical meaning through their association with music. In this section, I will structure my discussion primarily according to the building or location of each group, beginning with those spaces which were public and crowded, moving down the scale to the more individual and private. At all times I will be focussed on the impact of the

¹ Thompson et al, eds (1991), 21.

many factors present on musical-instrument makers themselves rather than on the musicians, music or audiences.

In the central section, I will explore how particular markets operated and how they were addressed by instrument makers. Questions such as how makers made their products known to potential customers will be considered as well as the trade in second-hand instruments and the growing export market of instruments to the rest of the world. Diversification will also be discussed and whether this was in all cases a productive way of ensuring the continuance of a firm during an unstable economic period. The third and final section of this chapter comprises three case studies, the first and largest being a detailed examination of the sales of the first 100 double-action harps made by the Erard firm in London between 1811 and 1812. This data gives an insight not only into the market place for harps, but also into how the public adopted what was essentially a new instrument. The sales of guitars by Clauss and the retail sales of Broadwood pianos in 1812 are examined subsequently in order to be able to make a comparison between three instruments which were predominantly the domain of amateur female musicians.

3.2: The Markets

3.2.1: Brief Overview of Musical Life in London

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there was a wide range of musical performances available to London audiences.² Attendance at each venue depended on social status and the cost of tickets. At the upper end, where the reason for going was as much to be seen as to be entertained, was the Italian Opera at the King's Theatre. English opera and oratorios were also available at Covent Garden and Drury Lane Theatres, the oratorios being interleaved with orchestral music, organ concertos and songs. There were subscription concerts, often in series, such as those organised by the Professional Concert and the Pantheon Grand Concert, which included a variety of instrumental and vocal music. Private concerts were also popular, hosted by individuals for the enjoyment of their close acquaintances. Gentlemen and sometimes ladies could

² McVeigh (1993).

join and attend musical societies, ranging from the Academy of Ancient Music, established in 1726 as the Academy of Vocal Musick, to the various catch or glee clubs and the Madrigal Society. These were often held in public houses, many of which had rooms upstairs which could be hired for such occasions. In addition, there was music at the numerous pleasure gardens including those at Vauxhall and Ranelagh, some performed outdoors, played by musicians with portable instruments such as horns, and some indoors in buildings including the fabulous Rotunda at Ranelagh. Music was also an integral part of many church services, including those of the Church of England, Catholic embassy chapels and some sections of dissenters. I will begin my more detailed discussion in the churches of London, focussing mainly on the established church.

3.2.2: Churches

Churches, ranging in size from the large cathedral to small parish churches and the intimate Chapels of the royal family, contributed significantly to musical life in London. Within the square mile of the City of London, there were some 72 churches in 1781, many of which were equipped with organs.³ English churches had been through turbulent times during the sixteenth century with music taking a central role in the debates during the Reformation concerning the nature of ritual within the church, and after 1550 many organs were removed from religious establishments.⁴ Following the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the instrument began to be re-established in English churches, and by the middle years of the eighteenth century this process was gaining speed and many parishes raised funds to purchase new organs.⁵ Temperley records that in 1660, there were no organs in London churches. By 1750, 55.5% of churches had them (61 churches), rising to 82.6 % in 1800 (90 churches) and 89.9% in 1820 (98 churches).⁶

As well as local churches, London-based organ makers were commissioned to make instruments for churches all over Britain and abroad. For example, James Davis, while

³ D Dawe (1983).

⁴ Bicknell (1996), 44.

⁵ Bicknell (1996), 105–7 & 172.

⁶ Temperley (1979), 117.

working for Longman & Broderip, erected an organ in Wymondham Abbey in Norfolk in 1793. A letter concerning this instrument survives,⁷ in which Davis writes:

Before your Organ can be completely finish'd & down at Wyndham it will be quite the depth of winter for which reason I think it will be considerably the better to let it stay in town till the first settled weather after Christmas as its standing in a warm room will be of great advantage to it upon the acc[oun]t that an Organ is never as well to be removed instantly as it is finish'd. I will let you know in my next when I shall be able to come down & make the necessary preparations in the Church for the reception of the Organ.

This letter confirms that organs were fully built in the maker's workshop before being dismantled and subsequently erected in their ultimate location.

In normal practice, builders received commissions either from church committees or from individuals and they were required to submit their plans with costs before the contract was finalised. However, another way of acquiring an organ is described by Dawe and was applied by 11 of the London churches.⁸ Rather than paying the organ builder a lump sum for the instrument, the parish made an agreement either with the organ builder themselves, or with a third party essentially acting as a sponsor, to pay an annuity during the life of the organ builder, and often also his dependants, in return for providing both the organ and the organist. Such 'annuity organ' arrangements removed the necessity for the parish to raise a large sum and also gave longer-term financial stability to the organ builder. If the organist were a member of the organ builder's own family, the arrangement was even more beneficial to their family economy. One such example is that of St Martin Outwich, who made a contract in 1805 with the organ builder George Pike England. He is listed in the vestry minute books receiving payments as 'organist' from that date until 1814, when he is replaced by his widow, Mrs Ann England and then by Mrs Jane Ann Nichol, their daughter, from 1823 until 1866.⁹

As well as 'finger organs', that is instruments with a keyboard played by the fingers, some makers also provided barrel organs for churches. Such instruments were particularly important in the provinces where the availability of a skilled organist was far from guaranteed. Some firms, such as that of the brothers Benjamin and William

⁷ RCM 800.

⁸ D Dawe (1983), 13–17.

⁹ D Dawe (1983), 51.

Flight, specialised in barrel organs, which could be operated by anyone able to turn the handle at a constant rate. Such instruments would be supplied with usually three or more barrels each with 10 to 15 tunes. Surviving instruments and barrels show that it was usual to fill each barrel either with popular tunes and dances for domestic use or sacred melodies including hymn tunes for church use.¹⁰

Another way for organ builders to deal with cash flow problems was to maintain and tune instruments built either by themselves or by other firms. Contracts for organ tuning and maintenance were useful sources of regular income for makers, who would otherwise have seen income in relatively infrequent, albeit large sums.¹¹ Also, organ builders enlarged existing organs in line with developments in organ music and taste. For example, St Andrew Undershaft had an organ installed by Renatus Harris in 1695–6 which was given additions including a swell in 1749–50 by his grandson-in-law, John Byfield. A later generation of the Byfield family, also John, undertook further repairs and extensions in 1799 and the instrument was again repaired in 1810–11, this time by George Pike England.¹²

When churches were not equipped with an organ, there would usually be some other kind of instrument or ensemble to accompany the singing. As Temperley states, ‘the most essential instrument was a bass of some kind, generally a bassoon or cello... The other instruments were generally of treble compass’.¹³ It is rare to find instruments still in their original locations, but some do survive outside London. In Ridlington Church, Oakham, for example, they retain a flute, a violin with bow, four clarinets and a bassoon with a ‘trumpet top’. The first two instruments are anonymous, but the clarinets and bassoon were made by London makers active in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the clarinets by Robert Wolf & Co (two instruments), Milhouse and Preston. The body of the bassoon is from the Astor workshop while the metal bell is stamped

¹⁰ For example, the barrel organ by Broderip & Wilkinson, RCM 103, has a tune list inside its lid which indicates that it originally had five barrels, one of which was pinned with hymns.

¹¹ For example, Ferdinand Weber in Dublin is known to have been responsible for a number of organs both in the city and beyond. See Nex & Whitehead (2000), 89–150.

¹² D Dawe (1983), 29.

¹³ Temperley (1979), 197.

‘John Köhler Maker Whitcombe Street London’, dating it to between 1786 and 1793.¹⁴ Further anecdotal and substantiated evidence of a wide range of instruments in churches has been put together by MacDermott with examples ranging from violins and flutes to serpents and bassoons.¹⁵ Although some instruments appear to have been locally made, some by the players themselves, many were certainly bought from London makers. MacDermott names Astor, D’Almaine, Bland & Weller, Clementi & Co and Bainbridge as firms whose names appear on surviving wind instruments.¹⁶ Langwill adds Cahusac to the list and indicates that some churches had multiple instruments: in one case, at Brightling in Sussex, the church was presented with nine bassoons apparently in the hope that they would drown the singing of the choir.¹⁷

Even when an organ was present, orchestras and bands were brought in at the larger London churches to add volume and grandeur for special occasions. The largest such events were the Handel Commemorations, the first being at Westminster Abbey on 26 May 1784.¹⁸ It was reported in *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* that there were ‘more than 500 instruments’,¹⁹ but in comparing this with Burney’s account it seems that this figure included the singers. Burney enumerates the different sections of the orchestra, coming to a total of 251 players, while the singers numbered 274, bringing the overall number of performers to 525.²⁰ Some instruments were specifically brought in for this occasion. The Samuel Green organ ultimately destined for Canterbury Cathedral was temporarily erected in the Abbey, and it was apparently coupled to the harpsichord so that both could be played by the musical director, Joah Bates. A contra bassoon which had originally been commissioned from one of the foremost London-

¹⁴ I am grateful to Lance Whitehead and Warwick Isle for their assistance. See Whitehead & Myers (2004), 107.

¹⁵ MacDermott (1948). Unfortunately MacDemott rarely cites his sources, so his evidence cannot be easily ratified.

¹⁶ MacDermott (1948), 22–5.

¹⁷ Langwill (1940), 11.

¹⁸ Even though such events were in some sense concerts, they will be discussed here as they took place within a religious establishment.

¹⁹ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 27 May 1784, issue 17303.

²⁰ Charles Burney (1785), *An Account of the Musical Performances ... in Commemoration of Handel* (London), 17–21, quoted in McVeigh (1993), 207.

based wind instrument makers, Stanesby, for the coronation of George II²¹ was played by 'Mr. Ashley, of the Guards'. Trombone (or sackbut) players were also drawn from the military, with six players from His Majesty's band playing on three different sized instruments, the 'tenor, base, and double base'. It is interesting to read that considerable efforts had to be made in order to find not only players but also instruments as they had not been popular in England in the preceding century.²²

Thus, musicians and instruments of many kinds were part of the musical life of churches in London and the provinces. This was also true for institutions of other denominations. Olleson has written concerning music in the Roman Catholic Embassy Chapels, indicating that there were indeed organs in these establishments, but provides no details of what the instruments were or the names of their makers.²³ We also know that dissenting congregations, such as the German Church in the Savoy, had organs, Ferdinand Weber being employed in the late 1740s to maintain their instrument.²⁴

Therefore, for organ builders working with religious establishments, the main income for a maker would often come at the point of purchase of the original instrument, but many firms were also involved in undertaking repairs and in the general upkeep or upgrading of instruments over the longer term, giving builders a more steady income stream. Next we go on to examine the other large public venues, firstly theatres followed by concert rooms, which in some ways saw similar situations to the churches for instrument makers.

3.2.3: Theatres

The London theatres had enjoyed over a century of development by 1800 and performances in the Georgian period were both commercial and social activities. Rival companies operated at the different opera houses with the conflict between the Italian

²¹ In 1727, the date of the coronation, this could refer to either Thomas senior or junior. See Waterhouse (1993), 380.

²² All of this information from Burney is quoted in Anonymous (1905), 18. For further information concerning the sackbut in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Herbert (1990).

²³ Olleson (2000).

²⁴ Nex & Whitehead (2010), 117.

and English operas being particularly colourful.²⁵ Hunter has put together figures estimating how many were in the audiences at the main venues,²⁶ with the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane seating 663 (1674–1791), the King’s Opera, Haymarket up to 1,000 when packed (1705–89) and the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden 1,413 (1732–1808). Although there was some degree of flexibility due to the use of benches rather than individual chairs, these are similar in size to the capacity of the concert rooms as discussed later in this chapter.

Most of the musicians employed in theatres were professional performers who would have had their own instrument on which they played, acquired privately through makers and dealers. However, the establishment would need to have keyboard instruments which were played as part of the continuo group. Indeed, one Stephen Hemming provided and maintained a number of instruments at various London theatres, including those on Drury Lane and Lincoln’s Inn Fields, from 1697 until 1715. For instance, Hemming was paid 10s per month for a year from October 1697 ‘for the use of severall Harpsicords at the Playhouse in Drury Lane’ as well as £4 10s for undertaking tunings during that time.²⁷ Milhouse and Price have suggested that as well as two instruments which were used for performances, the dressing rooms for the highest status singers would have been equipped with a spinet for warming up and practice purposes.²⁸ It is not clear if this practice continued later into the eighteenth century.

These early references only include information relating to stringed keyboard instruments, but towards the middle of the century, some performances included organ concerti played between the acts of the opera,²⁹ for which purpose the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden is reputed to have had a Harris & Byfield organ dating from c1745.³⁰ Handel is well known to have played his own compositions in these contexts, while

²⁵ Hume, McVeigh & Croft-Murray (2001).

²⁶ Hunter (2000), 36.

²⁷ Milhouse & Price (1990), 40.

²⁸ Milhouse & Price (1990), 41.

²⁹ Argent (1992), 8.

³⁰ Wickens (1987), 108. Wickens refers to J H Sperling’s Ms collection of English stop lists in three volumes, Royal College of Organists, London.

other musicians appear in theatre archives receiving payment for such performances.³¹ McVeigh reports that Drury Lane was supplied with an instrument made by Byfield & Green at the expense of organists Smith and Stanley.³²

Burrows describes the division of labour between the harpsichord and organ in such venues thus: ‘the harpsichord was the principal continuo instrument, while the organ accompanied the choruses and supplied a *tasto solo* bass line to some arias’.³³ Hence, keyboard instrument makers would have supplied, either by purchase or on hire, and maintained both types of instrument at the theatres. It is also possible that such practices were one reason that some firms turned to making ‘organised’ harpsichords and subsequently pianos. Such instruments, which combine an organ with a stringed keyboard instrument playable from one keyboard, survive today in only small numbers,³⁴ but often appear in newspaper advertisements from this period. For example, the firm of Longman & Broderip is known to have built them, as advertised in *The Times* in 1786, their notice including ‘Harpsichords, ditto organised ... Piano Fortes, ditto organised’.³⁵ In 1787, their advertisement states:

To be seen at their manufactory, opposite Whitfield’s Tabernacle, in Tottenham-court-road, a very capital Organ, built under a grand Piano Forte, for the accommodation of oratorios, concerts, or any public performance, and may be hired for a single night, or for the season.³⁶

This shows that Longman & Broderip at least were definitely focussing on this niche market for their combination instruments.

³¹ Rohr reports that Samuel Wesley was paid 6gn a night at the oratorio concerts at Covent Garden Theatre with an additional 4gn for playing a concerto between the acts. Rohr (2001), 89.

³² Presumably John Christopher Smith and John Stanley. McVeigh (1993), 216, from A. Glyn Williams (1981), ‘The Concertos of John Stanley’, *The Music Review* (42), 103–5.

³³ Burrows (1998).

³⁴ There is a combined square piano–organ by Longman & Broderip preserved in the Nydahl Collection, Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande, Stockholm, IKL012. A similar instrument bearing the names of Joseph Merlin and Robert & William Gray and dated 1784 is in the Colt Clavier Collection in Kent, Colt Collection number 6.

³⁵ *The Times*, 4 May 1786, issue 425.

³⁶ *The Times*, 3 May 1787, issue 740.

3.2.4: Concert Rooms

As the eighteenth century progressed, an increasing number of concert rooms were established in London. These spaces were the venues for concerts of orchestral, vocal and chamber music, often all combined in one concert, and would probably have required the purchase or hire of at least one keyboard instrument. We know that some such venues had their own keyboard instruments,³⁷ while other proprietors rented instruments from makers. McVeigh has undertaken a considerable amount of research concerning concert life and how it developed during the eighteenth century. Although he does include discussions of instruments and how they were sometimes used as novelty items to generate public interest, their inclusion is very much from the point of view of the musicians and not the instrument makers. However, we gain a great deal of information drawn from primary sources concerning the activities of both musicians and their audiences and how they changed and grew during the course of the century.

It is difficult to find details about the relative sizes of the various spaces and even harder to be certain of the numbers of people who would have attended at each. However, some idea can be constructed from the few surviving eighteenth-century venues and from occasional references to the capacity of each space. Of the two surviving eighteenth-century concert halls in Britain, one is in Oxford and the other in Edinburgh. The Holywell Music Room, which is now part of the University of Oxford, opened in 1748. It has a rectangular plan with raked seats up each side facing the centre of the room, a further rank of raked seats to the rear, a stage at the front and a space in the centre of the floor for circulating. With dimensions of 65ft x 32ft,³⁸ it now seats 200, but this figure would have been significantly higher when health and safety laws did not exist.³⁹ Similarly, St Cecilia's Hall, built in 1762, is now part of the University of Edinburgh. This is an oval concert hall with a floor area of approximately 2,200ft. Again there were raked seats around the sides with a stage at one end and a central circulating space. Although built for the Edinburgh Music Society which was initially only to have 70 members, a membership list of 1775 already names over 200 individuals. A 1779 History of Edinburgh indicates that the hall could hold about 500,

³⁷ Robins, ed (1998), 600, 603, 612.

³⁸ McVeigh (1993), 57.

³⁹ www.wadham.ox.ac.uk/about-wadham/college-history/college-buildings.html#Holywell-Music-Room.

again many more than would be permitted today.⁴⁰ This at least gives an idea of the possible size of audiences for concerts in similar-sized halls in London.

From sources consulted by King, McVeigh and others,⁴¹ the size of the audiences for ‘public’ concerts and other performances in London at the end of the eighteenth century appear to have ranged from about 800 up to 1,000 people. In some cases, it is clear that rooms could be very crowded and that as a result instruments could well be at risk, particularly if they were not actually being used at the time. John Marsh reports of one occasion in Chichester when:

As I had forseen the crowd wo’d be very great at these balls, I had desired Triggs the porter of the Concert either to remove the Concert harpsichord quite, or else to set it on it’s back upon the floor in a corner against the wall with it’s sloping edge upwards; but he undertaking that it sho’d not be hurt, left it in the lobby where some men for want of other seats, sitting upon it, the lid was crack’d quite thro’ in 2 or 3 places, thro’ which some negus⁴² spilt thereon got into the harpsichord upon the soundboard, which it stain’d very much & upon w’ch it lay to dry itself without being wiped afterwards, in consequence of which, before the next winter we were oblig’d to have Culliford down to repair & put it to rights again.⁴³

Thus, the crowds using these spaces for concerts or other events in London and the provinces had a direct impact on the working lives of London makers who firstly supplied the instruments and secondly kept them in good repair, whatever the level of abuse to which they were (accidentally) subjected.

Most of the public concert rooms were established and run by musicians or by musical-instrument makers as a means of generating additional income. Many such concert series were run by subscription, allowing the organisers some financial stability and security whilst giving the concert-going public a sense of exclusivity.⁴⁴ Instead of purchasing instruments, in some cases makers provided a rental service, a famous

⁴⁰ D F Harris (1911), 42, 193 & 205. The floor area has been estimated here from the dimensions of the plot of land on which the hall sits and a map outlining the hall itself.

⁴¹ A H King (1986), McVeigh (1993), 57.

⁴² Negus is a hot spicy drink consisting of port and lemon juice. Hanks, ed (1986), 1030.

⁴³ Robins, ed (1998), 612, May 1796.

⁴⁴ McVeigh (1993), 6.

example being that of Jan Ladislav Dussek who hired instruments from Broadwood for his performances of concertos in the 1790s.⁴⁵

Some venues, such as the Freemason's Hall, were even more exclusive but were used for public events as well as those relating to the society itself.⁴⁶ The central hall of the Freemasons located near the Drury Lane Theatre was opened in 1776⁴⁷ and may have been supplied with an organ at that point, but the evidence is not clear. Walford reports in 1897 that 'Above the principal entrance was a gallery, with an organ',⁴⁸ but it is not certain whether this was the case as early as 1776. Indeed, it may not have been since for his benefit concert in 1780, Carl Stamitz hired an instrument from the organ builder Benjamin Flight. Unfortunately, Stamitz left the country without settling his bills with the hall and after a year of negotiations Flight was forced to pay 7gn for the return of his own instrument.⁴⁹ However, in 1786 the hall commissioned Samuel Green to build them a new organ for 200gn and the Academy of Ancient Music, who used the hall from 1784, agreed to pay a subscription of 20gn a season for its hire and upkeep.⁵⁰

There are examples of instrument makers themselves establishing concert series in large rooms above or near their sale rooms where instruments were actively promoted. Erard's premises on Great Marlborough Street were given a concert room in 1817,⁵¹ but one of the first was Longman & Broderip, who established a large room at their manufactory on Tottenham Court Road, opened in 1787, where their organs were played before they were sent off to their ultimate homes.⁵²

⁴⁵ McVeigh (1993), 215.

⁴⁶ McVeigh (2000).

⁴⁷ McVeigh (2000), 83.

⁴⁸ Elkin (1955), 109, from Edward Walford (1897), *Old and New London*, (London & New York: Cassell, Peter & Galpin).

⁴⁹ McVeigh (2000), 88.

⁵⁰ McVeigh (1993), 216. See also Doane (1794), 81–2 for a detailed description of the Hall and the positioning of musicians during performance.

⁵¹ Letter of 18 November 1817 from Pierre Erard in London to Sébastien Erard in Paris. Barthel & Roudier (2006), 225. Undated photographs of these premises are reproduced on 228–9. All of the Erard letters are now available in facsimile online at The Centre Sébastien Erard, www.sebastienerard.org. I am most grateful to Robert Adelson for permission to use his translations.

⁵² *The Public Advertiser* 3 June 1790, issue 17443.

Perhaps the most extreme example of instrument makers using an instrument of their own creation for promotional purposes is that of Flight & Robson. Benjamin Flight jnr (see Figure 3.1) was the son of Benjamin snr mentioned above in connection with the Freemason's Hall.⁵³ Having inherited the family firm, Benjamin jnr worked with Joseph Robson from 1805⁵⁴ for some 27 years.



Figure 3.1: Benjamin Flight jnr, oil on canvas by George Dawe, c1814, RCM Special Collections, PPHC 000273

⁵³ A paper on the early history of the firm relating particularly to the portrait of Benjamin jnr now in the collections of the RCM was given at the 'Organs in Art / Organs as Art' Conference, New York, 15–17 October 2008, by Andrew Earis & Jenny Nex, entitled 'A Flight of Fancy: The Portrait of organ builder Benjamin Flight by George Dawe, 1813'.

⁵⁴ Keen (2007).

Their most famous organ, the Apollonicon, has been much reported and commented on due to its impressive size and since it could be played using either barrels or fingers.⁵⁵ It was exhibited in a room at their premises at 101 St Martin's Lane from 1817, and could be played by six organists, each with their own manual. Elkin reports that in its early days the instrument performed twice an hour from noon until 5pm, presumably by means of its barrel mechanism.⁵⁶ It is probable that this instrument was not intended as an example of what customers would actually purchase for their own spaces, but was a promotional gimmick intended to bring the name of Flight & Robson to the fore.

3.2.5: Hospitals

Hospitals used music and entertainments to raise funds to support their activities. Of course the term 'hospital' itself didn't necessarily have the same meaning as it does today and many were more akin to a 'hospice' in modern terms, although the Lock Hospital was indeed for the very ill.⁵⁷ One of the most impressive was, and remains, the Royal Naval Hospital, later College, at Greenwich. This was equipped in 1789 with an organ by Samuel Green, the largest of his construction and costing £1,000.⁵⁸ When John Marsh visited Green at his workshop in 1783, the choir organ was completed and he was able to try it. Green's workshop was equipped with a waterwheel which operated the bellows, facilitating the playing of instruments in 'an ingenious manner'.⁵⁹ Another famous example is the Foundling Hospital founded by Thomas Coram in 1739.⁶⁰ The committee minutes provide us with information concerning not only the acquisition of the first organ in the chapel but also of its maintenance, upgrades, replacement and further upgrades to the second organ.⁶¹ In July 1749, Jonathan Morse was contracted to provide an organ for the chapel and it was officially 'opened' in 1750 with performances of Handel's *Messiah* even before the building was completed. Indeed, earlier fund-raising concerts took place before the building had windows. In

⁵⁵ See, for example, Keen (2007) and Cowgill (1998).

⁵⁶ Elkin (1955), 123–4.

⁵⁷ Founded in 1746, it treated venereal disease. See Temperley (1993), 45.

⁵⁸ Wickens (1987), 133–4.

⁵⁹ Robins, ed (1998), 303, November 1783.

⁶⁰ 'The Foundling Hospital 1739-1954', leaflet available through the website of The Foundling Museum, www.foundlingmuseum.org.uk, consulted June 2011.

⁶¹ Burrows (1998).

1751 the organ was completed but it only served for 15 years before it was reported to be in bad condition. During this time the instrument had been looked after and added to by Moffatt and then John Crang. In 1769, it was replaced with an organ by Thomas Parker, for the agreed price of £670, which was to be met by subscription. Further names associated with the maintenance of this instrument include John Frost, Bates, Sarah Green and William Russell, demonstrating that in this case a number of different firms were involved rather than a single company over a long period of time as occurred in examples discussed elsewhere.

3.2.6: The Military

Instruments were provided for military bands by a number of London-based makers. At this time, the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars created nervousness amongst the British aristocracy, and a large number of regiments were raised in case of insurrections, many of them by landed gentry all over the country. Most had bands, which required the necessary instruments. Makers who specifically targeted the military market include Longman & Broderip, who advertised:

Military Musical Instruments, of Every Description, Manufactured and Sold in the greatest perfection... Fifes, Regimental Flutes, Clarinets, Bassoons, Concert Horns, Bugle Horns, Trumpets, Serpents, Bass Drums, Triangles, Cymbals and Tambours de Basques, where Commanders of Regiments or their agents may be supplied with them on reasonable terms, and at the shortest notice. Also A great Variety of Military Music and Ruled Books for the use of a Band.⁶²

George Astor, based on Wych Street and later Cornhill, advertised ‘a large Assortment of Military Musical Instruments of every description, made of good seasoned wood, and the best materials, compleat sets of which, for a Band, may be had at an hour’s notice’.⁶³ We can glean some idea of the composition of these sets from the music Astor also lists, which is scored for ‘Clarinets, Horns, Bassoons, Trumpet and Serpent’, not an ensemble which would be familiar to us today. However, it does match with the instruments listed by Doane in the 1st Regiment of Guards (the Grenadiers), which, in one of its possible permutations, comprised 6 clarinets, 3 horns, 3 bassoons, 1 trumpet and 2 serpents.⁶⁴ Interestingly, the 2nd regiment (the Coldstream) included 3 oboes as well as

⁶² *The Oracle and Public Advertiser*, 14 October 1796, issue 19452.

⁶³ *The Times*, 6 June 1798, issue 4215.

⁶⁴ Doane (1794). Some players could offer more than one instrument, but each person is only included once here.

a larger number of stringed alternatives, while the 3rd regiment (the Scots) had options for flutes. Whether this indicates that the three bands came together and each contributed different treble instruments (all three had their own bass sections) is not yet clear.

Later in 1798, Astor includes a price list in a further advert:⁶⁵

Best Clarionets, per pair	4 guineas, usually sold for 5
Best Bassoons, per pair	8 ditto ----- 10
Trump. Tops to Bassoons	4 ditto ----- 5
Concert Horns	16 ditto ----- 20
Ditto with Slides	20 ditto ----- 26
Concert Trumpet	5 ditto ----- 6
Serpent, with case	8 ditto ----- 12
Cymbals	5 ditto ----- 6
Bugle Horn	3 ditto ----- 4
Tambourine, with Bells	4 ditto ----- 5
Bass Drum	6 to 8 ditto ----- 8 to 10

This may indicate that the Astor bassoon with the Kölher trumpet top mentioned above, which survives in Rutland Church, may have been intended as a military band instrument but somehow found its way to the local church. This list is also interesting in demonstrating the relative costs of different instruments. While a single bassoon would cost 4gn, a horn was 16gn, four times the price. Horns are indeed difficult to make because of the long length of curved tubing and the large flaring bell which requires skill and time to make, but the level of price difference is perhaps surprising. It is also significant to note that a tambourine with bells cost the same as two clarinets, again not what we might expect today. The price would be a combination of material costs, workmen costs and the extra which can be added on for novelty value, all of which would be different in a different market place.

As well as selling the instrument itself, makers were required to mend damaged instruments and to supply additional parts such as extra crooks and shanks, which were used for moving the instruments into different pitches and adjusting the tuning. This would have provided a useful, ongoing income after the initial one-off sale of the instrument. For example, in 1795, John Köhler supplied the Earl of Egremont's troop with a trumpet, a D crook, six shanks, a decorative cord with tassels, and a box to put

⁶⁵ *The Star*, 4 August 1798, issue 3100.

them all in for £5 18s. Also, in 1798, Mr Lehmann, Band Master for the Cambridgeshire Regiment of Militia, asked Köhler to repair a pair of horns and a trumpet as well as supplying new mouthpieces and shanks.⁶⁶

3.2.7: Entertainments

Music formed an integral part of many of the different ‘entertainments’ available in and around London. These included pleasure gardens, fairs, museums, mechanical amusements, assemblies and dances. The pleasure gardens are probably the best known of these and the most famous today are Vauxhall, Marylebone and Ranelagh, although some 631 different gardens existed at various points from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.⁶⁷ Of these, 19 venues are known to have included musical entertainments between the years 1760 and 1820. For example, Vauxhall had a ‘melodious toned finger organ’ in the bandstand, as described in the sale catalogue of 1818.⁶⁸

Some of the performances staged at the theatres would best be described as ‘entertainments’ due to the variety of pieces and performances they included. For example, Mr Braham’s Night at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane on 12 May 1813 included an Opera, a series of catches and glees, a Cantata, performances on the single and double flageolet, ‘Sweet Bird’ from Handel’s *L’Allegro, Il Penseroso ed il Moderato*, and a Farce.⁶⁹ Such a wide selection of works would be considered strange by modern audiences but seems to have been a common structure, as evidenced by surviving concert programmes and adverts such as this.

For those who did not need to work, days could be filled with visits to exhibitions, museums or mechanical amusements. For example, near the end of the century, Joseph Merlin opened his exhibition on Hanover Square from 11 until 3 o’clock and 7 until 9 with admittance set at 2s 6d. He stated that ‘The Variety of Amusements in this delightful Place of Entertainment render it the most agreeable to the young, the gay, the serious, and the grave, within the circle of the Metropolis.’⁷⁰ Merlin’s predecessor, Mr

⁶⁶ Whitehead & Myers (2004), 93 & 95.

⁶⁷ McVeigh & Croft-Murray (2001).

⁶⁸ McVeigh (1993), 216.

⁶⁹ *The Morning Chronicle*, 1 May 1813, issue 13724.

⁷⁰ *The Morning Herald*, 12 March 1798, issue 5453.

Cox, referred some 25 years earlier to his establishment as a 'Museum', where 'the charms of music will be added to those of magnificence, and a concerto played by the mechanical band when the curtains ascend'.⁷¹ He added that his amusement was 'no longer considered as a mere spectacle of magnificence only, but a source of real pleasure and rational entertainment by men of the first genius, and by the greatest philosophers of the age'.

Another option for audiences was the 'Royal Musical Museum' run by Charles Claggett from Greek Street in Soho. His inventions were on show, including the 'Auton, or Pathetic Organ, without either pipes, bellows, strings, glasses or bells. It never requires to be tuned a second time, and is able to encounter any climate'.⁷² Unfortunately Claggett doesn't say what the instrument actually is. In contrast to Cox and Merlin who seem mainly to be operating amusements, Claggett was using his 'Museum' as a shop window to promote his instruments and encourage the sale of his inventions such as the Teleochordon (a combined piano and harpsichord) and his chromatic trumpets and horns.

Automated performances on familiar musical instruments also appear to have been available for the interested public. In 1774, the 'Curious in Mechanism and Music' could see and hear 'two Automaton Figures performing different Pieces of Music on German Flutes, in concert or separately. These figures are as large as life, being near six feet high' and wore magnificent Turkish-style costumes. Furthermore it is stated that 'the figures not only blow the flutes, but express the notes in a very distinct and proper manner, and grace the music with their fingers, in a pleasing and agreeable strain' and that they played sufficiently in time for 'any gentleman that plays the flute' to perform a duet.⁷³ This underlines the fact that the flute was definitely a male instrument at this time, wind instruments being deemed inappropriate for women due to the distortion of the face needed to form the embouchure.⁷⁴

⁷¹ *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 12 April 1774, issue 14080.

⁷² *The Morning Herald*, 23 January 1793, issue 4323.

⁷³ *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 12 April 1774, issue 14080.

⁷⁴ References to only one female flute player have been found for the period under examination, namely Miss Davies, the well-known glass armonica player, between 1760 and 1764. A 'Signora Tacet' is also mentioned in early 1760, but it is not clear whether this is an error: certainly there was a male flautist by

London was also home to a number of itinerant street musicians, who were of the lowest status, often essentially beggars. As there was no system of social care at this time, living standards were very bad for those without money or real prospects of making any. Individuals in such positions rarely left any traces in the historical archive, so are difficult to trace today. However, iconography can be useful, notably in illustrations of common events and in comments on society by painters and engravers such as William Hogarth. Musicians occur regularly in Hogarth's images, often for extra-musical reasons but this is in itself useful here. The satirical or political implications of including a bagpipe in his 'Stand of Arms' of 1750 are discussed by Barlow, who suggests that it is symbolic of both Scotland and of contempt of the Scots' primitive nature.⁷⁵ Of course, there had been considerable unease with relation to the Jacobite uprisings which were led from Scotland, the most famous rebellions being in 1715 and 1745 (culminating in the Battle of Culloden),⁷⁶ the latter being only five years before the 'Stand at Arms' work and probably very fresh in politicians' minds. Depicting the Scots and by implication the Jacobites as primitive would have helped the propaganda war and aided the government in keeping popular support to a minimum. Barlow points out that while the bagpipe was consistently a low status instrument, Hogarth's depictions of itinerant violin (fiddle) players demonstrated that the status of the violin relied on who the player was and in what context they played.⁷⁷ Musical-instrument makers probably had little contact with street musicians specifically as customers, as most of these performers would have acquired their instruments second hand or by other means.

3.2.8: Grand and Middle-brow Houses in Town and Country: the Private Side

During the season the landed classes would spend their time in London, but for the rest of the year they resided at their country seats. This naturally had an impact on musicians and on musical-instrument makers, particularly those who were specifically addressing the upper-class amateur market. On the female side, this was mainly

the name of Tacet and further mentions of Signora Tacet refer to her as a singer. See *The Public Advertiser*, 26 January 1760, issue 7856; 28 January 1760, issue 7857; and 7 September 1764, issue 9317. None is listed in Doane (1794).

⁷⁵ Barlow (2005), 68.

⁷⁶ Black & Porter, eds (1994), 366–7.

⁷⁷ Barlow (2005), 129.

keyboard instruments (harpsichords, spinets, pianos) and harps, while men most frequently played flutes or violins.⁷⁸ Violinists such as Salomon and Scheener would make extended visits to musical families in their country seats and although they would not always receive a fee, they would have at least received free board and lodgings and would have been making useful connections for the next London season.⁷⁹ Those makers servicing the professional London market would therefore also have seen some effect since musicians followed their employers to the country, or took themselves off to provincial towns for concert series and music festivals.⁸⁰

John Marsh of Chichester indicates that London makers and repairers were regular visitors to houses in the south. For example, he reports in 1787 that he had organ builders from London come to tune his own instrument:

On Wednesday May 2d. ... I expected Mess'rs Orhman & Nutt wo'd have finish'd the tuning of my organ, on w'ch I promised them a hot supper & some punch & they were to go away by the next mornings coach but finding about 8 in the evening that it wo'd be very late at night before they would be able to finish it, I prevailed on them to stay the next morning ... We therefore imediately left off business for that night & sat down to our good cheer.⁸¹

Marsh was a keen amateur musician who was involved with organising many concerts in Chichester and had his compositions published by London firms. He would have been a useful connection for instrument makers to nurture since he held considerable influence in his own neighbourhood and beyond.

The impact of the season on instrument sales for London makers whose primary market was upper-class ladies can clearly be seen in the letters from Pierre Erard in London to his uncle Sébastien who was based in Paris in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. For example, in September 1814, Pierre remarked 'The season is terrible; all of London is in the countryside or on the continent'.⁸² In contrast, though, 'March and

⁷⁸ Woodfield (2003), 35.

⁷⁹ Woodfield (2003), 22–32.

⁸⁰ Vickery (1998), 261–6.

⁸¹ Robins, ed (1998), 401.

⁸² Letter of 22 September 1814.

subsequent months will have higher revenue since it is the season'.⁸³ It is clear that Pierre was considerably relieved when the prospect for instrument sales was good:

the business season has now arrived, there are already many people in town, but we still have only hope for our sales: from what I can see I think next week will be fine and we will sell for cash, which would be a great help... in short, it is wonderful that we are now finally in the season.⁸⁴

The other main 'female' instruments in the domestic setting were the harpsichord and piano. As an object of high status, a large keyboard instrument placed ostentatiously in a drawing room alongside other objects in the same space can help to define the social position of the (male) head of the family. As well as the actual pecuniary cost of the instrument, which could be as much as £73 or more for a highly decorated double-manual harpsichord from the most well-known workshop,⁸⁵ its value as a symbol rests partly with those who would use it. In a recent article, Michael Cole has analysed the ownership of pianos in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁸⁶ He suggests that women were central to the rise in popularity of the piano as the most important domestic instrument, eclipsing and eventually replacing the harpsichord. By examining surviving records of the Broadwood company and the diary of instrument tunings kept by Thomas Green,⁸⁷ Cole has calculated that something in the region of eighty per cent of amateur piano players were female.

It could be argued that as well as controlling female lives, some upper-class men endeavoured to control the lives of their employees, male and female, although perhaps from a benevolent point of view. For example, Sir Samuel Hellier (1736–84), who lived at the Wodehouse, a stately home near Wombourne in Staffordshire, put together a band of musicians from his tenants, workers and the local villagers, hoping that they would enjoy and benefit from the musical experience.⁸⁸ A large number of Hellier's instruments survive and are housed at the University of Edinburgh, but more

⁸³ Letter of 6 December 1814.

⁸⁴ Letter of 15 February 1815.

⁸⁵ See Nex & Whitehead (2000), 102, for a table comparing the prices of instruments by Ferdinand Weber and those from the Shudi Broadwood workshop. Double-manual harpsichords from the latter could cost £73 10s.

⁸⁶ Cole (2006), 43–60 & 68.

⁸⁷ Sheldrick, ed (1992).

⁸⁸ Frew & Myers (2003).

significantly, a listing of his instruments written between 1768 and 1770 was found in 1964. Of the 32 instruments included, 21 are certainly by London makers. There are also two Cremonese violins (Amati and Stradivari), a 'German' octave flute, and eight instruments whose origin is not recorded. London makers include Liessem, Johnson, Stanesby jnr, Hofmaster, Harris, Nicholson, and Gedney. This demonstrates very well the importance of London makers in supplying instruments to the musically initiated beyond the confines of the capital.

Although Hellier seems to have used a range of different suppliers, even in the eighteenth century, it was important for some connoisseurs, both male and female, to have instruments from a particular workshop. Perhaps the most famous English piano makers, Broadwood,⁸⁹ had a high reputation among musicians as well as providing instruments to the royal family, including the Prince of Wales (later King George IV) and his sister Princess Sophia in 1795.⁹⁰ However, John Marsh gives an insight into how reputation can give a blinkered view:

My sister having found her late new [Broadwood] piano forte rather weak & tubby in the bass & to want brilliancy of tone, now had it up to Town to exchange it for a new one, w^{ch} Broadwood agreed to do on paying 3 guineas. Finding however, on trying several at his house, no one of the kind, that we tho^t much superior to it, I persuaded her to call & try some of Longman & Co's in Cheapside, w^{ch} she accordingly did & found them in general to be so superior to Broadwood's small ones, that she immediately determin'd on making the exchange there, Longman agreed to the same terms providing he sho^d on inspecting it find it to be in the good condition we had mention'd.⁹¹

Of course, it may be that while Broadwood's manufactory and shop were in Great Pulteney Street, the location of Longman & Broderip's manufactory at that date in the less salubrious Cheapside, a lower class area of 'shopkeepers', meant their usual clientele was of a lower social status than that of Broadwood.

3.2.9: Schools and Teaching

Many musicians included teaching among their professional portfolios, some attending their pupils in schools and others in private homes. In the amateur market, it was largely young women who attained musical accomplishment, mainly on keyboards or in

⁸⁹ Adlam & Ehrlich (1984).

⁹⁰ Wainwright (1982), 80.

⁹¹ Robins, ed (1998), 558.

singing but also with stringed instruments such as the harp and guitar as discussed elsewhere. Pupils would therefore have required instruments on which to practice. Makers offered discounts for teachers if they purchased instruments on behalf of their pupils, as can be seen in the records of the Erard firm. Erard's usually paid harpists 12gn (£12 12s) per harp, thus supporting musicians while increasing their own income.

We can see the activities of a teacher of private pupils through the diaries of R J S Stevens. In 1784, he was paid 7s a lesson by the Lord Chancellor to teach his daughters harpsichord and singing. Stevens knew that young ladies were often not learning music for their own personal enjoyment but that some kind of public show was required, so organised concerts for them:

Having many Pupils who had arrived at some degree of Perfection in performing upon the Piano Forte, and in Singing, I determined this year, [1789] to give them an opportunity of shewing their abilities, at a Private Concert, ... to which I invited all the Parents of my Pupils, and some of my particular friends, took place April the seventh. I engaged an admirable instrumental Band, and we had a tolerable entertainment.⁹²

Stevens names six female performers, including the daughters of Lord Thurlow and Sir Thomas Frankland. The Lord Chancellor (Thurlow) was so supportive of this performance that in the following year Stevens organised four concerts for his pupils. Stevens also had male pupils, including one Thomas Sedgwick, a bass singer whose business as an ironmonger had failed and who subsequently worked as a servant.⁹³

Alongside their work with private pupils, Stevens and others also taught music at the various day and boarding schools in and around London.⁹⁴ By 1804, he was teaching at Mrs Carter's boarding house at Lambeth, where the income from piano pupils was nearly £400 and from singing £150 per annum.⁹⁵ It is difficult to find evidence as to what instruments were kept in such establishments, but in 1773, Miss Laurie's 'neat and genuine Household Furniture, Linen, China, Books,' and other belongings were sold

⁹² Argent (1992), 66.

⁹³ Argent (1992), 48, 66, 69, 95 & 60.

⁹⁴ Argent (1992), 71.

⁹⁵ Argent (1992), 134–6.

from her boarding-school at Vauxhall. Items included ‘a spinet in a mahogany frame, by Baker Harris’.⁹⁶

3.2.10: Conclusions

Thus, the main musical venues in London comprised its churches, theatres and concert rooms and the places where ‘entertainments’ took place, all public spaces but most of which required some level of disposable income to enjoy. Thus, the audiences which used them would have been of the higher social classes who were able to fill their leisure time with cultural activities. Placing one of their instruments in such a venue could therefore connect makers, particularly those involved with keyboard instruments, with potential private customers. However, problems could arise when dealing with institutions, either in gaining payment for services or in the return of instruments placed on hire.

There were also privately owned spaces such as the music rooms in grand houses and pedagogical locations, where one would only have been admitted with appropriate credentials and having made the right connections either directly or by recommendation. The politics and structure of each type of institution or establishment impacted on musical-instrument makers in a range of ways, including payment methods, the influence of the season, and the gendering of their customers. The most visible female customers are those who purchased harps and keyboard instruments for their own private use. Men are more visible across the board since they were involved with the running of institutions as well as their family lives. They can therefore be seen as customers for makers of all types of instrument.

Although London itself was the main focus for instrument makers since it contained the highest density and range of customers, their markets spread throughout Britain, Europe and the European Colonies. Some had representatives based abroad while others had relationships with music-shop keepers and musical-instrument makers based in other large cities. Having examined the main locations for musical events, we now turn our attention to the ways in which instrument makers interacted with their markets.

⁹⁶ *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 17 May 1773, issue 1243.

3.3: How the Markets Operated

3.3.1: The Mainstream

Due to the lack of surviving company records, it is difficult to establish exactly how musical-instrument makers addressed their potential customers. However, some ideas can be gleaned from other archival sources and by looking at markets in general. Certainly the newspapers were used by some firms, such as Longman & Broderip, to generate a public profile, although other makers clearly decided that the cost of placing advertisements would not benefit them sufficiently for this to be economically worthwhile. Trade cards, which included the name and address of firms together with any additional detail of the products or services they offered, also became popular and examples survive from numerous firms including Longman & Broderip (see Figure 3.2).⁹⁷



Figure 3.2: Trade card of Longman & Broderip, by permission of Tony Bingham

For some businesses, having their own ‘retail outlet’ or shop was significant, as will be discussed below, whether this was simply the room of the business premises which opened on to the street or a major showroom constructed specifically for the purpose.

⁹⁷ There are collections of trade cards at the British Museum (Print Room) and the Bodleian Library, Oxford, as well as in the private collection of Tony Bingham.

The firms of Longman & Broderip and Broadwood provide us with examples of how goods were distributed from the shop, workshop or warehouse to the customer. Many goods travelled over longer distances by water since it was safer and cheaper than travelling by road. For example, on 19 July 1800, a small piano by Broadwood which was destined for George Lambert, the organist at York, was ‘Delivered to Custom House Quay to go by the Jupiter’. Where the journey was shorter, square pianos were sent by coach or wagon. Even though stagecoach travel had greatly improved in terms of speed and comfort through the second half of the eighteenth century,⁹⁸ due to the unavoidably bumpy ride, fragile instruments were only carried by these means over relatively short distances. Pianos were left at public houses which were the pick-up and drop-off points for these vehicles. For example, on 2 September 1800, an instrument going to Seven Oaks for His Grace the Bishop of London was ‘Delivered at the Half Moon in the Borough’, while on 30 August in the same year, an instrument for the Earl of Dysart at Helmingham Hall, Ipswich, was ‘Delivered at the Saracens Head Aldgate to go by Frewers Waggon’.⁹⁹

Provincial music-shop keepers acted as agents and dealers, including Benjamin Banks of Salisbury, who is reputed to have sent his instruments to London for sale in Longman & Broderip’s shop, and in return sold instruments for them in Salisbury.¹⁰⁰ A nameboard preserved in the National Museum of Ireland, which probably came from a square piano, records that the instrument, made under the Longman & Broderip banner, was sold by Edmund Lee of Dame Street, Dublin.¹⁰¹ In addition, Longman & Broderip felt it worthwhile to have their own brand present in certain locations and ‘during the watering season [they] opened a shop at Margate and Brighthelmstone [now Brighton] for the sale of musical instruments’.¹⁰² This behaviour, of following customers when they travelled to the provinces, was typical of those working in the fashion trades in the

⁹⁸ Ball & Sunderland (2001), 204.

⁹⁹ Surrey Records Office, 2185/JB/42/1, Porter Books, 24 Dec 1798–20 Nov 1800.

¹⁰⁰ Milnes, ed (2000), 47.

¹⁰¹ The instrument itself no longer survives, and this object does not have a catalogue number.

¹⁰² Humphries & Smith (1970), 216. The ‘watering season’ began when people left London in June or July and ran until they were back in their country estates in mid August. A visit to the spa towns such as Bath, Tunbridge Wells or Harrogate as well as seaside resorts including Brighton became popular for health reasons, with the social calendar developing as a result. See Vickery (1998), 261–6.

last quarter of the century.¹⁰³ Within the capital, Longman & Broderip used porters to carry smaller items, both men employed by the firm and those hired by the job, the ‘ticket-porters’, whereas larger items or large quantities were carried in ‘vans’,¹⁰⁴ ‘close caravans’,¹⁰⁵ or ‘machines’¹⁰⁶ (presumably a kind of horse-drawn covered wagon) with the name of the firm visible on the sides.

3.3.2: Word of Mouth

The musical world in London was as much held together by informal personal relationships as by the formal institutions and establishments mentioned above. Writers such as Stevens and Marsh give us a glimpse into this world, which includes makers as much as professional instrumentalists, composers and amateurs. For example, we read from Marsh in 1781 that:

On the 31st. [August] calling on Mr Chapman ... at Bunterbart [sic] the piano forte maker, with whom he then work'd, I there met Mr Bach & heard him play on one of Buntebarts grand piano fortes with pedals communicating with the keys of the lower octave & half. Having mention'd to Mr Chapman that I sho'd probably soon have an organ built for my house at Nethersole, I enquir'd about Mr Avery. He however seem'd to give but rather an indifferent character of him & to recommend Hancock of Wyche Street, who he said was a very good workman & had been long establish'd.¹⁰⁷

Although not a long paragraph, this section is packed with information. We have an association between Gabriel Buntebart, who had worked with Zumpe, one of the earliest piano makers in London, and a little known maker by the name of Chapman, who Marsh also records as having worked with the organ builder Samuel Green;¹⁰⁸ we see one of the foremost composers of his day, J C Bach, associating with instrument makers and musicians whilst trying out instruments; we have the reputations of two organ builders contrasted; and there is mention of a piano with a pedal board, a very unusual instrument and perhaps the earliest mention of such a modification. It is conceivable that such an instrument was intended to be used by organists when practising in a domestic situation, although pedal boards on organs were not universal at this time.

¹⁰³ Fowler (1999), 49.

¹⁰⁴ Old Bailey, t17960406-85.

¹⁰⁵ Busby (1825), v1, 82–3.

¹⁰⁶ *The General Advertiser & Morning Intelligencer*, 13 February 1782, issue 1670.

¹⁰⁷ Robins, ed (1998), 245.

¹⁰⁸ Robins, ed (1998), 214.

However, of most significance here is that we see them, as it were, all in one breath, demonstrating the close-knit nature of the musical world in London at this time.

3.3.3: New Inventions and Novelties

The period 1760–1820 saw many changes in musical instrument design and technology. The three central factors in these changes relate to the way music was being written by composers, the techniques being developed by performers, and ideas from the instrument makers themselves. Stringed instruments, most notably the violin, needed to be able to fill the larger venues being used and so were either newly made or adapted to have longer, thinner and more angled necks, heavier bass bars together with a stronger neck joint construction, a longer finger board, and a higher, more arched bridge, all of which enabled the instrument to withstand higher tensioned strings and therefore to project more sound.¹⁰⁹ The violin bow too was gradually adapted until it arrived at its modern concave shape while experiments with head shapes led to the modern hatchet style being universally adopted. Tourte's definitive bow, which is in essence the shape with which we are familiar today, was invented in about 1786.¹¹⁰

In terms of woodwind instruments, keys began to be added and experiments made concerning the placement of finger holes as well as the shape and size of the internal bore. For example, from about 1760 the flute, which had for a long time been fitted with a single key, saw the addition of three keys by a group of makers in London, which led to further keys being added as the century progressed. Many different types of flute survive from this period of exploration which culminated in Boehm's definitive instrument developed in the 1830s and 40s.¹¹¹ Keys were necessary in order to facilitate the intonation of notes further from the home keys whilst maintaining the same tone quality throughout the compass.¹¹²

Brass instruments, like woodwind, saw the beginnings of developments which would drive onwards through the nineteenth century to make instruments fully and evenly chromatic. Although valve technology would not be introduced until the period

¹⁰⁹ Boyden et al (1989), 31–3.

¹¹⁰ Boyden et al (1989), 209–11.

¹¹¹ H M Brown (1984), 779–81.

¹¹² Shackleton (1984), 399.

immediately after this study,¹¹³ other techniques such as slides and keys on trumpets and keys on bugles were tried in order to increase the number of notes available without the need for time-consuming crook changes or two sets of each instrument. Although slide trumpets were very successful and popular, particularly amongst London players including Thomas Harper,¹¹⁴ they disappeared when the homogenous sound obtained using valves became universally desirable.

One window into how developments emerged is that of patents. This is a very specific source and not all those who were inventing felt the need or had the resources to secure their rights in a formal manner. Markets were often driven by ‘opportunistic entrepreneurs’ who saw the potential to establish a new market.¹¹⁵ As Floud and McCloskey point out, any innovator has three possible ways of benefitting from their ideas. The two relevant to instrument making are: to patent the object and sell licences to others to make their own (as in the example of Southwell’s pianos); and to patent the object and then make and sell numerous examples themselves (as most patentee makers did).¹¹⁶ Significantly, although many developments which were seen as aspects of industrialisation in other industries were process innovations,¹¹⁷ most of the changes in musical instruments were product innovations, with little alteration being made in the production techniques other than perhaps of scale in certain companies. A more detailed examination of patent statistics appears in Chapter 5, so here I will focus on some makers who took out patents on their inventions with varying degrees of success.

An example of an instrument which saw a number of patents and some disagreement over them is the English guittar. This instrument is a type of wire-strung cittern which became popular amongst upper-class women in Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹¹⁸ The guittar may have developed in German lands as many of the London-based makers were originally from this area, including Hintz, Elschleger,

¹¹³ A Myers (1997), 123.

¹¹⁴ Tarr (1997), 95–6.

¹¹⁵ Fligstein (2001), 3.

¹¹⁶ Floud & McCloskey, eds (1994), 30.

¹¹⁷ Floud & McCloskey, eds (1994), 283.

¹¹⁸ Pouloupoulos (2011).

Rauche and Zumpe.¹¹⁹ The first patent was in the name of John Goldsworth,¹²⁰ who worked with Culliford for Longman & Broderip. Goldsworth, Smith, Clauss and Pinto were all involved in ‘improving’ the guittar by the addition of a miniature keyboard and hammer mechanism, Smith’s idea being a box fitted onto the front of the instrument,¹²¹ whereas Clauss integrated his action inside the body with the hammers striking upwards through the rose.¹²² This type was called the ‘piano forte guitar’ and was supplied by a number of firms including Longman & Broderip who had a disagreement with Clauss over his patent rights.

A better known inventor is Charles Claggett, who was born in Ireland in 1740. His main claim to fame should be that he was apparently the first to fit a valve to brass instruments in order to make them chromatic,¹²³ but this is little recognised today. Claggett took out two patents, in 1776 and 1789, the former for ‘for Improvements made by him on all Musical Instruments played on Finger-boards’¹²⁴ and the latter relating to tuning and temperaments.¹²⁵ Unfortunately the patents and inventiveness do not appear to have been financially beneficial as Claggett filed for bankruptcy in 1793.¹²⁶

Joseph Merlin was, on the other hand, a more financially successful inventor. In his insurance policy of 1793, he described himself as a ‘goldsmith jeweller watch clock harpsichord and musical-instrument maker and general mechanic’.¹²⁷ At the time of his death in 1803 he resided on Princes Street, Hanover Square, a fashionable address, and bequeathed over £1,000 to his friends and family. These funds were to be raised by the

¹¹⁹ Holman (2010), 146.

¹²⁰ Patent no. 1491, 23 July 1785, see Woodcroft (1871), 15.

¹²¹ Harwood & Spencer (1984).

¹²² TNA: PRO C12/154/35, Clauss v Levy, 1786.

¹²³ Fitzpatrick (1984).

¹²⁴ *The London Gazette*, 21 December 1776, issue 11729. Patent no. 1140, 7 December 1776, Woodcroft (1871), 11–12.

¹²⁵ *The London Gazette*, 20 October 1789, issue 13142. Patent no. 1664, 15 August 1788, Woodcroft (1871), 21–2.

¹²⁶ *The London Gazette*, 26 March 1793, issue 13514.

¹²⁷ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/398, 621672.

sale of his ‘curious & valuable Museum which I have been making for 30 years’.¹²⁸ It is perhaps because Merlin did not focus just on musical instruments or even a single instrument that he was able to flourish. He was obviously a highly skilled engineer and inventor, as evidenced by his mechanism in the silver swan automaton now preserved in the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle in the north of England.¹²⁹ In addition, Merlin seems to have had the support of a number of influential patrons, including the musical family of the Burneys.¹³⁰ His eccentric side is demonstrated by Busby’s anecdote concerning his attendance at a masquerade at Carlisle House on roller skates playing the violin, when he failed to stop and demolished a £500 mirror and his instrument, as well as causing himself severe injuries.¹³¹

William Bainbridge gives us a clear and concise description of what many other makers appear to have been striving for in his advert for his ‘Patent Octave Flageolet’. In a notice in *The Morning Post* we read: ‘Fashionable Musical Instrument...which is in such high repute amongst Fashionable Amateurs for its true and melodious tones, being the easiest musical instrument ever invented, as any person can instantly produce a sweet tone on it without exertion.’¹³² This desire to be seen to be proficient at a musical instrument with very little effort is a marketing ploy which we see across western society – the human desire to get as much as possible with as little effort as possible is fairly universal.

As well as instrument makers, some performers made a virtue of their novelty value in one sense or another in order to attract the attention of the public. Miss Davies, for example, as well as being the only female flute player identified with any degree of certainty from the eighteenth century, played the ‘Armonica, an entire new and compleat Instrument of Musical Glasses, much larger than the former, capable of thorough Bass, and never out of Tune’.¹³³ In some cases, a physical disability, often in

¹²⁸ Will of Joseph Merlin, TNA: PRO PROB11/1394, written 21 March 1803, proved 20 June 1803. Here Merlin is called an ‘inventor of mechanism’.

¹²⁹ French et al (1985), 125–6.

¹³⁰ French et al (1985), 17–32.

¹³¹ French et al (1985), 83.

¹³² *The Morning Post*, 24 July 1804, issue 11164.

¹³³ *The Public Advertiser*, 1 March 1762, issue 8525.

the case of musicians that of blindness, was deliberately highlighted in order to draw attention and catch the imagination. One Mr Cheese, a blind organist in Manchester, invented his ‘Grand Harmonica’, consisting of ‘Cylindrical Glasses of various sizes revolving on Fourteen Spindles, which are performed upon Organically’.¹³⁴ There are many further examples to be found in the London and provincial papers from this period, but these suffice to show that there was a variety of inventors and performers aiming at the novelty market in a range of different ways.

3.3.4: The Second-hand Market

As well as these markets for new instruments, there was also a strong second-hand market. Many instrument makers were also dealers and adverts indicate that a range of instruments were for sale. Although we tend to think of ‘second-hand’ as being for used goods which would therefore be less expensive, there are other aspects to re-selling objects, such as the acquisition of antiquities or items formerly owned by famous people which would keep prices high. Even in the eighteenth century, fine Cremona violins from the previous century were popular and more expensive than buying new. Also, when production costs were reduced but fashion was of fundamental importance, those with less money would often prefer to purchase cheaper new goods rather than dated and unfashionable second-hand items.¹³⁵

For other instrument types, buying second-hand could indeed be a way for those who had less disposable income to be able to purchase instruments and thereby to acquire cultural capital. It was also a way for makers to scrape together further income with relatively little input. Instruments were taken in part exchange for newer models, therefore not requiring any capital outlay on the part of the dealer.¹³⁶ Instruments from the most popular firms could still fetch good prices second-hand, or they could be hired out to people who did not want to buy. Thus, as Stobart and van Damme have found in the wider market-place, ‘the second-hand trade – broadly defined – was not a relict of a primitive past, but an integral part of modern systems of consumption serving all sections of society’.¹³⁷ There were specialist second-hand music shops, such as John

¹³⁴ *The World*, 2 April 1791, issue 1327.

¹³⁵ Stobart & van Damme, eds (2010), 2–11.

¹³⁶ Robins, ed (1998), 558–9.

¹³⁷ Stobart & van Damme, eds (2010), 11.

Wilde's premises on Saville Row,¹³⁸ while some more general firms, including Longman & Broderip, offered their second-hand instruments 'for Ready Money only'.¹³⁹ George Downing operated as a specialist dealer of both new and second-hand harpsichords by Kirkman from a warehouse at 5 New Cross Street, Covent Garden, over his lamp shop.¹⁴⁰

3.3.5: The Export Market

Many makers specifically aimed their products at the international market developing throughout Europe and in the colonies of India, the Americas and the West Indies. This foreign market was particularly unpredictable during times of conflict, such as the American War of Independence (1775–83)¹⁴¹ and the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1789–1815).¹⁴² During such periods, markets were closed down by politicians, but they could be lucrative when they were strong.

Some companies traded directly with similar firms in major European cities such as Paris, Vienna and Berlin. It was often a case of exchange where the publications and instruments of one house were allowed to be sold by another and vice versa. For example, Longman & Broderip had links with the Viennese music publisher Artaria. According to Jones, the Longman & Broderip company was effectively their agent in London, publishing music by Haydn, Mozart, Rosetti, Vanhal and Boccherini.¹⁴³ Artaria, in return, apparently sold instruments for Longman & Broderip: a harpsichord and a piano from their workshops are mentioned in an advertisement of November 1784.¹⁴⁴

The export market also extended further afield, to the colonies and other areas of the various European empires. Often, makers dealt directly with the captains of ships who wanted a cargo to take on their outward journey and so increase the profitability of their

¹³⁸ Old Bailey, t17901208-46.

¹³⁹ *The Oracle*, 24 May 1791, issue 620.

¹⁴⁰ *The World*, 8 November 1790, issue 1201.

¹⁴¹ Black & Porter, eds (1994), 23–4.

¹⁴² Black & Porter, eds (1994), 271–2.

¹⁴³ D W Jones (1996).

¹⁴⁴ Maunder (1999), 155.

round trip. Musician Charles Dibdin gives an account of how his brother, a ship's captain, had taken instruments from John Johnson, an instrument maker and music seller based on Cheapside, in the late 1750s, when he 'took out a cargo of music and other things, unsaleable here, to dispose of in the WEST-INDIES'.¹⁴⁵ Some 50 years later, Broderip & Wilkinson indicated that 'Merchants, and Captains of Ships [were] supplied on the most advantageous Terms.'¹⁴⁶

As well as these speculative exports where instruments went abroad without a specific customer in mind, there were other occasions where orders were made by establishments or individuals. For example in 1787 Longman & Broderip advertised that: 'At their Manufactory in Tottenham court-road, they have ready for inspection, a capital large Finger Organ, built by them for the new church at Barbadoes'.¹⁴⁷ Erard's too saw orders for harps to be sent out to India, often for the wives or daughters of army officers based there.¹⁴⁸

Shops supplying expatriates were established, such as that in Calcutta in 1780:

Mr G.C. Mann (just arrived from Messrs Longman and Broderip's at their Music Warehouses No.26 Cheapside, and No.13 Haymarket London) takes this method of acquainting the L[adies] and G[entlemen] of the settlement, that he, together with Mr Russell, have opened a Music Shop in Loll Bazar, facing the Old Harmonic; where they repair and have all kinds of Musical Instruments with the greatest care and expedition, Mr Mann having presided over that business for Longman and Broderip. ...

N.B. They having received a great quantity of instruments, viz. Harpsichords, Piano Fortes, Organs, both finger and barrel, and New Music, being part of the Investment of the Juliana Maria.

Harpsichord, Piano Fortes, etc tuned by the month or time.¹⁴⁹

Woodfield notes a 'period of vigorous growth' in the instrument trade in Calcutta during the 1780s. Again one can see the influence of the military and the need for instruments for wind bands, in parallel with the 'female' instruments such as the piano and English guitar. Woodfield estimates that, based on advertisements in the local newspapers, around 40 to 60 keyboard instruments were arriving in Calcutta each year.

¹⁴⁵ Dibdin (1803), v1, 18.

¹⁴⁶ Advertisement on the barrels of the barrel organ by Broderip & Wilkinson, RCM 103.

¹⁴⁷ *The Times*, 3 November 1787, issue 891.

¹⁴⁸ For example, harps 1024 and 1025 were sent to Calcutta.

¹⁴⁹ *The Calcutta Gazette*, 27 July 1780, quoted in Woodfield (2000), 68.

It is difficult to be certain concerning numbers of other instruments as the announcements often simply refer to ‘musical instruments’ without specifying their types.¹⁵⁰ However, there survives a collection of inventories of inhabitants of Calcutta who died in the 1760s and 70s which have been examined and analysed by Woodfield and in which he has found listed the instruments shown in Figure 3.3.

This distribution, with treble instruments dominating, suggests that the music making was small scale rather than orchestral. The frequent occurrence of the ‘male’ instruments, flute and violin, also implies that many of the men who were working for the East India Company and in the military would have been musical, and not just the wives and daughters who accompanied them. Pairs of horns were common, which would have been played outdoors in military and social contexts.

Figure 3.3: Instruments listed in the inventories of inhabitants of Calcutta who died between 1760 and 1779

Flute	156
Violin	91
French Horn	53
Harpsichord	14
Oboe	12
Guit[t]ar	12
Organ	11
Trumpet	5
Fife	4
Cello	4
Clarinet	4
Bass viol	3
Dulcimer	3
Viola	2
Bassoon	2
Pianoforte	2
Flageolet	1
Musical Glasses	1
Handbells	1
Lute	1

After the 1780s, the number of harpsichords began to diminish as they were replaced by pianos, much as in the home market. Makers in London were developing instruments which would withstand the different climate and provided stronger packing so that

¹⁵⁰ Woodfield (2000), 20–30.

instruments arrived in good condition. There was also an expanding second-hand market since there was little point in repatriating at great cost an instrument which had suffered in the more extreme climate.¹⁵¹

3.3.6: The Professionals

It is difficult if not impossible to determine who all of the musicians working either professionally or as skilled amateurs actually were. The most useful window is the ‘Musical Directory’ compiled by Joseph Doane in 1794.¹⁵² This was the first and most complete listing of musicians, mostly based in London but also including individuals who lived elsewhere but had recently participated in one or more London performance or event. Of the 1,276 named individuals, 914 or 72% had current London addresses. The next most popular locations are Oxford (20), Bath (17), Birmingham (12) and Philadelphia (12). Doane notes that ‘the new Theatre at Philadelphia in America, has lately drawn a number of musical persons from this country’.¹⁵³ Doane also states in his introduction that he has the names of ‘several hundred’ people who he has not included due to having insufficient details of their current addresses, perhaps potentially taking his listing up to around 1,500. 90 of the named individuals were women, 80 of whom sang, while 4 included the harp, 5 the piano, 7 the organ, 2 the harpsichord and 2 the violin amongst their accomplishments.

The distribution of instruments described by Doane is shown in Figure 3.4. It should be noted that where an individual plays more than one instrument, they have been counted under all the relevant instruments. The total number of instruments comes to 795, although it is more than likely that the singers who are not listed as playing instruments, totalling 480 of the 591 singers, could well have had instruments, possibly keyboards, at home. Doane probably therefore gives us an underestimate of the instruments needed by professional musicians who were active in London.

¹⁵¹ Woodfield (2000), 17 & 76–9.

¹⁵² Doane (1794).

¹⁵³ Doane (1794), vii.

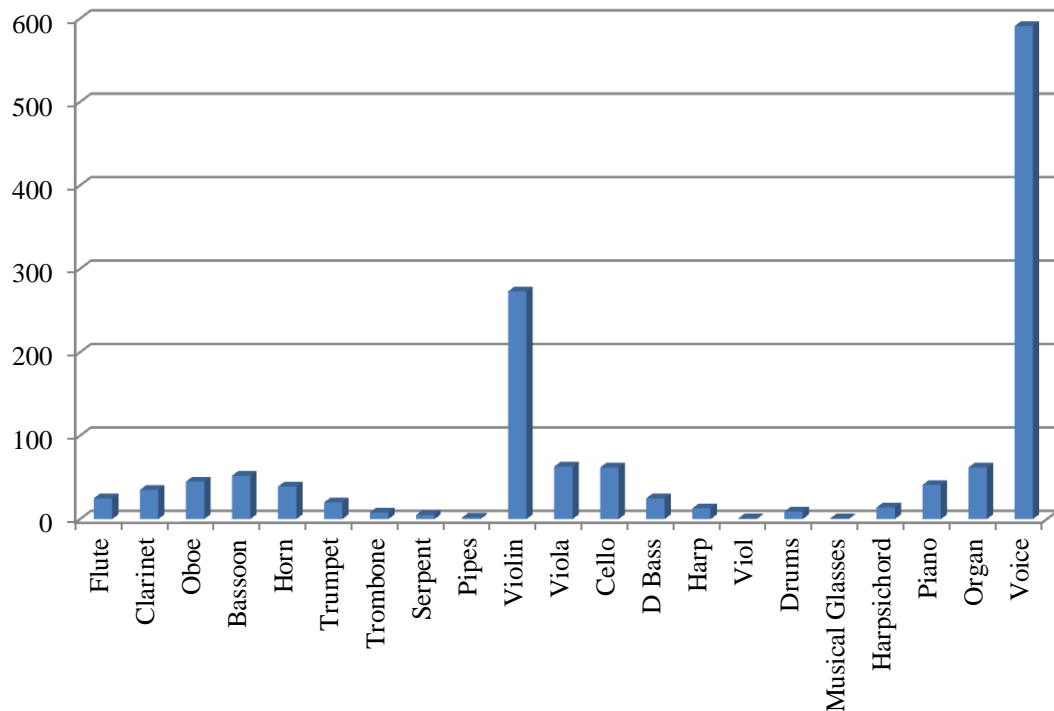


Figure 3.4: Occurrences in Doane (1794) of instruments played

This distribution shows a large number of singers and violinists relative to the other instruments. Also, the relative importance of bassoons with 52 players, compared to 62 cellists and only 25 flautists, demonstrates that there was more of an even distribution between bass instruments than today's musical performances would suggest. The piano and harpsichord, although quite well represented, are not as dominant as they were in the amateur market, although players of other instruments may have had instruments at home and not listed them as they did not perform on them at professional levels.

Figure 3.5 shows the distribution of occupations relating to the supply of musical hardware or otherwise underpinning performance and includes 48 musical-instrument makers. Most of these are not referred to by specific types of instrument so it is not possible to break this down into smaller groups without resorting to using additional sources.

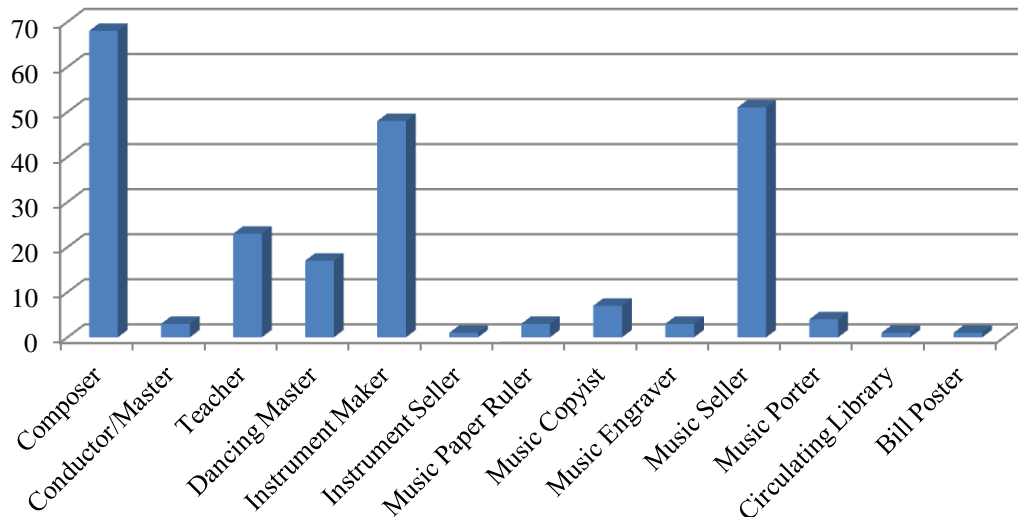


Figure 3.5: Occurrence in Doane (1794) of music-related occupations

Some of these people doubled as performers: in particular, all of the teachers also played, sang or composed while of the dancing masters, two also taught, one played the viola and organ, and the remaining 14 played the violin, presumably using the instrument or its smaller cousin, the pochette, to play the melodies to which their pupils danced. Although incomplete and lacking detail in many cases, Doane's *Directory* uniquely provides us with an idea of the structure and size of the profession in 1794, an important market for the 48 listed instrument makers.

3.3.7: Retail Outlets

Retail outlets and shops have already been mentioned as part of these discussions. However, it is worth considering how the location and structure of retail outlets shaped the interactions between musical-instrument makers and their customers. For many, the front room of the premises was put aside for the showroom. This is where potential customers went to see and hear the instruments before deciding on their final purchase. Location was an important aspect of retail, with particular areas of London attracting different clientele. The fashionable Georgian squares were the areas where upper-class and aristocratic families spent their time while in London, so makers such as Broadwood's benefitted from their close proximity to their customers. Cheapside, on the other hand, was seen as a lower status shopping area but Longman & Broderip made a virtue of being able to attract customers from a wide range of social backgrounds and

sold an impressive array of musical goods. Their reputation was such that they did also attract customers from the upper ends of society.

Some makers associated themselves with the shopping galleries which were becoming increasingly significant as ‘retail experiences’ for the leisured classes. These arcades began to appear in the second half of the seventeenth century and consisted of a large roofed shopping area containing many small shops lining the walkways, each consisting of little more than a counter behind which the merchant stood with his wares. Those on the Strand, including Exeter Exchange, the Middle Exchange and the New Exchange, are reported to have been particularly popular with women and offered a consumer experience different from that found traditionally on London streets.¹⁵⁴ Instrument makers could be found in these arcades, such as Richard Bride, who lived on Burleigh Street, Strand, but had an outlet in the Exeter Exchange to sell his instruments.¹⁵⁵ The Exeter Exchange, built on the site of the old Exeter House, was opened in 1676 and by the late eighteenth century was associated with ‘fashionable merchandise and female shoppers’.¹⁵⁶

In addition, the rise in warehouse-style premises where a range of different articles could be seen together, such as those increasingly advertised as the century closed, are typical of developments in retail as a whole, as described by Fowler. Having an accessible outlet where potential customers could browse, impulse buy and compare prices and items with those of other makers, was becoming important to traders in many different commercial areas, although it did increase competition in terms of quality, price and style.¹⁵⁷ As Fowler points out, in order for shops to be financially viable, a certain level of population density was required: the growth of London through the century meant that luxury shops could by this time flourish in the capital.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ Benson & Ugolini, eds (2003), 52–61.

¹⁵⁵ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/163/131, 222833, 29 July 1765. This may have been the same Richard Bride who later worked for Longman & Broderip as a clerk and shopman. See TNA: PRO E133/82/26, Longman v Babb, 1784.

¹⁵⁶ C Walsh (2003), 53.

¹⁵⁷ Fowler (1999), 38 & 48.

¹⁵⁸ Fowler (1999), 46.

In some outlets, customers could also hear instruments being demonstrated by skilled players, sometimes the daughters of instrument makers. The music teacher, singer and organist Richard Stevens records in his diary for 1825 hearing ‘Miss Kirkman’, presumably a daughter of Joseph Kirkman, play the pianoforte on four occasions.¹⁵⁹ He acknowledges her skill, reporting that:

Miss Kirkman played an overture of Beethoven, and two overtures of Weber. Freischutz one of them. The poor girl must have fagged hard to play these adapted overtures so well.¹⁶⁰

Stevens visited again in 1827, when ‘Josephine Kirkman played to me an hour’.¹⁶¹ Stevens was a contact worth cultivating since he was in a position to recommend instruments to amateur musicians. He taught the daughters of many upper-class families, each of whom would need a harpsichord or piano on which to practice. Stevens’ diaries show that he often purchased instrument for or on behalf of his friends including in 1807, when he ‘gave Mrs Brown a Grand Piano Forte with the additional keys: it was made by Joseph Kirkman, and was an admirable instrument. I gave him sixty guineas for it.’¹⁶²

Longman & Broderip and Culliford & Co both show the extent to which their showrooms and public spaces were used not only for direct contact with customers, but also as important locations for socialising and making musical contacts. For companies, this was important since a business relationship could grow from more informal intercourse. Instrumentalists would require accessories, new instruments and music. Furthermore those instrument makers who also published music would need to know which composers were in favour and to nurture a positive relationship with them in order to negotiate competitive rights over their music. For example, the composer Ignaz Pleyel stayed at Longman & Broderip’s Haymarket premises during his visit to London.¹⁶³ John Marsh relied on the hospitality at Longman & Broderip’s on more than one occasion. In 1784, on the day of the first performance of the Handel

¹⁵⁹ Argent (1992), 256 fnt 13, 247 fnt 14 & 258 fnts 15 & 16.

¹⁶⁰ Argent (1992), 256 fnt 13.

¹⁶¹ Argent (1992), 268.

¹⁶² Argent (1992), 154 & 296.

¹⁶³ TNA E133/54/54, Forster v Longman, 1791.

Commemoration, Marsh tried to find somewhere for breakfast, but could not locate a coffee house open which would serve him before nine o'clock. However,

it occurring to me that I might get a slice of bread & butter & a little milk & water at Longman & Broderips in the Haymarket, I stept there & mentioning to a young man in the shop how I was circumstanc'd he order'd the maid to get what I wanted; but my difficulties however were not to end here as on bringing the bread & butter she brought word that the milk was not then brought & that there was not a drop in the house, I therefore hastily swallowed 2 or 3 slices of the bread & butter & washing down with a glass of *cold* water pursued my walk to the Abbey doors.¹⁶⁴

Marsh also attended more formal mealtime gatherings, such as in 1791 when he was invited to dinner at Cheapside. He described the other diners,

consisting of Mr Snow (formerly a celebrated harpsichord player), Blewit, a blind organist, Greatorex (father of the celebrated organ player) etc. whose very free & licentious conversation I was very glad after dinner to find interrupted by a piece called for on the piano forte by Snow (whose fingers however were now so distorted by the gout that he gave but a poor specimen of his former abilities) & one on the organ (of w'ch Longman had one in a recess behind the sideboard) by Blewett, after which I took my leave.¹⁶⁵

This evening's entertainment did not deter Marsh from visiting at Longman's, and in 1797 he hoped to view the Lord Mayor's Show from their front windows. However, fate was again not quite his friend and

finding the fore rooms there full of company, I went over to Culliford Rolfe & Barrows opposite Bow Church where I had a window to myself in their dining room, & when I sho'd have been much gratified with hearing the fine peal of 10 bells opposite, w'ch were ringing changes almost all the time I was there, had I not been prevented by a continual thrumming on a grand piano forte in the room I was in by a gent'n who seem'd to attend to nothing but his own amusement tho' I once or twice mention'd something as particularly worth seeing without in hopes of its bringing him to the window, if but for a minute or two, but without effect.¹⁶⁶

The excerpts show the extent to which the premises of these two firms were treated as open houses by musicians. In addition, important political visitors were taken to Longman & Broderip's, presumably as part of a wider tour of the highlights of London at this time. In November 1787, Monsieur Charles Alexandre de Calonne (1734–1802),

¹⁶⁴ Robins, ed (1998), 316–7, 1784.

¹⁶⁵ Robins, ed (1998), 487, 1791.

¹⁶⁶ Robins, ed (1998), 657 & 1797.

who had been the French Controller-general from 1783 until April 1787,¹⁶⁷ visited and was shown the ‘magazine of musical instruments’ accompanied by ‘a French lady of quality’. Both were reported to have been ‘highly pleased not only with the great variety in their warehouses, but with the attention which was shown them’.¹⁶⁸ This was only a matter of months before Calonne paid a prolonged visit to England following the failure of his plans for economic reform in France.¹⁶⁹ Another group on a political visit, this time six Cherokee chiefs, were brought round in 1790. The relationship with the Cherokee nation had been very important during the eighteenth century since they sided with the British during fighting with Spain and France over territories in North America. They also fought alongside British forces in the American War of Independence.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, it was perhaps of international significance that

the pleasure they expressed on hearing their Grand Piano Fortes, was only equalled by their admiration of the mechanism, which they very minutely examined, and, which appeared to give them great satisfaction.¹⁷¹

3.3.8: Instrument Prices

The correlation between instrument type, professional/amateur customer, and cost can be inferred from the data from the records of the Old Bailey and from newspapers. Information from these sources is drawn together in Figures 3.6 and 3.7 below. All of the instruments costing more than £5, except for the trumpet and horn, were aimed to a great extent at moneyed musical amateurs. These include keyboard instruments, harps and Cremonese violins. Trumpets and horns were used mainly by military personnel, even in civilian contexts, and the bands were usually sponsored by a member of the landed gentry who raised the regiment from the men on his estate. Therefore, more could be charged for these as well. Woodwind, which would largely have been the province of the professional player (with the exception of the flute), were priced at a much lower level since most professional musicians were not particularly well off. Notably, no higher priced flutes have been found: perhaps more evidence will show that some makers charged more for the amateur market, but this remains to be seen.

¹⁶⁷ Black & Porter, eds (1994), 111.

¹⁶⁸ *The Times*, 12 November 1787, 2.

¹⁶⁹ Black & Porter, eds (1994), 111.

¹⁷⁰ Perdue (1989), 32–5.

¹⁷¹ *The Times*, 12 November 1790, 2.

Figure 3.6: Table of prices of musical instruments noted between 1760 and 1820
 The price quoted is the minimum when there is a range given in the source. Values have been converted to decimal equivalents to facilitate comparison.

Instrument	Actual price	Decimal price, £	Date	Maker	Reference
violins, 'Foreign & English'	8s	0.4	1772	?	<i>The Daily Advertiser</i> , issue 12831
flageolet	10s	0.5	1820	Bainbridge	<i>The Morning Post</i> , issue 15372
flute	12s	0.6	1817	Christopher Gerock	Old Bailey, t18170219-52
clarinet	12s	0.6	1809	?	Old Bailey, t18090920-95
violin	15s	0.75	1754	?Richard Duke	Old Bailey, t17540911-5
flute	£1 1s	1.05	1760	John Mason	<i>The Public Advertiser</i> , issue 7868
aeolian harp	£1 1s	1.05	1765	Henry Thorowgood	<i>The Gazetteer and Daily Advertiser</i> , Lasocki (2010)
flageolet, large	£1 12s	1.6	1820	Bainbridge	<i>The Morning Post</i> , issue 15372
clarinet	£2 2s	2.1	1798	George Astor	<i>The Star</i> , issue 3100
cello	£2 10s	2.5	1772	?	<i>The Daily Advertiser</i> , Issue 12831
bassoon	£4 4s	4.2	1798	George Astor	<i>The Star</i> , issue 3100
tambourine	£4 4s	4.2	1798	George Astor	<i>The Star</i> , issue 3100
violins, Cremona	£5 5s	5.25	1772	?	<i>The Daily Advertiser</i> , issue 12831
harp, children's	£5 5s	5.25	1798	Hoffman	<i>E. Johnson's British Gazette and Sunday Monitor</i> , issue 957
concert trumpet	£5 5s	5.25	1798	George Astor	<i>The Star</i> , issue 3100
guitar, pianoforte	£7 7s	7.35	1783	Christian Clauss	TNA: PRO C12/154/35
spinet	£11 7s	11.35	1775	Weber	Weber account book, NMI
piano, square	£15 15s	15.75	1780	Shudi Broadwood	Weber, Nex & Whitehead (2000)
harpsichord, double-manual	£16 16s	16.8	1780	Shudi Broadwood	Weber, Nex & Whitehead (2000)
concert horn	£16 16s	16.8	1798	George Astor	<i>The Star</i> , issue 3100
harp	£21	21	1798	Hoffman	<i>E. Johnson's British Gazette and Sunday Monitor</i> , issue 957
harpsichord, single-manual	£22 15s	22.75	1775	Weber	Weber account book, NMI
bass, Cremona	£26 5s	26.25	1788	?	<i>The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser</i> , issue 4658
organ, barrel, 4 stops, 3 barrels	£29 8s	29.4	1798	George Astor	<i>The Star</i> , issue 3104

piano, single-action square	£32 15s	32.75	1818	Broadwood	De Val (1991) / Broadwood archives
harpsichord, double-manual	£36 8s	36.4	1775	Weber	Weber account book, NMI
organ, barrel, chamber	£36 10s	36.5	1817	?	<i>The Morning Post</i> , issue 14350
harpsichord, double-manual (2 nd hand)	£36 15s	36.75	1783	Shudi	<i>The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser</i> , issue 729
violin, Cremona	£42	42	1775	Antonio Amati, 1628	<i>The Public Advertiser</i> , issue 14176
piano, grand (2 nd hand)	£45 5s	45.25	1815	Broadwood	<i>The The Morning Post</i> , issue 13985
violin, Cremona	£52 10s	52.5	1788	Amati	<i>World</i> , issue 363
organ, barrel, church	£52 10s	52.5	1817	?	<i>The Morning Post</i> , issue 14350
harp (2 nd hand)	£57 15s	57.75	1815	Erat	<i>The Morning Post</i> , issue 13985
piano, grand	£57 15s	57.75	1798	George Astor	<i>The Star</i> , issue 3104
piano, upright grand	£57 15s	57.75	1806	Thomas Loud	<i>The Morning Post</i> , issue 11171
organ, chamber, 7 stops	£63	63	1783	?	<i>Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser</i> , issue 729
harp, single-action	£84	84	1811	Erard	Erard Ledgers
organ, chamber, 5 stops (2 nd hand)	£85 1s	85.05	1801	George Astor	<i>The Ipswich Journal</i> , issue 3569
piano, 6-octave grand	£94 10s	94.5	1818	Broadwood	De Val (1991) / Broadwood archives
violin	£105	105	1792	?	Old Bailey, t17920912-76
harp, double-action	£126	126	1817	Erard	<i>The Morning Post</i>

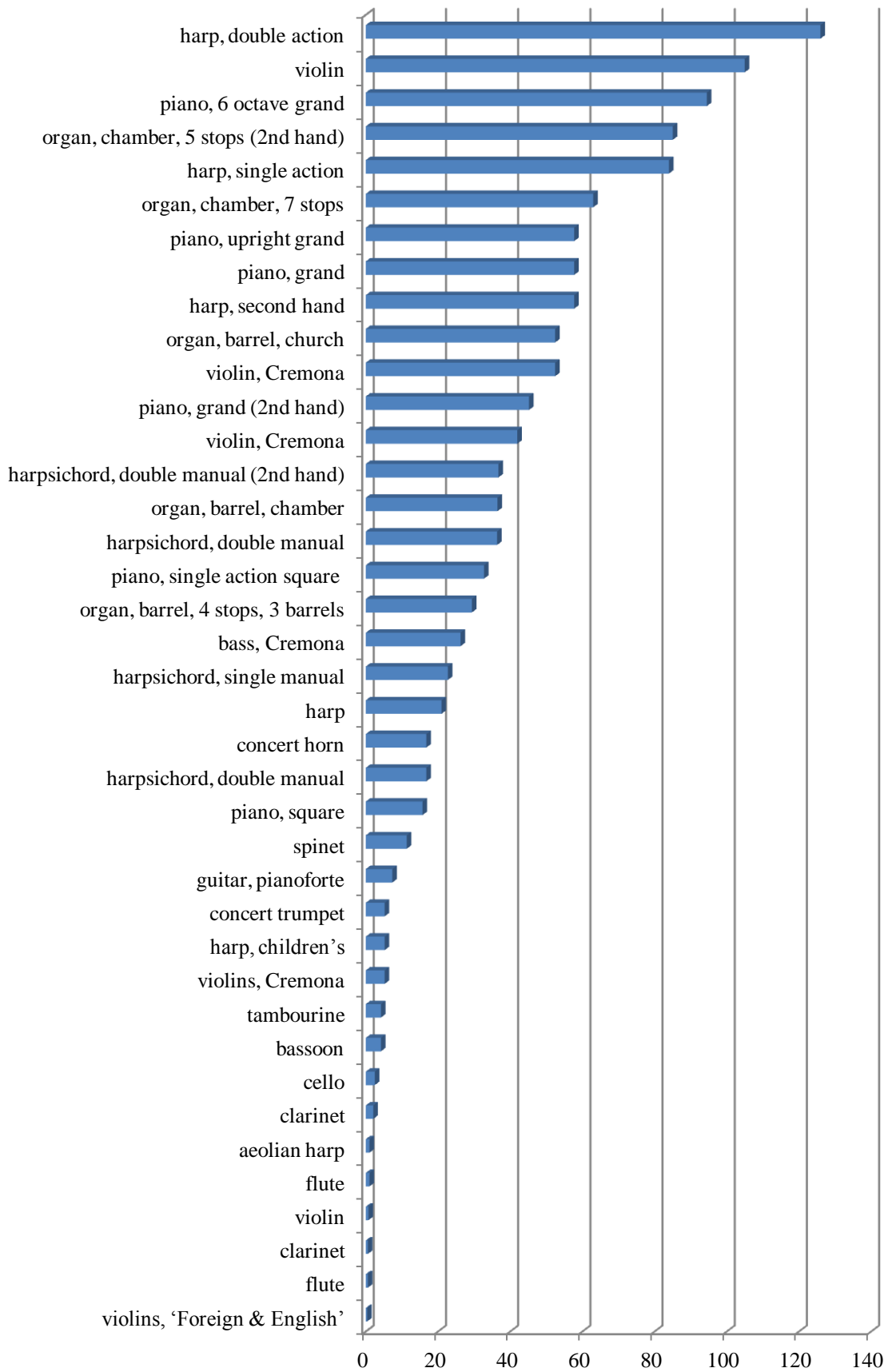


Figure 3.7: Prices of musical instruments noted between 1760 and 1820 (£)

In some cases, the skills of the maker had an impact on the price asked for their products. Horns in particular were complicated to make due to the length of curved tubing and large bell required, so their price was significantly above that of a trumpet which only requires two short curved bows and a much smaller bell. Cremonese violins were and remain the most in demand, partly due to the craft skills demonstrated by makers such as Amati, Guaneri, and in particular Stradivari. The top-end keyboard instrument makers, such as Shudi, Broadwood and Kirkman, were able to charge more for harpsichords than did lesser names including Ferdinand Weber and Robert Falkener.

Some instruments, most notably violins, were ubiquitous and could be purchased for prices from a few shillings up to over £100 depending on the quality of the instrument and the market price, with 'Cremonese' instruments carrying the highest reputation. Although the price of pianos was decreasing, making them more widely available, they nevertheless cost upwards of £15 in the 1780s, a significant amount for the lower classes and therefore out of their financial reach.

3.3.9: Conclusions

Therefore it can be seen that makers could address the markets in different ways. What was appropriate in each case depended on many factors, the most fundamental being the type of instrument in question and therefore the customers who would be interested in making a purchase. The nature of the customer depended on their gender, status, financial standing, cultural capital, and professional status, all of which would influence their decisions. Upper class women enjoyed music as a pastime both in terms of attending performances and in playing themselves, thus being patrons of musicians playing all instruments as well as themselves supporting the work of keyboard and harp makers more directly. The professional musicians required instruments of all types in order to populate the orchestras of the theatres and concert rooms while organists and organ builders were enjoying a period of development as organs were reintroduced into churches. The price of instruments had an impact on who would normally purchase and play them since expensive instruments clearly required a great deal of capital for their acquisition.

Next, we go on to examine the example of the early sales of Erard's new double action harp, whereby each string was able to play three notes, that is the flat, natural and sharp

of each diatonic note, making the instrument fully chromatic. As will be seen, the market for such an item was quite specific due to their cost and the strong gendering of the amateur market place. The customers for Clauss guitars and the retail customers for Broadwood pianos are then examined to enable comparisons to be made between these three types of instrument, all of which are traditionally thought to have been largely used by women in the domestic sphere.

3.4: Case Study 1: The Introduction of Erard's Double Action Harp in London as seen through the London Harp Sales Ledgers

3.4.1: Introduction

This case study relates to the first 100 entries in the company sales ledgers for double action harps made by the Erard firm in London from the earliest instrument, number 1387 sold on 30 November 1811, to number 1540 sold on 4 April 1812. A few instruments with serial numbers in between remained in the workshop until 1813 or 1814. During this period, single action harps were still being sold, and two numbers were somehow each given to two instruments, explaining why in fact 158 harps left the workshop in the period between the first and the one hundredth double being sold. An additional point of possible confusion is the fact that the instruments were not sold in chronological order, so although the one hundredth double in terms of its serial number is harp 1540, it was actually sold before harp 1538. Therefore, the first 100 double action harps by serial number have been chosen in order to minimise the impact of these inconsistencies.

3.4.2: Customers

For instruments made during the early 1810s, the ledgers contain only basic information concerning both instrument and purchaser. Taking an overview of the customers listed, one notices the frequency of titles such as 'Sir', 'Countess', and 'Lady'. There are also a number of 'Captain's and a Rev Dr Staunton. However, the majority of customers are referred to as 'Miss', 'Mrs', or 'Mr'. While double action harps were sold to 85 untitled women, 20 were bought by ladies 'of title'. Examining the male side, 36 instruments were purchased by 'Mr', nine by 'Esq', six by 'Sir', five by men with military titles and one clergyman. The full breakdown can be seen in Figure 3.8.

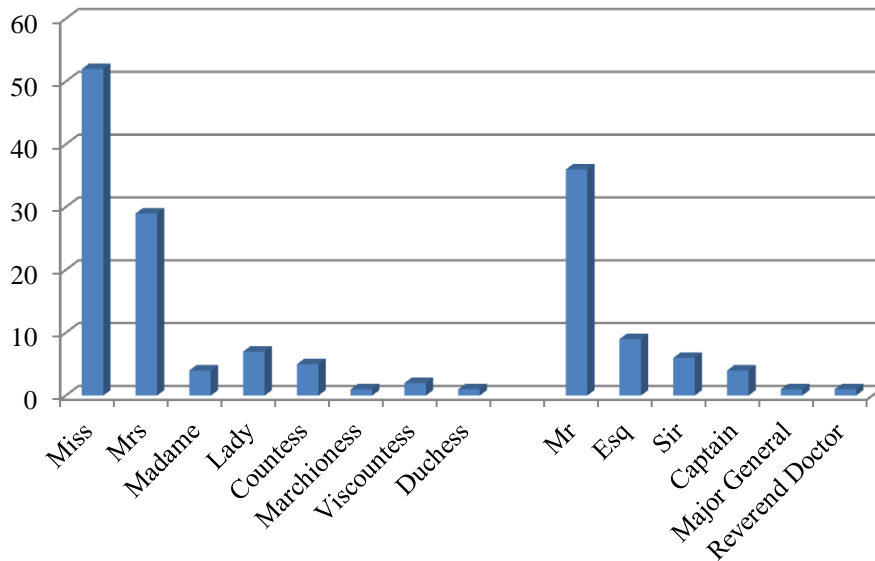


Figure 3.8: Number of occurrences of titles amongst the customers of the first 100 Erard double action harps

This is also revealing in terms of the gender of the purchasers. One can easily see that the majority of the people listed are female. Of the 158 instruments, 101, that is 64% or almost two thirds have women's names associated with them. Of course it is difficult to draw conclusions from this in terms of the gendering of the harp trade since any analysis depends in part on how one defines the customer: was it the person responsible for paying the bill, or the person who would be playing the instrument? Although it is undoubtedly possible that some of the men were purchasing instruments to play themselves, others may well have been acquiring gifts for the ladies in their life, perhaps their wife or daughters. On the other side, it is not clear whether all the 'Miss'es actually paid the bills themselves or whether they had a patriarch or benefactor who looked after their financial affairs. All that can be said with any degree of certainty is that women do represent a high proportion of those named in the ledgers in this period, perhaps suggesting that harp playing was more of a female activity, at least in the amateur sphere.

I will now examine more closely some of the individuals mentioned in order to gain some idea of who Erard's customers were. Although I have ascertained that the majority of customers were untitled, it is likely that they were of considerable social and

financial standing since the instruments cost in the region of 120gn.¹ Bearing in mind that in 1810, the average annual wage for an agricultural labourer was £42 and for a surgeon £217, this would be beyond the pocket of most people.² Unfortunately, it is this majority group of untitled ladies that it is most difficult to trace since they have not left as much information in the archives concerning their lives or activities as their male counterparts or as those higher up the social scale.

However, we can find something about the lady who purchased the earliest numbered double harp, 1387, Miss Homfray of Russell Square. From newspaper notices, we can establish that the master of the house was one Samuel Homfray and that Mrs Homfray's balls were part of the elite fashionable calendar.³ Samuel Homfray (1762–1822) was of the second generation of a family involved in the iron industry and was, at various points in his life, chief promoter of the Glamorgan Canal, manager of the Penydarren ironworks, developer of the ironworks at Tredegar, High Sherriff of Monmouthshire and MP for Stafford.⁴ His wife, Mary Jane née Morgan was daughter of Sir Charles Gould Morgan of Tredegar and thus provided Homfray with a link to one of the most significant families in terms of landed property in south Wales. Although the names of their sons are listed, the daughters have not been as well researched, but we do know that there were at least two daughters from the union, one of whom was called Amelia. Certainly the family were not averse to new inventions. Indeed Samuel was involved with the world's first steam-driven locomotive, which was constructed by Richard Trevithick at Penydarren in 1804. Thus, we see Erard harp number 1387 situated in a fashionable and high status household which mixed the old landed gentry of Mrs Homfray with the industrial developments and innovations of Samuel and his circle.

¹ A 'Patent Pedal Harp' with single action cost £84 in January 1811 (harp 1372). However, an advert for a double action harp to be sold second hand due to the owner moving abroad quotes its original price as being 120gn (*The Morning Post*, 19 May 1817, issue 14453).

² See Williamson (1982), 1–54.

³ *The Morning Chronicle*, 26 July 1815, issue 14432: 'Leasehold family Mansion, Russell-square, the late Residence of Samuel Homfray, Esq. removed to Sunning-hill...'. *The Morning Post*, 30 May 1814, issue 13526: 'FASHIONABLE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE WEEK...WEDNESDAY Countess of Essex's Card Party, Curzon-street. THURSDAY The QUEEN'S Drawing-room. Mrs. Homfray's Ball, Russell-square.'

⁴ Anonymous (2004), v27, 892–4.

There is not space here to go into great detail concerning all of the owners of early double action harps. However, it is worth mentioning some of those whose biographies are well known in order to gain further understanding of Erard's customers. For example, harp 1415 was purchased by the 'Marchs Downshire'. Mary Hill, the Marchioness of Downshire and *suo jure* Baroness Sandys of Omberseley (1764–1836), was a rich heiress who was brought up by her uncles and grandmother on the early death of her parents.⁵ Secondly, harp 1536 was sold to Countess Spencer in November 1812 before being passed on to her daughter Lady Georgiana Quin. The Countess, née Lady Lavinia Bingham, was the daughter of the first Earl of Lucan and was one of the leaders of fashionable London society, so her custom and implied approval of Erard's instruments would have been extremely beneficial to the firm.⁶

As well as landed gentry, well-off merchants are represented, including Sir Thomas Baring, a member of the famous family of bankers based in London.⁷ Another banker, Ichabod Wright of Mapperley, near Nottingham, purchased harp 1470 in August 1812, possibly for the use of one or more of his ten daughters.

Individuals and families involved in the military include Sir Roger Curtis, who purchased harp 1409 in November 1811 and had a long and distinguished career as a naval officer. He eventually settled in Portsmouth, where he was commander-in-chief from 1809–12. Sir Roger was active during the French and American Revolutionary Wars and served alongside Nelson, who referred to him as 'an able officer and conciliating man'. One finds it hard to imagine a 66-year old Admiral playing the harp, and it is possible that it was purchased for the use of one or both of his two daughters.⁸

The one hundredth double harp was purchased by 'Mrs Dickenson, Bramblebury near Woolwich' on 4 April 1812. This was a more modest establishment than some of those already mentioned, but the location appears to have been convenient for the Dickensons since Captain Dickenson was Superintendent of Shipping to the Ordnance for 44 years

⁵ Anonymous (2004), v27, 155–6.

⁶ Anonymous (2004), v51, 842.

⁷ Harp 1425. Anonymous (2004), v3, 834–47.

⁸ Anonymous (2004), v14, 778–9.

before his death aged 74 in 1828.⁹ It is not known whether there were any children who may have made use of the instrument or whether it was for Mrs Dickenson herself. As extrapolated from information given in the announcement of her death, at the time of purchase Frances Dickenson would have been in her early fifties. It is to be hoped that one way or another she enjoyed many years of harp playing since she lived into her 94th year.¹⁰

One of the harps which were sent to foreign parts, number 1410, was bought by ‘Miss Sophia Arnold, East Indies’. Although she is not of high enough status to be mentioned in modern reference texts, we can catch glimpses of her in the newspapers. In 1814, Sophia married ‘Captain Pownal Phipps of the 13th Regiment N I Fort Adjutant and Barrack Master at Agra’, suggesting that she too may have come from a military family.¹¹ Indeed, in 1834 we find mention of a case involving the estate of Lieutenant Colonel Arnold who had been employed in the East India Company’s service.¹² Certainly, as mentioned previously, other London-based firms were sending instruments out to India and other colonies, since the expatriates were keen to keep up with the latest London fashions.¹³

3.4.3: Harpists and Teachers

A number of harpists and harp teachers appear in the ledgers either purchasing instruments for themselves or acting as agents for Erard’s. Those mentioned in the 1811–13 window include Mr Dizi, Mr Marin, Mr Lanza, Miss Immyn, Miss Krumpholtz, and members of the Mayer (or Meyer) family. From the 1807–9 workshop accounts, we know that during this period Erard’s usually paid harpists 12gn per harp when they were able to generate a sale for the company. Mr Dizi, for example, was responsible for the sales of 13 instruments during the 18 months covered in this study,

⁹ *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 31 May 1828, issue 3918.

¹⁰ *The Bradford Observer*, 31 August 1854, issue 1069. ‘in the 94th year of her age, in Thurloe Square, late of Bramblebury, Woolwich, Frances, widow of the late Captain Dickinson, R.N., and throughout the late war superintendent of shipping to the Board of Ordnance.’

¹¹ *The Morning Post*, 4 January 1814, issue 13402.

¹² *The Morning Chronicle*, 13 November 1834, issue 20347.

¹³ See, for example, Woodfield (2000).

presumably generating almost £165, so this was a useful way for harpists and teachers to increase their income and for Erard's to increase their sales.¹⁴

3.4.4: Harp Sales: the Overall Picture

An examination of the harp sales figures for 1812, the first full calendar year including double harps, is not as revealing as one would hope in terms of patterns of sales (see Figure 3.9), and it would be necessary to repeat this over a number of years in order to be able to determine if there is any seasonal variation in sales.

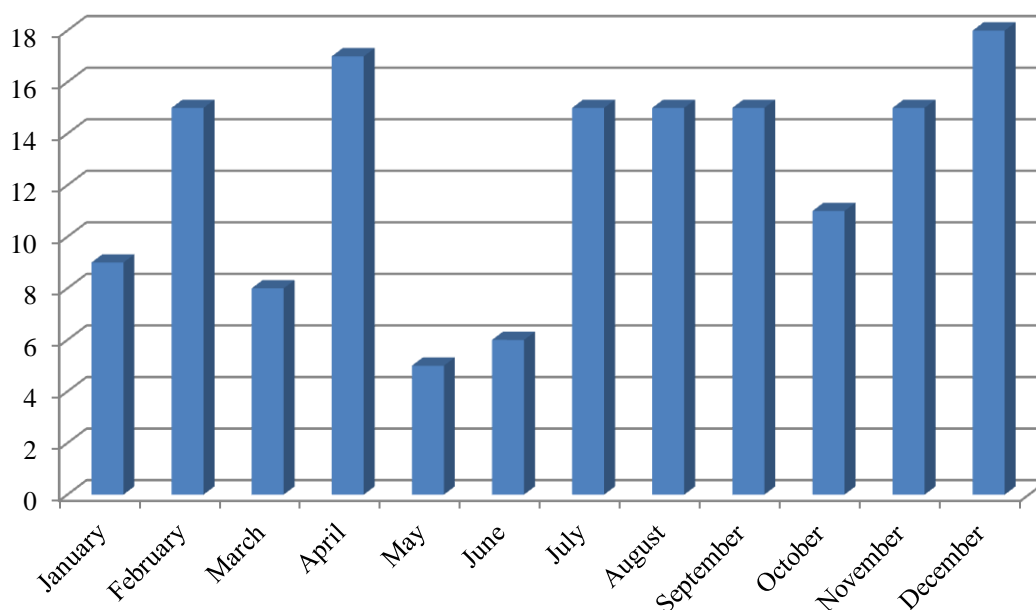


Figure 3.9: Total number of harps sold by Erard (London) in 1812

It may be expected that during the season, when the upper classes were based in London, more harps would have been sold than during the months when many retired to the country. Although it is clear from Figure 3.9 that the summer months of May and June, towards the end of the season, did indeed see lower sales than the winter months when more people were in London, the lack of extremes could be due to the fact that many harps were travelling with their new owners and were enjoyed at country residences as well as in town. It is also likely that this year shows a unique pattern since the instrument was new and hence exciting and desirable, so people were making the effort to obtain one even when they were not themselves in London. This could be

¹⁴ Rensch (1989), 207–8. Further details of the rivalry between Erard and Dizi may be seen in the Erard letters, Barthel & Roudier (2006).

inferred through the strong contrast between sales of single and double instruments in the months of January to March inclusive (see Figure 3.10).

It can also be seen that the sales of double harps were gradually exceeding those of singles. Except for the month of August 1812, when there was a burst of single harp sales, the latter months of the year saw a decline in single sales and an increase in doubles, as can clearly be seen in Figure 3.10.

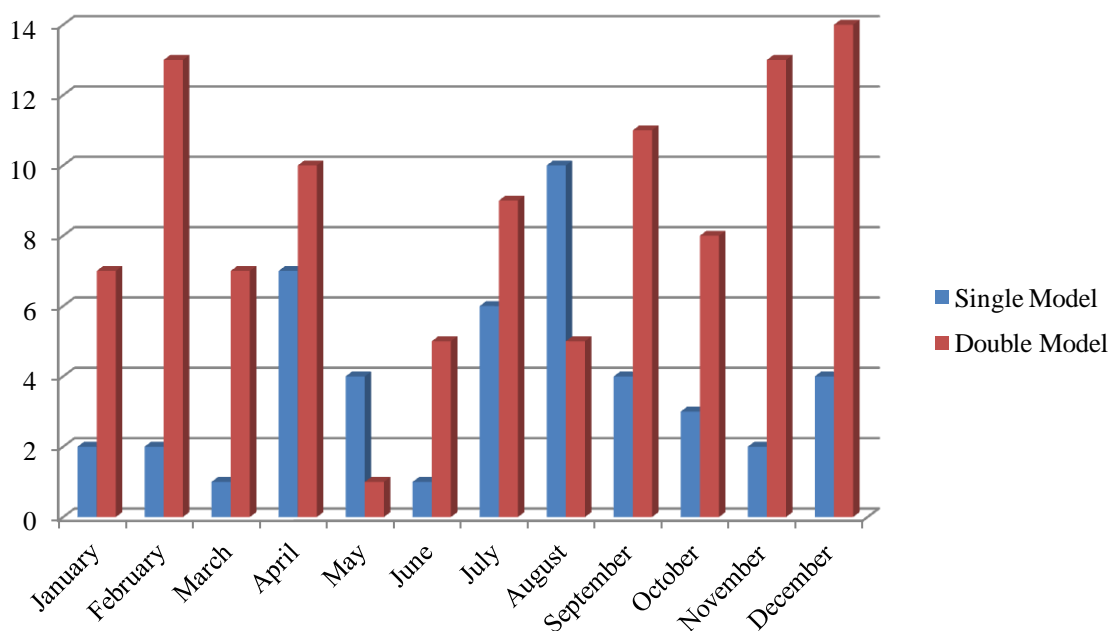


Figure 3.10: Single and double action harps sold by Erard (London) in 1812

3.4.5: Conclusions

From this examination of the sales of the first 100 examples of Erard's double action harp in London, it can be seen that those who could afford to purchase an instrument were keen to do so and that harpists and musicians were contributing to the promotion of the instrument among their students and acquaintances. The main feature which unifies all of the customers is their financial standing, although social status is closely linked with this. As a result, we mostly see the old landed gentry families together with some successful merchants, bankers and manufacturers who had sufficient finances to afford luxury commodities and sufficient cultural status for music to be an important part of (female) family life. Erard's themselves appear to have done relatively little advertising in the newspapers, so having both teachers and high-status customers to

promote the instrument on their behalf would have been invaluable. In any case, there remains little doubt as to the popularity of this new and highly successful harp both in London and further afield.

3.5: Case Studies of the Sales of Guittars by Clauss & Co (1783–6) and Retail Sales of Broadwood Pianos (1812)

3.5.1: Sales of Guittars by Clauss & Co (1783–6)

The court case relating to the disagreement between Clauss and Levy contains some important information concerning their customers. Looking at the overall picture from the income accounts, we can observe the division of entries between male and female customers. Figure 3.11 shows the distribution counting the number of entries while Figure 3.12 shows the number of individual customers. It can easily be seen that the two pie charts are very similar, with the entries being distributed between 62% male and 38% female customers while the individual customers are 60% male and 40% female. We can also add the picture from looking exclusively at guittar sales, excluding other activities, which can be seen in Figure 3.13. Here again we see a very similar distribution of 64% and 36%. Therefore, there is no significant variation in the behaviour of male and female customers, although the balance between the two genders rests at about 3/5 male to 2/5 female.

We can examine the social standing of the customers in a little more detail by sorting them according to their title. Female customers fall into three groups, 'Lady', 'Miss' and 'Mrs'. To facilitate analysis, these have been grouped into 'Titled female' ('Lady') and 'Untitled female' ('Miss' and 'Mrs'). The situation is more complicated for male customers. Four categories have been used: 'Titled male' ('Baron', 'Duke', 'Earl', 'Lord', 'Sir'); 'Esquire'; 'Military male' ('Sergeant', 'Captain', 'Major' and 'Major General'); and 'Untitled male' ('Mr', 'Dr', 'Dean', 'Pr'). Figure 3.14 shows that the majority of customers, both male and female, were untitled. The weighting is slightly heavier for females with 84% of customers untitled compared to 73% of males.

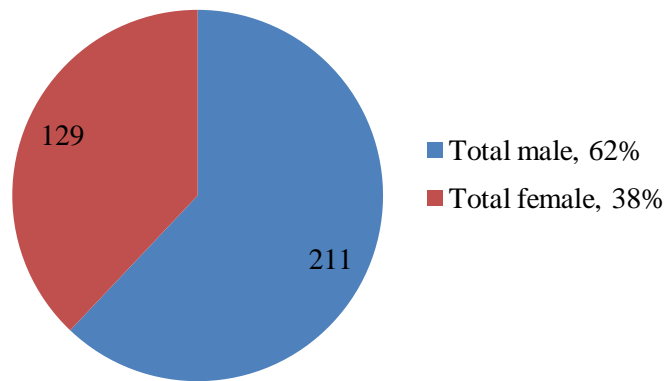


Figure 3.11: Gender distribution of income entries in the Clauss accounts

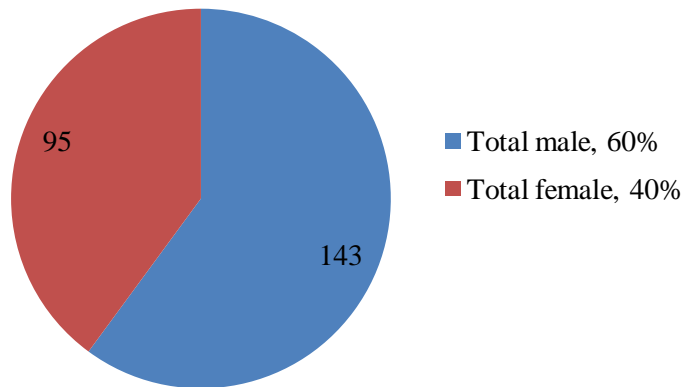


Figure 3.12: Gender distribution of customers in the Clauss accounts

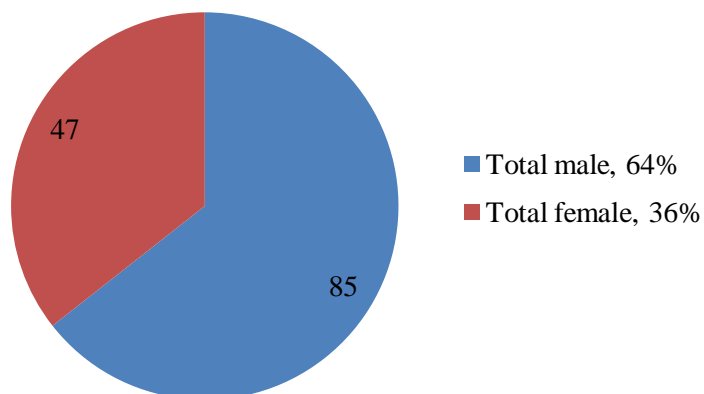


Figure 3.13: Gender distribution of guitar sales in the Clauss accounts

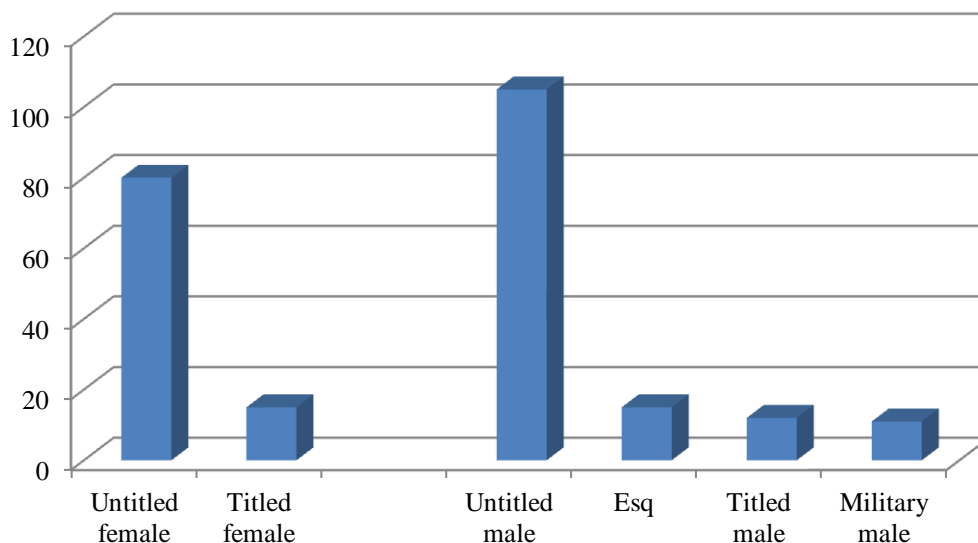


Figure 3.14: Numbers of customers in the Clauss accounts grouped according to title

This distribution between genders and across titles can be positioned alongside what we know about usual players of English guitars. According to Charles Burney, writing in Rees's *Cyclopaedia*,¹⁵ the instrument was popular among 'all ranks of people' but particularly mentions 'all the ladies'. As guitars appear to have cost in the region of 7gn, they were much more affordable than harps or keyboard instruments. Therefore, as with harps, it would appear that the balance of players was on the female side (at least in amateur circles), and the likelihood is that many of the male customers were purchasing instruments for their female relatives. Indeed, in many of the surviving portraits of people with guitars the sitters are female.¹⁶

3.5.2: Retail Sales of Broadwood Pianos (1812)

Although the physical quantity of material relating to Broadwood is far greater than that for either Erard or Clauss, it is perhaps more difficult to extract numerical information for the purposes of analysis. Here I have examined the lists of retail customers for 1812 in order to undertake a useful comparison with the Erard data discussed above. It has

¹⁵ Rees (1819), v17, entry for 'Guitarra'.

¹⁶ Pouloupoulos has identified a number of images (see Pouloupoulos (2011)), including the portrait of Mrs Froude, née Phyllis Hurrell (1762) by Sir Joshua Reynolds, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis; the portrait of Mary Hopkinson (1764) by Benjamin West, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington DC; and 'Colonel James Clitherow and His Wife, Anne, at Boston House, Brentford, Middlesex' by Arthur Devis, 1789, private collection, London.

not been feasible to extract information for wholesale instrument sales, so the comparison is not perfect, but it can at least give some idea of customers who bought directly from the makers. Indeed, the wholesale information relates to dealers and not to the eventual owners of the instrument so would not give a true picture of the gender distribution of the final purchasers. Figure 3.15 shows the numbers of retail customers in the different titled groups, showing that again the weighting is towards people without title, but here, as with Clauss but in contradistinction to Erard, we can see a dominance of men.

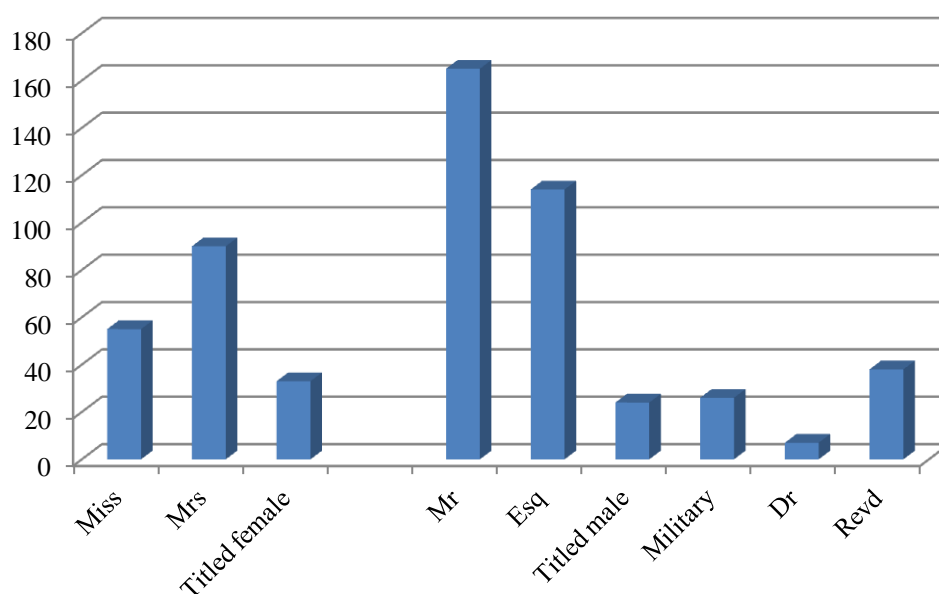


Figure 3.15: Numbers of customers in the Broadwood retail sales ledgers for 1812 grouped according to title

3.5.3: Comparisons of Erard, Clauss and Broadwood

Having looked at each of the three firms separately, we can now bring them together and summarise the information in Figures 3.16, 3.17 and 3.18. These figures show that while the customers listed in Clauss's and Broadwood's accounts are weighted at approximately 3 to 2 in favour of men, the situation in the Erard ledgers is reversed with the weighting at 3 to 2 in favour of women. In all three groups, more untitled than titled men and women purchased instruments of all kinds, but this simply reflects the balance of society itself. Of the instruments purchased by titled women, harps form the largest percentage, perhaps showing the status of this instrument, while religious and academic men are most likely to have purchased a piano, perhaps showing the relative propriety of owning a piano compared to the harp or guittar.

Figure 3.16: Table of customer titles for the first 100 Erard double action harps (1811–13), Clauss guitars (1783–6) and Broadwood piano retail sales (1812)

	Erard harps	Clauss guitars	Broadwood pianos	Erard %	Clauss %	Broadwood %
Miss	52	26	55	33	11	10
Mrs or Madame	33	54	90	21	23	16
Titled female	16	15	33	10	6	6
Mr	36	101	165	23	42	30
Esq	9	15	114	6	6	21
Titled male	6	12	24	4	5	4
Military male	5	11	26	3	5	5
Religious or academic male	1	4	45	0	2	8
Total	158	238	552	100	100	100

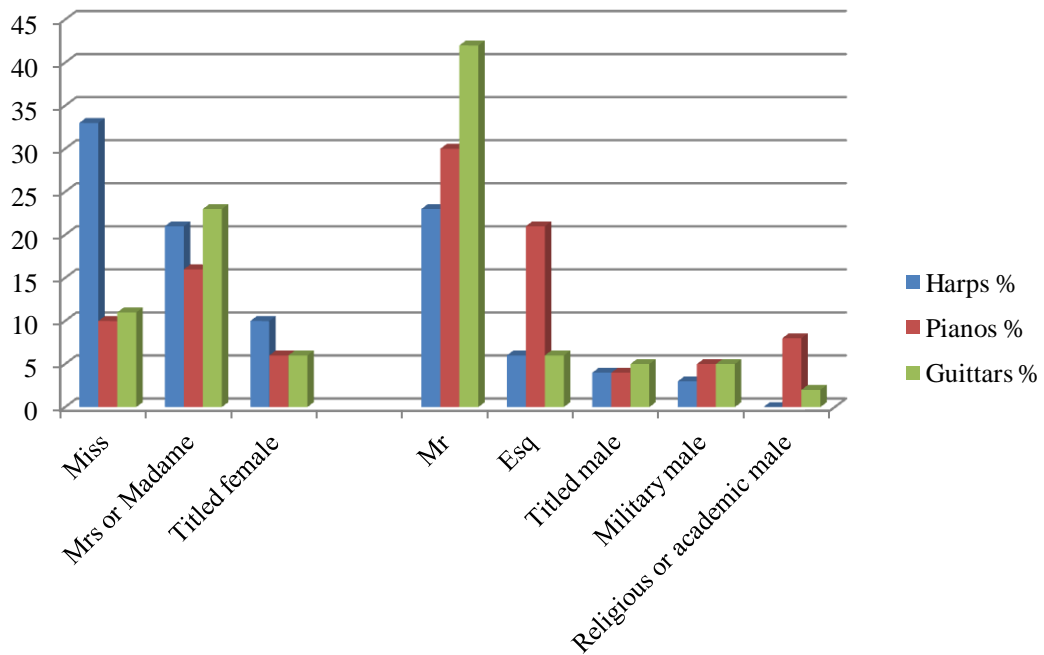


Figure 3.17: Graph of the percentages for the first 100 Erard double action harps (1811–13), Clauss guitars (1783–6) and Broadwood piano retail sales (1812) for each title

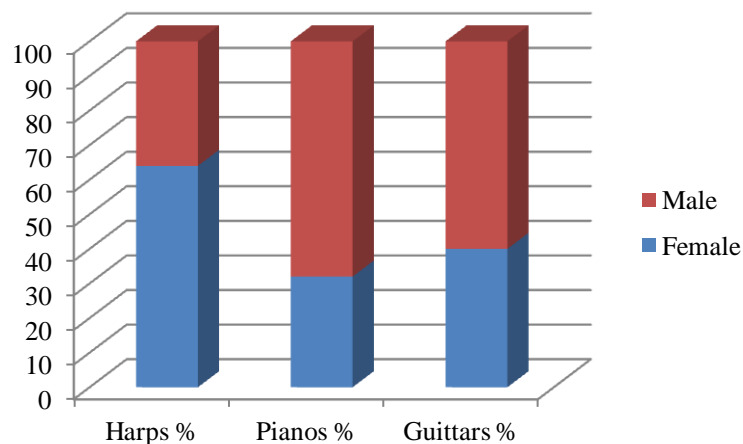


Figure 3.18: Percentage of male and female customers named as purchasers of the first 100 Erard double action harps (1811–13), Clauss guitars (1783–6) and Broadwood piano retail customers (1812)

3.6: Conclusions

This chapter has shown that the overall marketplace for musical instruments was broad and expanding during the period under investigation. Churches were reinstating organs; military bands were ordering instruments; and the amateur market for pianos and harps was growing steadily. This overall marketplace can be divided into specific markets according to the geographical location of the customer and by the type of venue concerned. Further distinctions can be made by considering the status and gender of the customer as well as their route to the instrument maker and how their choices were made.

The individual markets were such that the relationship between manufacturers and customers as well as what was required by both parties were different for makers of different types of instrument. For those addressing the upper-end female amateur market, mainly the keyboard and harp makers, goods were expensive and sold on a seasonal basis. For some makers, such as Erard, word of mouth was a far more significant way of engaging with customers than advertising in newspapers. Teachers and other professional musicians were important intermediaries between makers and their customer base. For wood and brass wind instrument makers largely aiming at professional male musicians and particularly the military, larger numbers of a wider

variety of less expensive instruments would be required. Instruments could be either purchased individually or whole sets provided if a band was being newly equipped.

Although the most visible firms (due to the greater survival of archives and instruments) are the large specialist piano makers such as Broadwood's they were perhaps the exception rather than the rule. This level of specialism was not feasible for most firms, many of which either supplied a range of instruments (albeit often within one instrument group such as wind, brass or stringed) or diversified into music publishing and into selling other goods. This ensured that they were not solely reliant on a single musical market which could be unstable in times of wider financial difficulties.

As well as selling instruments of their own construction, some makers were dealers in second-hand instruments, many of which were taken in part-exchange for new instruments. This would have opened up the possibility of instrument purchase to a group of potential customers who would not have been able to afford a new instrument. These customers would then have needed longer term support from makers who provided accessories and maintenance services as well as the acquisition of repertoire from those who also published or sold sheet music. There were also opportunities for makers to expand into the export market with many expatriates in the British colonies wanting instruments and music to keep them in touch with their cultural roots. Relationships with instrument makers and music publishers in other major cities were important for those makers who were interested in addressing customers beyond the London market. Thus, the markets in existence were varied and expanding and open to exploitation by entrepreneurial firms.

The discussions in this chapter have shown the complexity of musical life in the capital and beyond, and the different ways in which instrument makers addressed their potential and actual customers. Questions of gender have run throughout since the markets themselves were gendered. In the following chapter, I will go on to examine questions of gender within musical instrument-making firms themselves and the importance of families to business structures.

CHAPTER 4: FAMILY AND GENDER

4.1: Introduction

Since many musical instrument-making firms comprised, at least in part, people who were related either by blood or by marriage, it is helpful to consider what the family looked like in the second half of the eighteenth century. How these domestic units were reflected in the structures of manufacturing and in society as a whole contributes towards our understanding of why the family unit has become a central focus of society and politics today. Furthermore, the nature of these structures as gendered entities impacts on the behaviour of individuals and defines what activities are germane to masculinity and to femininity.¹

The reign of George III was a period when the structures of both the family and the family business were non-uniform and fluctuating. The shapes and sizes of families at this time varied from what we would now term the nuclear family consisting of parents with their children, to groups of people with economic ties, or simply those who were sharing a living and working space. As a consequence, the shapes and sizes of businesses, many of which were centred on the family, reflected these structures. Since much of the evidence which is generally used to examine musical-instrument making mirrors the patriarchal structure of society, it has been difficult to see the contributions made by women. However, now that their presence has been noted, it has been possible to seek out nuggets of information which have helped to gain some understanding of what women were able to achieve and to suggest that their contributions were fundamental to the continuation and success of this industry.

This chapter begins with an examination of what the family was in London in the second half of the eighteenth century. This is followed by a discussion of how women were placed within this structure in terms of what was expected of them and how they were able to contribute to domestic and working environments. An examination of specific types of relationship within instrument-making firms, from wives, offspring and siblings to looser consanguineous ties forms the main section of the chapter. Those

¹ Barrett & McIntosh (1982).

with no consanguinity but with a sense of family in terms of their domicile and contributions to the domestic economy are examined prior to the final section, comprising two case studies. The first relates to the many and varied relationships entangled within the firm of Longman & Broderip, later Clementi & Co and Collard & Collard, by way of an example of how complex these family/business structures can be, while the second examines the industry of gut-string making and demonstrates that it too relied heavily on family structures for its continuance.

4.2: The Family

The idea of the family can be approached from different standpoints, depending on how 'the family' is conceived. Today, we usually mean a group of people related either by blood or marriage, a 'reproductive unit', but it can also be a group of individuals living in one location, the 'dwelling unit', or a group who support each other financially, the 'economic unit'. Of course, any 'family' could fit in one, two or all three of these categories. Goody observes that while in agricultural settings the three types are closely linked and intertwined, in urban industrial societies they tend to be more distinct.² The normalisation of the reproductive unit as the central, acceptable type of family was becoming more apparent in the eighteenth century, particularly when the locations of home and workplace became different.

This 'family' is partly the result and partly the cause of the patriarchal structure of Western society. As it is easier to be sure of the maternity of a child than of its paternity, men can feel the need to control women in order to be (more or less) sure that the children they are looking after are indeed their own offspring and are carrying their genes forward to future generations. This dominance in terms of procreation has passed over into general human society and has led to a male-oriented social structure in many cultures. This is reflected in the workplace. In the late eighteenth century, when the boundaries between domicile and workplace as well as those surrounding the family were fluid, the male head of the household was usually the patriarch of both domestic and economic life. He often had undisputed authority over his wife, children, servants

² Goody (1972), 106.

and workers, as well as any other individuals sharing that location such as unmarried siblings. Furthermore, and partly as a result, the very concept of ‘family’ was blurred with the identity of the patriarchal individual: the family was in many instances the patriarch and his sphere, with only the patriarch being truly visible.³ It could be suggested that this kind of structure is beneficial for all concerned since there is a well-defined hierarchy governing a self-contained unit where all individuals contribute to the good of the whole. While this may be the case if all the individuals are free to choose their own roles and the contributions they wish to make, this ideal is rarely met with in the real world. The tasks which needed to be done in order for the unit to survive are divided among the available people according to their gender, age, skills and training. Thus boys would often work alongside their fathers (or other male relatives) in order to learn the trade while women and girls took supporting roles, often undertaking domestic labour with no financial reward. As Engel pointed out, the wife is in essence the head servant.⁴

The family is a place where individuals, particularly children, are socialised and taught to have an identity within society,⁵ or in Bourdieu’s terms where the *habitus* is created. Parents bring up their children with the intention of giving them the necessary skills to either maintain the status quo or to improve the social position of that family group. If children share their parents’ aspirations, family businesses can build on the sense of belonging and mutual support which is nurtured in domestic situations. Although this can be achieved outside the family group, the shaping of the necessary bonds through childhood can make the business structure even stronger.

Another facet to family businesses is that when the domicile and workplace coincide, it is possible for all family members to contribute to both the domestic arrangements and the economic labour of that unit. However, once the locations are separated, the activities of each become similarly separated and it is necessary for individuals to be assigned to one place and type of activity or the other.⁶ Since the physical act of bearing children is biologically predetermined as one which women undertake, women

³ Barrett & McIntosh (1982), 48.

⁴ Engels (1884), 104.

⁵ Barrett & McIntosh (1982), 105.

⁶ Rendall (1990), 5.

became tied to child rearing and the domestic location as a 'natural' consequence. Feminists of the last two hundred years have been questioning whether this is truly natural, or whether it is a social construction which has become the norm due to centuries of repetition. As John Stuart Mill pointed out in 1861, 'The subjection of women to men being a universal custom, any departure from it quite naturally appears unnatural'.⁷ Women, who have been expected to take on domestic labour whether they want to or not, have found it hard to break free from this pattern.⁸ Furthermore, since women still undertake child bearing and the care of infants for at least the first period of their lives, it is often difficult for women to return to any extra-familial work they may have undertaken previously, particularly when the family and work are spatially separated.

In the eighteenth century, as Shoemaker states, a woman's choice of a husband was important because she became her husband's legal property on marriage and she relied on him and his good will for her well-being.⁹ Furthermore, marriage was highly significant for women since on marriage a woman achieved the status of an adult, even though she was still under the control of her husband.¹⁰ How much real choice a woman had in who she married would be largely a result of her father's opinions and status, and whether he was willing to let his daughter choose for herself. The choice of a wife was also vital for a man since the success or failure of his home and business life would rest at least partly on the shoulders of the person he chose to share them with. If he had a useful and able wife, she would contribute to both family life and the ultimate success of his business. He may also receive a dowry from his wife's family which could enable him to set up his own business for the first time. Hence, a man's choice of wife does have a major impact on his life, potentially in both personal and professional domains.

As well as personal relationships between two individuals, marriages were alliances between families. Both parties could benefit, sometimes financially and at other times in gaining reputation through association. Men from the working classes often married

⁷ Mill (1869), 484.

⁸ Lerner (1986), 4–17.

⁹ Shoemaker (1998), 92.

¹⁰ Davidoff & Hall (1987), 322–3.

when they had finished their apprenticeships and perhaps spent a few years as journeymen, and were looking to set up homes and businesses of their own.¹¹ At this more than any other time a good connection could establish them for life. Cementing a contact with a well-established master in the same or a similar trade would have been extremely useful. In turn, the master would have wanted to see his daughter well established with a husband who was capable of making a good living and generating income sufficient for her to live a comfortable life and to continue the family line. For these reasons, many craftsmen and tradesmen chose their wives from among the daughters of men in similar trades to themselves. The women would then have been in a more informed position in which to help their husbands succeed. This would benefit both parties: if the business flourished, there would be more money for a better home life for all the family.

Families were also units of reproduction: most marriages would generate children, due in part to the unreliability of contraception.¹² However, fertility was not always reliable and infant mortality was high, although it did fluctuate: during a particularly bad period between 1730 and 1749, three quarters of children baptised in London died before they reached five years of age.¹³ However, surviving children would in due course be able to contribute to the household, either through undertaking domestic tasks or by bringing income into the family coffers. Children could be bound as apprentice to other trades, or could be taught within the family business with the intention of their continuing it when their parents became too ill, old or died. This would then make the family a 'corporate unit' as well as a private group.¹⁴ As Treas states, bringing up offspring with the skills and desire to make the business a success removes any necessity of relying on the goodwill of strangers who may not have had the years of 'socialisation' which would ensure their trustworthiness, reliability and dedication to the firm.¹⁵

Having examined families in general, I will now consider some of their component parts, beginning with women and the points at which they become visible in the

¹¹ Davidoff & Hall (1987), 323.

¹² Black & Porter, eds (1994), 176–7.

¹³ Rudé (2003), 3–4.

¹⁴ Treas (1991), 211.

¹⁵ Treas (1991), 214.

historical record. Parental relationships are examined followed by other consanguineous groupings and by non-consanguineous relationships in turn.

4.3: Women

In the late 1960s, historians began to perceive ‘the conspicuous absence of women from the historical record’.¹⁶ Since then, however, research has been undertaken to redress the balance and to ascertain the involvement of women in work, the family and society in general. The popular conception of women in history is that they were homemakers and housewives. Jane Rendall demonstrates that the perception of women as ‘the angel of the house’ or the ‘leisured lady’, with the occasional ‘factory girl’ for contrast, is a result of the general assumption that the ‘female’ domain of the home was completely separate from the ‘masculine’ world of commerce and politics.¹⁷ While this may have been true for some affluent families, many women of the lower social classes were obliged to work in order to help sustain themselves and their families. As well as working in service, women were recognised as being skilled in specific occupations, notably those including precise, fine work. Others took active roles in family businesses, particularly in ‘cottage industries’ where the business and home coincided.¹⁸ In this latter case, it is almost impossible to establish exactly which family members, both female and male, undertook specific activities.¹⁹ This is particularly true in musical-instrument building, where the prime sources, the instruments themselves, tend only to carry the name of the (male) head or heads of the firm.

As women could not legally own property while married and could not vote, there was often little reason for evidence of their lives to be recorded. However, some widows were able to carry on their husbands’ businesses and others can be shown to have contributed to family concerns while their husbands were alive. Indeed, it may have been an advantage in certain types of musical instrument firm for women to be involved, particularly with the promotion and selling of instruments. As already

¹⁶ Hufton (1995), 1.

¹⁷ Rendall (1990), 1.

¹⁸ B Hill (1989), 24.

¹⁹ Porter (1990), 84.

mentioned, Cole has demonstrated that female customers were instrumental in the increasing popularity of the piano.²⁰ Therefore, having a woman involved in a piano making business would have been advantageous as they could promote the instruments, perhaps demonstrating them to potential clients to show how they were superior to those from another manufacturer.

Although working environments were male-dominated, it is important to examine the roles of women to gain a better understanding of the dynamics of the music trade as a whole. As well as those widows or daughters who were sufficiently conversant with the business to carry it on after the death of their male counterpart, some may have contributed to the making of the many intricate parts of instruments which requires dexterity rather than strength. Many such jobs, including making parts of piano actions or harpsichord jacks, are repetitious and therefore ideal for specialisation. For example, a standard late eighteenth-century English harpsichord with a compass of 60 notes (F₁, G₁ to f³), equipped with two 8-foot registers, one 4-foot register and a lute stop, requires 240 jacks. Evidence that jack making was a specialist occupation is provided in the will of Ephraim Stahlberg. While his Sun Fire Insurance policy describes him simply as a harpsichord maker,²¹ Stahlberg bequeathed his ‘tools and implements for the carrying on the business of jack making’ to Thomas Harding, the son of his servant, Elizabeth.²² It is possible that women, including those with children, were also involved in such activities as they could be undertaken in almost any location and as time away from other duties permitted.

Women also had a hand in managing the business and keeping the accounts. If, as in the case of many keyboard instrument-making companies, the company provided a tuning and maintenance service as well as building instruments, an efficient person would have been needed to keep a diary of appointments and detailed records of accounts. Management would also have involved running the workshop and providing apprentices and some other employees with food and lodgings as well as making and

²⁰ Cole (2006), 43–60 & 68. See also Sheldrick, ed (1992).

²¹ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/282/429, 428105, 27 April 1780.

²² A copy of Ephraim Stahlberg’s will, written 28 July 1788, proved 19 February 1789, is preserved with the Records of St Mary’s Lutheran Church, Sandwich Street, formerly the Lutheran Church of the Savoy (WCA 90/15/15C). See also TNA: PRO PROB11/1177.

mending clothes.

The fact that most of the women known to contribute to the trade had better-known male relatives means that their work will probably remain largely eclipsed. Since women were not often able to be independent of men, perhaps the only way in which they could be actively making instruments was as an un-named partner. Indeed, it was common practice in eighteenth-century Britain for women to assist their husbands when health and child bearing permitted. As Rendall observes, ‘Married women [who were obliged to work] would most frequently share the labour of their husband’s trade or shop; if widowed they were likely to inherit his work and admission to his craft, perhaps then managing a substantial concern or retail business’.²³

Widowhood was perhaps the only time when a respectable woman could independently manage her own life; as a girl, she relied on her father for her maintenance and when married, she was largely at the bidding of her husband. An eighteenth-century ‘History of Women’ underlines this, stating that:

widowhood, when tolerable circumstances are annexed to it, is of all other female states the most eligible; being free from that guardianship and controul, to which the sex are subject while virgins and wives.²⁴

It is conceivable that instrument builders’ widows and unmarried daughters simply had to choose between continuing the family business, either by themselves or with a foreman (perhaps also marrying him) or sinking into poverty. As early as 1726, Daniel Defoe advised merchants and tradesmen to anticipate the difficulties facing an unskilled widow:

I would have every Tradesman make his wife so much acquainted with his trade, and so much mistress of the managing part of it, that she might be able to carry it on if she pleases, in the case of his death.²⁵

Relatively little is known about the domestic and working lives of women who were involved in instrument making. Furthermore, the nature of musical-instrument making as a domestic economy has not previously been explicitly examined. By examining the role of women, we can shed light on the processes involved in instrument manufacture

²³ Rendall (1990), 27.

²⁴ Alexander (1789), 403.

²⁵ Defoe (1726 & 7), 291.

and the social circumstances surrounding its protagonists in the eighteenth century. The following discussion of a range of relationships between people involved in musical-instrument making includes both men and women, acknowledging the importance of all contributors, irrespective of their gender or the particular roles they played, to the continuity of musical instrument-making firms. Partners, married or otherwise, are discussed first, followed by those with consanguineous links in the same or succeeding generations. Then other ‘family’ members who are not related by blood, such as apprentices and servants, are examined before the final concluding section. Within each section, individuals and firms are grouped according to the type of instruments they were producing, beginning with keyboard instruments and moving through wind (wood and brass) and stringed instruments.

4.4: Wives and Widows

Perhaps the best known London-based instrument builder’s wife is Barbara Broadwood (bap 1748, d 1776), daughter of the Swiss émigré harpsichord builder and founder of the company later known as Broadwood’s, Burkat Shudi. Barbara married her father’s foreman, John Broadwood, in 1769,²⁶ a normal practice in Georgian London since, in the absence of an able son, the business would nevertheless remain a family concern, ensuring its continuance after the death of the original master. Barbara’s household accounts, preserved at the Bodleian Library, Oxford,²⁷ indicate that she was both literate and organised. She records the purchase of provisions and household necessities as well as payments to her servants and trades people including the butcher, brewer and washerwoman. She also records payments to workmen and notes instrument sales and appointments for services such as tuning or hiring instruments. This is in keeping with the findings of Olwen Hufton, who states that ‘in the context of the family business, it was expected that the master’s wife would be aided by her daughter in managing the workshop, providing food for apprentices and journeymen, doing the books, running errands and vending the finished goods’.²⁸ Indeed, it is more than likely that Barbara

²⁶ Boalch (1995), 174.

²⁷ Bodleian Library, Ms Eng misc c529.

²⁸ Hufton (1995), 92.

and her sister Margaret had been involved in this side of the business before Barbara's marriage. Margaret died a spinster and left her property to her brother, step mother, nephews and niece, which, coupled with the fact that Margaret was still living at the family home and business address in Great Pulteney Street, suggests that she could have also played a significant part in the domestic side of the business.²⁹

Unlike Barbara's case, where we have her accounts from the point of her marriage, the point at which many wives become visible in the archive is when they are widowed. Barbara's cousin by marriage Mary Shudi was the wife of the harpsichord maker Joshua Shudi, nephew of Burkat, for whom he worked from about 1761.³⁰ However, Joshua left the family firm after disagreements with his uncle and workmates, culminating in an affidavit dated 12 January 1767.³¹ Joshua's consanguinity was not enough to keep him in the firm once the working relationship had broken down, and by June 1766, Joshua was working as an independent harpsichord builder from the establishment of Mr Lucas, a guittar maker in Silver Street, Golden Square.³² Joshua died in 1774 and bequeathed all his

Worldy Effects ... Cash Book Debts Stock in Trade Household Goods and Wearing Apparel and every other thing that is my Property ... to my dearly beloved Wife Mary Shudi who I appoint Executrix of this my last Will and Testament.³³

Having inherited the wherewithal to continue the family concern, Mary announced her intention to run her husband's business by placing an advertisement in *The Public Advertiser*:³⁴

HARPSICHORDS.

MARY SHUDI, of Berwick-Street, St. James's, Widow of Joshua Shudi, Nephew and Disciple of the late celebrated Burkat Shudi, Harpsichord maker, takes the Liberty to inform the Nobility, Gentry &c. That she has now by her ready to be disposed of on reasonable Terms a great Variety of exceeding fine-toned double-key'd and single harpsichords. To be seen and tried at her House as above. N. B. Mary Shudi solicits the Continuance of those Favours the indulgent Public were

²⁹ Will of Margaret Shudi, TNA: PRO PROB11/1039, 295v–296v, written 10 May 1777, proved 20 February 1778.

³⁰ Boalch (1995), 173–6.

³¹ Dale (1913), 51–7 and Russell (1959), Appendix 13, 169.

³² LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/169/190, 233948.

³³ Will of Joshua Shudi, TNA: PRO PROB11/998, written 21 May 1774, proved 30 May 1774.

³⁴ *The Public Advertiser*, 16 January 1775, issue 14132.

pleased to confer on her late Husband, and begs Leave to assure them, that any Order they may please to honour her with, shall be pleasingly and carefully executed. Instruments tuned in the most exact Manner, on the shortest Notice. A genteel First Floor to lett, with other Conveniences

The wording used by Mary to promote her business is fairly typical of similar adverts placed by other makers. However, she does refer specifically to Burkat Shudi, one of the two most highly regarded makers in Britain at the time, thereby implying by association her own quality and status.

Mary's advert also shows that she was not only making instruments but, like other builders of the period, was also providing a tuning and maintenance service. This provided a useful, regular income since the making and selling of harpsichords was neither a reliable nor a steady business. Income from building would have been earned at irregular intervals and in lump sums and some degree of initial capital investment would have been required to purchase raw materials and component parts. Also, since many businesses operated on a credit system, with customers frequently waiting for years to pay off tradesmen's bills, being in constant contact with those who owed the firm sums of money for instruments through operating a tuning service would presumably have been conducive to eventually being paid.³⁵ Furthermore, it is significant to note that Mary was also seeking to bring in income through the letting of part of the house. By July 1775, the first floor was let to one Joseph Bonomi, an architect, who insured his property for £400.³⁶ As well as generating money through a means which did not relate to the music trade, this is in line with Adam Smith's comments on the state of housing practices in London:

A tradesman in London is obliged to hire a whole house in that part of the town where his customers live. His shop is upon the ground-floor, and he and his family sleep in the garret; and he endeavours to pay a part of his house-rent by letting the two middle stories to lodgers.³⁷

Indeed, as Trusler noted in 1786, the first floor could be let for half of the rent of the whole house and the second floor for a quarter, so the judicious placing of activities

³⁵ See, for example, Nex & Whitehead (2000).

³⁶ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/240/346, 357009, 31 July 1775. I am grateful to Lance Whitehead for this information.

³⁷ A Smith (1776), 117.

within the whole building was financially significant.³⁸

Mary's policy with the Sun Fire Insurance Company³⁹ corroborates her announcement in *The Public Advertiser*. Here, she is listed as a harpsichord maker based at 16 Berwick Street, a thoroughfare which ran south from Oxford Street, east of Oxford Circus, close to many other instrument builders in the Soho area. In her dwelling house, Mary insured £100 worth of household goods and £50 of clothes, together with £450 worth of utensils, stock and goods in her brick workshop communicating. Wearing apparel was among the most expensive assets owned by any person of the middling classes and is often listed and bequeathed specifically in wills, so it is perfectly in keeping with eighteenth-century values that it should be listed as a separate item in an insurance policy. Also, as a tradesperson who would need to be admitted to private areas of aristocratic houses when delivering or tuning an instrument, the instrument builder would need to be at the very least presentable in their dress.

This policy not only confirms that Mary continued her husband's business but also indicates that she had her own workshop adjoining the house. This would have enabled her both to manage a harpsichord workshop and to supervise the household and family.⁴⁰ It could be argued, however, that there remains little evidence to show exactly what Mary was contributing to the business. While this is undoubtedly true, the same can be said for many male instrument builders. Even those whose names appear on surviving instruments may have contributed little to the actual manufacture of a given instrument, so this argument can be applied universally across the trade of instrument building at this time. Indeed, Joshua himself employed a journeyman named Mr Cosper, so his instruments are likely to have had a number of hands contributing to their manufacture.⁴¹

It seems that this insurance policy dates from near the end of Mary's career as a harpsichord maker. In February 1780, Mary sold off her business and assets by auction

³⁸ Trusler (1786), 1.

³⁹ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/278/336, 420744, 2 November 1779.

⁴⁰ The only child mentioned in Joshua's will is a daughter named Rose, whose care he entrusted to Mary. Will of Joshua Shudi, TNA: PRO PROB11/998, written 21 May 1774, proved 30 May 1774.

⁴¹ TNA: PRO PROB31/681/425.

in order to move ‘to the country’. The notice of the sale, as posted in *The Morning Chronicle and Daily Advertiser*, includes ‘several capital double and single-keyed Harpsichords, and some unfinished; likewise a quantity of Mahogany and Walnut-tree Veneers, Work-benches, Tools, and sundry other Effects’. The lease of 16 Berwick Street was also available, which had 29 years unexpired, subject to a ‘small’ rent.⁴² Whether the shortness of the time span between the original advert in 1775 and this reported retirement reflects the fact that Mary found it difficult to maintain the business and so decided to give up, or that she had made enough capital so that she no longer needed to work is unfortunately not clear. It may have been that Mary found it difficult to be publicly visible as a woman in charge of a craft-based manufacturing firm and that her customer base dwindled as a result, or since the advert for the sale is dated less than six months after the marriage of her only daughter, perhaps she no longer felt obliged to earn an income to support the two of them.⁴³

A further issue which may have influenced her decision is the case brought against her by William Pether, who was owed money by Joshua and did not feel that Mary had properly represented the assets of the firm at the time of his death.⁴⁴ This Pether is probably the organ and harpsichord builder based at 12 Brownlow Street, Drury Lane.⁴⁵ There is no evidence in the surviving document that Shudi and Pether were in any way working together, but rather that there existed a debt of ‘one hundred and seventy one pounds’ which Mary was gradually paying.

The inventory made of Joshua Shudi’s effects as part of this disagreement is revealing in that it shows the extent to which instrument making permeated all the rooms in the dwelling house, and so perhaps it was impossible for anyone living as a family member to avoid being part of the business.⁴⁶ The list of items contained in the parlours shows the content to include the furnishings which might be expected, such as chairs, a bureau,

⁴² *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 5 February 1780, issue 3344.

⁴³ WCA St James Piccadilly, Marriage Register 1775–1785, Mf v33.

⁴⁴ TNA: PRO PROB31/681/425, 1780.

⁴⁵ William Pether resided in Brownlow Street, Drury Lane from at least 1763 (see the 1763 *Universal Directory*, LGL, London Directories reel 3, 51) until 1782 (Camden Local Studies and Archive Centre, Rate Books of St Andrew Holborn, UTAH 107). See Whitehead and Nex (2002).

⁴⁶ The inventory is transcribed in Appendix 1 and is discussed further in Chapter 5.

tables, prints and mirrors, and the necessaries for making and drinking tea, but concludes with a list of numerous boards and veneers. The ‘genteel first floor’ contained furniture including tables, mirrors, beds and bedding, as well as cutlery such as spoons, forks and knives, but also ‘an old Harpsichord’, ‘about forty eight feet Veneers’, ‘three double keyed harpsichords’, and three unfinished harpsichords. Whether these latter items were removed when the rooms were let is not clear. Even the kitchen contained various articles of wood, glue pots, work benches with vices and a wire wheel besides articles relating to cooking, eating, washing and ‘a Side bed’. Thus, the business of the house appears to have permeated all the spaces within the house and perhaps therefore all the people who occupied it as well. The Shudis only had one child, a daughter named Rose Ann, whose marriage to Arnold Frederick Beck, a piano maker, on 11 September 1779, provides another example of a wife who would have been of considerable use to her husband.⁴⁷

Another wife who became more visible when her husband died is Sarah Green, the daughter of Eardley Norton, a ‘noted maker of musical and astronomical clocks’, who married the London-based organ builder Samuel Green (1740–96) in 1772.⁴⁸ That she was actively involved in Green’s business is shown by a letter to the church authorities at Cirencester in 1792, in which Samuel states that Sarah is ‘very well known amongst my friends to do a great deal of the more nice parts about the organ’.⁴⁹ The term ‘nice’ would probably refer to the more delicate parts, possibly including stickers, trackers, valves, and the action.⁵⁰ Furthermore, after Samuel’s death in 1796, Sarah carried on the business, there being some four or five organs surviving which bear her name. In his will, Samuel bequeathed all his property and the care of any children to Sarah, thus enabling her to continue to benefit from the income and reputation of the family firm.⁵¹ Sarah did, however, bring Samuel’s foreman Benjamin Blyth into partnership with her in 1799, her name appearing for the last time in 1804.⁵²

⁴⁷ WCA St James Piccadilly, Marriage Register 1775–1785, Mf v33.

⁴⁸ Wickens (1987), 5–6.

⁴⁹ Byard (1946–7), 97. The location of this correspondence is unfortunately no longer known.

⁵⁰ P Williams (1984).

⁵¹ Will of Samuel Green, TNA: PRO PROB11/1280, written 6 June 1780, proved 1 October 1796.

⁵² Wickens (1987), 7.

One of the few women visible in the business of wind instrument manufacture is Hannah Milhouse, wife of Richard senior and mother of the well-known instrument makers Richard junior and William. According to Adkins, Hannah Hollitt (1729–93) married Richard (1724–75) on 13 November 1753 in their native town of Newark, Nottingham. Their children were all born in Newark and two of their sons trained in their father’s business.⁵³ Richard senior died while his offspring were still relatively young and certainly under the age when they could legally run a business. Richard, the eldest, was born in 1759, so would have been 15 at the time, while William, born in 1761, was only 13. In his will, Richard senior stipulated that his two named trustees should seek for a suitable partner to work with his eldest son in the business, and that the premium paid by this new partner should be used to support Hannah and the other children. If no eligible partner could be found, then the whole business was to be sold and the profits used for the same purpose.⁵⁴ While no detailed evidence as to the process of the search for a partner has come to light, the results may be seen in other archival sources.

In the standard reference text for wind instrument makers, *The New Langwill Index*, the entry for the Milhouse family includes details of both Richards and of William, with a short reference to ‘H Milhouse and Sons’ of Pratt Street, Lambeth, stating that this firm appears in London directories between 1786 and 1794.⁵⁵ Examples of this can be found in *Wakefield’s Merchant and Tradesman’s General Directory* for London for 1790 where there are two entries under Milhouse:⁵⁶

Milhouse, Wm, German flute, clarinet, hautboy and bassoon maker, 100
Wardour Str, Soho
Milhouse, H & R, musical instrument makers, Pratt Street, Lambeth

Waterhouse suggests that instruments stamped simply ‘Milhouse, London’, such as the tenoroon in Figure 4.1, were made when the firm was called ‘H Milhouse and Sons’. Insurance policies show that this refers to Hannah and her sons as her name is written in

⁵³ Adkins (2001).

⁵⁴ Will of Richard Milhouse of Newark, Nottingham, proved 20 June 1776, NASDRO, ref no: PR/NW Searchroom, JoP/C1/05-1188/N.

⁵⁵ Waterhouse (1993), 265.

⁵⁶ *Wakefield’s Merchant and Tradesman’s General Directory for London*, 1790, GL Mf box 625, ref 96917/11, v76, 228.

full.⁵⁷ It is worth noting that it was William who went on to establish his own firm before his older brother Richard, who appears on his own in listings only after his mother's death. Perhaps as the oldest son, Richard was, or felt, obliged to continue to run the family business while William, as a younger brother, was free to follow his own career.



Figure 4.1: Tenoroon by Milhouse, London, RCM 442, with detail showing the stamp

Still there is no evidence concerning the contributions of individual people to the work of the family firm. However, Hannah Milhouse must have been fairly strong-willed to convince the two male trustees, Joseph Hollitt of London, linen draper, and James

⁵⁷ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/330/249, 507827, 8 July 1785; and Ms 11936/342, 527191, 6 February 1787.

Wallis of Newark, stone mason, that she should be allowed to run the business contrary to the instructions of her husband's will. As Hannah's maiden name was Hollitt, it is possible that Joseph Hollitt was a relative of hers, which could have worked in her favour or, conversely, may have been an impediment to her, since she would probably have been expected to act on the instruction of a male relation. The fact that her name continues to appear even after her son Richard came of age and could theoretically take over the business on his own is significant in that it strengthens the possibility that Hannah worked in the business out of choice and is therefore likely to have made a significant contribution towards its success, be that through making instruments or managing the financial and business side.

4.5: Unmarried Couples

Some family groups have at their centre people who were not legally married to the person with whom they cohabited but who nevertheless behaved and were treated as if they were. One example, James Longman, is discussed in a separate section below. Another, Peter Welcker, was not married to the mother of his children. Indeed, she was married to someone else. Mary Hughes, or Welcker, was the wife of Edward Hughes, but bore Welcker 'many children', of whom 5 were living at the time of her death in 1777. Peter bequeathed the assets from his business as a musical-instrument maker to Mary⁵⁸ and it seems that she and her children continued to be active in music publishing and selling, but it is not clear to what extent the instrument making side of the business carried on.⁵⁹ Mary in turn left all her possessions to her five children with her three sons-in-law as executors.⁶⁰

Another instrument maker with ambiguous ties was William Harris, a harpsichord and spinet maker based on Fetter Lane. Jane Harris is not recorded as an independent instrument maker in the standard texts, but it has been assumed that she was William's

⁵⁸ Will of Peter Welcker, TNA: PRO PROB11/1000, date of writing illegible, proved 18 July 1774.

⁵⁹ TNA: PRO E133/82/26, Longman v Babb, 1784.

⁶⁰ Will of Mary Hughes otherwise Welcker, TNA: PRO PROB11/1037, written 6 December 1777, proved 16 December 1777.

wife.⁶¹ From a detailed examination of the Paving Rates and Land Tax books of the Parish of Saint Andrew, Holborn,⁶² evidence has been found which apparently corroborates this. While there were a number of Harris families living in this parish during the latter part of the eighteenth century, William Harris consistently occurs at numbers 28 or 44 Fetter Lane from Lady Day 1779 to Lady Day 1782 and is replaced at Michaelmas 1782 by ‘Widow Harris’.⁶³ ‘Widow Harris’ continues to appear in the Paving rates book until Lady Day 1794. However, William’s will, made on 3 September 1782 and proved on 25 September of the same year, indicates that although Jane was the mother of his four children (Ann, William, Harriet and ‘an infant Girl ... not yet Christened’), and was ‘commonly called and known by the name of Jane Harris now and for many years last past living and residing with me in the stile and character of and reputed as my Wife by the name of M^{rs} Harris’, they were never legally married. William stipulates that Jane Pinches, known as Jane Harris, should be an executrix and the sole beneficiary of his will for as long as she cared for his children. If she ceased to do this, his estate and their care passed to one Charles Weston, Gentleman, the other executor.⁶⁴ This demonstrates the somewhat precarious situations in which women could find themselves, including having no automatic legal rights over their own children.⁶⁵

After his death, William Harris incongruously begins to appear as a harpsichord builder in the London Directories. In 1784 his name appears in *Bailey’s British Directory*, in 1789 in *Andrews New London Directory* and in 1793 in the *Universal British Directory*.⁶⁶ Therefore, since it is unlikely that he was advertising from beyond the grave, it can safely be assumed that someone else was continuing to run William’s business in his name. While this may at first appear abstruse, it demonstrates the fact that the name of the father in the case of the family or the master in the case of a

⁶¹ Boalch (1995), 81.

⁶² Paving Rates, LMA ex LGL Ms 9595 and Land Tax, LMA ex LGL Ms 9597.

⁶³ Prior to 1779 and from about 1761 William Harris paid the taxes at 2 properties in Church Yard Alley.

⁶⁴ TNA: PRO PROB11/1095. William was buried on 23 September 1782, see LMA ex LGL Ms 6673/12, register of Burials of St Andrew Holborn.

⁶⁵ Rendall (1990), 35.

⁶⁶ *Bailey’s British Directory* (London, 1784), 113; *Andrews New London Directory* (London, 1789), 151; *Universal British Directory* (London, 1793), 171.

business refers not just to that person as an individual but to the entire unit of which he is the head. It is this patriarchal structure of eighteenth-century English society which in general makes it difficult to find evidence of the activities of women, children and men who were not themselves patriarchs.

The evidence that it was Jane who continued to run the business after the death of her partner is found in the Sun Fire Insurance records.⁶⁷ Listed as a harpsichord maker, Jane insured the contents of her house and offices at 44 Fetter Lane for £150, her clothes for £100 and £550 worth of utensils, stock and goods. A total of £800 worth of property indicates that she was one of the wealthier makers insuring with the Sun Fire Insurance Company, insuring clothes to twice the value of those of Mary Shudi. There are no workshops mentioned, but stock and goods are listed and there are offices communicating.

It was perhaps out of necessity that Jane was obliged to work to support the four surviving of their five children.⁶⁸ The youngest daughter was christened on 8 September 1782, only a matter of weeks before her father was buried.⁶⁹ Jane was probably an example of a working mother who, while she did not live in the lap of luxury, was able to provide for her family and keep them from the workhouse. Some half dozen spinets, dated between 1765 and 1777, survive by William Harris but unfortunately none is signed by Jane and none is dated after William died.⁷⁰

4.6: Parents and Offspring

Some musical-instrument makers actively encouraged their children to learn the same trade as themselves and in due course to take over the business. As has been discussed, sometimes the widow of the original maker played a role while the offspring were minors and therefore legally unable to be in charge of a business. For example,

⁶⁷ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/324/62, 496653, 29 September 1784.

⁶⁸ St Andrew Holborn, Baptisms, LMA ex LGL Ms 6667/12 and 667/13.

⁶⁹ LMA ex LGL Ms 6773/12, Burials at St Andrew Holborn, lists William Harris of Fetter Lane, buried 23 September 1782.

⁷⁰ Boalch (1995), 360–2.

Elizabeth Köhler appears to have undertaken a ‘caretaker’ role managing the business with Thomas Percival until her son John was old enough to take over.⁷¹ Piano maker William Rolfe had four sons, Robert, Nicholas, Thomas Hall and James Longman Rolfe. All four of them appear to have joined their father’s firm, which became known as William Rolfe and Sons, each ultimately inheriting a quarter share in the business.⁷² Indeed, the records of the Glovers’ Company show that they were all bound apprentice to their father, Nicholas and Thomas Hall in 1799, John Longman in 1802 and Robert in 1804.⁷³

John Broadwood was also joined and later succeeded in business by two of his sons, James Shudi Broadwood and Thomas Broadwood. James, the eldest son and only surviving male from John’s marriage with Barbara Shudi, joined the firm officially at the age of thirteen as an ‘ordering clerk’. In 1795, when James was 23 years old, his father took him into partnership with a half share in the business. Thomas, James’s junior by 14 years and the third son of Broadwood’s second marriage, had been educated at boarding school and at home by a private tutor. However, his two elder brothers from this marriage had both died by the time he was 17, at which time he was taken into the firm to manage the accounts. He became a partner in 1808, being given half of his father’s share in the business, a quarter of the whole. He received the other quarter in 1811 when John retired.⁷⁴

Both surviving daughters of harpsichord maker Thomas Culliford had some connection with their father’s trade, although in different ways. Mary, the elder of the two, married her father’s business partner Charles Barrow and together they had some ten children between 1788 and 1805. Since one of these children, Elizabeth Barrow, married John Dickens and one of their sons, Charles, became a well-known author, researchers had looked into this family and established details of their lives from the archives of Lambeth before the records were destroyed in the Second World War.⁷⁵ Mary would

⁷¹ Whitehead & Myers (2004), 96–7.

⁷² Will of William Rolfe, TNA: PRO PROB10/5138, written 15 April 1826, proved 22 January 1830. Rolfe died on 11 November 1829.

⁷³ Webb (1996), 17.

⁷⁴ Wainwright (1982), 65, 82, 96, 103 & 108–9.

⁷⁵ Staples (1949), 181.

most likely have been focussed on nursing and bringing up their offspring but may have contributed to earning money, particularly when Culliford and Barrow suffered bankruptcy in 1798.⁷⁶

At this point, Thomas's younger daughter Elizabeth Culliford was in her early teens, an age when she would have been acutely aware of familial problems but not necessarily able to contribute greatly to alleviating them. However, two insurance records from 1817 and 1825 demonstrate that she was able, at least later in her life, to generate income. In 1814, Elizabeth married Charles William Charlton,⁷⁷ who appears to have spent his working life at the Prerogative Office, Doctors Commons. In his two policies with the Sun Fire Insurance Company, Charles is described as a 'Gent', but the 1817 policy indicates that his wife was a 'Silverer of Piano Forte Strings',⁷⁸ and that of 1824 that she was a 'Spinner of Piano Forte Strings'.⁷⁹ Both of these descriptions could indicate that Elizabeth put the overwinding onto the bass strings for pianos, which helped to increase the mass and hence improve the sound of the lower strings without having to increase their length or core thickness which would make them too stiff.

More unusually, the sisters Catherine and Ann Gedney were involved in wind instrument making and inherited their father's business. Flute maker Caleb Gedney set himself up in 1754 as 'Successor to the late Mr Thomas Stanesby (the most approv'd Maker of all Sorts of Wind Musical Instruments in Wood)', having worked as his apprentice and journeyman since 1741.⁸⁰ Indeed Stanesby bequeathed to Gedney, 'my late apprentice, all my working tools materials for work and all my unfinished work if he can prove to my [Executrix] that he has married my late servant Catherine Gale, but not otherwise'.⁸¹ According to Langwill, two girls were born to Gedney and Gale in

⁷⁶ Register of Commissions of Bankruptcy, TNA: PRO B 4/25 entry 204 in 'C'.

⁷⁷ WCA, records of the parish of St James Piccadilly, Marriages, 1 Jan 1813–3 Dec 1814, 167, entry number 81.

⁷⁸ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/476, 929789, 6 May 1817.

⁷⁹ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/509, 1039298, 5 December 1824.

⁸⁰ *The London Evening Post*, 9 March 1754, issue 4108.

⁸¹ Will of Thomas Stanesby junior, TNA: PRO PROB 11/807, written 6 October 1752, proved 2 March 1754.

1749 and 1751,⁸² demonstrating that those cohabiting within the work/home environment, in this case a servant and apprentice/employee, can form liaisons which are sometimes legally of an informal nature. It is unusual that instrument makers have such a direct impact on the familial ties of their colleagues, but that Gedney did as he was bid is shown in the will of Stanesby's executrix Rebecca Brown, who mentions 'M^{rs} Catherine Gedney Wife of the said Caleb Gedney'⁸³ and by the fact that Gedney's advert demonstrating his succession appeared only a week after Stanesby's will was proved. It was only a year later that Rebecca Brown bequeathed to him 'all the Furniture in the three pair of Stairs Room at my Lodgings at the Temple Exchange Coffee House and also all the Furniture in the Workshop late belonging to the said Thomas Stanesby together with all the said Thomas Stanesby's Wearing Apparel (Linnen excepted)'. Thus, Gedney had the tools, clothes and premises of his former master which would have enabled him and his successors to carry on in the trade.

Following their father's death in 1769, Catherine and Ann continued the business at the Temple Exchange Coffee House 'under the inspection of Mr Miller, their guardian'. This could be George Miller, a woodwind maker known to have been active between c1765 and 1790,⁸⁴ or perhaps more likely John Miller, a bassoonist who is known to have had associations with Gedney.⁸⁵ The Gedney sisters advertised in *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* that they 'were brought up in the business, and finished most of the instruments for some years, in their father's lifetime'.⁸⁶ This is a rare scrap of evidence which demonstrates that daughters did indeed serve informal apprenticeships within home-based businesses, thus enabling them to earn a living should circumstances arise which made this a necessity.

A family which continued in the instrument trade for generations of fathers and sons is that of the Hills. The first known individual involved in violin making, Joseph (1715–84), was based in London from the 1740s, and his successors were still working there

⁸² Waterhouse (1993), 130.

⁸³ Will of Rebecca Henrietta Maria Brown, TNA: PRO PROB11/814, written 27 March 1754, proved 26 April 1755.

⁸⁴ Waterhouse (1993), 265.

⁸⁵ Lasocki (2010), 95–6.

⁸⁶ *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 2 June 1769, issue 12558.

some 250 years later.⁸⁷ The second generation included Joseph's son Lockey, who provided instruments to shops such as Longman & Broderip, but also got into trouble for horse-thieving. The received wisdom was that Lockey died in Southwark in 1810, but I have discovered that following his appearance at the Old Bailey in 1795,⁸⁸ he was hung at Newgate in February 1796.⁸⁹ Lockey's two eldest sons seem to have followed him in both aspects of his work – the lawful side and the illegal. Henry Lockey Hill and Joseph Hill appeared before the Lent Assizes in Surrey in March 1800 charged with theft.⁹⁰ Joseph was transported to New South Wales,⁹¹ while Henry was held for a year on the prison hulk the *Stanislaus*, moored at Woolwich, before making his escape.⁹² He was recaptured two years later, having been working for violin maker John Betts in the meantime, and tried at the Old Bailey.⁹³ This time, for being at liberty in the Kingdom while under orders for transportation, he was sentenced to death. Thankfully, though, he did not follow his father's example here but rather was 'respited',⁹⁴ and by June 1807 was free to marry Sarah Ebsworth.⁹⁵ Since Henry and his sons built up a well-respected firm of violin makers, repairers and dealers, it is to be hoped that after these distressing experiences Henry became a reformed character.

⁸⁷ Milnes, ed (2000), 82–9.

⁸⁸ Old Bailey, t17951202-53. For further details, see Nex & Whitehead (2005), 251–71.

⁸⁹ *Whitehall Evening Post*, 25 February 1796, issue 7691. Further details can be found in Nex (2010a).

⁹⁰ TNA: PRO ASSI31/18 and ASSI94/1500.

⁹¹ Convict Transportation Registers Database, consulted at TNA. Data from TNA: PRO HO11/1, 299 (149). This refers to the Surrey Assizes in March 1800, confirming this is the same Joseph Hill. It is not known whether Joseph remained in Australia or whether he later returned to Britain.

⁹² As recorded in the Criminal Registers of 1803, 'Henry Lockey Hill, also Henry Hill also Reynolds', a violin maker, was held in Newgate having escaped from the 'Stanislaw Hulk', TNA: PRO HO/26, Criminal Registers for England & Wales, 1791–1892, searched through Ancestry.co. The mention of him being a violin maker confirms the identity of Henry Hill.

⁹³ Old Bailey, t18030216-15.

⁹⁴ Newgate Calendar, 25 May 1803, TNA: PRO HO77/10. List of Felons, Common Side, TNA: PRO PCOM 2/184.

⁹⁵ LMA ex LGL, marriages at St Bride's Fleet Street, Ms 6542/3, 1794–1810. Henry Lockey Hill, bachelor, married Sarah Ebsworth, spinster, both of this parish, on 10 June 1807.

4.7: Siblings and Other Consanguineous Relationships

As well as these examples where offspring have together inherited a parental business, there are examples where siblings appear to have set up together with no previous establishment on which to build. For example, Benjamin and William Flight worked as organ builders at their workshops situated over Exeter Change during the last three decades of the eighteenth century. In his will, proved in September 1791, William describes himself as a ‘Case maker’.⁹⁶ Since organ building can be divided up into the making of the action and pipes, that is the actual organ, and the making of the case which holds it, having one person skilled in each side seems to create an ideal partnership. The variety of cases that William was in the habit of making (besides those for organs) is shown in an indictment brought before the Old Bailey in which William accused one Edward Johnson of theft. Items mentioned include: four wood knife cases, thirteen dressing cases, two wooden tea caddies, eleven razor cases, and an inkstand.⁹⁷ From their insurance policies with the Sun, it can be seen that Benjamin and William worked together as organ builders, with their workshops and warerooms at Exeter Change and a timber yard in the Savoy. In 1778 they shared living accommodation at Exeter Change but by 1783 they lived at different places, Benjamin in Exeter Street and William at the home of a Hair Draper opposite Exeter Change and subsequently at a Linen Draper’s in Bridge Street, Covent Garden.⁹⁸

Further examples of brothers who worked together include the wind and brass instrument makers Charles and Frederick Pace, who also shared their accommodation at 2 Lower Crown Street, Westminster.⁹⁹ Edward and John Pistor shared an organ-making business, employing Thomas Band and Valentine Fryer.¹⁰⁰ By 1770, Edward was working on his own and in 1778 his insurance policy was taken over by his son, Edward jnr, also an organ builder.¹⁰¹ Similarly in the 1780s, William and Robert Gray made

⁹⁶ Will of William Flight, TNA: PRO PROB11/1209, written 28 August 1791, proved 17 September 1791.

⁹⁷ Old Bailey, t17830910-92.

⁹⁸ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/263/319, 393917, 5 January 1778; Ms 11936/306/596, 469935, 13 January 1783 and endorsement Ms 12160/37, 49, 14 January 1786.

⁹⁹ Old Bailey, t18240715-65.

¹⁰⁰ Old Bailey, t17851019-39, and t17860111-33.

¹⁰¹ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/203/169, 291902, 6 December 1779, endorsements Ms 12160/27, 20, 10

organs and harpsichords from premises near Portland Street,¹⁰² while Christian and George Frederick Schoene made pianos at 22 Princes Street, Cavendish Square.¹⁰³

Other male familial partnerships include that of uncle and nephew. Perhaps the best known of these is that of the Kirkman family. Jacob Kirkman came over to England from Alsace in the 1730s. Having worked for Herman Tabel, he set up on his own following Tabel's death in 1739. In 1772 he took his nephew Abraham as partner, a professional relationship which continued for some 20 years. Following Jacob's death, Abraham's son Joseph and grandsons carried on the business.¹⁰⁴ The brasswind maker John Köhler likewise took on a nephew as apprentice, also named John Köhler, who later inherited the business.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, one of James Longman's apprentices was probably the son of his brother George.¹⁰⁶ This is not surprising since uncles and aunts often provided both business and familial support during the Georgian period.¹⁰⁷ The extended family would have enabled young people to step outside the immediate circle of their own parental home, but to a place known to be safe through the close tie of a blood relationship. This could be a positive first step into the adult world, particularly for young men who would be expected to work for a living.

4.8: Apprentices and Servants

As well as training their own offspring in the business, musical-instrument makers took on apprentices, as is evidenced by the records of various livery companies for those based within the City of London, and by records now preserved at The National Archives for those within Greater London and Middlesex. By the end of the eighteenth

February 1778 and Ms 12160/27, 472, 6 July 1779. Edward jnr took out his own policy in 1785, Ms 11936/327/61, 500265, 10 January 1785.

¹⁰² LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/290/635, 442537, 23 April 1781, and Ms 11936/339/535, 522760, 10 October 1786.

¹⁰³ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/302/506, 462797, 25 July 1782 & Ms 11936/342, 532984, 7 July 1787.

¹⁰⁴ Boalch (1995), 103–6.

¹⁰⁵ Whitehead & Myers (2004), 89–124.

¹⁰⁶ Webb (1998), 14.

¹⁰⁷ Davidoff & Hall (1987), 353–4.

century, the guild structure was not as coherent as it once was and instrument makers had always been slightly peripheral to constructs of this kind, so not all apprenticeships seem to have been undertaken with formal indentures. However, between 1770 and 1789, James Longman took on twelve apprentices, as listed in the records of the Spectaclemakers' Company.¹⁰⁸ It is significant to note that the first two of these were bound at an early point in the existence of the firm, in 1770 and 1771, while all of the others were taken on between 1785 and 1789. The reasons for this temporal distribution are not clear. It is possible that in the early days Longman needed the funds which often came with apprentices, while by the mid 1780s the firm had grown so large that there were many basic chores to be done. Some of these apprentices were relatives of one of the partners, and since they came with 'no consideration',¹⁰⁹ that is to say no fee, Longman appears to have been assisting the succeeding generations to climb onto the first rung as merchants, tradesmen or craftsmen in the expanding market of London. For example, Charles Lukey, apprenticed in 1786, was the son of Longman's first partner of the same name, while Joseph Longman, apprenticed in 1785, son of George of Milbourne Port (close to Longman's home town of Corton Denham) is probably James' nephew, his brother being called George.¹¹⁰

Apprentices were part of the familial structure, whether they were related by blood or not, as evidenced by a court case brought by the organ builder Joseph Beloudy in 1800 against his erstwhile apprentice, Edward Ryan. The court records include some details about how Ryan fitted into the household. Ryan was taken on in 1796 and bound for seven years for the sum of £15; he slept 'in a Back Building or Shop detached from [the] dwelling house'. By 1800 he was in his eighteenth year and had apparently got to know Beloudy's daughter, then aged 14, rather better than her father liked. In fact, she was expecting Ryan's child and even though Ryan offered to marry her, Beloudy would not agree as Ryan, still an apprentice, had no means of supporting her.¹¹¹

Apprentices were also vulnerable to the whims of their masters and their families. It

¹⁰⁸ Webb (1998).

¹⁰⁹ Records of the Spectaclemakers' Company, LGL.

¹¹⁰ Information concerning George's children comes from the notes of Dennis Longman, Society of Genealogists.

¹¹¹ LMA, Middlesex Sessions of the Peace, MJ/SP/1800/02/007.

would be the responsibility of the wife, when there was one, to look after their general wellbeing, and their living conditions could vary in comfort and cleanliness.¹¹² Maltreatment of apprentices by their masters was, according to Porter, not infrequent.¹¹³ Apprentices would not only spend long hours in the workplace: like Ryan they often lived at or close to the workshop, so would spend their whole life embedded in the workshop and its machinations. Musical-instrument makers were not immune to abusing their young workers, as evidenced by the case of John Sargeant, whose son John was bound to Thomas Scott to learn musical-instrument making. After a time, Sargeant senior complained that his son was not being properly instructed and that Scott was frequently ‘in licquor’. Scott promised to improve things and brought in his brother Robert to help with Sargeant junior’s education. However,

the said Robert Scott is a man of the most morose temper and about 12 Months since beat the Son of your Memorialist in the most barbarous way, with a fish’s Gid or Weapon ... – biting him, pinching him with the greatest cruelty, ... knocked him down pinch’d his ears till they bled – completely through – so that the marks are now perceptible with other Acts of Cruelty.

John also had to put up with ‘his Bed and covering being not only dirty, but altogether deplorable’ and being punished for not returning from church by 12 o’clock, even though the service was not finished.¹¹⁴

Furthermore, if masters had financial problems then apprentices could be in a difficult situation, unable to continue with their apprenticeships but also not free to move elsewhere. James Ball petitioned the Middlesex sessions of the Peace in 1775 for his indenture to be cancelled as he:

was bound as an Apprentice to Mr Charles Vercoe for the Consideration of ten Pounds to learn the Business of a Harpsichord Maker and continued about twelve Months with him and then the said Charles Vercoe fail’d and the Petitioner was left Destitute and did not know where to find his said Master to get his Discharge nor could he get employment without it Whereupon the Petitioner prayed to be discharged from his said Indenture of Apprenticeship¹¹⁵

As well as their apprentices, many instrument makers appear to have had servants living with them. This becomes more apparent when the census returns in the middle of the

¹¹² Davidoff & Hall (1987), 282.

¹¹³ Porter (1990), 85.

¹¹⁴ LMA, Middlesex Sessions, MJ/SP/1809/06/002.

¹¹⁵ LMA, Middlesex Sessions, MJ/SP/1775/04/037.

nineteenth century begin to include all those residing at each address and from 1851 give at least some of their occupations. A few glimpses from the eighteenth century lead one to believe that servants were also common at this earlier time. It may be significant that most of those found in wills are from lesser known and relatively small business concerns, perhaps suggesting that servants were more likely to feel part of a 'family' and hence to be remembered in a will in a business of this scale. Examples include the organ builder Richard Bridge, one of whose executors (who was also a beneficiary of the will) was Thomas Turner, 'servant to the deceased'.¹¹⁶

Most of the servants mentioned seem to be unmarried women, perhaps perceived to be those who were most in need of such support, and indeed the group which formed the largest proportion of domestic help at this time.¹¹⁷ Examples include maid servant Mary Dalby, to whom piano maker Gabriel Buntebart bequeathed £100 and his wearing apparel in 1794;¹¹⁸ Ann Phillips received pictures of her employer and of the violinist Geminiani, together with household goods and furniture, from harpsichord maker Joseph Kelway;¹¹⁹ musical-instrument maker John Newton left £20 to his servant Grace Gray;¹²⁰ and Elizabeth Gould inherited household furniture, linen, china, wearing apparel and the interest on £1,000 in 3% consolidated bank annuities on the death of her employer, piano maker Christopher Sievers.¹²¹ The servant of harpsichord maker Ephraim Stahlberg, Elizabeth Harding, received linen, furniture and flatware, as well as the interest from £250 stock in 4% long annuities. Since Stahlberg left £10 and his tools for jack making to her son Thomas, one is tempted to question what Stahlberg's own relation to this son was and to suggest that perhaps he was also Stahlberg's son.¹²²

Thus, the evidence clearly shows that consanguinity and a sense of family were

¹¹⁶ Will of Richard Bridge, TNA: PRO PROB11/ 838, written 2 March 1757, proved 17 June 1758.

¹¹⁷ Steedman (2007), 14.

¹¹⁸ Will of Gabriel Got[t]lieb Buntebart, TNA: PRO PROB11/1250, written 7 October 1794, proved 17 October 1794.

¹¹⁹ Will of Joseph Kelway, TNA: PRO PROB11/1092, written 14 April 1779, proved 5 June 1782.

¹²⁰ Will of John Newton, TNA: PRO PROB11/1066, written 7 May 1780, proved 30 June 1780.

¹²¹ Will of Christopher Julius Ludewig Sievers, TNA: PRO PROB11/1234, written 15 May 1793 proved 12 June 1793.

¹²² Will of Ephraim Stahlberg, WCA, 90/15/15C and TNA: PRO PROB11/1177, written 28 July 1788, proved 19 February 1789.

important in the continuation of many firms, both in the short term and over successive generations. The most common relationships were those of partners (married or otherwise), offspring, fraternity or sorority, and uncle-nephew. Apprentices and long-term workers as well as servants could become part of the ‘family’ through long-term association and training. The strength of these bonds would be good for business in that all parties would be striving towards the same ends, namely the success and continuation of the firm, which supported the contributors financially and socially. Next I will look in more detail at two case studies to illustrate this further. Firstly, I examine Longman & Broderip as an example of a complex firm with many subgroups of relationship within its structure. Then, I will discuss the industry of gut-string making and demonstrate that many of the firms which operated in London were structured according to family ties.

4.9: Case Study 1: The Firm of Longman & Broderip

The complicated relationships which were found in many industries at this time can be seen in the case of the instrument making firm established by James Longman in the 1760s which carried on for almost 200 years, the final embodiment being in the name of Chappells, the Bond Street premises of which were tragically destroyed by fire together with all the company’s surviving records in 1964.¹²³ This is an interesting firm since, partly due to its size, it contained a number of individuals who were not related by blood as well as a number of important family groups. James Longman set up the company at 26 Cheapside, his name first appearing in 1767–8.¹²⁴ On 7 April 1775 he married Elizabeth Tomkyns, daughter of Packington and Elizabeth, wine merchants of Oxford Street.¹²⁵ There are no children recorded from this union, which may in part explain later events. It may also explain why the business network comprises many people who were not related by blood: with no children to train and bring up in the family business, people without blood ties would have been needed if the business was

¹²³ Burnett (2004), 91.

¹²⁴ Land Tax Assessment books of the Ward of Farringdon Within, St Matthew’s Precinct, LMA ex LGL Ms 11316/205, listed at ‘Goldsmiths Row’.

¹²⁵ ‘Longman, James Elizabeth Tomkyns M 7 April 1775’, Westminster, St Ann Soho. IGI, 1992, London and Middlesex. See also Longman v Tomkyns, TNA: PRO C12/1703/6.

to expand in the short term and to continue in the long term.

In 1769, Longman took a business partner named Charles Lukey.¹²⁶ The son of a shopkeeper, Lukey was christened on 5 November 1740 in Falmouth, Cornwall.¹²⁷ He joined the Worshipful Company of Musicians in September 1772¹²⁸ and in January of the following year became a Freeman of the City of London.¹²⁹ A third partner, Francis Fane Broderip, joined the company in October 1773,¹³⁰ creating the firm of 'Longman, Lukey & Broderip'. Broderip belonged to a family of organists and composers from Somerset and was the son of John Broderip, organist of Wells cathedral.¹³¹

As well as their business ties, Longman, Lukey and Broderip seem to have been connected by marriages in their extended families. Lukey married a widow named Mary Broderip, who had previously been the wife of William Broderip, the organist in Leominster.¹³² His precise relationship to Francis is still to be established but the unusual surname and coincidence of occupation lead to the suggestion that there is likely to be a consanguineous link.¹³³

Francis Broderip married Anne Longman on 12 January 1774 in West Drayton, Middlesex.¹³⁴ Again it is not yet possible to be certain of Anne's familial connections with her husband's colleagues as none of their parents is named in the marriage record.

¹²⁶ In *The Public Advertiser*, 20 July 1769, the firm is called J. Longman and Co.; in *The Public Advertiser*, 8 August 1769, the name is given as Longman, Lukey, and Co. I am grateful to Michael Kassler for his assistance in searching for this information.

¹²⁷ IGI, 1992, County of Cornwall.

¹²⁸ LGL Ms 3098, 62, *A List of the Court of Assistants of the Worshipful Company of Musicians*. I am grateful to Lance Whitehead for this reference.

¹²⁹ CLRO, Freedom Records, Ms ELJL/1000/26.

¹³⁰ TNA: PRO C12/178/48, *Smith v Longman*, 1791.

¹³¹ Matthews (2001).

¹³² *Biographical Dictionary of the Organ*, www.organ-biography.info.

¹³³ It is possible that William was Francis's cousin.

¹³⁴ LMA, London Borough of Hillingdon, Parish of West Drayton, Register of baptisms, marriages and burials, 1701–1813, DRO1/A1/3, 12, Mf X1/109. Information traced through www.uk-genealogy.org.uk/england/Middlesex, consulted November 2007.

However, the clergyman who married them was one J Longman. The Rev. John Longman came from North Cadbury in Somerset and was ordained by the Bishop of Bath and Wells on 23 September 1733.¹³⁵ North Cadbury is not far (about 3km as the crow flies) from Corton Denham where James came from, so it is quite possible that there is a familial connection between John and James. Furthermore, the Rev. John Longman died at the Broderip's house in 1792,¹³⁶ and *Musgrave's Obituaries Prior to 1800* specifies that 'Longman, John (Rev.), father of Mrs. Broderip' died on 6 June that year. To add to the confusion, Anne's brother was a second Reverend John Longman who also died at the Broderip's in 1795.¹³⁷

Charles Lukey died relatively young in July 1776, aged only 36.¹³⁸ In his will, he bequeathed his 'two Reels or Machines for silvering Strings' to his wife Mary, thus enabling her to earn a living if necessary in order to support their two children Charles and Mary who were then aged four and three respectively.¹³⁹ Even though the male 'head' of the family died, contact between the Lukeys and the business must have continued, as Charles junior was apprenticed to Longman, and Mary junior appears later in relation to both Longman's widow and one of his successors, Frederick William Collard.

While it appears that Longman resided at their 26 Cheapside address, the Broderips lived at Warwick Court, off High Holborn, with their four sons, none of whom went into the music trade and none of whom had children.¹⁴⁰ Also residing at the Cheapside

¹³⁵ CCEd Person ID 46467, 'The Clergy of the Church of England Database, 1540–1835', www.theclergydatabase.org.uk: John Longman, ordained 23 September 1733 at Wells Cathedral by John Wynne, Bishop of Bath & Wells, source SALS, D/D/B.Reg/26 (Register). Recorded as the son of James of North Cadbury, Somerset, pleb. St Mary Hall, matric 10 March 1729–30, aged 18, BA 1734–5.

¹³⁶ *The Times*, 11 June 1792, 3, 'DIED [...]: On Wednesday, at Mr. Broderip's. in Bedford-row, the Rev. John Longman, aged eighty-four'.

¹³⁷ *The Star*, 2 March 1795.

¹³⁸ Will of Charles Lukey, TNA: PRO PROB10/2721, J–P, proved 10 May 1777.

¹³⁹ Littledale, ed (1902). Charles was born on 19 September 1772 (282) and Mary on 6 September 1773 (192).

¹⁴⁰ Parish of St Andrew, Holborn, baptisms, LMA ex LGL Ms 6667/12: '12 January 1775 John Son of Francis and Ann Broderip Warwick Court' and '26 March 1778 William Son of Francis Fane Broderip and Ann Warwick Court'; LMA ex LGL Ms 6667/13: '1 March 1781 Charles Son of Francis Fane

location from at least 1779 was Thomas Culliford.¹⁴¹ Culliford had his own ‘shop’ where he finished instruments at 16 Fountain Court, directly behind 26 Cheapside,¹⁴² before moving to 112 Cheapside (with partners William Rolfe, Thomas Bradford and then Charles Barrow) and later to the Strand. Christened on 24 April 1747 in Penzance, Cornwall,¹⁴³ Culliford’s first known appearance in the London archives is his marriage to Mary Goldsworth on 23 September 1770 in the parish of St Marylebone.¹⁴⁴ Mary’s origins are not known, but she may have been a relative of the harpsichord maker John Goldsworth who was in partnership with Culliford in the 1780s.

The brothers Samuel and Joseph Davies were apprenticed to Culliford in July 1784 and April 1788 respectively, both for the term of seven years. Samuel gained his freedom in 1791, when he set up as a musical-instrument maker at 4 Miles Lane, Cannon Street, but Joseph did not become free until 1803, at which time he was working for William Rolfe.¹⁴⁵ Samuel also went on to work in the company, and in 1797 shared a patent with Rolfe for ‘improvements’ to harpsichords, grand pianos and square pianos, to make them ‘more perfect and durable’.¹⁴⁶

Following Longman & Broderip’s bankruptcy in 1795, the company was taken over in 1798 by a group of men including the musician Muzio Clementi. Clementi’s partners changed a number of times but included two brothers, specialist piano manufacturers Frederick William Collard (see Figure 4.2) and William Frederick Collard who carried on the company as Collard & Collard following Clementi’s retirement in 1830. Frederick married Mary Lukey, daughter of Longman’s first partner Charles, suggesting that the Lukey family had remained in contact with those based at 26 Cheapside, possibly even residing there themselves. The next generation of Collards who carried

Broderip and Ann his Wife Warwick Court’ and ‘27 March 1788 Francis son of Francis & Ann Broderip Bedford Street’. Will of Anne Broderip, TNA: PRO PROB11/1470, written 29 May 1807, proved 11 December 1807.

¹⁴¹ The earliest known Longman & Broderip instrument with Culliford’s signature is dated 1779. See Boalch (1995), 483–90.

¹⁴² Old Bailey, t17871212-21.

¹⁴³ IGI, Cornwall.

¹⁴⁴ Register of Marriages, St Marylebone, LMA Ms P89/MRY1/165, 1768–73, 155.

¹⁴⁵ Glovers’ Company Court Minutes, 1781–90, LGL Ms 4591/3; 1790–1804, LGL Ms 4591/4.

¹⁴⁶ Patent no. 2160, 31 January 1797, see Woodcroft (1871), 29–30.

on the firm were in fact nephews of Frederick and William, the sons of their sister Phoebe who, rather confusingly, married another William Collard (see Figure 4.3).¹⁴⁷

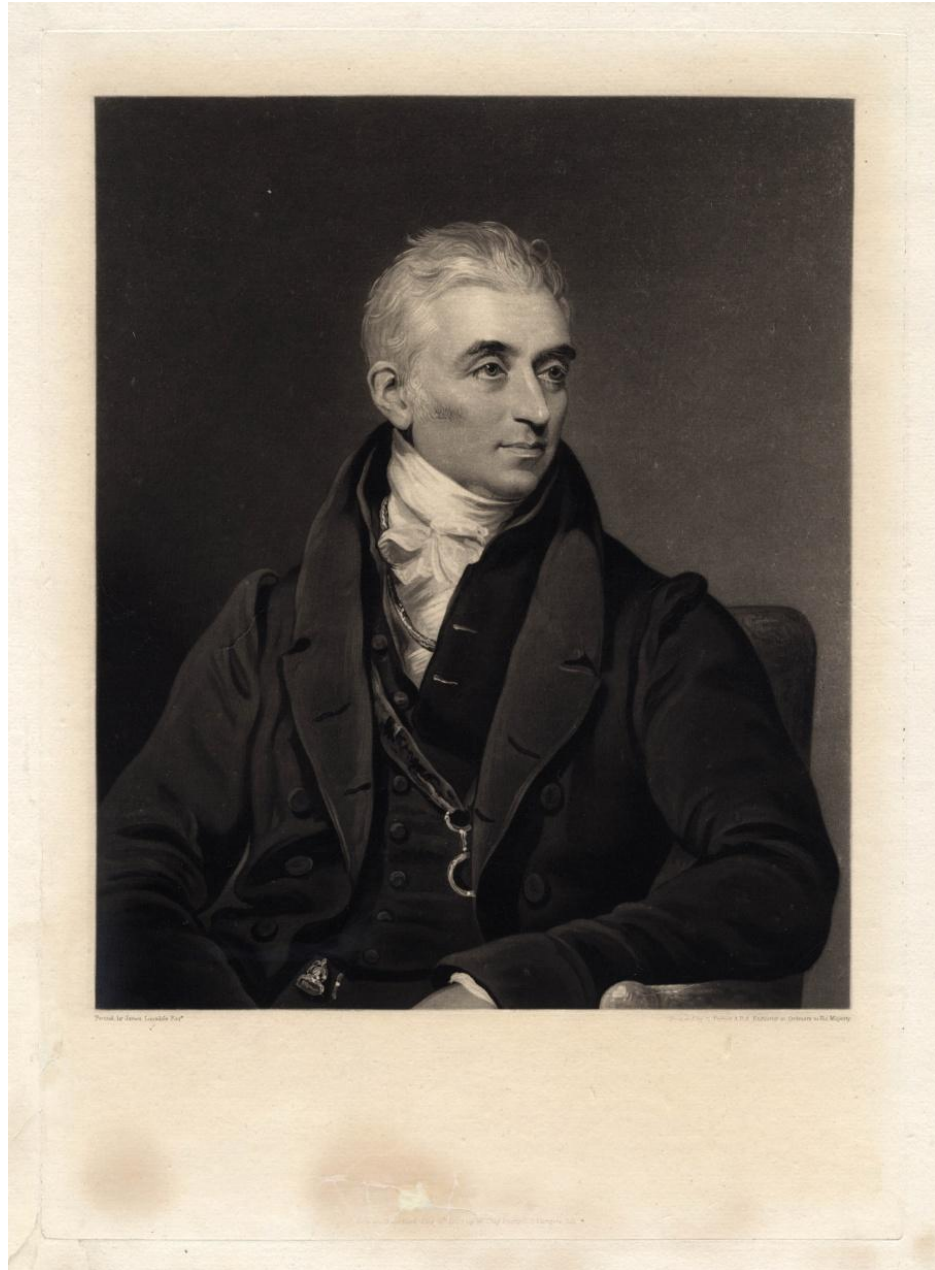


Figure 4.2: Frederick William Collard, mezzotint by Charles Turner after James Lonsdale, 1829, RCM Special Collections

¹⁴⁷ Littledale, ed (1902), 94. '30 Nov' [1799] Frederick William Collard, Batchelor, of S. Vedast, and Mary Lukey, Spinster, of the Parish of Swanscomb in the County of Kent; by License'. See also the will of Elizabeth Longman, TNA: PRO PROB11/1589, written 10 April 1816, proved 13 February 1817.

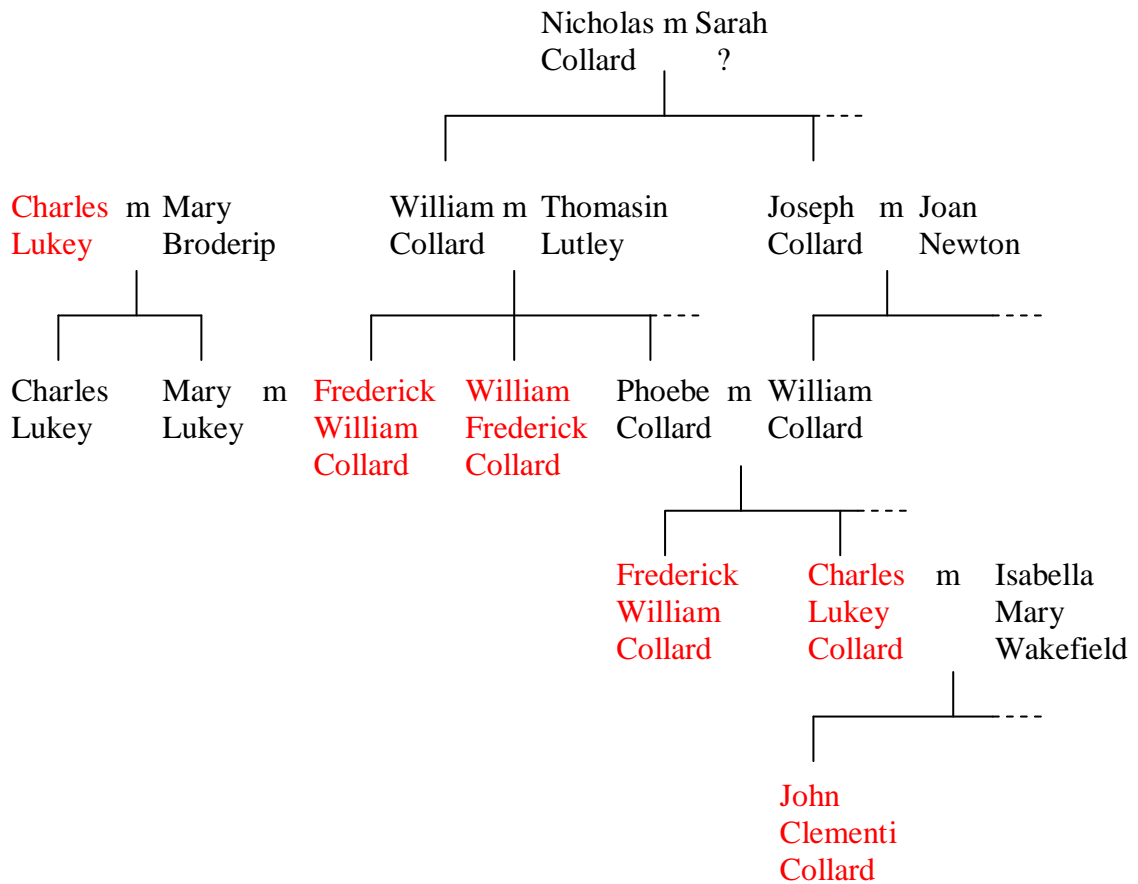


Figure 4.3: Skeletal family tree showing the line of descent of the Collard family. Those whose names appear in red were named partners in the firm. Data from IGI, parish records of Wiveliscombe (SALS), Collard family wills and leases (SALS) and the Collard family tomb in Kensal Green Cemetery¹⁴⁸

Another pair of brothers who worked in the firm was the Lancashire-born organ builders James and David Davi[e]s. It is often reported that David was a partner in the firm of Longman & Broderip, but no evidence for this has been found.¹⁴⁹ However, he is reported to have been the ‘superintendent’ of the firm for around ten years from the mid-1780s, and worked as the manager for the assignees following the beginning of Longman & Broderip’s bankruptcy proceedings.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, he was one of the partners who bought out the company in 1798 as his obituary notice of 1822 corroborates.¹⁵¹ James is best known for his organ erected in Wymondham Abbey in

¹⁴⁸ Grave no. 17331/87/PS. The tomb itself is a Portland Stone chest, currently enjoying the shade of a Yew tree. My thanks to Barry Smith for his assistance in locating the tomb.

¹⁴⁹ Wickens (2008).

¹⁵⁰ Old Bailey, t17960406-83 & t17960406-84.

¹⁵¹ Wilson (2001), 183; Wickens (2008); Sayer (1970), 645–9.

Norfolk in 1793.¹⁵² According to Tindall, the accounts of Wymondham Abbey state that Mr James Davis was paid ‘for his Masters Longman & Broderip’, reinforcing the nature of Davis’ status as an employee rather than an independent manufacturer.¹⁵³

The example of Longman & Broderip therefore shows that the larger firms included within their overall structures a myriad of smaller intertwined relationships. Since this firm is reported to have employed ‘several hundred workmen of different denominations’,¹⁵⁴ there are likely to have been many more such micro-structures which have not yet come to light. Even though the picture is incomplete, it is nevertheless instructive to be able to follow through a firm which was begun by one individual, went through numerous partnerships of individuals related by marriage or by communality of interest, until it became a fraternal business for two successive generations and finally patriarchal as Charles Lukey Collard’s son John Clementi Collard inherited the business in turn.¹⁵⁵ It may also be significant that Longman, Lukey, Broderip, Culliford and the Collards all came from the West Country, which may have given them some sense of cohesion which, although not consanguineous, could have been in a sense fraternal, as they may have felt they had a common origin.

4.10: Case Study 2: The Industry of Gut-String Making

Animal gut, usually from sheep or cows, has been used in a variety of ways, including for sausage skins, tennis racket strings, bow strings, condoms, surgical sutures (for stitching), and for musical instrument strings. The London-based industry has not previously been recognised, but many of the firms which I have discovered were family businesses. Full accounts of all the makers I have studied in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be found in the published literature,¹⁵⁶ so here I will use as

¹⁵² RCM 800.

¹⁵³ Tindall (2002). Tindall refers to Maxwell Betts (1997), *A Jewel or Ornament*, 2nd ed (East Harling) 10.

¹⁵⁴ *The Times*, 31 January 1788.

¹⁵⁵ Information concerning the genealogy of the Collards has been gleaned from the IGI, census returns, PCC Wills at TNA, newspapers and from Somerset Records Office.

¹⁵⁶ Nex (2011) and Nex (2012).

examples those firms where the most evidence survives for the period in question in order to demonstrate that family structures were central to the industry.

4.10.1: The Fossey Family

The ledgers of the Erard harp firm include the name of William Fossey, making strings for harps between 1806 and 1809.¹⁵⁷ Fossey also appears in *The London and County Directory* in 1811 as a ‘violin, harp & string maker’ (which should perhaps have read ‘violin & harp string maker’) of 12 Phoenix Street, Spitalfields and in the 1829 *Post Office London Directory* as a ‘Violin and Harp-string-maker’ of 7 Gibraltar Walk, Bethnal Green. He insured his property at this address repeatedly between 1812 and 1822 initially for a total of £300 but from 1815 onwards for £400.¹⁵⁸ The insurance policies found are all more-or-less the same, a typical example including £100 on ‘Stock & Utensils live stock included therein’.¹⁵⁹ Presumably the livestock was destined to provide the guts necessary for string making. By the time of the 1841 census, William Fossey was 55 years old and was still working as a ‘Violin String’ maker, living with Sophia Fossey (19) and Louisa Fossey (12), presumably his children. Fossey died in January 1843 and was buried at St Matthew, Bethnal Green.¹⁶⁰ However, it is possible that he had a son or nephew who carried on the firm, since a Richard Fossey appears subsequently at the same Gibraltar Walk location.¹⁶¹

4.10.2: Weisbart, Seiler, Siems, and Bockhorn

The family and business structure surrounding and following Samuel Weisbart is rather more complex, as can be seen in the family tree in Figure 4.4. Weisbart calls himself a ‘violin and harp string maker’ of St Mary, Whitechapel in his will, proved in 1818.¹⁶² From this document it appears that all three of Weisbart’s daughters had married and therefore had responsibilities to their husband’s families, so he instructed for his

¹⁵⁷ RCM 497.

¹⁵⁸ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/455, 867480, 6 February 1812; Ms 11936/468, 909662, 6 September 1815; Ms 11936/474, 936920, 24 December 1817; Ms 11936/479, 956153, 8 July 1819; Ms 11936/485, 974144, 20 November 1820; Ms 11936/491, 999566, 30 December 1822.

¹⁵⁹ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/474, 936920, 24 December 1817.

¹⁶⁰ www.Ancestry.co.uk.

¹⁶¹ *The Morning Post*, 4 May 1849, issue 23528.

¹⁶² TNA: PROB11/1600, signed 25 October 1817, proved 17 January 1818.

business to be sold and the resulting funds used for their benefit, or, in the case of his daughter Mary who had died, the benefit of her children.

Samuel Weisbart (buried 11 Jan 1818)

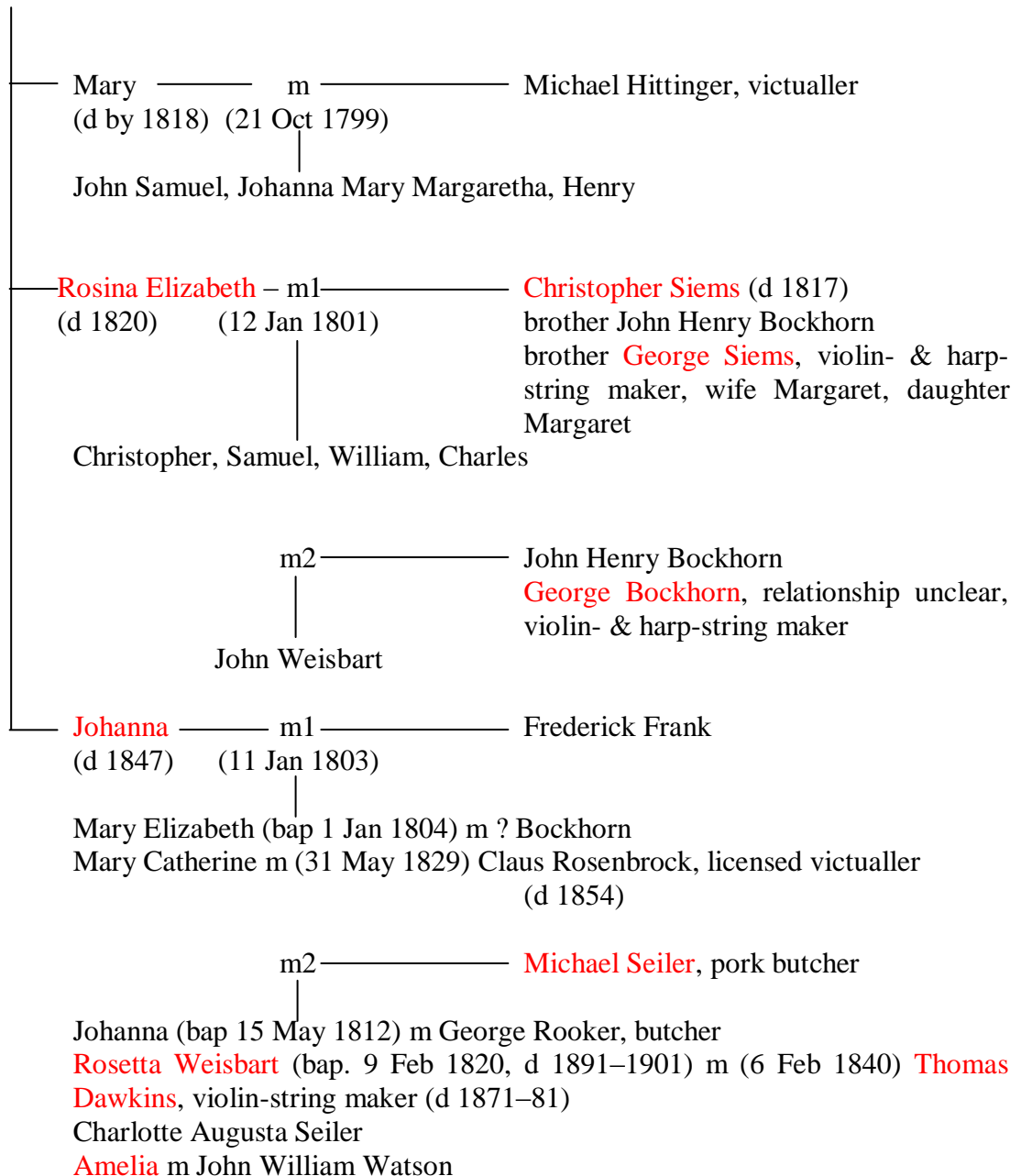


Figure 4.4: Samuel Weisbart's family tree. Names in red are known to have been involved in gut-string making.

However, the 1841 census suggests that rather than being sold the business was being continued by other members of the family. Here, Johanna Seiler, aged 56, is listed as a 'Harp String Maker' of Old Castle Street, St Mary Whitechapel, living with two ladies

both called Margaret Siems, one aged 51 and the other 20, their occupations being referred to by the initials FS (an abbreviation for ‘female servant’). Firstly, who was Johanna Seiler? Weisbart’s will indicates that his daughter Johanna had previously been the wife of Frederick Frank but that by 1818 she was married to Michael Seiler of Cable Street. At this date, Seiler worked as a pork butcher and sausage maker,¹⁶³ but by the time of his insurance policy of 1826, Michael was based at 3 Sharps Alley, Cow Cross Street, where he worked as a violin and harp string maker.¹⁶⁴

Secondly, in order to answer the question of how the Siems family fits in, we go to another of Weisbart’s daughters, Elizabeth. Her first marriage was to Christopher Siems, although by the date of Weisbart’s will in 1818, she was married to John Henry Bockhorn of Old Castle Street, Whitechapel. Perhaps, therefore, Mrs and Miss Siems were somehow related to Christopher.

Christopher’s brother George also worked as a violin and harp string manufacturer, located at Sharp’s Alley, Cow Cross in 1819 and 1822 when his two children were baptised.¹⁶⁵ Both his wife and daughter were called Margaret, so it may well be these two who were living with Johanna Seiler in 1841. George suffered financial problems, as indicated in a list of insolvent debtors in 1825.¹⁶⁶ Despite the difficulties of this situation, it appears that he was indeed able to begin a new career, since at the time of his will written in 1836 George had reportedly been in the service of both Donna Maria or Gloria II, Queen of Portugal, and Christina II, Queen of Spain.¹⁶⁷ He also had four brothers, one of whom was a step-brother named John Henry Bockhorn. Therefore, following the death of her first husband Christopher Siems, Rosina Elizabeth née Weisbart appears to have married his step-brother. Unusually, Rosina made a will despite her husband still being alive, presumably to make her wishes known despite, or perhaps because of, the somewhat complicated structure of her family and their business. Named as one of her executors was Michael Seiler, a pork butcher, who as

¹⁶³ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/473/942698, 10 June 1818.

¹⁶⁴ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/507/1041517, 24 January 1826.

¹⁶⁵ www.Ancestry.co.uk.

¹⁶⁶ *The London Gazette*, 12 April 1825, issue 18119.

¹⁶⁷ TNA: PROB11/1916, signed 11 July 1836, proved 25 September 1839.

well as being a useful source for animal guts was presumably the same Michael Seiler who married her sister Johanna as mentioned above.

In 1835, Johanna insured the premises and contents at 3 Sharps Alley, Cow Cross Street for a total of £800, £100 more than in 1826.¹⁶⁸ This policy is significant in that it provides somewhat more detail than usual concerning the premises and the activities that were undertaken there. According to the policy, there was a stable behind the dwelling house, in which livestock were kept and over which there was a workshop with a stove (£50 building, £50 contents), as well as a bleaching shed in the yard (£5 building, £30 contents). The domestic and business spaces were linked by a wooden bridge. Thus we see both the necessary livestock being kept on the premises and different parts of the processing going on behind the family home. This is probably why butchers seem often to have been associated with string makers: it was difficult to store guts once they were removed from the animal, so it would have been best only to slaughter the animal when its guts were required. Subsequent generations of Johanna's family, both male and female, carried on the business, but again discussion of these individuals would take us too far into the mid-nineteenth century for this study.

4.10.3: The Glessing Family

It has also proved difficult to untangle the lineage of the Glessing family, who were active as string makers in London from the late eighteenth century. Apparently, five different women had children with fathers named John Glessing and it is not clear whether some of these are subsequent marriages of the same man, or different individuals.¹⁶⁹ However, in outline my present findings suggest that there were three John Glessings who were string makers, John (i) being known as John Balthasar who came over to London from Heilbrun in Württemberg (Wirttemberg), Germany, around 1789.¹⁷⁰ He worked from premises in Bell Lane, Spitalfields, married an English woman and fathered nine children. Having acquired the leasehold of some land, he built three houses, numbered 16, 17 and 18 Bell Lane, along with a factory and outbuildings behind them, one of which was numbered 15 Tilley Street. The cost for

¹⁶⁸ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/543/1196036, 4 March 1835.

¹⁶⁹ www.Ancestry.co.uk.

¹⁷⁰ Petition for Denization, TNA: PRO HO1/44/48 and Denization Papers, TNA: PRO HO1/10/31.

this was £1000 and Glessing estimated in 1829 that the value had risen to £1200.¹⁷¹ John didn't apply for denization until 1829, apparently not realising that he couldn't legally own property unless he was a citizen.

It seems that John had two wives over the course of his life in London. John and Caroline Glessing had two daughters, Sophia Caroline and Mary Caroline baptised at Christ Church, Spitalfields, in 1798 and 1801 respectively. John is described in 1801 as a Fiddlestring maker, but in 1798 his name is missed out, although the profession of 'Catgut Spinner' of Rose Lane is included.¹⁷² Perhaps the family lived at Rose Lane before the Bell Lane premises were erected. However, between 1816 and 1824 John and Mary, presumably his second wife, of Bell Lane baptised four children also in Spitalfields.

John Balthasar's will was proved in 1829.¹⁷³ Glessing left his 'workshops and all appurtenances thereunto belonging with the manufactory, utensils and implements for making violin and harp strings' to his wife Mary, but instructed that on her death it should be sold for the benefit of their children. He names seven offspring here, none of which is called Mary or Sophia, so perhaps they both died young but do nevertheless take the number up to the nine mentioned in his denization papers.

It is likely that John Glessing (iia) was the son of John Balthasar Glessing (i), since a son John is mentioned in the latter's will. However, it is harder to be certain as to whether this is one further string maker with two marriages or two separate individuals since the only record found which could be the death of the first wife is after the date of the baptisms of children with the second. John Glessing (iia) married Ann Nevell on 25 July 1822 at St Sepulchre's.¹⁷⁴ While resident at Tenter Street, Spitalfields (1823–27) and Bell Lane (1830), they baptised five children at Christchurch with St Mary and St Stephen or Holborn St Sepulchre between 1823 and 1830. These two addresses match precisely with the addresses known for John Balthasar Glessing. John is described variously as a musical string maker, musical string manufacturer and violin string

¹⁷¹ Denization Papers, TNA: PRO HO1/10/31.

¹⁷² www.Ancestry.co.uk.

¹⁷³ TNA: PRO PROB11/1762, signed 25 August 1829, proved 11 November 1829.

¹⁷⁴ www.Ancestry.co.uk.

maker. One Ann Glessing was buried in 1842 aged 40, but her address is given as Brown's Lane, a location otherwise unmentioned in relation to the Glessings, so it is possible that this is a different person.

John (iib) and Harriett Glessing of Bell Lane (1836–1846) and Gloucester Street (1840 and 1841) baptised seven children between 1836 and 1846, mostly at Christchurch with St Mary and St Stephen but in 1840 at St Matthew, Bethnal Green. John is consistently described in the parish archives as a Musical String Maker and I am working on the premise that this is the same John as was married to Ann. In 1838, John insured his property at 18 Bell Lane, Wentworth Street for a total of £350. He insured his 'household Goods wearing apparel printed books & plate in his now Dwelling House & Shops communicating situate as aforesaid Brick & Timber' for £290, musical instruments for £50 and 'China & Glass' for £10.¹⁷⁵ It is unusual to find musical instruments mentioned in the policy of an individual involved in the manufacturing side, but they do appear more often in policies of musicians. The company continued under the direction of John and later of Hannah Henrietta, his widow, who was forced to take a relative to court when he tried to defraud her of £60 worth of strings.¹⁷⁶

4.10.4: The Potier Family

The family of Potier appear to have made strings for at least 73 years during the course of the nineteenth century. The earliest evidence found is the will of Jacques Eleonor Noel Potier of Bermondsey New Road, called a 'Cat Gut Manufacturer' in 1818.¹⁷⁷ Potier bequeathed all of his 'Implements in Trade in the Cat Gut and Bullock Manufactory' to his wife Elizabeth Melanie Potier so that she 'shall be at liberty if she shall think proper to carry on the said Trade of Cat Gut Manufacturing'. A number of family members received bequests, including Potier's son-in-law Thomas Davis, whom Potier had set up in the New Road with a house and butcher's shop, thus keeping another stage of the string making process in the family. A note made when the will was being proved indicates that Potier's sister Rosalie was given her salary with the interest due up to 25 December 1817, totalling £355, suggesting that she too may have

¹⁷⁵ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/560/1286754, 14 November 1838.

¹⁷⁶ TNA: PRO PROB11/1762, signed 25 August 1829, proved 11 November 1829.

¹⁷⁷ TNA: PRO PROB11/1608, signed 24 September 1817, codicil signed 16 March 1818, proved 3 September 1818.

had a hand in the family business. The business continued until the 1880s, but this is well beyond the scope of this study.

Thus, the industry of gut-string making can be seen to have been structured to a great extent around the family business, with women and men contributing at both managerial and manufacturing levels, and with inheritance passing from one generation to the next as well as from sibling to sibling.

4.11: Conclusions

As can be seen through the evidence presented above, the family unit was not just a private, personal construct involving consanguinity. Today, the family picture usually consists of parents and children at its heart, perhaps with the addition of grandparents, cousins and other individuals related by blood. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was also structured as an economic unit, generating income with which to support all members of that unit, where some individuals contributed to the household's general comfort through unpaid domestic work. Some musical instrument-making companies which were structured at their core as family businesses continued for decades, even centuries, where the succeeding generations were sufficiently skilled and willing to carry it on, and when it was still a viable concern within the changing market place and consumer environment. These families could comprise blood relations, including direct descendants and less closely related individuals, or workers who had been 'socialised' and committed to the firm either through a period of training such as an apprenticeship or through long service as a worker. In some cases the old firm name would remain over time, such as with Broadwood's. In others, such as that begun by James Longman which subsequently had a series of different heads, each generation would use its own name but with reference, at least initially, to the former master or masters.

Family groups were varied and could be extended beyond the confines of parents and children. They were social and economic structures as well as groups of blood relations and among the middling classes all members would have contributed to the household economy, either through paid work or through domestic labour. As Davidoff and Hall

state, 'marriage and a family life above all created an atmosphere of domesticity which was the basis for a moral and religious life and which it was the main aim of business to support'.¹⁷⁸ In some cases, such as the larger firms including Broadwood's, when the manufacturing side of the business and the domicile of the family no longer coincided, as tended to occur later into the nineteenth century, it became harder for all family members to contribute to the business and the family-based musical instrument-making business became less of a normal structure.

In cases where the business and home coincided, the activities of men and women did cross over in some instances, but to a large extent they were governed by social conventions. When women appear in the historical record, they were often related to a male in the same trade as themselves. Wives and daughters are most often found, with the occasional sister and 'common-law' wife. As a result, it is often impossible to see women's contributions to the trade, as their work is usually eclipsed by that of their male relatives. However, I have found sufficient evidence to make it abundantly clear that women were contributing to the musical instrument trade in London in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and that their roles, although often supportive in nature, were crucial to the success of individual businesses and to the trade as a whole. Part of the female contribution was to help structure and support the family and hence the family business, as well as creating and maintaining relationships across the firm and the industry as a whole. Some women participated in the domestic economy by generating income by other, often related means, such as music teaching, which could have been fundamental in financially supporting the main work of the domestic unit. Men would largely be focussed on the construction of instruments as well as training apprentices and overseeing other workers. Perhaps some were also involved in domestic arrangements, but this may never become clear as evidence of this kind of activity is even harder to find than for women working on the business side.

The first case study, examining some of the relationships between individuals within the firm of Longman & Broderip, shows that structures could be extremely complex within a single business. As well as relationships between the heads of the firm, there were personal links between contributors at all levels of the hierarchy. The second case study

¹⁷⁸ Davidoff & Hall (1987), 225.

demonstrates that family businesses were central to the long-term survival of the gut-string making industry in London. Here in particular one can see women contributing at managerial level as well as contributing to the manufacturing process itself. An exploration of gut-string making in London has never been undertaken previously, so this work has been fundamental in our understanding of how stringed instrument makers and players obtained supplies for their instruments.

The art world is moving away from the assumption that a named master undertook all of the work in a particular painting and an adoption of a similar attitude for musical instruments would be beneficial to our understanding of the trade. Relatively little is known about the domestic and working lives of men and women who were involved in instrument making but more information continues to come to light. Together, their histories further shed light on the processes involved in instrument manufacture and the social circumstances surrounding the industry in the eighteenth century. In addition, documents and archives are being found which add to our information surrounding some of the smaller firms, and to workers involved in the larger firms, thus expanding the data base concerning the lives and working practices of those involved in instrument making at all levels. Hence, it is important to extend and re-interpret the surviving evidence and to understand that many people, both male and female, contributed to instrument-making businesses where only one named person is generally acknowledged.

CHAPTER 5: INDUSTRY AND LABOUR PROCESSES

5.1: Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss surviving evidence concerning how instrument-making firms were structured in terms of the number of people employed and how they were used within the firms. I will also examine descriptions of instrument makers' premises, the distribution of work within different spaces and between different people, and the distribution of firms across London. The main primary sources used are patent records, wills and probate inventories, insurance records, and surviving company accounts. Two case studies are given which examine two different types of company. Firstly, Longman & Broderip provides an example of a large, multi-faceted firm which developed into perhaps the biggest music warehouse in London engaged in instrument making and music publishing. Secondly, Erard's harp manufactory is an example of a single-instrument concern, through which I look at patterns of behaviour as seen through the surviving workshop accounts during the period 1807–9.

A number of issues were considered while examining the data. These include the extent to which makers were buying in materials and component parts; whether there were different patterns of employment, including the division of labour; which (if any) processes were influenced by changes in other areas of manufacturing; and whether there was a move from small workshops to larger manufactories between 1760 and 1820. It has not been possible to answer them all or to do so with any degree of certainty in every case due to the haphazard nature of the information found in surviving sources. However, enough material has been found and analysed to give a general impression of the variety of sizes and structures of companies, and the ways in which they were able to operate.

Between 1760 and 1820, there were certainly changes in many industries, some of which could be seen to be revolutionary. A number of features shape this period of fluctuation, mainly involving changes in agriculture, the move of many people from the country into town, technological changes, and the increased use of fossil fuels, mostly coal, in place of traditional power sources including water, wind and wood.

Furthermore, the economy was in general performing well, showing a steady, sustained growth which allowed for respectable wages to be paid to many workers.¹ However, the question of how far one can group these changes into a single ‘industrial revolution’ has been exercising industrial and economic historians over recent decades.² It certainly appears that musical-instrument makers did not adapt their practices in line with changes in other areas of craft and construction, as will become apparent through discussions in this chapter. Little changed in terms of scale (except for a handful of piano makers), while it is very difficult to see any evidence of the use of new sources of power.

Changes in technology can be informative in showing developments in how firms operated. For musical-instrument makers, there are fundamentally two layers of technology: the products they make are technological objects used by musicians to make sounds, while the makers use other technologies in the construction of these products.³ Both layers are in part socially determined, although this is perhaps most obvious for the instruments produced: as well as instrument makers’ own ideas, musicians, composers and audiences all have an influence on the musical market place and hence on what they want from their instruments. In terms of construction technologies, external forces such as what tools and power are available to the maker, and how inventive they are in constructing their own tools, influence their chosen working practices. It is in the choice of technologies and their application that we can see major contrasts between different industries.⁴ As will be demonstrated below, instrument makers were not among the first to adopt new working practices and indeed probably did not change much during the period in question or for a number of subsequent decades. This of course had an impact on their sustainability and also on the people who worked in the business. I will first examine surviving evidence concerning these workers before looking in more detail at the technologies and tools they used.

¹ Griffin (2010), 127.

² Hardy (2006).

³ Bijker, Hughes & Pinch, eds (1987), 4.

⁴ Grint & Woolgar (1997), 8–12.

5.2: Employees and Workers

Richard Campbell, writing in 1747, gives us information comparing ‘Hours of working’, ‘Sums necessary to set up as a Master’ and ‘Sums given with an Apprentice’ allowing a comparison between musical-instrument makers and other trades in the middle of the eighteenth century, as summarised in Figure 5.1. This places instrument making somewhere in the middle of the range in terms of both the costs to begin as an apprentice and the cost of setting up one’s own firm.

Figure 5.1: A selection of tradesmen’s costs and working hours from R Campbell (1747), *The London Tradesman*, 325–6

	Sums given with an Apprentice (£)	Sums necessary to set up as a Master (£)	Hours of working (am – pm)
Broom Maker	---	10 – 500	6 – 9
Butcher	1 – 10	20 – 100	---
Instrument Maker	10 – 20	100 – 500	6 – 8
Cabinet Maker	10 – 20	200 – 2000	6 – 6
Ironmonger	30 – 100	500 – 2000	7 – 8
Merchant of Timber	50 – 100	1000 – 5000	---

The placing of instrument making between broom makers and cabinet makers is interesting. This may be because although there were arguably more skills required to make a piano than to make a cabinet, the market for instruments would have been smaller, possibly with less competition between makers, so it would have been easier to establish oneself in the business. Certainly broom making requires fewer skills and expensive materials than both cabinet and instrument making. Although Campbell provides us with an overall picture as he saw the situation in the middle of the century, it is likely that the industry as a whole contained a certain amount of variation, and we know from other sources that not all individual cases conformed to his data. For example, when he was put to apprentice with instrument maker John Johnson on 7 June 1760, James Longman’s family paid 100gn for the privilege, significantly more than the £10-20 quoted by Campbell.⁵ Whether Johnson was a particularly reputable master who could command high fees or whether he had been trying to price himself out of having to take on apprentices is not clear. It may be that Longman’s family were keen

⁵ The Cook’s Company, Court Minutes, 1738–84, LGL Ms 3111/2, 179.

to give him a good start as he was a younger son and so would probably not have inherited his father's business.

It is also the case that not all apprenticeships in the musical instrument trade appear to have been formally set up. As there was no company specifically dedicated to instrument making, makers are to be found in a range of places including the Spectacle Makers (James Longman's apprentices); Farriers (Henry Thorowgood, a Longman & Broderip employee),⁶ Glovers (Thomas Culliford)⁷ and Clothworkers companies (organ builder Edward Pistor).⁸ In addition, makers who were based outside the confines of the City could also register their apprentices, with individuals such as the piano maker William Rolfe taking on John Hunter in 1787.⁹ As well as taking on their own sons and the sons of wealthy merchants, some makers took on boys from less privileged backgrounds. For example, on 15 July 1762, James Laurence, who was then 14 years old, was discharged from St Martin's Workhouse in order to be apprenticed to a harpsichord maker in Princes Street, Hanover Square. This was probably John Zumpe, the well-known maker of harpsichords and square pianos.¹⁰ These examples show that makers took on apprentices from a wide range of social classes and for a similarly wide variation in fees.

However, for some firms, notably Kirkman's, it has not been possible to find the names of any apprentices whatsoever in any of these formal archives. Since this was such a large firm, it seems unlikely that they did not use and train apprentices, so either there are archives that have not yet been found which include this information, or since musical-instrument making was not regulated, some makers simply chose to make private arrangements for which the firm's own records do not survive. Alternatively, though, it may be that Kirkman only took on skilled workers, as Burkat Shudi appears

⁶ Webb (1999), 28, 62, 65, 71.

⁷ Webb (1996), 6.

⁸ Clothworkers' Company Archive, CL/C/4/2/11, Register of Apprentices, 1755–1806, f56r.

⁹ TNA: PRO Mf IR1/33, 19 October 1787.

¹⁰ WCA St Martin in the Fields Workhouse Registers 1757–63, Ms F4075, Mf 2146. I am grateful to Lance Whitehead for this reference.

to have done, albeit individuals with carpentry skills as opposed to specific training as instrument makers.¹¹

It is very difficult to establish with any degree of certainty the size of the workforce in most firms until census returns in the mid-nineteenth century give numbers of employees. For many, even where we only know of one named individual, it is likely that they did not work alone. For example, Mary Shudi had someone assisting with finishing her late husband's instruments,¹² the most likely candidate being her son-in-law Arnold Frederick Beck; and from the case which led to the inventory of Joshua's effects, it is possible that organ builder William Pether also contributed to the business.¹³ It might have been assumed that guitar maker Christian Clauss worked on his own, but from his accounts we know that he had at least one journeyman in his employ. Other larger firms are as difficult to quantify. Longman & Broderip were said in 1788 to give 'employment to several hundred workmen of different denominations',¹⁴ but this ball-park figure is tantalising in not giving sufficient information for any definitive interpretation.

Pierre Erard does state in 1815 that he employed 70 workers,¹⁵ but from the 1807–9 accounts we know that the precise amount paid each week varied partly according to the season, so this number would have been fluctuating rather than fixed. Pierre's letters to his uncle Sébastien in Paris concerning the running of the London branch provide us with a few snippets about some of the key employees who were involved in different aspects of the firm. We know, for instance, that the general manager of the premises and a craftsman involved in making and repairing instruments was Mr Horn, who is mentioned along with another worker in a report to Paris in 1815: 'Wilhelm is still making himself very useful to you in Portland Street. Horn is still a very good man. These are two really precious servants.'¹⁶ We hear of two more employees, presumably men involved in the financial side of the firm, since a third person was needed in order

¹¹ *The Public Advertiser*, 14 January 1767, issue 10045.

¹² *The Public Advertiser*, 16 March 1781, issue 14487.

¹³ TNA: PRO PROB31/681/425.

¹⁴ *The Times*, 31 January 1788.

¹⁵ Letter of 9 June 1815.

¹⁶ Letter of 7 July 1815.

to assist with encouraging clients to pay their debts: ‘I have just hired a young man to collect the small debts, as Bruzard and Baugh are extremely busy at the firm.’¹⁷ On occasion, the nationality of employees becomes apparent, as with ‘the very smart young German’ named Zieygling, who travelled with Erard to Dublin in 1816 and had reportedly ‘worked for a long time in our Paris firm and more recently in London’.¹⁸ This is also important in demonstrating that not only did materials travel between the two branches of the firm, but also skilled workers. Workers also appear to have moved between rival workshops in London:

A cabinet maker named Rider, who had worked for you 8 years ago, has just returned. He left [harp maker] Dodd, who is sacking his workers. If what Rider says is true, they are desperate!¹⁹

As well as showing the transfer of workers between companies, this shows that Erard, like Shudi, was using men skilled in woodwork rather than people trained specifically as instrument makers. In addition, we can glimpse trusted and experienced workers positioned at crucial points in the manufacturing process:

The sales were very nice! ... If sales continue in this way, we will need to proceed differently. Horn, if one counts the repairs, can scarcely finish four harps a week. I have Delveaux assemble the single-action instruments!²⁰

This also clarifies the fact that the London workshop was making both single- and double-action instruments but suggests they were to some extent built separately. Given the unpredictable nature of the market for musical instruments, Erard’s were wise not to drop their highly successful single-action harp manufacturing business before the new and innovative double-action instrument had become firmly ensconced as the instrument of choice.

As we have just glimpsed with Erard’s, the main opportunity which is opened by employing larger numbers of workers is that of the division of labour, giving individuals or groups of workers specific parts of the construction process to complete rather than making entire instruments. However, while this may increase the output of the firm in terms of the number of instruments completed in a given time, it may have

¹⁷ Letter of 14 February 1816.

¹⁸ Letter of 3 December 1816.

¹⁹ Letter of 16 December 1817.

²⁰ Letter of 2 June 1818.

no effect on the productivity. Improved productivity relies on changes to efficiency and the ability to make more products in less time and with less expenditure. Changes in productivity affect the profits of the firm and therefore the wealth of the master, so decreasing costs and increasing output would be the optimum result.²¹

It is not easy to see whether this occurs in instrument-making firms, although division of labour was probably being employed by at least the 1780s if not sooner. For example, as already mentioned, the will of Ephraim Stahlberg²² indicates that by 1788 some individuals were probably focussed on specific elements of harpsichord construction. Although Stahlberg's Sun policy and will describe him as a 'harpsichord maker', he appears to have been a specialist jack maker. Moreover, since the harpsichord maker Joseph Kirkman (son of Abraham) was an executor, there is a possibility that Stahlberg supplied the Kirkman workshops with harpsichord jacks.

We also catch a glimpse of division of labour, or at least collaboration, in the workshop where Broadwood learned to make instruments. A family disagreement between Burkat Shudi, Broadwood's predecessor, employer and father-in-law, and his nephew Joshua (mentioned in Chapter 4 in relation to his widow Mary), saw accusations and counter-accusations appearing in the newspapers. The reports include the following:

John Broadwood perfectly remembers his having glued up the Sounding Boards of all the said Harpsichords, and his having assisted his said Master Burkat Shudi in putting the Sounding Board (after this Deponent had wrought and finished the same under the immediate Direction of this Deponent's said Master Burkat Shudi) into the first of the said Harpsichords sold to his Prussian Majesty.²³

Thus, although working under the close eye of his master, Broadwood had made and glued in the soundboard, arguably the most important part of a harpsichord in terms of its final resonance. Soundboards had to be carefully shaped so that they were of the correct but varying thickness throughout, and the fact that Shudi was entrusting this process to him demonstrates Broadwood's skills and status within the workshop. Once he had taken over the firm and it had grown considerably, division of labour was

²¹ Griffin (2010), 18.

²² Will of Ephraim Stahlberg, WCA, 90/15/15C and TNA: PRO PROB11/1177, written 28 July 1788, proved 19 February 1789.

²³ *The Public Advertiser*, 14 January 1767, issue 10045.

extensively used by Broadwood. For example, in 1816 he had in his employ 17 grand case makers, 12 square case makers, 5 lyre makers (for the pedal mechanism), 15 square finishers and 18 key makers.²⁴

We can also see that there were specialists within the business of organ building. As early as 1785, Henry Holland advertised in *The Times* for Journeymen organ builders who were 'used to the Sawboard and Movement'.²⁵ Almost 30 years later, George Pyke England²⁶ specified in his will that any 'organs in Business in a forward state' should be completed by England's 'present Man Peacock' for 'Soundboards and Movements' and his son-in-law 'AA Nicholls' for Voicing & Tuning if possible, or a 'Reputable Master'. In addition, each man who had been working constantly in the shop for four or five years was to receive 2gn, suggesting that this length of employment was deemed to show commitment to the firm and should be rewarded accordingly.

There was also some degree of division and specialisation within woodwind instrument manufacture. Keys were sometimes made by silversmiths or specialist metalworkers. For example, Jane Lloyd, when giving evidence to the Old Bailey in 1819, reported that her husband was a flute key maker.²⁷ Other individuals were employed to assist with the tuning of instruments such as flutes. Christopher Gerock (or Gerrock) employed William Beales in this capacity.²⁸ Whereas the finger holes of flutes were positioned and sized to obtain the approximately correct pitches for each note, fine tuning could be done when the instrument was playable and almost complete by undercutting the wood around the finger holes.²⁹ A good ear would be needed to do this accurately, so this particular role would suit specialisation.

Thus, instrument-making firms appear to have varied in size from two or three individuals up to 'several hundred' workers. There appears to have been no clear

²⁴ SHC Ms 2185/JB/20/1-5.

²⁵ *The Times*, 10 June 1785, issue 142.

²⁶ Will of George Pyke England, TNA: PRO PROB11/1566, written 20 October 1812, proved 4 March 1815.

²⁷ Old Bailey, t18190707-12.

²⁸ Old Bailey, t18170219-52.

²⁹ L Jones (1999).

distinction between instrument groups, but keyboard makers, the group where the instruments contain the largest number of components, saw the widest range in numbers of employees. Moreover, the separating out of each component part of instruments as is described at Broadwood's by Dodd in 1843³⁰ was no new development at this time: division of labour within instrument-making firms appears to have been going on since at least the 1780s and in firms making different types of instrument, although it became more apparent in the larger firms which grew up towards the end of the century.

We know very little about workshop conditions for musical-instrument makers and their employees, and also have only a few pointers as to the length of their working days. When appearing as a witness in a court case brought against Daniel Sutherland for the theft of a plane, John Richard Courtice, who worked for the piano maker Stodart of Wells Street, indicated that in January 1826, he worked from 8 o'clock in the morning until 7 o'clock at night.³¹ This statistic should be treated with caution since it may be that working days changed over the seasons to match with the length of daylight at different times of year. Because of this scarcity of evidence, we can turn instead to a scientific-instrument maker to gain some idea of what conditions may have been like. The daily operations within the workshop of Jesse Ramsden were described by visitors from Denmark who were reportedly there to steal ideas for their own operations at home. The following report was written by Jöns Mathias Ljungberg (1748–1812), who visited Ramsden in 1787-8:

The ordinary workmen, who file, turn and plane &c., receive from 18 to 21 shillings per week of six days. They work for 12 hours daily, from 6 in the morning to 8:30 in the evening. They have one hour from 1 to 2 for lunch, ½ hour in the morning for breakfast, and after twelve hours he gives them another ½ hour to drink tea.

A slate tablet hangs in the workshop where each one writes his time; when he arrives 2 minutes after 6, he must write 6.15, and is paid accordingly. If he signs in 15 minutes late he is docked 7d from his pay, and for each hour late, 2s 4d.

He [Ramsden] stays one hour in the shop and thereafter the workmen control the slate. When anyone kicks another, he is fined one shilling, when anyone hits another, 2s.6d. Anyone who shows up drunk is fined and to bring a stranger into the shop there is a fine of 2s.6d. The workmen are paid each evening; the hours

³⁰ Dodd (1843), 387–408.

³¹ Old Bailey, t18260112-129.

that they have not worked, together with any fines, are deducted from their pay, and the workmen go to for a drink, spending part of their wages on ale or porter.

When they have come to the workshop in soiled clothes or without having shaved their beards, they are fined. Elsewhere other rules apply. The rules are hung up in the workshop.³²

Here we have an image of a highly regulated environment, which may have been helpful to all workers as well as the master. The element of self-regulation between the workers could have worked well if everyone was honest and fair to their colleagues, but of course there is no guarantee that this was in fact the case. The length of the working day is similar to that reported in other trades. For example, George Crow worked for the haberdashers Todd & Morrison from 1812, and reported that his working day lasted at least from 7am until 9pm or even midnight.³³ Since he slept in the shop alongside five others, there was little release from the working environment, making the sense of being part of a family business even more significant.

5.3: Suppliers

All firms would have needed regular suppliers from whom they could obtain the materials and certain component parts which they needed for instrument making. A few such individuals have come to light, including Charles Drake who supplied Longman & Broderip with the green silk which Geib used in his pianos.³⁴ Thomas Culliford used a Mr Fauntleroy, a turner and dealer in hardwood located in Tooley Street, Potter's Fields, to supply him with the ivory necessary for his keyboards.³⁵ Since Culliford & Co included a smith's shop at their premises in Pelican Court, Little Britain,³⁶ it is possible that they supplied the entire firm with metal ware such as hinges, pins, stop levers and the parts needed for machine stops, although evidence is again lacking.

³² McConnell (2007), 67, quoted from DC Christensen (2001), 'English Instrument Makers observed by Predatory Danes,' *Mathematisk-fysiske Meddelelser* 46/2, 47–63.

³³ Dakers (2001), 20.

³⁴ Old Bailey, t17850511-14.

³⁵ Old Bailey, t17890114-7. Fauntleroy appears in various trades directories of the period, including *Kent's Directory for the Year 1786*, LGL Mf 96917/9, 61.

³⁶ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/331/87, policy 507215. For the full policy, see Nex (2004), 38.

We can also see that some makers re-used materials which had previously been made into something else. For example, the trial of John and James Hanson (father and son) suggests the use of scrap metal in the manufacture of brass instruments. According to the proceedings of the Old Bailey, sixteen-year old James stole two pewter plates, one brass candlestick and a copper saucepan from a public house, where he worked as a servant.³⁷ While the copper saucepan was later recovered from a pawnbroker's shop, it is perhaps significant that James confessed to having stolen the items on the orders of his father, a French horn and trumpet maker. Perhaps John Hanson planned to melt the brass candlestick down and use the metal for trumpet or French horn mouthpieces and planned to use the pewter (an alloy of tin and lead) as a solder when sealing the joints on his instruments.³⁸

Pierre Erard's letters also add some information about sourcing raw materials and component parts. For example, as well as buying locally and selling strings made by Samuel Weisbart, Willaim Fossey and Mr Duff,³⁹ Erard sold Italian strings in London, some of which he may have obtained from the Paris branch.⁴⁰ He also appears to have sourced wood from both locations, writing:

The wood that we bought here recently is not dry enough. There is a good batch of wood set aside for the harps in our Paris branch. It would be very helpful if you could send us a small amount of it. They have the model for your new harp and they could cut it up in Paris. It is dry enough to use right away, and you know, my dearest uncle, that it is really difficult now to find wood on the market.⁴¹

This also demonstrates that Erard seems at this time not to have had a reliable, regular supplier in London for his wood. However, by 1818 the situation in London seems to have improved as Erard reported that 'I have just bought a nice stock of sycamore wood at 5 shillings the foot; three trees make more than double the diameter of what I bought when I was in Paris',⁴² followed 10 days later by: 'We have recently replenished the

³⁷ Old Bailey, t17530502-34.

³⁸ I would like to thank Louise Bacon and Lance Whitehead for helpful suggestions with regards to the use of scrap metal in the manufacture of historical brass instruments.

³⁹ Erard harp ledgers, RCM 497.

⁴⁰ Letter of 11 November 1814.

⁴¹ Letter of 11 November 1814.

⁴² Letter of 2 June 1818.

stock of wood which was beginning to run out. My entire purchase came to £100. There was one tree 26 feet long by 3 to 2.5 and 2 feet in diameter. It is the most beautiful tree I have ever seen. *6 shillings a foot*.⁴³ The type of leather they used, presumably to cover the hammers in their pianos, is mentioned in an 1815 letter, when Erard pointed out to his uncle that ‘The skins that I recently sent you are from sheep; several makers here use deer. I will do some research on this subject and will send you some different samples.’⁴⁴

Firms therefore used general suppliers who would have been providing materials and parts for businesses operating in a range of different fields. It is in this aspect of manufacture, therefore, that the instrument making world is most closely linked with other trades since any alterations in supply or price beyond instrument making itself would impact on instrument makers and other manufacturers alike.

5.4: Tools

The archives of the Old Bailey have also been useful in gaining some idea of the tools makers used and how they were acquired. Just as builders today design and make some of their own tools, some of the instrument builders testified that they had made the tools themselves. Organ builder John Avery, for example, stated that ‘we searched [Robson’s] bed-room, and in a tool-chest we found, of my property, a lignum vitae tool, called a knocking up tool, which was made under my particular direction, and turned under my own eye’.⁴⁵ Similarly, in the trial of John Darby, Valentine Fryer stated that ‘I lost the things mentioned in the indictment, and one particular screw-driver which I have in my hand now, which was made out of a sword’.⁴⁶

The Old Bailey Proceedings also provide evidence for keyboard instrument makers within the same workshop borrowing each other’s tools. Indicted for stealing three planes, one iron vice and two screw plates from the harpsichord maker John Hitchcock,

⁴³ Letter of 12 June 1818.

⁴⁴ Letter of 31 January 1815.

⁴⁵ Old Bailey, t17970920-67.

⁴⁶ Old Bailey, t17860111-33.

John Lane argued that his employer had ‘agreed to find me in tools’.⁴⁷ Similarly, in a bid to prove his innocence, Joseph Robson testified that ‘[Mr Avery] allowed me to take tools home to my house, to be ready to put up an organ at Whitehall [...] and he has got some of my tools in his possession’. Moreover, in the same trial, Joseph Buck agreed that not only was it the rule in every workshop ‘for the men to take home their master’s tools’, but also that ‘the masters take the men’s tools’.⁴⁸

Further impressions can be gleaned from pictorial evidence, which suggest that traditional methods and hand tools were still being used even at the end of the nineteenth century. Dodd, in 1843, includes a series of illustrations of makers working on various component parts of Broadwood pianos. The key-cutter, who cuts the plank marked out for the keyboard into the separate keys, is using a hand-held frame or bow saw,⁴⁹ while the fret cutter is seated on a low bench using a hand-held fret or coping saw to cut out the patterns for the fretwork panels in the keywell behind the keyboard and the soundwell in the back right-hand corner.⁵⁰ Furthermore, in 1892, a belly-man working for piano makers Brinsmead was depicted in the *English Illustrated Magazine* using the traditional method of go-bars in order to hold the ribs in place while they were glued to the underside of the soundboard.⁵¹ The benches and shelves around him are clearly littered with hand tools while his working surface is a large flat board resting on two A-frame trestles. Thus, if these traditional methods were still being used as late as these examples, it is likely that they were also being used in the early nineteenth century.

It is difficult to tell whether the use of tools changed over the period under examination due to a lack of evidence. However, based on the evidence described, I would suggest that as the products (musical instruments) could still be made using the same tools, it would not have been necessary to instigate changes in terms of the manufacturing technologies used. Indeed, as Griffin suggests, while some industries at this time

⁴⁷ Old Bailey, t17690405-32.

⁴⁸ Old Bailey, t17970920-67.

⁴⁹ Dodd (1843), 399.

⁵⁰ Dodd (1843), 405.

⁵¹ Joseph Hatton, ‘How Pianos Are made’, *English Illustrated Magazine*, 1892, reproduced in Laurence (2010), 20.

readily suited changes in technologies and power, this was not universal and in other industries changes are much harder to see, if indeed they occurred at all during the period under examination.⁵² Little is known about traditional power sources of any kind being used, although as already mentioned, Samuel Green's organ building workshop was equipped with a waterwheel by which means the bellows were operated, facilitating the testing of the instrument without the need for manual pumping.⁵³ Even in 1807 and 1808, Erard's appear to have relied on manpower for turning lathes. Entries from February and April 1807 indicate that 'a man' or 'a labourer' were employed to turn the 'lathes wheel' while in December 1808, William Hayworth was paid £10 for this work.⁵⁴

There is no known evidence of musical-instrument makers using new sources of power, although in 1795, George Astor's name appears in a newspaper notice advertizing for 'a person well-acquainted with the construction of steam engines, who would undertake the management of one for a term of years'.⁵⁵ Although Astor is given as the individual to contact, there is nothing to confirm that it was he who owned the steam engine or what its power was intended to drive.

As Ehrlich states, though, planing machines were invented in 1779 and circular saws were already available at this time, so 'the neglect of machinery is remarkable at a time when other industries were rapidly adopting new technology, and woodworking machines were being developed'.⁵⁶ Firms such as Broadwood's were certainly not held back by a lack of funds, so it must have been other factors which influenced their decision to keep using traditional techniques and relying largely on manpower. Indeed, as photographs taken of flute maker Rudall Carte's premises as recently as 1913 show, workers' benches were ranged along in front of the windows to optimise the use of natural light, with the heat source for soldering being an articulated gas burner which was still present in a photograph from 1950. As Bigio points out, there is no evidence

⁵² Griffin (2010), 97.

⁵³ Robins, ed (1998), 303, November 1783.

⁵⁴ Erard Ledgers, RCM 497. See Appendix 4, entries for 11 February 1807, 7 April 1807 and 6 December 1808.

⁵⁵ *The Oracle and Public Advertiser*, 9 January 1795, issue 18899.

⁵⁶ Ehrlich (1990), 19.

of electric power or light in the 1913 images, although the lathes were apparently powered by electricity by 1950.⁵⁷

In many industries, including musical-instrument making, where precise work requiring dexterity was the norm, hand-powered tools remained the most useful means of production.⁵⁸ However, there were changes and developments in hand tool technology which impacted on modes of production, although this is again difficult to see in instrument making simply due to the scarcity of evidence across the period under examination.

5.5: Structures of Homes and Workshops

Throughout the period, a large proportion of instrument-making firms were based at the home of the master craftsman. This has already been discussed in relation to the people occupying those spaces, so here I will examine the spaces themselves. One source that occasionally contains an idea of the rooms and the activities undertaken within those rooms is newspaper announcements relating to auctions held as part of bankruptcy proceedings. For example, James Henry Houston's premises on Wardour Street, Soho, where he worked as a 'Musical Instrument Maker' appeared thus in 1797:

The Lease of very spacious and capital Brick-built Premises, recently erected, handsomely finished ... consisting of a roomy, convenient Brick Dwelling-House, containing Four Bed-Chambers, a Dressing-Room, a handsome well-proportioned Drawing-Room, a Breakfast-Room, Dining-Room, excellent Hall, and private Entrance from Edward-Street, a convenient Kitchen, Offices and Cellars. Adjoining to and communicating with the Dwelling a capacious Shop or Ware-Room and Counting-House, with an elegant Modern Bow Front, Four large Workshops over, and a spacious Yard with folding Gates.⁵⁹

Similarly, piano maker Thomas Loud of Devonshire Street, Queen Square, saw his premises auctioned in 1810 with this announcement:

The Lease of a substantial well-built House, containing Seven Bed-Chambers, Two Drawing-Rooms, Two Parlours, Study, and every Domestic Convenience, a

⁵⁷ Bigio (2011), 269–76. The 1913 images are from the company's price list preserved in the Dayton C Miller Collection, Washington.

⁵⁸ Griffin (2010), 99.

⁵⁹ *The London Gazette*, 21 March 1797, issue 13994.

large Yard, and new erected Workshops; held for an unexpired Term of 25 Years, at 90l. per Annum.⁶⁰

While we can see promotional terminology akin to that used by estate agents today, these descriptions do demonstrate the number of rooms in the premises as well as showing the co-location of domestic spaces, workshops and other business-related areas. Both establishments appear to have been fairly spacious, and since neither maker is known to have had a particularly large business enterprise, we have some idea of what the premises of a small to medium-sized firm could have looked like.

We can gain some idea of the premises used by Longman & Broderip on Cheapside from surviving leases. Number 26 was part of Goldsmith's Row, owned by the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, who still have their copies of the documents. Three examples have been selected to show the footprint of the premises from 1772 to 1850. Figure 5.2 shows the floorplan of 26 Cheapside itself as it probably stood when Longman signed the lease on 28 August 1772 following his rebuilding of the premises.⁶¹ We know from Longman's Hand-in-Hand insurance policy that this was a five-story building with a cellar, the footprint measuring 18 feet by 58 feet, and that it was both his residence and workshop.⁶²

The records relating to the payment of rent show that Longman extended the premises in 1774, 1777 and 1779, spending over £2,800 in total. This investment must have been a good one as it enabled the company to expand. An interim stage of the developments in Fountain Court can be seen in Figure 5.3, while the full four-story range of workshops and warehouses as they stood in 1850 when the company was being managed by the Collard brothers can be seen in Figure 5.4.

⁶⁰ *The London Gazette*, 18 December 1810, issue 16436.

⁶¹ Lease between The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths and James Longman, 28 August 1772, the counterpart copy of which is held in the Library at Goldsmiths Hall.

⁶² Hand-in-Hand policy 88125, LMA ex LGL Ms 8674/113, 83, 29 April 1772. Policy renewed 2 June 1773, LMA ex LGL Ms 8674/114, 274. Policy renewed by John Longman, Muzio Clementi & Josiah Banger, 19 August 1800, LMA ex LGL Ms 8674/139, 22.

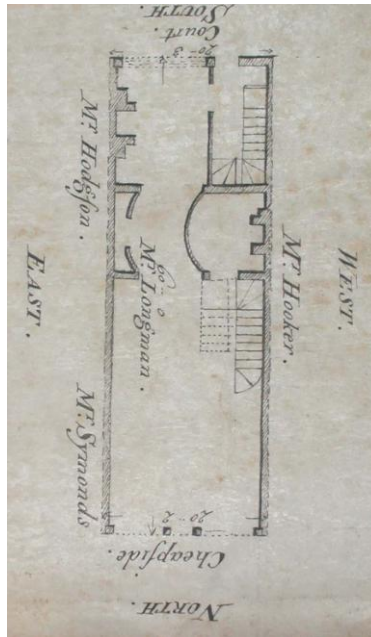


Figure 5.2: Plan of 26 Cheapside, inverted to facilitate comparison with Figures 5.3 and 5.4, by permission of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths

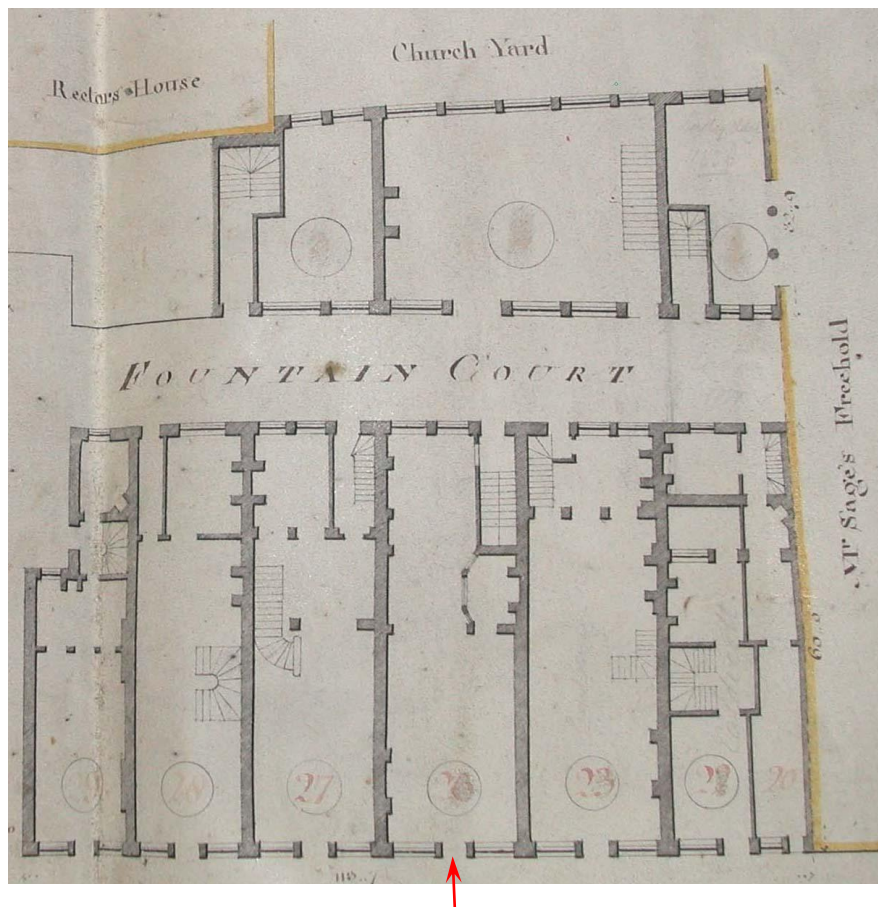


Figure 5.3: Plan of part of Goldsmiths Row, Cheapside, showing 26 Cheapside with the workshops and warehouses behind in Fountain Court, by permission of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths

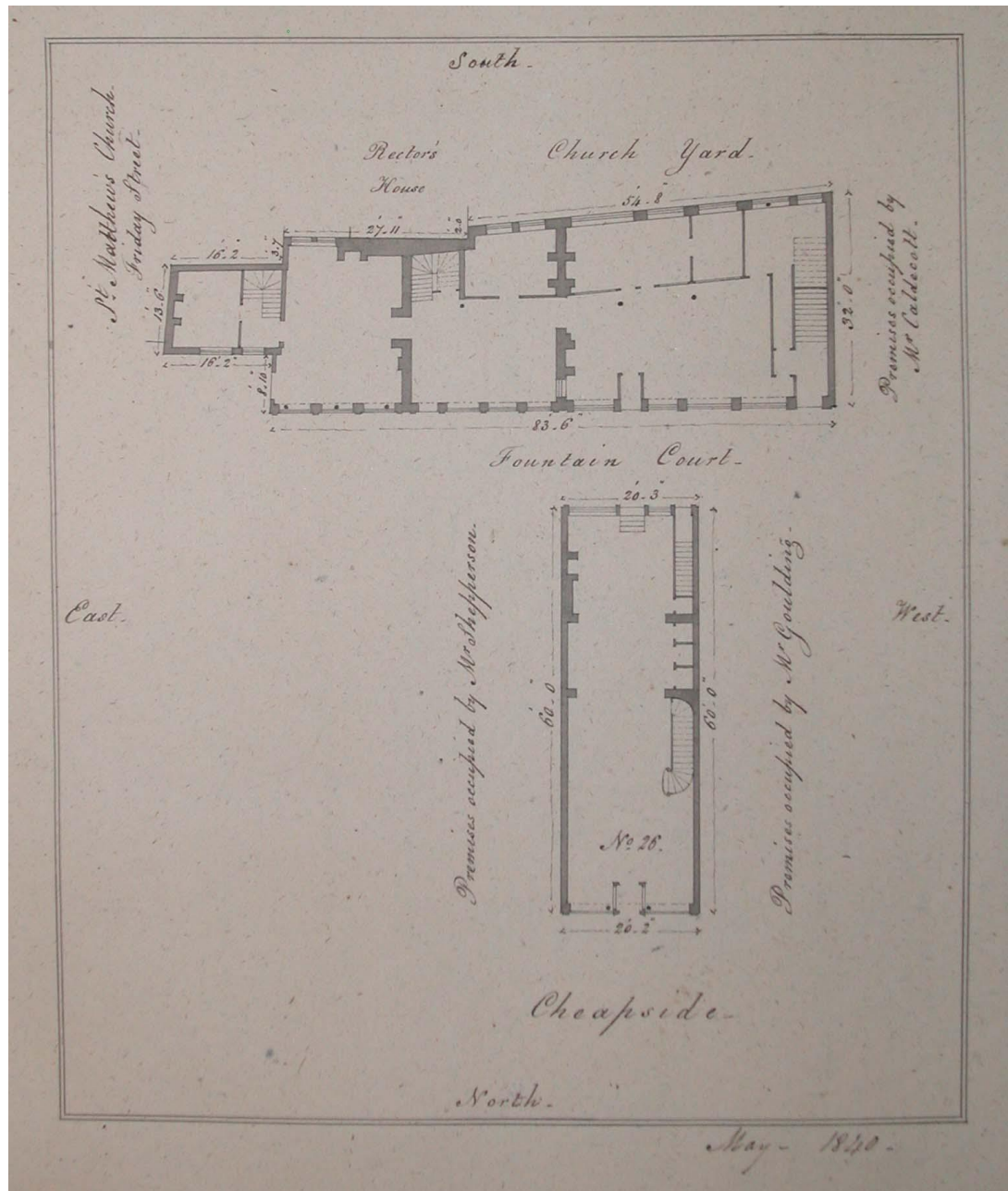


Figure 5.4: Plan of 26 Cheapside and the Fountain Court premises in 1850, by permission of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths

These three maps show how it was possible for some firms to expand their existing premises to enable the growth of the business whilst retaining the co-location of domestic and business spaces even in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The records of the Sun Fire Insurance Company (examined for 1760–79) add further information concerning the location of workshops, since in taking on the risk, the insurance firm needed to know what activities were undertaken in the premises

concerned.⁶³ It is this archive which has provided us with definite information that makers often had workshops co-located with their homes. For example, cabinet maker, organ builder and upholsterer (or upholsterer) Robert Addison insured £50 worth of ‘Utensils Stock & Goods in Trust’ in his ‘Brick & Timber Workshop Shed & Yard only communicating behind his House’,⁶⁴ while harpsichord maker Americus Backers insured ‘Utensils and Stock in a Lath & Plaister Workshop only situate behind the House’.⁶⁵ Jacob Kirkman’s establishment was somewhat more impressive, consisting of a House in ‘a Yard in Castle Lane in the Park Southwark’ with ‘Workshops & Warehouses Communicating with Each other Situate on the South side’, a Warehouse on the west side, a ‘Workshop, Warehouses & Sawpitts communicating on the South East Side’, ‘Workshop & Warehouses communicating on the North side’ and a Warehouse ‘situate in the Middle of the said Yard’.⁶⁶ This gives the impression of a substantial establishment which is perfectly in keeping with the number of surviving instruments from this important firm and their status as harpsichord makers to members of the royal family.⁶⁷ Notably, though, it is still based around the home of the head of the company.

In another example, the ‘workshops, sawpit, smiths shop and offices’ listed in the policy of Thomas Culliford (1785)⁶⁸ suggest that he was involved in all stages of harpsichord construction.⁶⁹ This level of information helps us to visualise the possibilities of separating the manufacture of different parts of instruments into separate but communicating workshops and warehouses, confirming that the setup of the Broadwood workshops on Horseferry Road as described by Dodd in 1843 was neither new nor unique but simply on a much larger scale.⁷⁰

⁶³ For the period under detailed examination (1760–79), 150 volumes were consulted; there are 6 volumes missing.

⁶⁴ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/178/68, 249981, 23 October 1767.

⁶⁵ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/168/565, 235790, 31 July 1766.

⁶⁶ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/275/109, 413077, 8 April 1779.

⁶⁷ Boalch (1995), 103–8 & 422–59.

⁶⁸ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/339/504, 522479, 4 October 1786.

⁶⁹ This could have included hinges, pins, and the mechanism for the machine stop. For an analysis of Culliford’s machine stop mechanism see Mobbs & Mackenzie (1994), 33–46.

⁷⁰ Dodd (1843), 387–408.

In addition to newspapers and insurance records, a small number of probate inventories can help construct a picture of the inside of an instrument maker's establishment. As already noted, harpsichord maker Joshua Shudi, nephew of the more famous Burkat Shudi,⁷¹ was working independently from 1766 as a harpsichord builder from the establishment of Mr Lucas.⁷² His widow Mary carried on the business for a time following Joshua's death in 1774,⁷³ and in 1780 a court case relating to the will was brought against her by William Pether which necessitated the making of a probate inventory.⁷⁴ In this document, as well as listings of income and expenditure generated by Mary since her husband's death, we find an inventory of the contents of the house. From her insurance policy,⁷⁵ we know that Mary did not insure a separate workshop associated with her premises, so we can only presume that as her concern was a small one, instrument making was undertaken within the house itself.

Each floor of the building appears to have been listed separately (see Appendix 1), but it is not clear how many separate rooms there were. All four areas, the garrets, first floor, parlours and 'kitchen &c', include items for instrument making, although the garrets alone seem not to include items relating to other activities. The first floor includes clothes, beds, bedding, mirrors, chairs, tables, linen, cutlery and crockery, as well as six harpsichords (some finished, others not) and 48 feet of veneer. In the parlours too, where one might have expected solely domestic comforts, we find 'seven ¼ inch Mahogany boards, eleven sundry boards, a parcel of small ends of veneers, about one hundred and nineteen feet of Veneers... Walnuttree ditto about 88 feet'.

The area described as 'kitchen &c' appears to be the space where instrument making actually took place, as opposed to the storage of wood and instruments. Here, as well as a range for cooking and various pots, pans, and other food-related items, there was a side bed, wood to the tune of:

about sixty pound of Rose Wood, ... two mahogany Slabs, five planks
Mahogany about 135 feet five Walnuttree ditto, about one hundred feet, a parcel

⁷¹ Boalch (1995), 173–6; Dale (1913), 51–7; Russell (1959), Appendix 13, 169

⁷² LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/169/190, 233948.

⁷³ Will of Joshua Shudi, TNA: PRO PROB11/998, written 21 May 1774, proved 30 May 1774.

⁷⁴ TNA: PRO PROB31/681/425.

⁷⁵ Policy of Mary Shudi, LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/278/336, 420744, 2 November 1779.

of ends Mahogany Walnuttree and Beach, five deals, two Harpsichord Backs, Nine mahogany boards about one hundred and thirty four feet ten ends of ditto about forty five feet two Deals, ... a parcel of frame legs and Bits of Mahogany deal &c. twenty boxes with Harpsichord stays &c.

and the necessary basic equipment for instrument making:

a German Stove funnel and Pan two double Glue pots two work Benches with Screws an Iron Vice, a Wood ditto forty two Wood Screws two Irons, a Wire Wheel a Stone and Trough ... a Work Bench and two Tressels.

Clearly, there could be little separation of personal and professional life within such a set-up, strengthening the argument that all members of the household were likely to have been involved in the business in one way or another.

A second probate inventory, that of the little-known instrument maker Charles Pinto, is somewhat longer and gives the contents of each room separately (see Appendix 2).⁷⁶ Pinto died intestate, so administration was granted to his two ‘natural children’. Although his only other appearance found in the archive to date relates to English Guittars, the inventory includes a variety of instruments or component parts thereof. The completed instruments fall into the groups shown in Figure 5.5. Although it would not have required much space to store some of these items, such as the 70 bows, the storage of 28 keyboard instruments would have taken up considerable space, while harps, bass viols and cellos are also not small in size. Of course, it is possible to store harpsichords and pianos on their sides or to stack them on top of one another, but this is not ideal for their long-term playing condition as actions can shift or become warped.

Figure 5.5: Table showing the types of instruments listed in Pinto’s inventory

Instrument type	number	Notes
Harpsichords	15	
Upright harpsichords	2	
Spinets	2	
Pianos	4	
Organs	5	2 with barrels, 1 ‘bird organ’ and one ‘large’
Violins	79	some with cases, 2 ‘small’
Bows	c70	
Bass viols & cellos	12	
Guittars	59	7 or more of which were probably keyed
Harps	3	
Sundries	2	‘A small instrument’; ‘A Bell instrument’

⁷⁶ TNA: PRO PROB31/821/151.

The presence of a large stock of wood and of iron as well as parts of instruments suggests that making, repairing or putting together various kinds of keyboard and stringed instruments was undertaken. Items include ‘part of an Organ’ and a ‘quantity of organ pipes’; three harpsichord cases; ‘two Spinnet Tops’ (presumably lids); ‘A parcel of harpsichord stands with Castors &c.’; and 17 sets of harpsichord keys. Although much of the wood is referred to only as ‘sundry’ or in a ‘parcel’, there is an entry for ‘sundry parts of violin and other wood’ as well as about a dozen mahogany boards or slabs, both of which suggest instrument making activity. There is also a large number of mahogany tables of various kinds (18) as well as parts of tables, which could either have been sold intact or cannibalised for instruments. 11 items refer to various quantities and shapes of iron, and as well as four complete beds which were presumably used for their intended purpose, there were parts of at least 5 bedstead frames. This means that there was a significant quantity of iron to hand ready for re-use as required. Pinto also owned ‘a Machine for twisting of instrument strings’ and ‘a small ditto’, suggesting that he could have been stringing harpsichords or pianos, again hinting at the possibility of his involvement in their manufacture.

Pinto also seems to have been affluent enough to have a significant number of clothes in his wardrobe: 19 coats, 23 pairs of breeches, 26 pairs of drawers, 49 waistcoats and 8 shirts. Strangely, no head or footwear is listed, even though both would have been *de rigueur* at this time. Unfortunately, no further information concerning Pinto has come to light so we do not know how affluent he was or with whom he was connected, beyond Longman & Co, in the instrument making world.⁷⁷

In comparing the two inventories, it is clear that for both Shudi and Pinto, there was no real separation between domestic space and work space. While instruments, parts of instruments and raw materials appear to permeate every space of the Shudi establishment (although it is difficult to be sure as it is not clear how many rooms are included in each space), Pinto at least kept the kitchen area free from instrument making and storage. Both firms were probably on the smaller side of the average, particularly given that neither had an adjoining workshop, so together give an idea of the setup for businesses at the opposite end of the scale to the likes of Erard and Broadwood.

⁷⁷ I am grateful to Nicholas Temperley for his assistance.

5.6: Locations and Distribution of Makers across London

We can gain an idea of the broad picture of the locations of instrument-making firms from the Sun Fire Office records. Location is important for both the supply and demand side of the business. Being close to raw materials and component part would have been beneficial in saving transport costs, whilst adjacency to customers was helpful for marketing purposes and in the cost of delivering completed instruments. Since it was important to provide an address in case a fire should take hold so that the fire engines could attend, it has been possible to construct a picture of the distribution of makers across London. Firstly, an overarching impression with London divided into areas will be examined. The areas used are defined as: the ‘City’ of London; the City of ‘Westminster’; the ‘Central’ area between the City and Westminster; parishes to the ‘West’; parishes to the ‘North’, parishes to the ‘East’; parishes ‘South’ of the river; and parishes which are now within Greater London but which were then in Kent or Surrey. There are also some addresses where it has not yet been possible to ascertain their location.⁷⁸ In some cases, more than one street of the same name exists and it has not been possible to identify which is the correct one; and in others one street is situated within more than one parish or area and the parish in which the actual street number sits has not been discerned. Figure 5.6 shows the distribution between these areas.

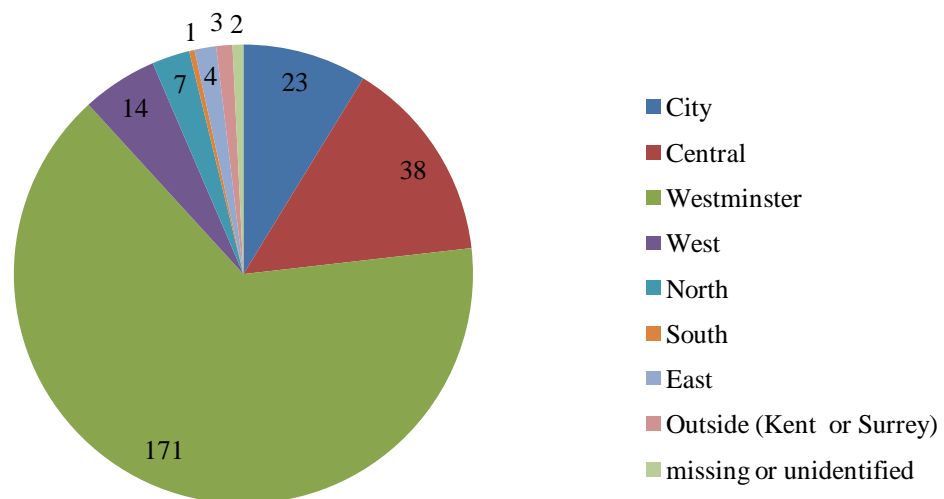


Figure 5.6: Location of musical instrument-making firms, as shown by the Sun Fire Office records, 1760–79

⁷⁸ I am grateful to Lance Whitehead for his assistance in identifying parishes.

This shows very clearly that the majority of firms, around two thirds, were located in Westminster, with a further quarter in the City and Central areas combined. Of the outer areas, the West had the highest number with very few in the North and East and only one south of the river. We can examine this picture in more detail by separating out individual parishes, as shown in Figure 5.7. This demonstrates that within Westminster there was a major concentration within the parish of St James Piccadilly, with further above-average groups in the neighbouring parishes of St Martin in the Fields and St Anne Soho. These three parishes fill the area to the south of Oxford Street adjacent to the river and contain the fashionable Georgian Squares, such as Hanover Square, Golden Square and St James Square as well as the artisanal district of Soho. Thus this concentration of makers is focussed on an area where other craftsmen worked and where many customers would have had residences, giving access to both necessary resources as well as one of the main markets for musical instruments.

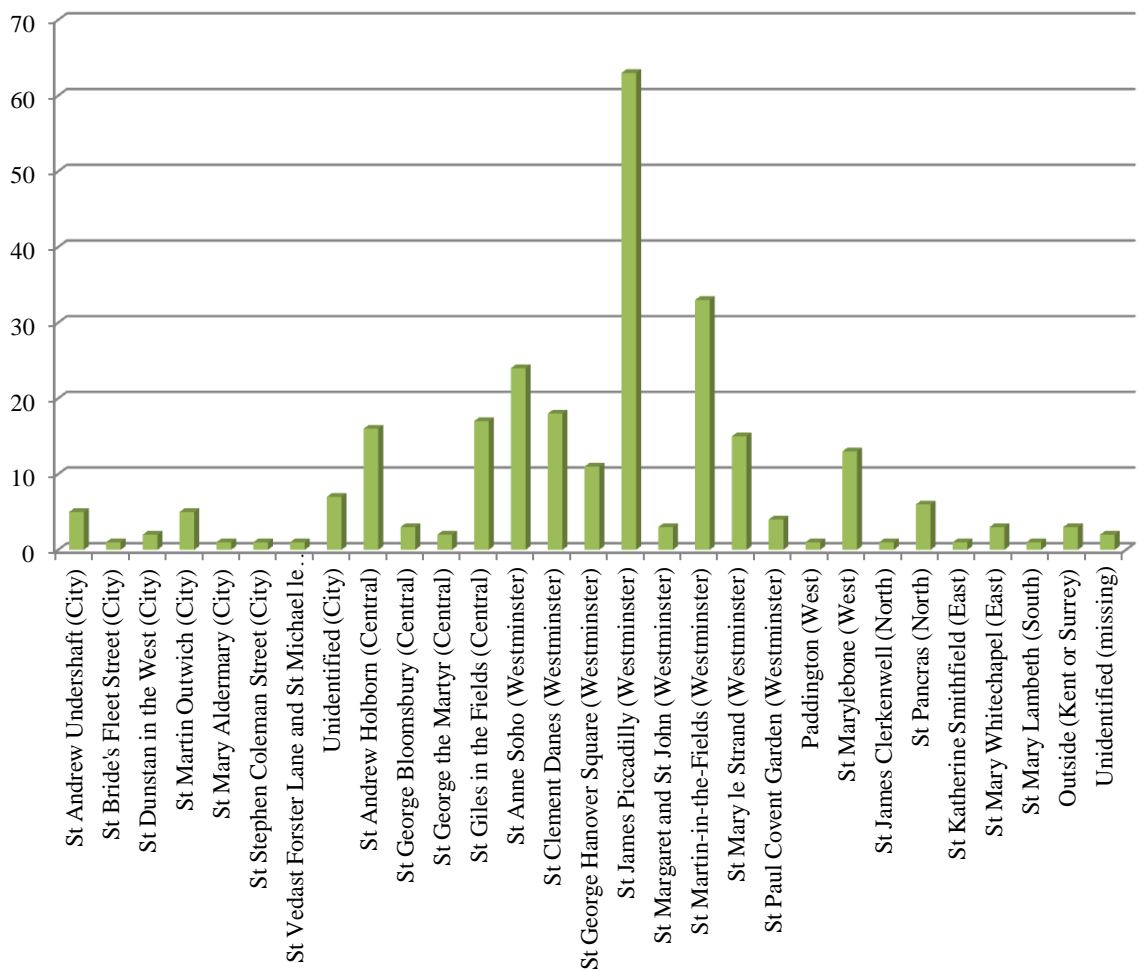


Figure 5.7: Parishes in which musical instrument-making firms were located, as shown by the Sun Fire Office records, 1760–79

We can look at subsections of instrument makers to see if there are specific areas important for instrument groups. The largest group is that of organ builders and Figures 5.8 and 5.9 show their distribution by area and by parish. These two graphs show that while there was still a concentration in Westminster, only around half of makers were based here with a further quarter in the ‘Central’ area. The proportion within the City of London remains about the same as the overall picture. Looking at individual parishes, we can see that St James Piccadilly does not feature so strongly, but that the highest numbers were in the parishes of St Andrew Holborn (Central), St Clement Danes (Westminster) and St Mary le Strand (Westminster). These three parishes run north to south immediately to the west of the City and further east than the concentration of instrument makers in general.

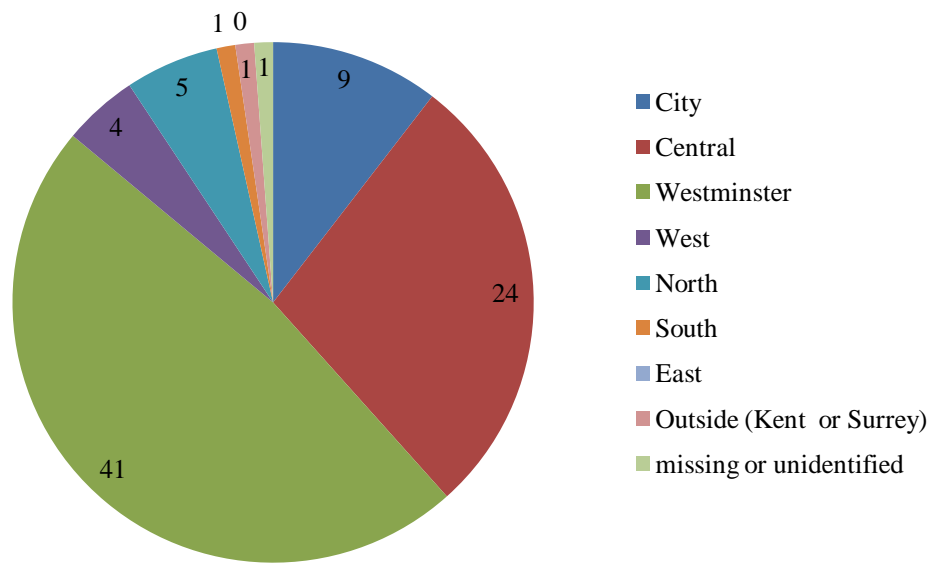


Figure 5.8: Location of organ-building firms, as shown by the Sun Fire Office records, 1760–79

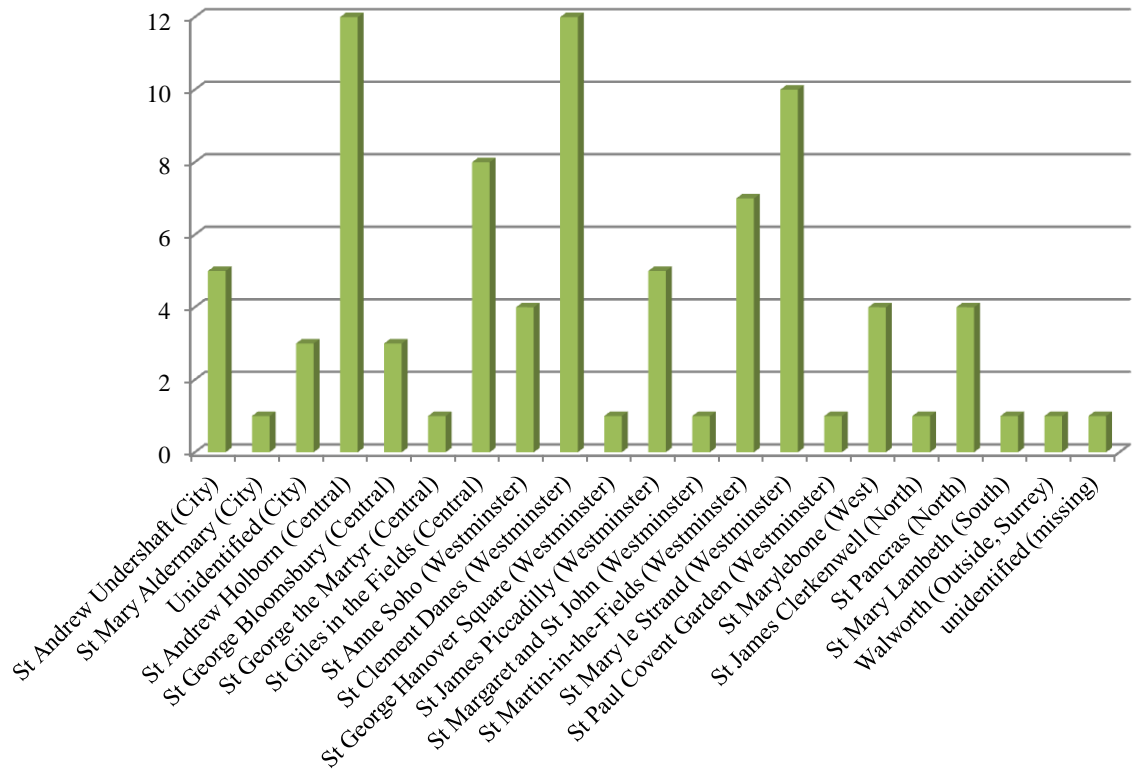


Figure 5.9: Parishes in which organ-building firms were located, as shown by the Sun Fire Office records, 1760–79

Since it has been shown that organ builders were not focussed in St James Piccadilly, it is necessary to explore what other type of instrument makers contributed to the weighting of this parish. Figure 5.10 shows the types of firm whose addresses fall within this parish.

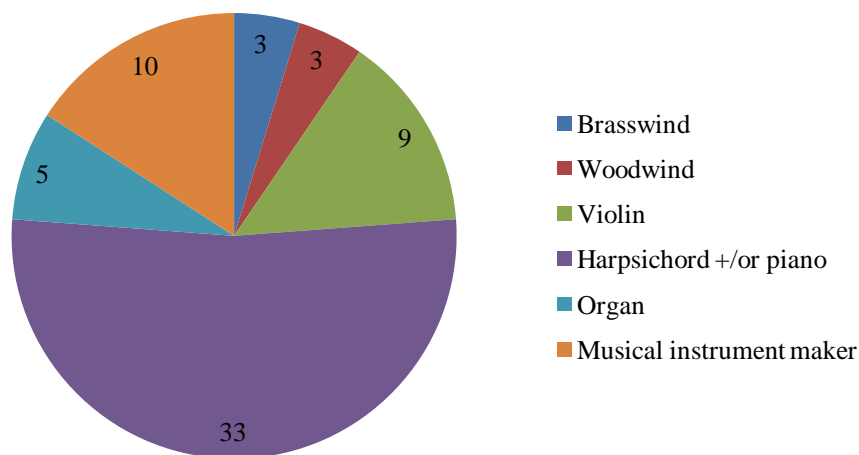


Figure 5.10: Distribution of types of firm working in the parish of St James Piccadilly

This shows that although there was a range of types within this parish, over half were making stringed keyboard instruments. The 33 policies located in St James Piccadilly represent 42% (33/79) of all the harpsichord and piano makers insuring with the Sun between 1760 and 1779, indicating that this was a very important area for these instruments. Moreover, there were nine policies of violin makers located here, almost half of the makers in this sample at this time (9/20, 45%) as well as three fifths (60%) of the brasswind policies. Woodwind makers had fewer representatives in St James (3), but the majority (18 policies) were residing in Westminster as a whole with a further four in the City and one to the North.

We can also separate the 1760s from the 1770s to see if there was any change in the overall pattern between these two decades. Figures 5.11 and 5.12 show the figures themselves and then illustrate them graphically. This shows that the only area to experience a decrease (albeit a tiny one) was the South, falling from a single policy to none. The East and the City were almost unchanged between the two decades, indicating that there was little growth in musical-instrument making in these areas. The areas experiencing the most growth were Central, West, North, and notably Westminster. These were certainly the most affluent areas in general terms and had been experiencing the most growth over recent years.⁷⁹ Westminster underwent major developments in the eighteenth century, not least of which was the opening of Westminster Bridge in 1750. Even though government had been based at Westminster since the eleventh century, a major change in its influence and the relative powers of the monarchy and government during the eighteenth century meant the balance of power was gradually moving away from the court and to the Houses of Parliament.⁸⁰ The owners of much of the land were members of the aristocracy who developed their estates according to their own inclinations. By the 1760s, there were a number of fashionable squares and adjoining thoroughfares with a variety of different housing types ranging from the residences of the affluent to smaller houses for those with smaller pockets.⁸¹ With Westminster taking the position of the centre of state, the City

⁷⁹ Ackroyd (2001), particularly 517–24.

⁸⁰ O'Connell (2003), 127 & 186.

⁸¹ Picard (2000), 18.

was left in the hands of the livery companies and the Bank of England, making it the country's capital of business and finance.

Figure 5.11: Table showing the number of policies taken out by firms in each area in the 1760s and 1770s

	1760s	1770s
City	11	12
Central	16	22
Westminster	73	98
West	2	12
North	0	7
South	1	0
East	2	2
Outside (Kent or Surrey)	1	2
missing or unidentified	1	1

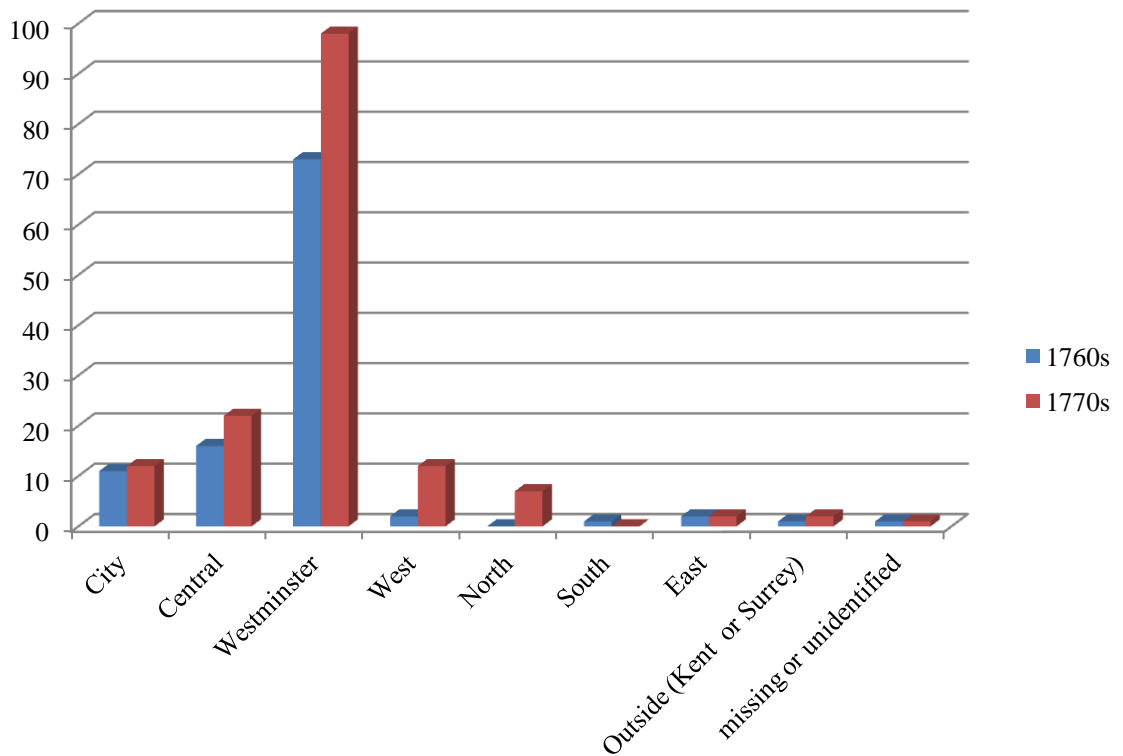


Figure 5.12: Graph showing the number of policies taken out by firms in each area in the 1760s and 1770s

That musical-instrument makers were never as formally controlled by the livery companies as other crafts is suggested in their not having a company of their own, and although makers working within the city did mostly belong to one of the companies, they had more freedom than those working in other trades. It was, nevertheless, simpler for instrument makers to set up their establishment outside the city as they would not then have to serve formal apprenticeships, would be able to employ others who had not done so, and would be free to operate much as they wished. Thus, the number of makers located within the City over the 20 years under discussion is relatively small (23 policies, about 8%). Therefore, it can be seen that instrument makers were following the general trend of developments in London and focussing their activities in the areas which were experiencing growth and expansion. This is probably due in part to the fact that musical instruments tend to be luxury goods at the first point of sale, so were more the preserve of the affluent, be it directly through purchasing instruments to play themselves or indirectly through attending events at which musicians were performing.

5.7: The Overall Shape of the Musical Instrument Trade in London

Having looked at their distribution across London, I would now like to look at the balance between makers of different types of instrument, using statistics from some of the different archives I have examined. The number in each of four groups, namely wind (wood and brass), stringed, keyboard and general, have been counted and then converted into percentages for each source. This data is presented in Figure 5.13 and illustrated graphically in Figure 5.14. The 'general' category contains those called 'musical-instrument maker' where they are either known to have crossed between types or where no further detail has been found, as well as bell founders and all those who do not fit into the first three categories.

These six sources brought together in this way clearly demonstrate that the London instrument trade contained a higher percentage of keyboard instrument makers than any other type. The mean averages of the data sets shows that keyboard instrument makers represent over half of all instrument makers (54%) while the other 3 types each represent about 15% of the whole. The fact that each of these sources has its own intrinsic biases means that any conclusions concerning the overall shape of instrument

making in London drawn from any single one of them would be unreliable. However, by bringing them together in this way, each in some sense compensates for the problems of the others and we can be more confident in our overall findings.

Figure 5.13: Table of percentages of the overall number of makers in each main category for 6 different sources

Source	Wind	Stringed	Keyboard	General	Total
Bankruptcy & debtors (1760–1819)	19	13	41	27	100
Patents (1760–1819)	20	20	52	8	100
Wills (written 1760–1819)	11	6	64	19	100
Sun insurance (firms, 1760–79)	10	7	60	23	100
Doane (1794)	13	9	51	27	100
Pigot (1823)	18	26	56	0	100
Mean average	15	14	54	17	100

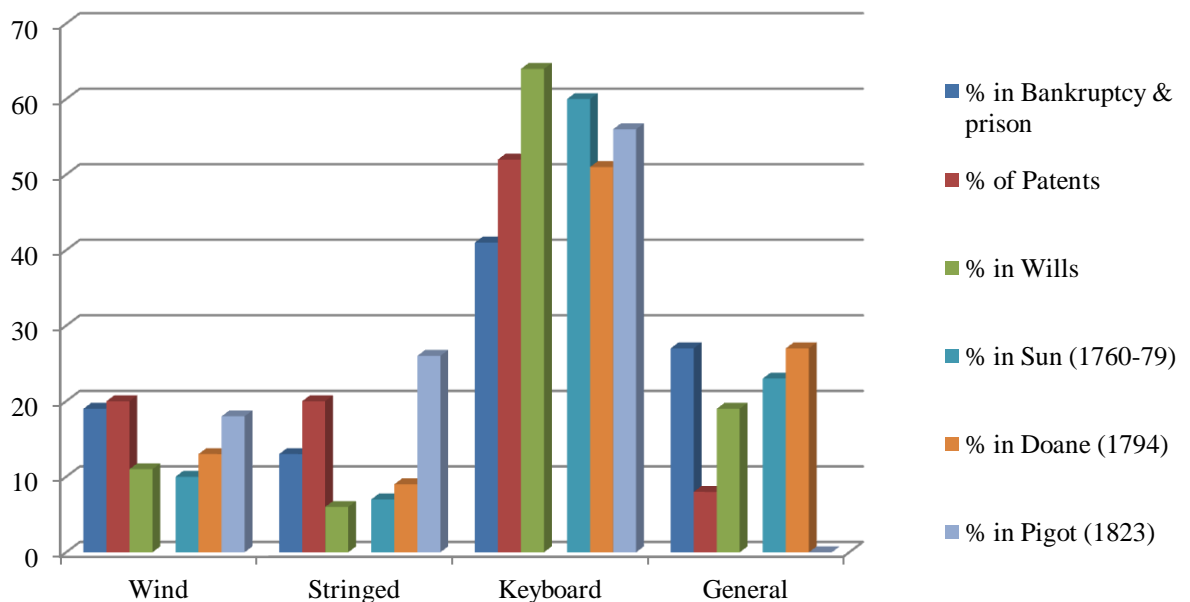


Figure 5.14: Graph of percentages of the overall number of makers in each main category for 6 different sources

We can also see some differences in behaviour between the different groups. For example, keyboard instrument makers are more likely to insure their premises with the Sun and to leave wills at the PCC than either wind or stringed instrument makers, and they are also less likely to suffer bankruptcy or debt problems. This may be because there was more invested per piece in keyboard instruments due to their larger size and higher number of component parts so insurance was more important. Also, due to the

larger market for keyboard instruments, more money could be made and bequeathed while there was perhaps less chance of suffering financial problems.

Furthermore, the graph is arranged with the three sources which cover the whole period first, and the three sources which give snapshots at the beginning, middle and end of the period to the right. These three latter data sets suggest that while those listed as wind and stringed instrument makers increased in number over the period, the number of keyboard makers may have actually fallen slightly. However, it is impossible to be certain of this as the data sets are incomplete and each has its own inherent weaknesses.

5.8: Output and Diversification

It would be helpful if we could ascertain the output of any company at a given point in its history using a workforce of a particular size. However, this is generally not possible as the surviving data simply does not include this level of detail. In some cases we can gain snapshots of workforces as discussed elsewhere in this chapter, or of output. For example, in 1819, towards the end of the period under examination, Erard wrote to his uncle in Paris concerning the piano market in London:

Broadwood makes 40 pianos per week, Clementi almost as many, Tomkison is adding to his work force, Kirkmann is becoming fashionable with his octave piano, one of the three strings being tuned an octave higher, and Stodart. Then there are Wornum, Wilkinson, and many others who have 50, 40, 30, 20 workers. They all do just about the same thing.⁸²

Unluckily, this leaves us with the output for some firms and workforce for others, without linking the two. However, it does show Erard's view of the piano market and his figures suggest that in 1819 something over 150 pianos were being made in London every week, with at least 5 firms employing over 50 people.

We can see something of the output and sales rates at Broadwood over a three month period from the middle of August in 1816, during which they completed an average of 15 square pianos and sold 15.7 per week, as well as completing 8 grand pianos and

⁸² Letter of 22 January 1819.

selling 8.4 per week.⁸³ As there were 15 square piano finishers listed, this shows that each man finished 1 piano per week. In contrast, cabinet pianos were finished at the rate of 4 per week during which time only 3.8 were sold, showing that the upright form had yet to become popular. The overall statistics are presented in Figure 5.15.

Figure 5.15: Broadwood construction and sales figures for the 12 weeks from 26 August 1816

Piano type	Finish per week	Sell per week	Discrepancy
Square	15	15.7	- 0.7
Grand	<8	8.4	- >0.4
Cabinet	4	3.8	+ 0.2

These statistics show that Broadwood's were selling slightly more than they were producing, so were either using instruments from stock or selling in advance of the product being delivered. Of course, selling more than were being made could not be sustained in the long term unless customers were happy to wait for delivery. Broadwood clearly kept an eye on construction and purchase levels of each type of piano in order to assess the market demand and to match it with appropriate levels of construction by hiring, moving or firing workers as required. However, these figures do not show the extent of the whole workforce.

It is difficult to see whether production went up or down since there are few statistics which are comparable across any useful time periods. However, in 1816 Broadwood lists the names of 12 square case makers, while in 1826 this specialist group had increased to 32, with the additional information that between them they made 88 cases in a month.⁸⁴ This would be around 22 cases per week and equates to a rate of 0.7 per man per week, lower than the finishers in 1826 who each completed 1 per week. The square belly men were also producing 22 soundboards per week. It makes sense that approximately the same number of each of the components was made per week, or stocks of particular elements would build up while others would have been always lacking. However it appears that although more men were employed as square case makers in 1826 compared to 1816, their production rate had actually gone down. Figures for grand case makers are harder to see, but the number of employees decreased

⁸³ SHC 2185/JB/15/20 (part). I am grateful to Lance Whitehead for bringing this part of the archive to my attention.

⁸⁴ SHC 2185/JB/15/1.

from 17 to 13. This may reflect a decrease in the market for grand pianos which balanced the increase in interest in upright forms by 1826, since at this later date both cabinet and cottage piano case makers are listed, with 16 of each type being completed each month. This means that 8 upright instrument cases (4 each of cabinet and cottage) were completed per week in 1826, compared to 4 cabinet pianos being finished per week in 1816, a doubling in output of uprights, if one assumes that there was a consistency between the production of cases and the finishing of instruments.

De Val has put together statistics for Broadwood's from other sources, and her findings for their sales, which give an idea of their income in 1818, are given in Figure 5.16.

Figure 5.16: Table of Broadwood piano sales in 1818 from De Val (1991), 77

	Sales	Wholesale price	Retail price
6 Octave square piano	179	£32 11s	£38 17s
'Best' square piano	455	£28 7s	£34 13s
Double action square piano	391	£23 2s	£33 12s
Single action square piano	50	--	£32 15s
Grand piano	1	£58 16s	£81 5s
6 Octave grand piano	347	£67 4s	£94 10s
6½ Octave grand piano	3	--	£105
Upright grand piano	24	£74 11s	£105
Cabinet piano	255	£49 7s	£60

The total number of instruments sold in 1818 from this table comes to 1,705. This figure divided by 52 weeks gives about 33 pianos per week, not far from Erard's round figure of 40. Unfortunately, information concerning the cost of actually making these instruments and therefore the profit per item does not survive from this date. However, in 1805 a 'Small piano forte' (a square), cost £15 15s 3d to make and in 1807 a grand cost £33 8s 4d.⁸⁵ Given the time difference and the fact that we don't know the precise models to which this refers, it looks like Broadwood's made something around 100% profit on their wholesale price and a little more on retail.

As far as makers of other instrument types are concerned, an extensive search of published literature has shown that we know very little about their output and workshop sizes. For example, Bacon's detailed study of the Pace family, who were making brass

⁸⁵ SHC Ms 2185/JB/15/13/1-5.

and woodwind instruments in Dublin and London from 1788 onwards,⁸⁶ includes lists of surviving instruments and information concerning the key players running the firm, but there is nothing to help construct an idea of the size of the company and its weekly produce. This is not a failing on the part of the author, but a demonstration of a lack of surviving information. Even when instruments bear serial numbers, there is no way of being certain what these actually mean since we don't know if numbers ran from number one upwards or whether they were coded in some way. As a result, the question of output for all but a number of piano makers is one which remains largely unanswered.

It was common for musical-instrument makers to have more than one string to their bow. The integration of different activities within a single firm can be seen in many industries and demonstrates a desire to bring together areas with similar interests in a profitable and positive way.⁸⁷ This can be seen in examples where firms made and sold more than one type of instrument, or sold accessories and music alongside instruments. The strongest example of this was Longman & Broderip who sold accessories and music for every type of instrument alongside a very wide range of instruments. They also sold a variety of woods, possibly to other musical-instrument makers but also to a wider market.⁸⁸ It seems that Longman & Broderip chose to keep profits on individual items relatively low, but to gain instead through a high turnover of sales. This can be seen in other trades, such as the haberdashers Todd & Morrison who were also based on Cheapside from about 1785. They sold accessories such as lace, trimmings, tape, and bindings alongside woollen cloths, silks and velvet, generating a turnover of some £18,000 in 1809, increasing to £64,449 in 1813 and £465,288 in 1816.⁸⁹ Naturally, the hierarchical importance of the different activities varied between firms with some musical businesses focussed more on publishing while others were primarily instrument makers.

For others, the diversification extended beyond the music trade. Organ builders in particular appear to have specialised in 'dual trading'. Thomas Dodds (1777) and

⁸⁶ Bacon (2004).

⁸⁷ Thompson et al, eds (1991), 11.

⁸⁸ *The Times*, 15 January 1788, issue 952. See Nex (2011a), 59.

⁸⁹ Dakers (2011), 17–18.

Samuel Howard (1781), for instance, combined cabinet making with organ manufacture, Adam Fournier (1775) worked as both victualler and organ builder, and John Frederick Okerblom's Sun insurance policy of 1782 describes him as 'organ builder, chandler and dealer in coals'.⁹⁰ Several organ builders, including George Pyke and Samuel Green, combined clock making with that of organ manufacture,⁹¹ as did the little-known maker Edward Darvill (1777).⁹² As already noted, the Flight firm, begun by brothers William and Benjamin, made wooden boxes and cases before they added organ building to their portfolio.⁹³

5.9: Patents

Patents were a way for makers to protect their ideas and to try to get ahead in a market place where novelty could itself be a selling point. The main difficulty with patents was that not only did they cost money to acquire in the first place, additional funds would also be needed to challenge any other firms infringing on the patentee's rights. This can be seen in a number of cases, such as arguments over the rights contained within Southwell's piano patents⁹⁴ and from the Clauss pianoforte guitar case already mentioned (to be discussed in more detail later in Chapter 7). However, enough instrument makers clearly thought it worthwhile, so we have at least a small data sample to examine, albeit with due care. Mokyr summarises the problems of using patents thus:

the counting of patents has always been subject to sharp criticism. First, it is a measure of invention, not of innovation. The statistics reveal nothing about the subsequent usefulness of the invention. Arkwright's and Watt's patents would be counted together with that of the inventor who took out a patent on nightcaps specially designed for sufferers from gout and rheumatism. Weighting the patents by their 'importance' is of course far from easy. Second, not all important inventions were patented. The reason for this range from the inability

⁹⁰ Nex & Whitehead (2002), 20.

⁹¹ George Pyke and Samuel Green were admitted to the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers in 1753 and 1772 respectively. See the *Freeman of the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers 1631–1984* records at LGL.

⁹² Whitehead & Nex (2002), 21.

⁹³ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/155/381, 211186, 18 July 1764.

⁹⁴ Bozarth & Debenham (2009).

of the inventor to pay the required fee (£100 for England, £350 for Great Britain as a whole) to the inventor's preference for secrecy. This objection would perhaps not be so damaging if the inventions that were patented were in some sense a representative sample of the larger population of inventive activity. But recent research strongly suggests that that was not the case. Patenting statistics thus measure the propensity of inventors to patent as well as the distribution of inventive activity over high- and low-patent industries. As such, its usefulness as an index for the level of inventive activity is limited.⁹⁵

Therefore, I have looked at patents as an indicator of patterns of behaviour rather than as an absolute measure with which to gauge the state of the industry.

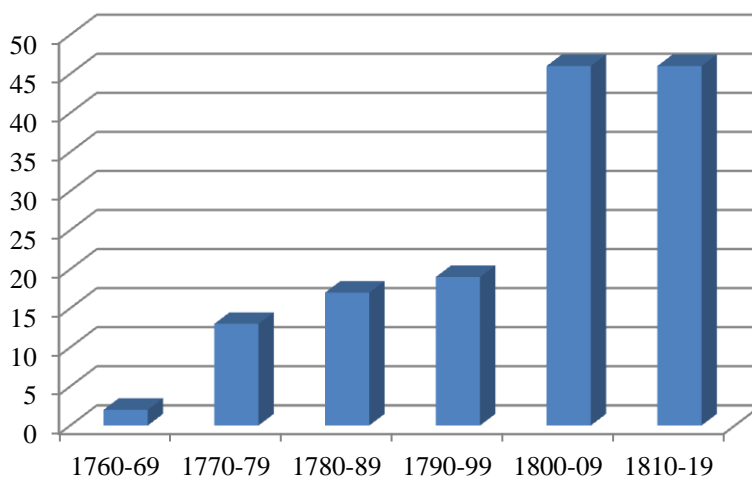


Figure 5.17: Total number of music-related patents by decade

Figure 5.17 shows the number of patents taken out relating to musical objects for each decade from 1760 to 1819. This clearly shows that while there was little activity from 1760 to 1769, patents increased steadily in number through the rest of the eighteenth century and saw a large jump to a higher plateau in the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

We can break down this data according to instrument type and, as is clearly shown in Figure 5.18, the majority of the patents relate to keyboard instruments. This is perhaps unsurprising given the impression gained from surviving musical instruments, that this was a period of great developments in the keyboard world, most notably pianos, with instruments from the violin family changing little and brass instrument technology experiencing its boom in inventions later in the nineteenth century.

⁹⁵ Mokyr (1999), 16.

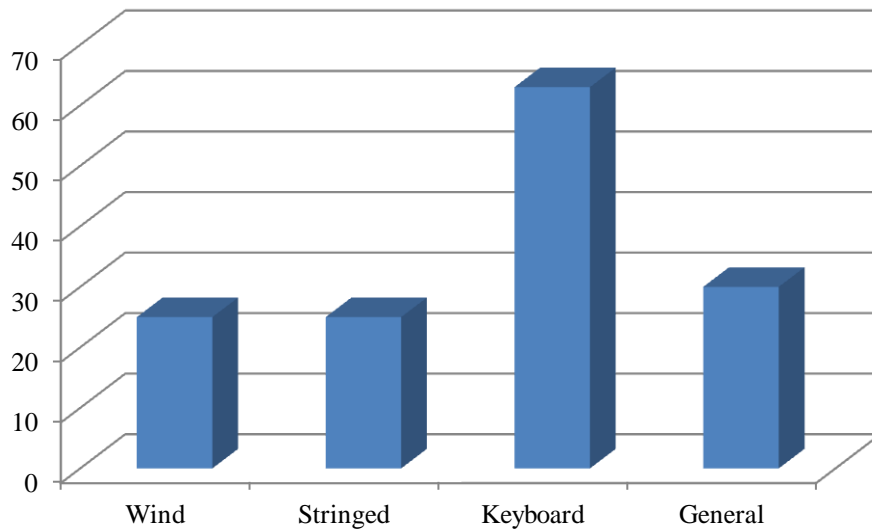


Figure 5.18: Breakdown of patents by instrument group

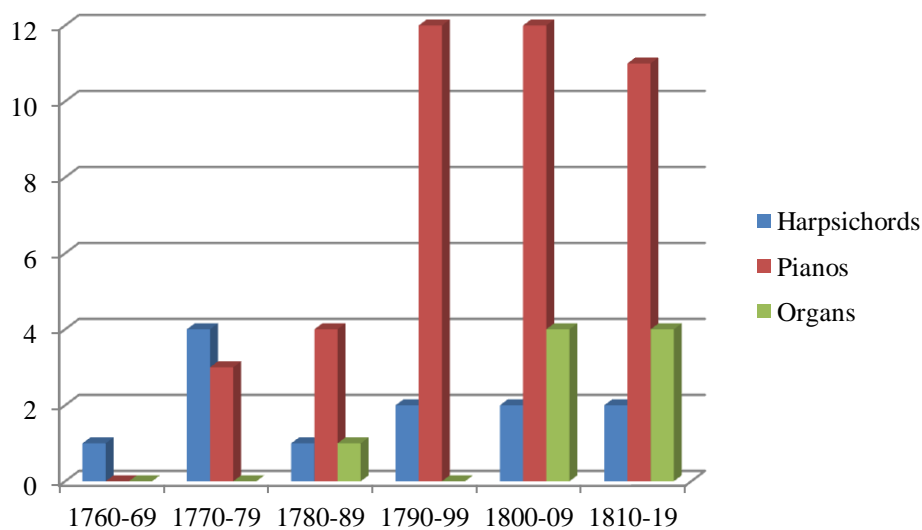


Figure 5.19: Breakdown of patents relating to keyboard instruments

The significance of piano-related patents can be seen more clearly in Figure 5.19, where pianos, harpsichords and organs have been examined separately and by decade. Harpsichords are present in every decade, but only have usually one or two patents per decade. Organ patents were also few in number, but did increase slightly in the nineteenth century. Piano patents were not present in 1760–9, probably in part due to the fact that they were not yet widely known in London. Johannes Zumpe is widely credited with having made the first square pianos in London, his earliest surviving

pianos dating from 1766,⁹⁶ but Debenham & Cole have recently ascertained that Roger Plenius may have been making instruments from as early as 1747.⁹⁷ However, the instrument was clearly well established by the 1780s, and numbers jumped to 12 in the decade 1790–9, a further 12 from 1800–9 and 11 in 1810–19, illustrating the boom in patenting ideas relating to pianos and their mechanisms during the subsequent decades.

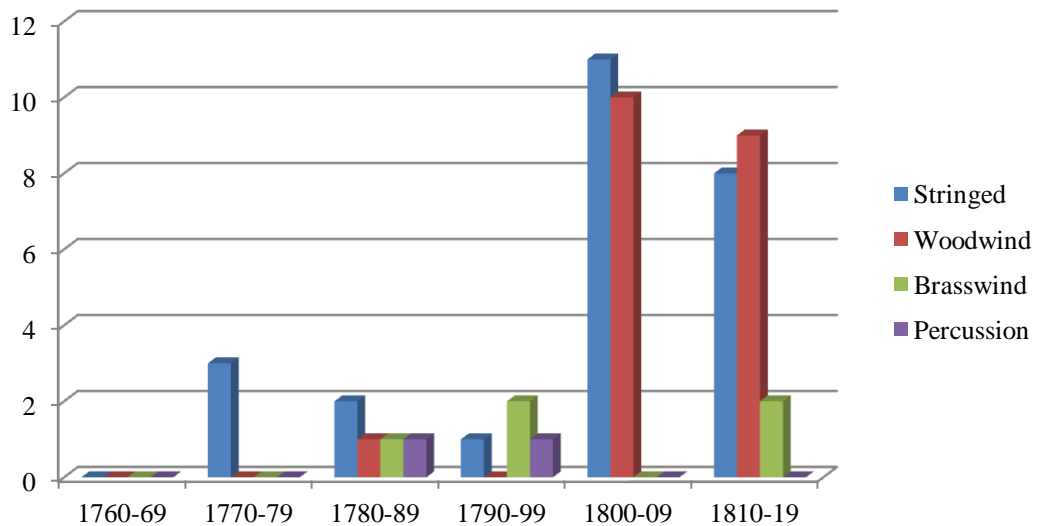


Figure 5.20: Pattern of patents relating to stringed, woodwind, brasswind and percussion instruments by decade

Significantly, though, we can see from Figure 5.20 that stringed and woodwind patents also saw a large jump in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The stringed patents relate mainly to harps, with eight in the decade from 1800 and seven from 1810. This reflects the development of the double-action harp led by Erard, which was the most successful firm in making the harp into a fully chromatic instrument that could play in any key. However, the patents demonstrate that they were working in a competitive market place. Developments in woodwind instruments relate mostly to either ‘improving’ the intonation or facilitating the playing of flageolets and flutes. Along with pianos and harps, these wind instruments were popular in the amateur market. Therefore, the patents as a whole for this period are heavily weighted to those instruments which were much in demand by the middle and wealthier classes and not just for professional musicians. Thus, we see a strong relationship between the

⁹⁶ Clinkscale (1993), 329–30.

⁹⁷ Debenham & Cole (2013), 56.

developing market place and the innovative work of instrument makers: the makers interested in protecting their ideas seem to have focussed their energies in areas where they were more certain of good sales rather than simply patenting ideas for their own sakes.

5.10: Case Study 1: Longman & Broderip, a Complex Business

Longman & Broderip was one of the largest firms operating in large eighteenth-century London and therefore offer an example of practices at the upper end of the scale in terms of size. However, as they sold all instrument types from the most expensive to the least costly second-hand instruments, they stretch across the board in terms of their clientele. We have already seen plans of their premises on Cheapside which have given an idea of the buildings in which instrument making and selling took place, and here we will examine the personnel working in and beyond those spaces.

There appear to have been four different approaches adopted by the firm in terms of their formal business relationships with employees or suppliers. Firstly, individuals were employed directly by the firm and worked in their premises; secondly, makers were contracted to supply instruments on an exclusive basis which were marked with the firm's labels; thirdly, instruments were bought in and resold under the original makers' names; and fourthly the 'putting-out' system was used, whereby makers were given all the necessary materials for making instruments which they made on their own premises and were paid for their time and expertise alone. It is possible that Longman & Broderip also used piece workers, a specific kind of putting-out where instead of wages, workers were paid for each completed item, as Broadwood's did in 1826 for making parts of their action,⁹⁸ but as yet no evidence to support this has come to light. This diversity of approach is perhaps more common during the latter years of the eighteenth century than is the popular conception. This was a time of both continuity and change in terms of industrial production and it is not surprising that some traditional techniques were still in use while more modern procedures were also being adopted. Thus, larger manufactories, such as Longman & Broderip's premises on Tottenham

⁹⁸ SHC 2185/JB/15/1.

Court Road, operated alongside their smaller workshops at Cheapside and the buying in of materials and components from subcontractors and suppliers.

Direct employees include apprentices, with James Longman taking on twelve individuals between 1770 and 1789, as listed in the records of the Spectaclemakers' Company.⁹⁹ They were:

- John Crowther, 9 July 1770
- John Barrow, 29 October 1771
- Joseph Longman, 10 September 1785
- George Read, 3 April 1786
- George Smith, 15 August 1786
- Charles Lukey, 3 October 1786
- William Naughan, 9 May 1787
- George Garrett, 23 October 1787
- George Gough, 28 June 1788
- John Allan, 31 July 1789
- Elizabeth Gough, 5 August 1789
- James Edwards, 16 September 1789

As has already been noted, the first two of these were bound at an early point while all of the others were taken on between 1785 and 1789. Which parts of the business they were employed in is not known, but some could certainly have been in the instrument making side. The inclusion of a female apprentice, Elizabeth Gough, is unusual but not unheard of. Women did undertake formal apprenticeships but these were usually in the 'female trades' such as millinery and other aspects of dressmaking. Elizabeth is not listed as being made free of the company, so it is not known what her work actually was within the firm. Of the fathers listed in the records, only two have music-related occupations, showing that Longman was of high enough standing for people not otherwise involved in instrument making to want to send their children to him to learn their trade.

More experienced individuals directly employed by Longman & Broderip can be traced from a range of historical documents. There are examples of men who, when setting up

⁹⁹ Webb (1998).

on their own or advertising their services, indicate that they had previously been in the employ of Longman & Broderip. This also indicates that this was a positive connection which was worth indicating in the public domain, showing something of the status of the firm. Examples found to date include Mr G C Mann, a harpsichord and violin teacher who, as mentioned elsewhere, opened a shop in Loll Bazaar in Calcutta in 1786.¹⁰⁰ Mann indicates that he had ‘just arrived from Messrs Longman and Broderip’s at their Music Warehouses No.26 Cheapside, and No.13 Haymarket London’, where he had ‘presided over’ the ‘repair and hire of all kinds of Musical Instruments’.

We also know that, like Mr Mann, singers were enhancing their income earned through performing with daytime employment at Longman & Broderip’s. This includes Cook, a ‘new singer at Drury Lane’ in 1790, who was an articled clerk to Longman & Broderip,¹⁰¹ and Joseph Ward, a tenor who was based at Longman & Broderip’s in Tottenham Court Road in 1794.¹⁰² Two men are known to have worked specifically as tuners for the company, Richard Geast¹⁰³ and Henry Banks, the latter a son of the Salisbury-based violin maker Benjamin Banks who provided the firm with instruments.¹⁰⁴ As well as these individuals, others with specific roles include Thomas Baskerville, a porter and packer,¹⁰⁵ and David Davis (or Davies), who in 1796 indicated that he had been superintendent of the firm for some ten years.¹⁰⁶ Whether this was a solely managerial role or whether Davis was at this time also making organs is not clear.

¹⁰⁰ Woodfield (2000), 68–9. Although Woodfield’s footnote dates this advertisement to 1780, the chronology of the chapter suggests that this must be a typographical error and the surrounding text suggests a date of 1786.

¹⁰¹ *The Times*, 6 January 1790.

¹⁰² Doane (1794), 67. Although it has been suggested that the term ‘Tenor’ refers here to an instrument, that is to say the viola, as indeed it often does, Doane appears to mean the higher male voice as he clearly uses the term ‘Viola’ for the instrument.

¹⁰³ Old Bailey, t17960406–83, evidence of William Phillips.

¹⁰⁴ Milnes, ed (2000), 49.

¹⁰⁵ Old Bailey, t17960406–85.

¹⁰⁶ Old Bailey, t17960406–83.

Organs were clearly an important part of the business, as evidenced both by surviving instruments¹⁰⁷ and their advertisements. For instance, a typical example appeared in *The Times* in 1786, including ‘Portable Finger and Barrel Organs, Harpsichords, ditto organised, upright Harpsichords with a curious new invented swell, and warranted to stand in tune; Piano Fortes, ditto organised’.¹⁰⁸ A number of organ builders have definite ties with the business and were probably direct employees, at least for some of their working lives. Henry Holland, who marketed himself as ‘Nephew and Successor to Mr. PYKE, Organ Builder to His Majesty’,¹⁰⁹ worked as an independent maker and master from at least 1779.¹¹⁰ In 1796 he indicated that he worked for Longman & Broderip thus: ‘I do the business for the house; I am in the organ line’.¹¹¹ Furthermore, he used one of the warehouses behind the Cheapside premises, number eight in Fountain Court.¹¹² Christopher Hayman, an organ builder based at 8 Eagle Court off the Strand, also worked for Longman, and insured his utensils, stock and goods in trust in the Fountain Court premises for £200 in 1782.¹¹³

William Gater too was in the organ line, as evidenced by David Davis in 1796 when Gater had been with the firm for sixteen years.¹¹⁴ A small organ by John Kelly dated 1790 is preserved at the Bowes Museum, and also bears the names of Longman & Broderip. Kelly is better known as a partner to Benjamin Flight, so the terms of any relationship between Kelly and Longman & Broderip are unclear.¹¹⁵ As previously noted, brothers David and James Davis, originally from Lancashire, were both working as organ builders for Longman & Broderip.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁷ Examples of surviving organs include a Longman & Broderip barrel organ in the collection of the V&A, London, no. 2155 & A-1899 (see Russell (1968), 70), and an example by Longman & Lukey, RCM 808.

¹⁰⁸ *The Times*, 4 May 1786, issue 425.

¹⁰⁹ *The Times*, 26 November 1785, issue 288.

¹¹⁰ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/277/531, 418688, 25 September 1779.

¹¹¹ Old Bailey, t17960406–83.

¹¹² Jeffery (2002), 126. LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/398/383, 626088, endorsement LMA ex LGL Ms 12160/48/141.

¹¹³ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/301/377, 458600, 27 April 1782, total policy value £400.

¹¹⁴ Old Bailey, t17960406–84.

¹¹⁵ www.bios.org.uk, consulted 6 February 2008.

¹¹⁶ Wilson (2001), 183; Wickens (2008), 163–178; Sayer (1970), 645–9.

In contrast to the direct employees, makers who had their own business but who were contracted on a formal basis include skilled craftsmen such as Thomas Culliford.¹¹⁷ Culliford used a range of premises, including the workshops behind 26 Cheapside in Fountain Court, for which he paid an annual rent of some £70.¹¹⁸ In 1784 Culliford entered into a partnership with William Rolfe, John Goldsworth and Thomas Bradford and on 2 January 1786 this company entered into a contract with Longman & Broderip, agreeing neither to sell instruments to any other customers nor to undertake any instrument tuning unless under Longman & Broderip's name; and also to supply them with £5,000 worth of instruments per year. In order for them to make hundreds of instruments every year, Culliford in turn would have needed a considerable workforce who through their employment with Culliford were working indirectly for Longman & Broderip.¹¹⁹

As well as Culliford's firm, other makers were also involved in providing harpsichords and pianos. Thomas Young, who described himself as a 'harpsichord and piano-forte maker', indicated in 1796 that he 'was formerly in the employ of Messrs. Longman and Broderip'.¹²⁰ In addition, when Samuel Allen gave evidence to the Old Bailey, he testified that 'I hired myself to Messrs. Ellison and Oakley, musical instrument makers, in Fountain-court, they make instruments for Longman and Broderip'.¹²¹ However, it seems that the Old Bailey's scribe mis-spelt both names. In one of the court cases in which Longman & Broderip were involved, Thomas Allison and John Oakey are named as 'two of the principle finishers and workmen' employed by Thomas Culliford & Co. Culliford indicates in his evidence that Allison and Oakey 'had served the[m] for a Considerable time and had learnt their trade and business' from them, and complained that Longman & Broderip enticed Allison and Oakey into their service as outworkers.¹²²

¹¹⁷ For a detailed analysis of Culliford's life and work, see Nex (2004).

¹¹⁸ TNA: PRO E112/1771/5631, Longman v Culliford, 1795.

¹¹⁹ The names of some of these individuals can be found in Nex (2004), 19–20.

¹²⁰ Old Bailey, t17960406–85.

¹²¹ Old Bailey, t17960406–83.

¹²² TNA: PRO E112/1771/5631, Longman v Culliford, 1795. I am very grateful to Margaret Debenham for her assistance in untangling the complexities of this case.

Outworkers include one of the period's foremost piano designers and manufacturers, John Geib, who had two patents dated 1786 and 1792 to his name, the first of which probably coincides with a period when Geib was working for Longman & Broderip.¹²³ Thus Longman & Broderip were able to benefit from innovative designs which would help with their self-promotion and position within the market place. In 1785, a case was brought concerning the theft of some green silk. Geib testified that 'I use green silk in my business, in the inside of my instruments, for my Piano fortes.' When asked 'Do you keep an open shop?' he replied 'No, I work for Mr. Longman and Co. Cheapside.' Furthermore, he acknowledged that Longman & Broderip supplied him with the silk in question since they 'furnish[ed him] with materials for making instruments and that he was 'paid only for the workmanship'.¹²⁴ Here, therefore, we have an example of what industrial historians term 'putting out', where workers did not congregate under one roof in what we would consider a factory system, but worked instead from their own premises using materials provided by their masters.¹²⁵

In contrast, piano maker Christopher Ganer had a different relationship with Longman & Broderip. Payments were made to him regularly between 1778 and 1783, which appear in the records of Drummonds Bank where Ganer had an account.¹²⁶ What the precise arrangement was between the two parties is unknown. However, Ganer did have his own warehouse and workshop situated adjacent to his dwelling at 47 Broad Street,¹²⁷ so it is likely that he either made instruments which he then sold on to Longman & Broderip in a manner similar to Culliford, or that he was an out-worker like John Geib. Another possibility is that, since in one of his insurance policies Ganer

¹²³ Cranmer et al (1984).

¹²⁴ Old Bailey, t17850511–14. The silk used by piano makers was of an unusual width, so it was manufactured specifically for this purpose.

¹²⁵ Sharpe (1987), 144. For further information concerning Geib's London years, see Strange & Nex (2010).

¹²⁶ Drummonds Bank Customer Account Ledgers, preserved in the archives of the Royal Bank of Scotland plc: 1778 E–H, Mf DR/427/77 folios (f) 766 & 873; 1779 E–H, Mf DR/427/81 ff 767 & 780; 1780 E–H, Mf DR/427/85 f 767; 1781 E–H, Mf DR/427/89 f 830; 1782 E–H, Mf DR/427/93 f 830; 1783 E–H, Mf DR/427/97 f 830.

¹²⁷ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/287/419, 434849, 16 October 1780; Ms 11936/293/456, 445484, 17 July 1781; Ms 11936/303/561-2, 463403, 8 August 1782; and Endorsement to Policy 463403, LMA ex LGL Ms 12160/33/169, 14 October 1783.

describes himself as a ‘piano forte maker and inlayer’, he was at least to some extent a specialist worker who focussed on the decorative inlay on instruments.¹²⁸

In some cases, we simply don’t know anything further about the connections between Longman & Broderip and their suppliers beyond the fact that they existed: the precise relationship between the two parties is not clear. For example, a number of makers of violins, violas or cellos are known to have had connections with Longman & Broderip. These seem all to be individuals who worked at their own premises and sold on completed instruments for sale through Longman & Broderip. In most cases, Longman & Broderip’s stamp appears on the instrument, occasionally also with either the stamp or label of the original maker. Individuals listed in *The British Violin* include both John Carter (fl 1772–90), whose work was sold through ‘Duke, Merlin, Betts and Longman & Broderip’¹²⁹ and David Furber (1725–78). The latter’s instruments rarely display his own name but an example bearing both his label and the brand of Longman & Co survives.¹³⁰ Henry Jay (fl 1746–68) is also reputed to have made instruments for Longman & Broderip,¹³¹ as well as Lockey Hill (1756–96).¹³² Richard Duke’s instruments seem to have passed through the Longman & Lukey shop since an instrument bearing their stamp below its button with Duke’s label inside featured in the auction of musical instruments at Sotheby’s in March 1988.¹³³ Of course this could have been an instrument bought in by the firm rather than commissioned, so the relationship with Duke remains unclear. A similar situation can be seen in relation to a cello which is branded ‘Longman & Broderip London’ below its button and which is labelled ‘Made and sold by Cha^s and Sam^l Thompson St Paul’s church yard London

¹²⁸ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/303/561–2, 463403, 8 August 1782.

¹²⁹ Milnes, ed (2000), 44. Unfortunately it is difficult to untangle the sources used by the authors of this book, so the evidence supporting this assertion is not known.

¹³⁰ Milnes, ed (2000), 53.

¹³¹ von Lütgendorff (1968), v 2, 241: ‘Er arbeitete gut nach italienischen Meistern, oft für die Firma Longman & Broderip’.

¹³² Milnes, ed (2000), 85. For more information on Lockey Hill, see Nex (2010a).

¹³³ Sotheby’s, London, Auction of Musical Instruments, London, 30 March 1988, lot 258. The instrument is branded ‘Longman & Lukey, Cheapside, London’ and is labelled ‘Richard Duke, Maker, Holborn, London, Anno 1769’. I am grateful to Duncan Lockie for his assistance in searching Sotheby’s catalogues.

1784'.¹³⁴ It does seem likely in this case that this instrument passed through the shop either as new or second hand and was given its Longman & Broderip label even though strictly speaking the instrument was from another workshop. The Salisbury-based violin maker Benjamin Banks (1727–95) had what seems to have been a reciprocal arrangement with Longman & Broderip. Since he ran his own shop, but in a provincial city, it made sense for him to supply the London firm with stringed instruments while they sent other types of instrument, probably including keyboard instruments, for sale in Salisbury.¹³⁵

As well as bowed stringed instruments, the firm sold plucked instruments such as the harp and the English guittar. John Goldsworth, one of the partners with Culliford & Co mentioned above, made English guittars and could well have done so under the Longman & Broderip label while he was part of the Culliford group. His patent of 1785 (filed during the time the firm were contracted to sell instruments to Longman & Broderip) includes the addition of a small keyboard with a piano-like hammer action to the guittar (different from that patented by Clauss a year earlier).¹³⁶ Charles Pinto, as mentioned above, could well have also been involved in supplying these instruments to Longman & Broderip, although there is as yet insufficient evidence to be sure. He is named by Clauss together with Longman in a notice in *The Morning Herald* concerning infringement of his patent.¹³⁷

Turning to harps, Longman & Broderip appear to have bought these in from other makers, and when trade laws permitted, imported them from Europe.¹³⁸ As well as importing instruments, Longman & Broderip advertised in 1797 that they had 'engaged workmen regularly brought up in the Manufactories in France, and men of the most experienced abilities, who have now brought these Instruments to the greatest

¹³⁴ Sotheby's, London, Auction of Musical Instruments, London, 28 February 2006, lot 118.

¹³⁵ Milnes, ed (2000), 47.

¹³⁶ Patent no. 1491, 23 July 1785, see Woodcroft (1871), 15–16.

¹³⁷ *The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, 17 April 1784, issue 1084. Pinto's probate inventory of 1792 is at TNA:PRO PROB31/821/151 and is transcribed as Appendix 2 below.

¹³⁸ *The Times*, 16 November 1789, issue 1311.

perfection.¹³⁹ This may have been an attempt to bypass the problems relating to trading with France, due in part to the Revolutionary Wars.

It is clear from their advertisements that Longman & Broderip sold a wide range of wind and brass instruments, but it has so far proved impossible to identify any specific makers with any degree of certainty. Instruments seem to display the stamps of either Longman & Broderip or of the manufacturers themselves, and not of both parties. Archival sources have also failed to shed light on this area to date, so it is to be hoped that some information will in time be forthcoming. However, the list of instruments sold is impressive:

French Horns Ear Horns Glove Horns Hunting Horns Trumpets Kettle Drums ...
Bassoons Tenorons, or Vauxhumanes Bagpipes, Scotch or Irish German Flutes,
Ivory, Ebony, Cocoa, and Box, tipp'd or plain Hautboys tipp'd or plain Clarinets
ditto English Flutes ditto, all sizes Bird Flutes ditto Flagelets ditto Fifes of all
sorts ditto Pipes and Tabors Sticcado or Metallic Armonicas Pitch Pipes, all
sizes¹⁴⁰

Some suggestions for possible makers have been made or can be drawn from surviving documents and instruments. For example, George Miller is reported to have provided clarinets to Clementi & Co, so it is possible that he fulfilled a similar role for their predecessors.¹⁴¹ It appears that the trumpet maker William Shaw was also connected with James Longman in some way. Shaw brought a bill of complaint to James' assignees concerning the rights over a patent which James reportedly signed over to him.¹⁴² This may suggest that James owed Shaw money, perhaps for instruments, and had used the patent rights to try to placate his creditor.

Further workers who were not directly involved in making processes but were nevertheless vital to the continuity of the company include those whose names appear in various court cases – men employed as shopmen, apprentices, clerks and servants,

¹³⁹ *The Star*, 8 March 1797, issue 2670.

¹⁴⁰ LBL Ms 7896.h.4.(7), c1780, 4 sides of printed paper.

¹⁴¹ Sotheby's, London, Auction of Musical Instruments, London, 30 April 1987, lot 201. This clarinet is stamped 'Longman & Broderip, No. 26, Cheapside, London' but is said to resemble the work of George Miller. The keys are thought to be by John Hale.

¹⁴² TNA: PRO C/13/70/42, Shaw v Longman, 1806. Although this document does not specifically say that this is the William Shaw who made brass instruments, the address of Red Lion Street matches that known for the trumpet maker. See Waterhouse (1993), 372 & 393.

outlining the necessity for a whole range of different skills in the business of musical-instrument making.¹⁴³

The firm of Longman & Broderip is, therefore, a revealing case study of a multi-faceted firm, operating in different ways simultaneously, employing a wide range of individuals and existing partnerships in order to obtain instruments and other musical items for sale in their two main outlets. They show that no firm operated in isolation but that the London music trade was a web of interconnections and relationships between individuals, partnerships and larger firms, as well as with companies not directly involved in instrument manufacture. This should inform our future analysis of instrument makers, since to date most research has centred on single firms and not examined the world beyond the company under examination.

5.11: Case Study 2: The Workshop Accounts of the London Harp Firm of Erard, 1807–9

Sébastien Erard is an important figure in the history of both the piano and the harp. Born in Strasbourg in 1752, he moved to Paris in the late 1760s where he was patronised by the Duchesse de Villeroy. Initially specialising in piano manufacture and design, it was not until his move to London, probably in the early 1790s, that he gave particular attention to the harp. Although Erard is reputed to have set up his workshop at 18 Great Marlborough Street in 1792,¹⁴⁴ he first appears in the rate books at that address in 1795.¹⁴⁵ How this establishment was funded is not clear, but an advert in *The London Gazette* from 1801 may offer a clue.¹⁴⁶ Here, notification is given of the dissolution of the partnership between Erard and one Paul Deneufvelle, Patent Harp-

¹⁴³ See Nex (2011a) for more detail.

¹⁴⁴ All of the above information is from Griffiths (2001).

¹⁴⁵ WCA, Watch Rates for Marlborough Street North, Marlborough Ward, D867, Mf 724. Erard's first appearance is in June 1795, when he replaces one Isabella Douglas. The rent is listed as £60 and the tax as £1 10s. Erard's patent for improvements to the harp and pianoforte, No 2016 is dated 17 October 1794 (see Woodcroft (1871), 28), so presumably he was based at a different address or was not responsible for the rates at 18 Great Marlborough Street.

¹⁴⁶ *The London Gazette*, 24 March 1801, issue 15348.

Makers, by mutual consent. This partnership does not appear to be noted in any published source and it has not yet been possible to establish who Paul Deneufvelle was. It is conceivable though that he was a relative of Erard's earlier sponsor, Madame de Villeroy, since the Dukes and Duchesses of Villeroy were of the de Neufville family.¹⁴⁷

The harp ledgers of the London firm, dating from about 1798 to 1917, include a section of workshop accounts covering the period from February 1807 to June 1809, consisting of 2,227 entries with information relating to the purchases made from various suppliers and dealers as well as wages to a range of workers. Additional sections relate to the 'cheks' (cheques) drawn on Erard's bankers, Morland & Co, as well as the cash delivered there. These three financial sections, used in parallel with the ledgers of harp sales, can be used to gain an idea of the overall behaviour and cash flow of the firm.

Date	Description	Amount
4	Mrs Ireland for the harp and strings no 929	13 - 13 -
	Miss Wright for the harp no 885	12 - 12 -
5	To Piley for brown varnish	1 - 2 -
	Paid the Carriage for the harp no 100	1 - 11 - 10
	Paid for tools	14 - 7 1/2
	Door rates and Church rate	4 - 17 - 6
	Mrs Horns house bills and book for 4 weeks	26 - 10 -
	To Mr Forrest for buck-skin leathers	4 - 14 -
8	Mr Scheerer for the harp no 936 and strings	13 - 1 -
	To John for straw twine & sundries	6 - 6
11	To a man for turning the lathes wheel	12 -
	Mrs Horns house bills and books	11 - 17 - 1
	Paid for wages	

Figure 5.21: Detail of the first page of the workshop accounts in the Erard London Harp Ledgers, RCM 497

¹⁴⁷ Anonymous (1855), v43, 499 & 504 and Anonymous (1866), v46, 218. Madame had no children and her husband died at the Scaffold in 1794, so a direct lineage is not possible, but Paul may have been a more distant relative.

So who was responsible for keeping these accounts and why do they begin somewhat abruptly in February 1807? While no answer is spelt out in the archive, there are hints as to the reason. At the beginning of the 'Received' section, there is a note that £94 5s was received from the 'late Mr Fiesinger'. Furthermore, on 13 February, £42 3s 6d was paid for Mr Fiesinger's funeral. This suggests that these accounts began when the person responsible for taking over from Mr Fiesinger began their work. His name, as recorded in the section relating to cheques delivered to Mr Morland, was John Horn. As well as paying various suppliers and the workmen's wages, Horn allocated funds to the housekeeper for the weekly household bills. Her name was Mrs Horn, suggesting that there was a husband and wife team running the Erard setup, with John Horn in charge of the business side and the household under the watchful eye of Mrs Horn.¹⁴⁸

5.11.1: Daily Life

The accounts give us a glimpse into the daily life of the Erard firm. Details are often lacking, but some sense of patterns of behaviour can be gleaned. For example, except for a few larger bills at the beginning of the records, presumably resulting from the handover from one manager to the next, the household bills usually amounted to between £2 and £4 per week until September 1808 (see Figure 5.22). At this point, there is a dramatic change in behaviour with much larger amounts, usually between £10 and £20 but going up as high as £35.

Furthermore, a more detailed look at the accounts suggests that this change in behaviour can be placed at least a month earlier, in August, since there are a number of specific food bills which appear uniquely during this month and are listed separately from the household bills. These indicate that fish, poultry, meat, fruit (including oranges and lemons), vegetables, almonds and pastries were all consumed. Also, wine makes its first appearance in June and is listed approximately every other month from then

¹⁴⁸ Although her first name is not given in the ledgers, John Horn's wife, mother of Edward Joseph, appears in the index of baptisms of St James Piccadilly as Sarah. Edward was baptised on 23 November 1801. WCA, f929.3. Will of John Godlob Horn, TNA: PRO PROB11/1923, written 20 September 1838, proved 18 February 1840. In his will, Horn allocated small bequests to fellow workers then based at Erard's: Mr Styles, a harp finisher; James Frost the Groom and Servant to Pierre Erard; Caroline North the cook; and Sarah Cook the housemaid.

onwards.¹⁴⁹ An entry for 26 July 1808 suggests a strong possibility for the reason behind this contrast in expenditure: the coachman was paid £2 2s 6d for Mr Erard's arrival from Paris (see Figure 5.23).

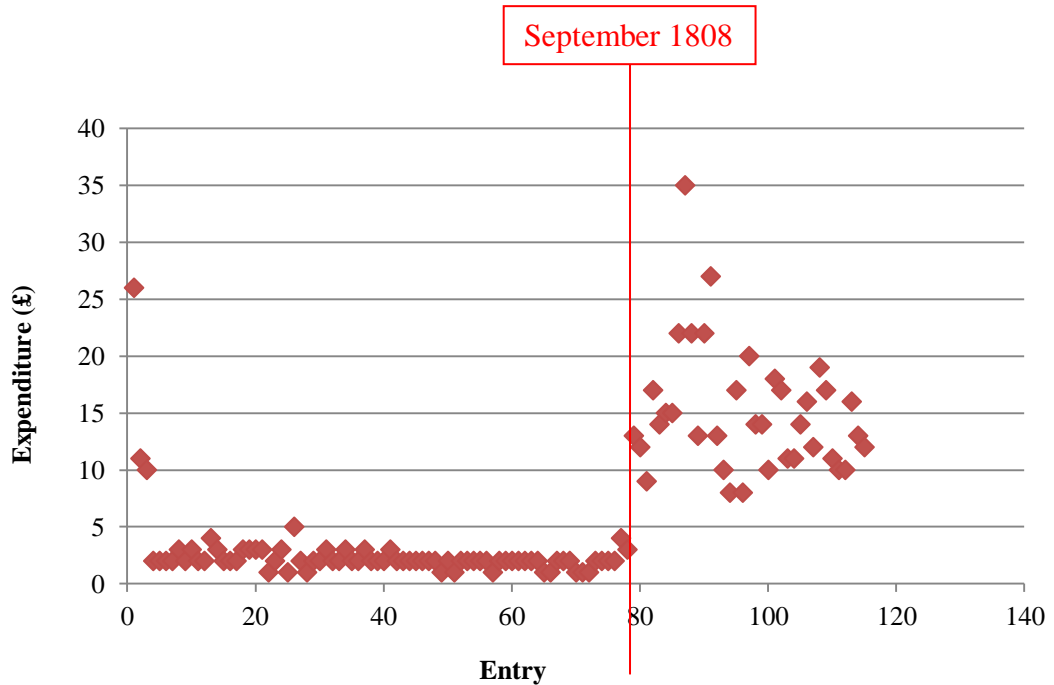


Figure 5.22: Erard accounts house bills, 1807–9 (£ only)¹⁵⁰

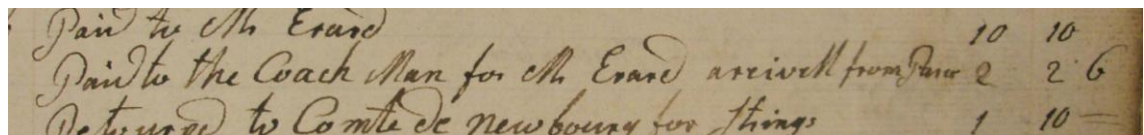


Figure 5.23: Entry for Mr Erard's arrival from Paris

In addition to the impact he had on the household expenditure, Erard's own financial needs affected the figures in these same months. Whereas his needs settle down to a relatively small amount from October, in June 1808 £1,000 of bills from Paris were settled and relatively high amounts in August (£235 19s 5d) and September (£566 18s 10d) were paid to him in London (see Figure 5.24).

¹⁴⁹ 7s 10d in June; £7 3s 2d in August; £6 7s in October; £15 5s 8d in November 1808; £16 1s 6d in January 1809; and £10 17s in March.

¹⁵⁰ In all cases where '£ only' appears in the heading, the calculations have been made using pounds, shillings and pence, but only the final amount of pounds has been included to generate the graph due to the difficulty of using a non-decimal system in analyses using modern technologies.

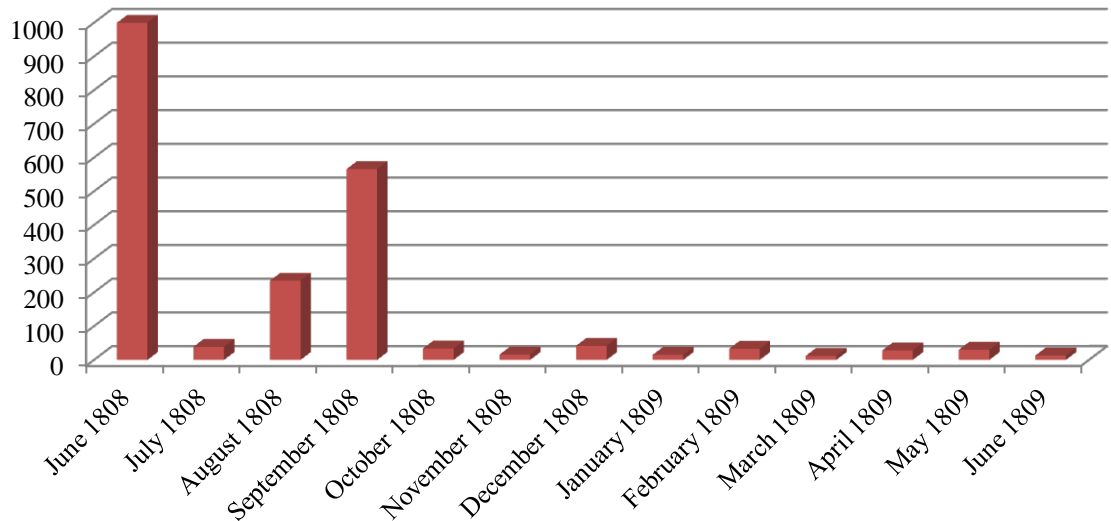


Figure 5.24: Expenditure paid to Mr Erard (£ only)

Erard's presence can be seen in other bills coming in, such as in August the only entry for washing (£3 8s 7d), perhaps indicating that there was more to do than normal so external help had to be found. Erard's clothing also makes appearances through payments to his tailor (£49 9s 6d over the two years), his hosier (£2 11s 10d) and a shoe maker (£2 15s 9d). Erard's hatter was paid 10s, giving a total expenditure on clothing of £55 16s 1d. Personal comforts were attended to, with a feather bed, large pillow and fine flock mattress costing £17 6s 6d being purchased in September 1808. This is significant in tying the domestic arrangements in with the business accounts, thus demonstrating that they should be examined together when possible.

In addition to the comforts of those residing at the establishment, Erard (or perhaps Horn) appears to have cared for the lot of others less fortunate than themselves, regularly giving alms and other donations to charity.¹⁵¹ Erard's contributed £3 to the subscription fund set up for the workers at Clementi & Co, where a fire had destroyed the premises on Tottenham Court Road,¹⁵² and also appear to have assisted the harpist Madame Krumpholtz during some kind of legal or financial crisis in August of the same year. In terms of the welfare of their own employees, each year on the Saturday closest

¹⁵¹ Alms were regularly given, such as 2s 6d to the workhouse for coals (April 1807) and £2 2s to a Mr Marstatter for burying his wife (August 1807).

¹⁵² Rowland (2011), 145.

to Bastille Day, 14 July,¹⁵³ the workers were given a ‘Beanfeast’.¹⁵⁴ This anniversary marks the storming of the Bastille, a pivotal moment in the French Revolutionary troubles.¹⁵⁵ Erard had strong connections with French royalty and aristocratic families so possibly did not choose this date for his own celebrations, but perhaps for the sake of any French workers then employed in London.

In addition to such voluntary contributions to society, Erard’s were also affected by the obligatory burden of taxes. At this time there were a number of different taxes which property owners and residents were obliged to pay, usually on a quarterly or biannual basis. The taxes listed in the accounts include those for land tax, pavement and lights, window tax, house duty, poor rate, watch rate, church rate, water rent and income tax. Adding up the amounts for each of these and averaging them over the 29 months covered by the accounts, Erard’s paid taxes amounting to £221 12s 7d per annum.

Another ongoing financial drain was that of rent, showing that they did not at this time own their premises. Erard’s paid £63 15s 10d for six months rent to Samuel Wild, amounting to £127 11s 8d per annum. Erard’s also seem to have been responsible for the upkeep of the building, paying for a glazier (March 1807, £3 10s 6d), a glazier and plumber (Jan 1809, £6 2s 6d), a bricklayer (£11 2d for 1806) and a house painter (Jan 1808, £12 8s 10d). Wisely, Erard’s chose to insure the premises, a good idea considering the number of workshops which suffered fires, paying premiums in October 1807 (£26) and February 1809 (£30 6s 6d), but there is no mention of which company they insured with and no policies have been found in Erard’s name in the Sun archives until the 1830s.¹⁵⁶

5.11.2: Workshop accounts

Some items listed in the accounts could be used in either the domestic or the workshop side. Candles, coals and charcoal could all be used in both contexts and no indication as to amounts or the intended use of these materials is given. However, many items are

¹⁵³ marking the storming of the Bastille on 14 July 1789.

¹⁵⁴ On 11 July 1807 this cost £20, on 16 July 1808 £21 19s 9d and from the ‘cheks delivered’ section which goes on beyond the two year window, £25 16s 5d on 21 July 1809 and £32 2s on 18 July 1810.

¹⁵⁵ Black & Porter, eds (1994), 271–2.

¹⁵⁶ Access to Archives: www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/

undoubtedly for the instrument making side of the establishment and the accounts shed light on the running of the workshops including items which were purchased regularly or on occasion.

The most significant ongoing expenditure in terms of the business itself was that of the wages of the workmen, amounting in 1808 to about a quarter (26%) of each month's costs. Unfortunately, there is no detail as to how many men were involved but nevertheless some useful observations can be made. The accounts show that the workmen were paid weekly, usually on a Saturday. This suggests that they were working a six-day week, as was usual at this time. Figure 5.25 shows that the wage payments were far from consistent and varied from £30 to £58, suggesting that as well as a number of longer-term employees, some individuals must have been hired on a casual, weekly or seasonal basis as the need arose.

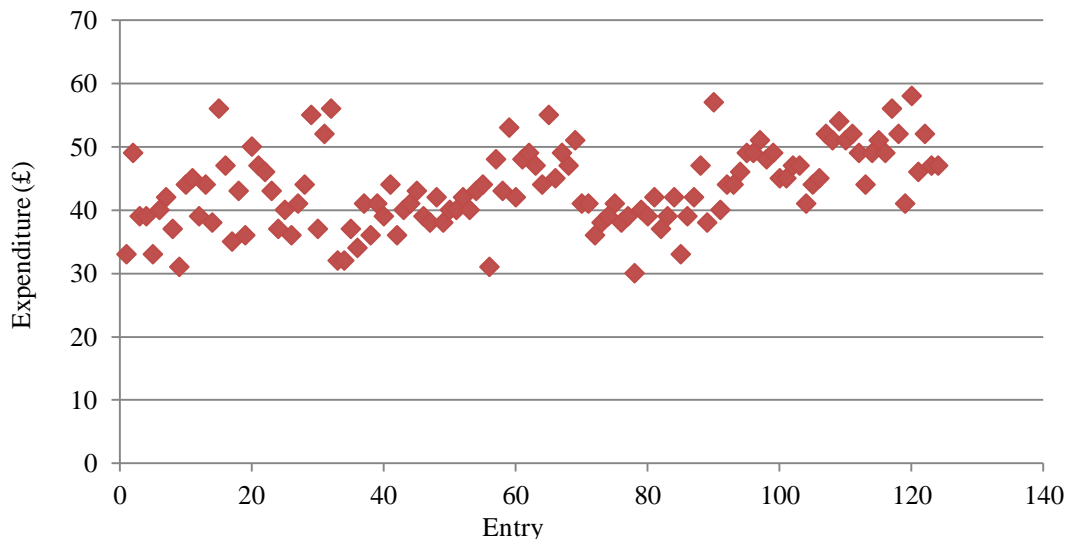


Figure 5.25: Amounts paid to Erard's workmen (£ only)

There does seem to be a slight seasonal variation in the amounts paid. Although the precise opening and closing dates of the London season were flexible, here the boundaries of February to July are used as these appear to have been the busiest months of the social calendar.

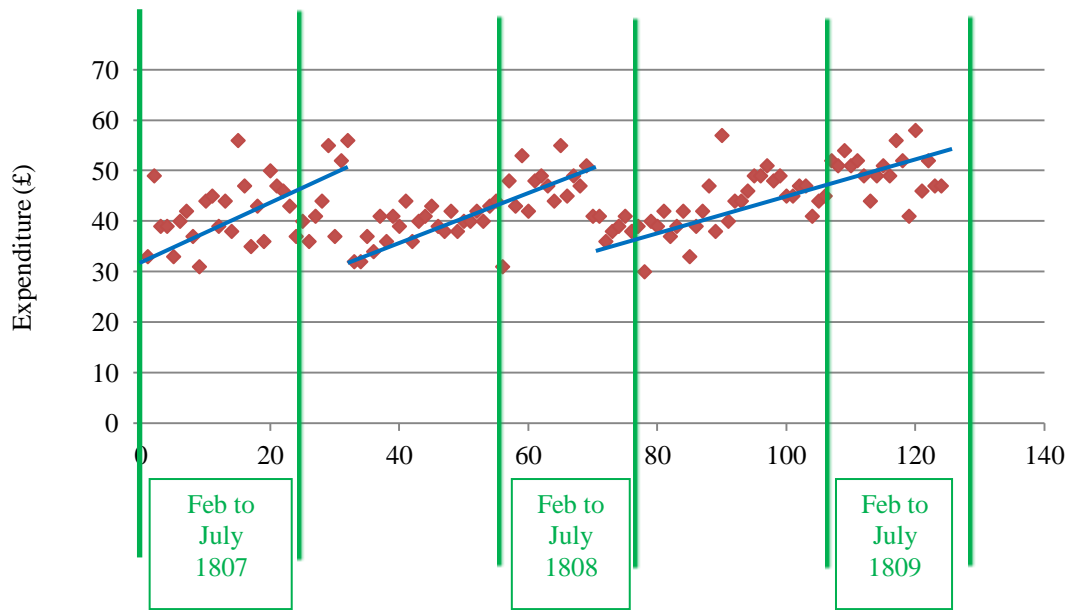


Figure 5.26: Amounts paid to Erard's workmen (£ only) with London seasons added

It can be seen from the graph of workmen's wages where the seasons have been added (Figure 5.26) that in 1808 and 1809 the amounts rise gradually and then drop towards the end of the season, only to rise steadily again over the next year.

During the period of the accounts, the average weekly bill for the workmen was about £44. It is difficult to know what each individual person was paid since we know neither the number of workers nor their skill levels. However, estimates can be made based on surviving evidence from other sources,¹⁵⁷ and working on the principle that there would have been a pyramidal structure to the workforce with more lower paid, less skilled men than higher paid, highly skilled individuals. Indeed, Ball & Sunderland refer more generally to various levels of workmen, the highest being the masters of the large firms; then the smaller independent masters who had often worked their way up; other skilled workers, many of whom worked as journeymen; apprentices; and the unskilled at the bottom.¹⁵⁸ Although this is not precise, it can at least give a possible order of

¹⁵⁷ In 1759, Joseph Massie quotes various figures for wages in London: the normal annual wage of a London labourer as £27 10s, or 10s 6d (half a guinea) a week. Manufacturers received around £40 per annum (15s 4d per week). Picard (2000), 56. According to Porter, craftsmen could earn £2 to £3 per week. Porter (1990), 217.

¹⁵⁸ Ball & Sunderland (2001), 296.

magnitude for the size of the workshop. An upper-end estimate would be a workforce numbering something between 50 and 60 people.¹⁵⁹

The letters written by Pierre Erard, who was by then managing the London end of the firm, to his uncle Sébastien in Paris, survive from 1814 onwards and add some further hints in this matter. A letter of 1 June 1815¹⁶⁰ includes the line ‘my uncle in 3 years and with 70 workers can still only finish 300 [harps]’. From other letters written during this period, the usual weekly wage bill was £90–100, more than double the average of £44 seven years earlier. This could suggest that as the wage bill doubled, so did the number of workers, giving something around 30–35 workers for the years 1807–9, suggesting that the 50–60 estimate is on the heavy side.

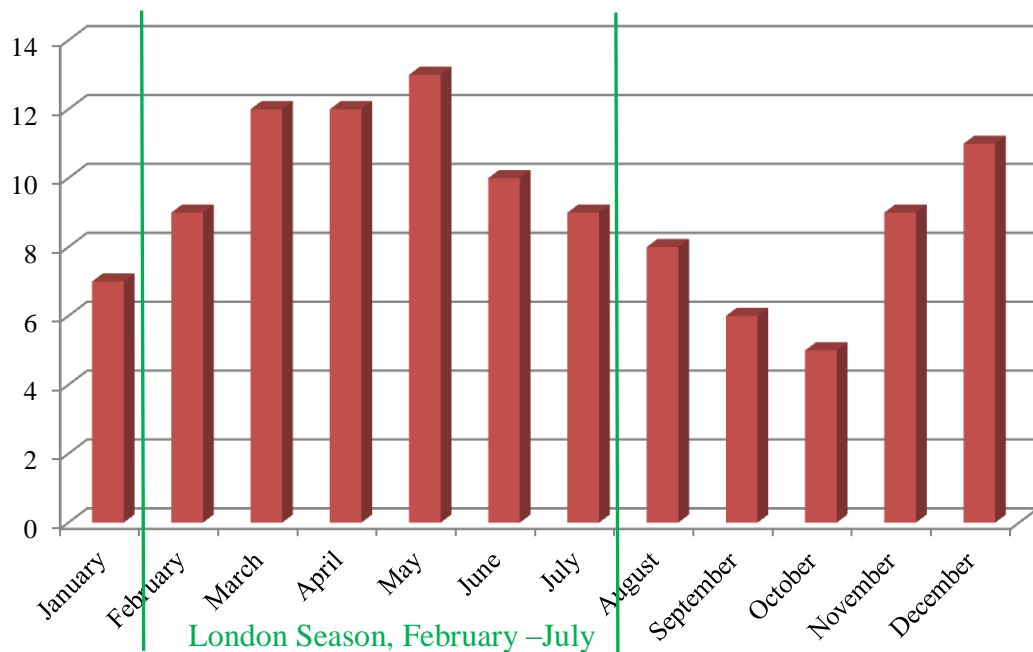


Figure 5.27: Erard harp sales by month for 1808

Another way of estimating how large the workforce was is to look at the output of the firm. From the ledgers of harp sales, it appears that in 1808, between 5 and 13 harps were entered into the book each month (see Figure 5.27). There is a definite pattern to the entries, with a peak in April and May and a dip in September and October. However, a workforce of 50 to 70 producing only one to five harps per week seems

¹⁵⁹ 44 Labourers (at 10s 6d per week: £23 per week); 14 Journeymen (at 15s 4d per week: £10 14s 8d per week); 5 Overseers (at £2 per week: £10); Total workforce of 63 costing £43 14s 8d per week.

¹⁶⁰ Letter of 1 June 1815.

unlikely, even if one takes into account the fact that harps were being repaired and other items such as strings and music stands were being supplied to customers. Based on these figures, an alternative distribution with more higher-end workers would give a workforce of around 30.¹⁶¹ Let us consider again the 1815 statistic with 70 workers producing 300 harps in 3 years, or 100 harps a year. The 1808 figures used here give 111 harps being sold during that calendar year. Of course, some of these instruments could have been made during 1807 and simply remained in stock, but it does give a yearly output very similar to that quoted by Pierre in 1815 with 70 workers. In opposition to the conclusion suggested using the wage bill, this would suggest that 30 workers is too low an estimate, with 50 to 60 being more realistic.

By way of comparison, Baldwin has found that in 1824, the Erat harp firm, one of Erard's main rivals, included 12 workbenches in their premises, 9 in the smith's shop and 3 in the wood shop, but named only nine individuals receiving wages.¹⁶² Between 1821 and 1824, they were producing between 5 and 11 instruments per month, averaging some 6.7 instruments per month over the 41 months for which there are statistics, which amounts to an average of 80 instruments per year. This seems to make the Erard 1808 and Erat 1821–4 output appear to be similar, with Erat's output slightly less than Erard's, but it is harder to say more about the workforce as we simply don't know if the information from either source is complete or what activities were undertaken in house or outsourced.

In essence, therefore, there is not quite enough evidence here for us to be able to determine without a doubt the size of Erard's workforce, but the fact that the total varied from week to week may suggest that while there were some longer term employees, such as Horn himself, others were probably employed on a weekly or seasonal basis as the need arose. Something around or below 50 workers seems to be the most likely size in 1808, given the sparse evidence which survives.

¹⁶¹ 10 Top end workers (at £2 per week: £20); 21 Journeymen (at 15s 4d per week: £16 2s); 15 workmen (at 10s 6d per week: £7 14s 10d); Total workforce of 36 workers costing £44 16s 10d per week.

¹⁶² Baldwin (2013), 154, figures from TNA: PRO C/110/99, Master Harris's exhibits, Sharp v Erat.

As well as the general workforce employed at the firm's own premises, there are separate entries for some men with specific skills. For example, Mr Tillier (Tillyer Tillyard, Tillyerd) the gilder received regular payments amounting to something between £30 and £40 each month. For an example of gilded decoration, see Figure 5.28.



Figure 5.28: Example of gilded leaves on the base of Erard Harp RCM 298

Similarly, Mr Thorp(e), the composition maker, was paid around £100 each year. Composition in this context is the plaster-like decoration which adorns many Erard harps, as shown in Figure 5.29. The upper image shows something of how this decoration is fixed to the instrument since here it is missing, while the lower image shows more of the finished effect. Composition was so named because it was made up, or composed, of a number of different materials, such as resins, glue, and linseed oil.¹⁶³ When first mixed and warm, composition is soft and can be compressed into moulds like the example shown in Figure 5.30. As it cools, the composition dries and hardens, forming shapes such as leaves, swags, and caryatids, which are then applied as decoration. Composition works particularly well on wooden surfaces, so it is often found on items such as mirrors, mantel pieces, door and window surrounds, and musical instruments. Moulding composition is a simpler and more reliable process than carving the ornaments directly into the wood itself, another reason for its popularity.

¹⁶³ National Park Service, www.nps.gov/hps/tps/briefs/brief34.htm.

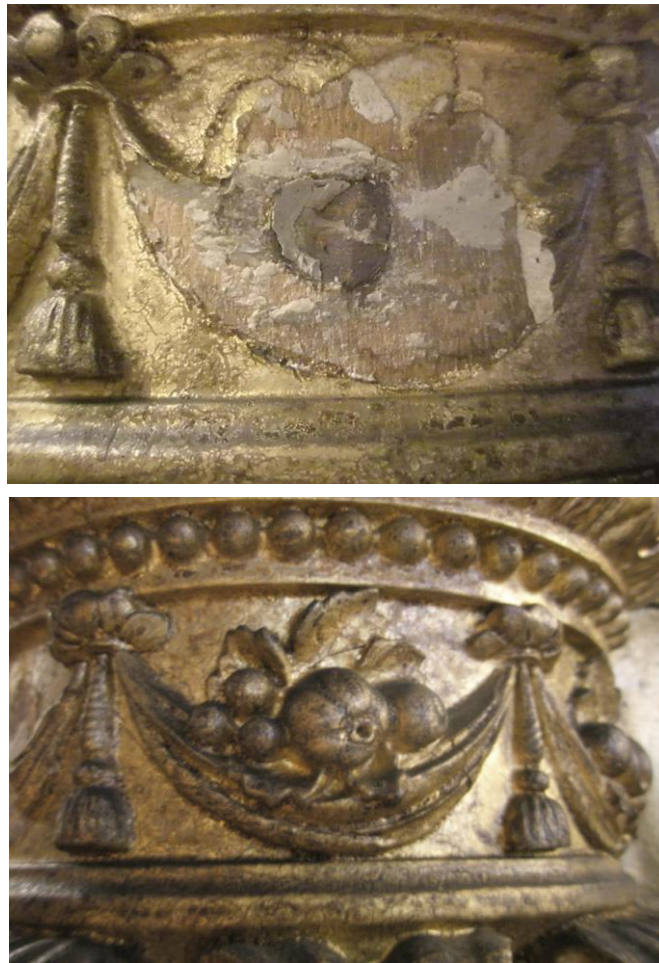


Figure 5.29: Examples of composition on Erard harp RCM 298



Figure 5.30: Composition mould, RCM ex Morley collection

Mr Adolpho was employed as an engraver, providing harp plates (see Figure 5.31) as well as a door plate for Erard's premises, while Mr Davis worked as a sawyer and Mr Prockter as a turner. Mr Freyer, who seems to have largely supplied music stands, not only had his own fees paid but a labourer was also paid for turning the lathes wheel on his behalf.

Notable by its absence in the records is the decorating of the instruments in general or of sound boards more specifically. It is possible that decorating was a task undertaken by the general workmen and therefore was not recorded separately, or perhaps it was commissioned by the purchasers after they had bought the harp from Erard's. Certainly the decorations can appear to be personalised. For example, the Erard harp in the RCM Museum of Music is painted with garlands and swags of flowers, musical instruments and gardening hand tools, perhaps for a young lady who enjoyed both music and horticulture (see Figure 5.32).¹⁶⁴



Figure 5.31: Example of engraving on Erard harp RCM 298

An examination of the sales end of the ledgers shows that prior to 1807, notes were included relating to the basic colouration and decoration of the instrument, such as 'with gilt borders and figures on the swells' or 'Black, double gilt, & burnished with Etruscan

¹⁶⁴ Harp 333, RCM 298.

borders, figures on the sounding board & swells'.¹⁶⁵ However, there is a gap in the entries after harp 997, with eight blank folios followed by a new heading, 'Harps sold from the 1 January 1807'. At this point, reflecting the beginning of the workshop accounts and the change in management discussed above, the handwriting changes and there is no longer any indication of decoration. Whether this indicates a change in working practices, or just a change in what was recorded, is not clear. Certainly Erat's practice in the 1820s was to list the basic colour schemes of the instruments, with black or rosewood being the most popular, and then to indicate if additional ornament or detail was added, such as gilding, burnishing, arabesques, or flowers on the soundboards,¹⁶⁶ so it would seem likely that Erard continued this practice as well, even if the evidence is lacking in the ledgers.



Figure 5.32: Example of soundboard painting on Erard harp RCM 298

A range of different materials were purchased by Erard's in order to make their instruments. One of the most significant of these is wood. Any consistency of

¹⁶⁵ Harps 993 and 967 respectively.

¹⁶⁶ Baldwin (2013), 154.

information included in each entry is lacking, but some details can again be useful. The types of wood purchased were: sycamore, presumably for the main body; beech, for the strip down the centre through which the strings pass (see Figure 5.30, the gilded batten which runs down the right hand side); lime for the sections which need carving; mahogany, usually for music stands; as well as ebony and deal (fir or pine). Belly boards were purchased separately from different suppliers at different prices. In February 1808, Mr Clemens charged 6s each; in March of the same year Mr Townsend charged 7s 8d each and in May 1809 Mr Kirkman was paid 12s per board. Whether this indicates a difference in quality or simply inflation due to the availability of good quality soundboard wood is not clear. It may be an indication of the extent to which the wood had been worked, with the less expensive purchases being only rough cut while boards from Kirkman could have been thickened and have undergone some degree of finishing. It is apparently not a saving related to buying in bulk since the more expensive boards are those purchased in the greatest number.

Another of the main expenses relates to varnish. Over the 2 years, a total of £130 6s 11d was paid for various types, including brown, white, brass and lacquer ('lacker'), although brown varnish is by far the most significant. Patterns of varnish purchase are not the same each week or month, but about two quarts (4 pints) are paid for every six, seven or eight days, at a cost of 5s 6d per pint.¹⁶⁷ Turpentine (used for mixing varnishes and paints) also features regularly, together with brushes and sponges.

Other important purchases include metalwork which was needed for the mechanisms of the harps (see Figure 5.33). Brass was used for some of the smaller parts such as the rotating forks (*fourchettes*) which pinched the strings to raise the pitch, while steel was used for the rods inside the pillar and neck sections. The accounts contain regular payments to various suppliers, including Sainsbury's, from where Erard's purchased steel, cast iron, iron pins, cast brass and flattened brass. Iron and steel wires are also listed, as are nails and screws. Screws were bought by the gross (twelve dozen) with prices varying, presumably depending on the size of the screws. The only entry with specific information indicates that 2-inch screws were 4s 6d per gross. One thousand nails, on the other hand, cost only 3s. Other materials include baize for lining cases,

¹⁶⁷ 1 quart = 2 UK pints.

silk, leather, and old hats, presumably for their felt. Glue was also significant, as well as isinglass which is a form of gelatine derived from fish which could be used as a glue in areas where it was important to use the minimal amount of water possible. Oil and vinegar both appear, although vinegar only once; and packing materials such as straw, mats and cords were bought.

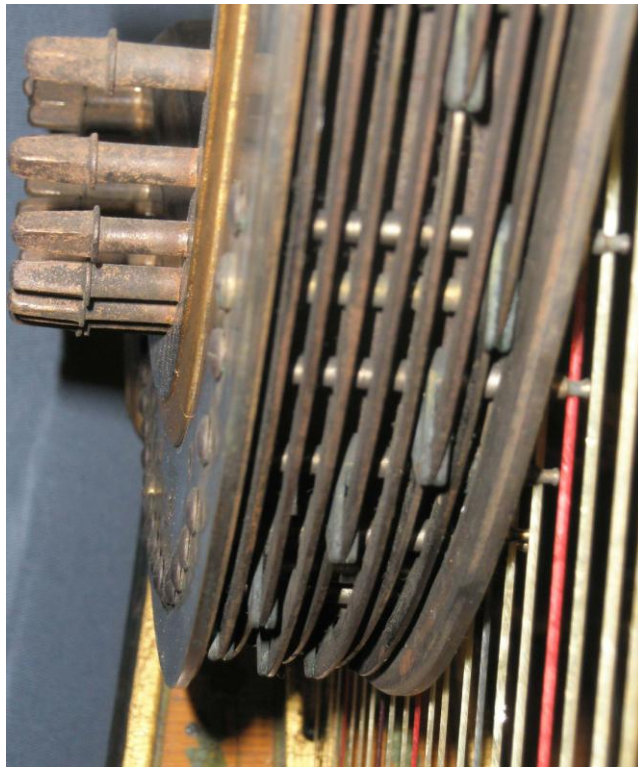


Figure 5.33: Harp action, showing metal components on Erard harp RCM 298

Further evidence of which tasks were undertaken on-site comes from entries relating to the purchase of tools. Sand paper cost Erard's 1s 3d per quire (24 sheets), with 55 quires being purchased over the 2 year period. Glass paper was bought less frequently and cost 1d more (1s 4d) per quire. Emery paper makes 4 appearances, costing the same as sand paper (1s 3d per quire). Pumice was also used as an abrasive. Woodworking tools include files, planes, saws, nippers, a screw driver, lathes, hammers, a wood chopper, and a drill and bits. Stoves, work benches, cramps and vices were purchased, as was a set of steel letters for marking brass. We are given a hint of how instruments might have been marked out since pencils and a compass are bought.

Although this demonstrates that harp manufacture in general was clearly undertaken in-house by Erard's own employees, some items were bought in ready-made. These

include metal parts needed for cases such as hinges, handles, locks and keys. The eagles which adorned the pinnacle of some instruments were also made offsite. Mr Collier was paid £2 per eagle and fourteen are listed during the two years of the accounts. The eagles were gilded and customers were charged 5gn each. This shows the level of mark-up put on by the firm, possibly around 100%, which matches with the figure suggested for Broadwood pianos already mentioned. Indeed, Baldwin has found that the inventory valuations for harps made by Erard were also increased by 100% for the lowest selling price of each type: single action instruments were valued at £20 and sold for upwards of £42, while double action instruments were worth £30 and sold for £60 or more. Extra costs would then be added for increased ornament or decoration.¹⁶⁸

Erard's seem to have used three main suppliers for their strings. As well as needing these for completed instruments, they also sold them to customers separately as replacements. Harps needed two main types of string, the normal gut examples for most of the compass with around six overwound strings for the lowest few notes. Mr Fossey and Samuel Weisbart supplied the former while Mr Duff supplied silvered strings.¹⁶⁹ It is not possible to work out how much Erard's paid for strings since numbers of strings purchased on each occasion are not given. This shows that Erard's were behaving in a manner common to many kinds of artisans in London, whereby certain items were purchased ready-made from other firms. Riello calls this 'subcontracting', and has found it to be common amongst coachmakers, shoemakers, clockmakers, porcelain producers and even such famous firms as Chippendale's furniture makers.¹⁷⁰ As Mokyr points out, 'In a world of costly and asymmetric information it often makes more sense for a firm to hire an outsider to carry out a certain activity rather than do it by itself.'¹⁷¹

As well as selling completed harps and strings, Erard's sold music stands, string boxes, tuning keys and tuning forks. These items appear in the expenses section as well as the income and harp sales sections, although there is insufficient detail to gain a full picture of the income generated per item. Instruments were also hired out at a cost of 12gn per

¹⁶⁸ Baldwin (2013), 160.

¹⁶⁹ For further information on these makers, see Nex (2011) and Nex (2012).

¹⁷⁰ Riello (2008), 243–80.

¹⁷¹ Mokyr, ed (1999), 73.

year, as well as second-hand instruments being taken in part exchange and sold on to other customers.

It has proved difficult to identify suppliers with any degree of certainty since in many cases only a surname is given. However, some individuals have been identified using such sources as newspaper adverts and trades directories, and their locations within London have been sketched. The resulting map, Figure 5.34, shows that there is a concentration of suppliers used by Erard's close to Great Marlborough Street on the south side of Oxford Street, but a sprinkling of other suppliers extends eastwards through the City of London and beyond, with one wood supplier possibly having a timber yard at Rotherhithe.

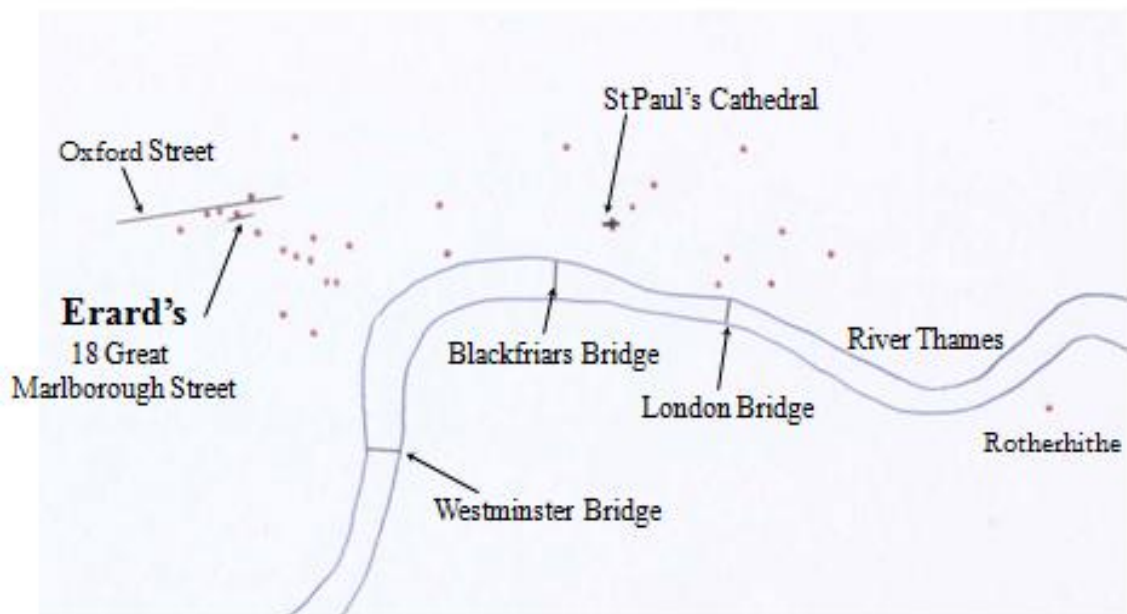


Figure 5.34: Map to show the distribution of identified suppliers used by Erard's based on Horwood's map of London, 1813

Thus it can be seen that many details shown in the ledgers are useful to those researching socio-economic sides of instrument-making businesses. In addition, some information can be gleaned concerning the overall practices of the firm and patterns of behaviour, but caution must be taken since the archive covers only a relatively short period and the information was inserted in an inconsistent manner, for the use of the firm at the time of writing and not for the researcher working two hundred years later. Further examination of this source is to be found in Chapter 7, where the overall financial picture is discussed.

5.12: Conclusions

Despite the nature of the surviving evidence, it has been possible to gain some idea of workshop practices in musical instrument-making firms. The two case studies show that firms could operate in different ways within London, some firms being very diverse in their approach and output and others focussing instead on one type of output and fewer types of relationship with their employees. Longman & Broderip were multifarious in their approaches to relationships with makers and suppliers, while Erard operated in a much more contained manner, having their own employees and a selection of suppliers for materials and component parts. It is clear that many companies, both small and large, divided skilled jobs between their waged workers and also relied on specialist workers and producers outside their own business to provide them with ready-made component parts or materials specific to instrument building – such as the silk used by piano makers which was of a different size from that produced for other trades. It makes sense for certain elements of instrument making to be outsourced since it would have been more cost effective to buy in particular skills, such as gilding, when they were required.

Other firms have shown the extent to which manufacturing and domesticity were connected, particularly in the case of small businesses, which confirms the findings in Chapter 4, where it was clear that many firms were at their heart family concerns centred on the domicile of the master. Materials and instruments appear to have permeated most of the spaces within the premises of the smaller firms and most significantly when there was no separate workshop space. When there was a workshop, this was often adjacent to or behind the living quarters, again facilitating the participation of all family members.

We have also seen that instrument makers were largely focussed in the central areas of the City of London, Westminster and the area between them. During the period under examination, there was something of a general move westwards which mirrored the expansion of London itself. The overall picture is dominated by keyboard instrument makers, comprising over half of all the named individuals and firms found to date. The smaller groups of wind, stringed and general instrument makers were all of similar sizes. These groups did behave differently to a certain extent, perhaps as a result of the

difference in financial investment necessary for constructing the different types of instrument. Musical-instrument making was an integral part of the wider business and manufacturing community operating in London and influencing the provinces and further afield. Next we turn to the financial side of these firms, examining surviving accounts and archives which give us details of how this fundamental aspect of instrument-making firms operated.

CHAPTER 6: ECONOMY AND FINANCE

6.1: Introduction

In this chapter, I use a range of different sources to build up a picture of the financial side of musical-instrument businesses. My central aims are to explore patterns of income and expenditure and to examine the funding sources used by instrument makers. I also explore what surplus income was used for, as well as the results of a lack of money or credit. After an exploration of surviving evidence concerning the wages of musical-instrument makers in general, the workshop accounts of two firms, Erard and Clauss, are used to give an idea of the financial operations of high and middle-range stringed-instrument makers.¹ I then use the records of the Sun Fire Office to gain an impression of the overall value of instrument-making businesses, looking at common elements across the board as well as contrasts between the makers of different types of instrument. This is followed by an examination of success and failure, using wills and bank accounts in contrast to bankruptcy and insolvency records. The final section is a case study of the financial dealings of Longman & Broderip, which was apparently a very successful firm for some 25 years but then suffered bankruptcy in 1795.

Firstly though, we take a brief look at the general picture of business operations in London at this time. Most firms working in London between 1760 and 1820 operated within a culture of credit, and although this is known by historians, it has not been much explored by organologists. Indeed, as Smail states, ‘merchants and manufacturers simply had to give and receive credit in order to engage in business’.² Firms purchased raw materials and component parts on credit, and in turn extended credit to their own customers. This inevitably included a degree of risk for all parties, but as long as markets and the general financial system were stable and no-one took any undue risks, the system worked. For some firms, it was necessary to take out short-term loans to enable them to pay their workers every week since cash-in-hand was in short supply.³ Problems arose when trust was lost or when the system as a whole became unstable.

¹ I am grateful to Frances Nex for checking my calculations in £, s and d.

² Smail (2003), 317.

³ King & Timmins (2001), 104, 120 & 122.

This led to short term problems for some and to insolvency, bankruptcy and lifelong difficulties for those worst affected.⁴ As will be shown, examples of these working practices and their varying results can be found among musical-instrument makers.

In any business, there are two main forms of capital: fixed and circulating. In general, the fixed capital is located in those items which are stationary and remain in constant use, such as buildings and machinery. Investment in fixed capital would usually be greatest when a company is being established. Any money placed in this side of a business would be tied down for a relatively long period of time and may well come from outside the area of the company itself. While in some industries where expensive machinery was needed, setting-up costs would have been high, in many where mechanisation was limited they could have been kept to a minimum, and may have been as little as the cost of renting a building and setting up the workshop with work benches and tools. The circulating capital is taken up by moveable assets such as raw materials and salary costs and would fluctuate according to many variables including market forces and weekly or quarterly payment structures.⁵

Bills of exchange were commonly used as a variant form of circulating currency. As coin of the realm was in short supply, bills were used as promises of payment and were handed on from one firm or individual to another until they became due for payment at the original source. This again was a form of credit which relied on trust and came with an element of risk. The level of risk which entrepreneurs were willing to take increased through the eighteenth century in parallel with the growth in the possibilities of great success, but this led to London being, amongst other things, the centre of business failure.⁶ It was common for accounts to be paid off either monthly, by the quarter, or even yearly,⁷ which could add to instability and insecurity. As McKendrick et al state, 'the prospect of profit attracts the inadequate, the over-confident and the unlucky, just as it attracts the bold, the gifted and the fortunate'.⁸ Although histories have traditionally focussed on those who were financially successful, instrument makers, as

⁴ Daunton (1995), 247.

⁵ Trevor May (1992), 37–9.

⁶ Daunton (1995), 250–2.

⁷ Beveridge et al (1965), 377 & 443.

⁸ McKendrick, Brewer & Plumb (1982), 32.

will be demonstrated in this chapter, were to be found at both extremes and at all stages along the scale from significant financial success to abject failure.

One factor that it has not been possible to measure is the extent to which family members working in other trades contributed to the household income. Stinchcombe has pointed out that in modern American farming, wives often work outside the farming business and underpin the income gained through their husband's work, but that this is rarely recognised either informally or formally. Thus, an open system, with finances coming in from elsewhere, is tacitly treated as a closed one, where all of the income and expenditure relates to a single enterprise.⁹ This same problem arises in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as there is usually no way of assessing external factors, unless they are overt such as in the case of Clauss and Levy discussed below, where Levy's main occupation as a jeweller was underpinning the instrument business. Before looking at this firm in detail, though, we consider evidence of the wages of those involved in musical-instrument manufacture, since the cost of employees was and remains one of the most significant areas of a company's expenditure.

6.2: Wages and Personal Income

It has been possible to gain only a limited idea of wages for instrument makers in the eighteenth century. Leopold Mozart suggested in 1750 that they were not amongst the highest paid, lamenting the lack of good finishing of instruments and stating that instrument makers 'work nowadays merely for their bread' and that 'people demand good work and pay but little for it'.¹⁰ At a similar date, Campbell stated that 'The Organ and Spinet-Maker[s] ... earn from a Guinea to Thirty Shillings a Week; and the Violin and Spinet-Makers, not much short of that if they are employed',¹¹ equating to a little over £70 per year. These figures give us a general idea of the situation in 1747, but Campbell is not clear whether he is referring to general workers or the heads of

⁹ Stinchcombe (1983), 7.

¹⁰ Mozart (1756), 14.

¹¹ R Campbell (1747), 325–6.

firms. It is also not certain whether we can extrapolate from this to gain an idea of the situation 20, 30 or 40 years later.

Very little primary information concerning the income of instrument makers survives, although we do know that in 1791 Longman & Broderip allowed themselves 10gn per week for their own salaries. Longman owned a three-quarter share and Broderip one quarter of the business, so the weekly income for Broderip was £2 12s 6d and for Longman £7 17s 6d.¹² This is equivalent to an annual salary of £136 10s for Broderip and £409 10s for Longman, which compares favourably with regular tradesmen who earned about £40, army officers up to about £100 and lawyers who earned about £200 per year. The more successful manufacturers and tradesmen in London earned between £200 and £600 per year.¹³ Clearly this level of income would not have been universal: Longman & Broderip were one of the largest firms with the highest turnover, so they are likely to have been exceptional. Comparing this with the £70 quoted by Campbell in 1747 shows that the latter's figure might be for the masters of smaller firms or higher paid workers at the larger companies.

Another exceptional firm was that of Broadwood's. Between 1800 and 1808, Wainwright reports that John received about £5,000 a year while his son and partner James Shudi took home between £3,500 and £6,000.¹⁴ This gives probably the highest amount earned by any instrument maker at this time, the father and son being at the head of the largest piano making firm in London. Although the surviving archives for this firm do include lists of some groups of workers, little relates to payment information during the period under examination here. However, Broadwood's archives do show us that while some workers were given wages for their time, others were employed on a piece work basis, being paid instead for each item produced. Although it is difficult to interpret the notes jotted down in 1826, and also impossible to know whether this information can be applied to the previous decades, it appears that among the waged workers, those involved with square pianos were paid less than grand piano makers, and those undertaking skilled jobs such as making sound boards (belly

¹² TNA: PRO C12/178/48, Smith v Longman, 1791.

¹³ Picard (2000), 55. Based on Joseph Massie's statistics of average family incomes, compiled in 1759.

¹⁴ Wainwright (1982), 103.

men) were paid more than case makers, who were basically carpenters. For the same period of work (which is not clear),¹⁵ square piano case makers received £1 16s; grand piano case makers £2 2s; square belly men £2 2s; and grand belly men £3.¹⁶ In contrast, ‘lifter makers’, who presumably worked on the damper lifters which form part of the piano actions, were paid 5s 8d per set, demonstrating not only division of labour and specialism, but also a piece work arrangement. Given that each named individual made five sets per week, their equivalent wage would have been £1 8s 4d per week, but it is not clear if this included an allowance for materials or if these were supplied by Broadwood’s.

We also know that piano maker Christopher Ganer received regular payments from Longman & Broderip. The records of Drummonds Bank where Ganer had an account show that in 1778 he received £290, in 1779 £410, in 1780 £369, in 1781 £211 3s, in 1782 £200 and in 1783 the sum of £200, a total of £1,680 3s over six years, made in approximately monthly payments.¹⁷ As already mentioned, what the exact relationship was between the two parties is unknown, but Ganer is likely to have worked at his own premises at 47 Broad Street where he had a warehouse and workshop.¹⁸ It is also unclear whether Ganer had a formal and exclusive contract with Longman & Broderip like Culliford & Co, or whether he was also able to sell instruments directly to his own customers. The monthly payments may also suggest a more independent process than would be the case for workers paid weekly.¹⁹ These levels of income are again

¹⁵ Some data on the page in question is listed per week while some is per month. This particular list simply has ‘wages’ at the top of the column. However, a comparison with other information included here suggests that the amounts are for their weekly wage.

¹⁶ SHC 2185/JB/15/1.

¹⁷ Drummonds Bank Customer Account Ledgers, preserved in the archives of the Royal Bank of Scotland plc: 1778 E–H, Mf DR/427/77 folios (f) 766 & 873; 1779 E–H, Mf DR/427/81 ff 767 & 780; 1780 E–H, Mf DR/427/85 f 767; 1781 E–H, Mf DR/427/89 f 830; 1782 E–H, Mf DR/427/93 f 830; 1783 E–H, Mf DR/427/97 f 830.

¹⁸ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/287/419, 434849, 16 October 1780; Ms 11936/293/456, 445484, 17 July 1781; Ms 11936/303/561–2, 463403, 8 August 1782; and Endorsement to Policy 463403, Ms 12160/33/169, 14 October 1783.

¹⁹ For example, in 1778 he received payments from ‘Longman & Co’ on January 22 (£40), March 10 (£20), May 5 (£50), June 2 (£30), July 24 (£40), August 8 (£20), August 22 (£30), Customer Account Ledger 1778 E–H; Mf DR/427/77 folio 766.

surprisingly high when compared with other wages mentioned above. It may be, however, that rather than being Ganer's personal income, this was in fact the workshop income, from which would need to be paid not only Ganer's own subsistence, but the wages of any workers he employed as well as purchasing materials and paying other expenses such as rent, taxation and building maintenance costs.

Pierre Erard gives us a hint as to his workers' wages in 1815, when he states that 300 harps were finished every year with a workforce of 70.²⁰ From references to wage bills in other letters from this period, it appears that at this time £90 to £100 was spent on wages per week, suggesting that the average wage per capita per week in June 1815 was about £1 8s. This gives an average annual salary of around £70,²¹ which compares very closely with other workers as mentioned above and matches Campbell's figure from 70 years earlier. Of course it would seem likely that Erard's foremen would receive more than the general workers hired for the week or quarter, but we have no way of seeing this level of detail from this archive.

These figures can be compared with broad average statistics calculated for workers at this time. Bowley gives a number of sources for wage statistics, but as most are for the nineteenth century, only the two which extend back into the eighteenth century have been selected: their details appear in Figure 6.1. This demonstrates that the calculation made for Erard's workmen is within the same broad area as that found for the same year, 1815, in the Place manuscript. Since both are averages based on incomplete figures, £70 and £90 can both be taken with a degree of flexibility but as they are of the same order, they seem to indicate that Erard's instrument makers on average were paid only a little less than the national average.

²⁰ Letter of 9 June 1815.

²¹ £1 8s x 52 = £72 16s. We have no indication as to how many days off Erard's workers would have had each year but holidays were certainly not commonplace among workers at this date and there would have been no pay for days not worked.

Figure 6.1: Wages quoted for London artisans in Bowley (1900) obtained from J D Tuckett (1846), *Past & Present Condition of the Labouring Population* and a Place Collection Ms

Year	Source	Weekly Wage	Annual equivalent based on 50 weeks
1777	Place	18s	£45
1780	Tuckett	16s	£40
1793	Place	22s	£55
1795	Place	25s	£62 10s
1802	Place	27s	£67 10s
1810	Tuckett	30s	£75
1810	Place	33s	£82 10s
1813	Place	36s	£90
1815	Place	36s	£90
1820	Place	36s	£90

It does, though, indicate that Longman & Broderip were well paid, as has already been suggested, and also calls into question Campbell's figures which in 1747, at 30s, contrast markedly with the 18s quoted in 1777 by Bowley. However, it may simply be indicating that Campbell was referring to the masters or heads of firms whereas Bowley's figures are for general workers. We have also seen that some workers were paid weekly, while others were paid monthly, as Ashton has found to be the normal patterns for workers in general.²² All of this leads to the general conclusion that it seems likely that the wages of musical-instrument makers and their payment patterns were comparable with those of artisans working in other trades, but that further data would be helpful in building a higher degree of certainty.

As well as the company owners and the specialist workers, many makers were also paying the wages of their household servants. When the home and workplace coincided, these individuals would have been important in the continuation of the business and general support of the establishment. As ever, there is little evidence concerning how much such workers were paid, but Figure 6.2 contains evidence found from pauper examinations in various parishes.

²² Ashton (1955), 207.

Figure 6.2: Wages for ‘yearly hired servants’ (data from www.londonlives.org)

Name	Date of work	Master	Wage	Reference
Elizabeth Green	1759	Mr Scouler, ²³ harpsichord maker	£3 p/a, food & lodging	1767, St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 1725–93, London Lives ref: smdsset_69_54355
William Wells	1759	Mr Maburn, ²⁴ harpsichord maker	£6 p/a, food & lodging	1776, St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 1725–93, London Lives ref: smdsset_30_50487
Jane Mundin	1773	Mr Bacchus, ²⁵ piano forte maker	£6 p/a	1789, St Clement Danes Parish, Pauper Settlement, Vagrancy and Bastardy Exams, London Lives ref: WCCDEP358020168
William Bailey jnr	1776	William Bailey snr, ²⁶ musical- instrument maker	£20 p/a food & lodging	1777, St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 1725–93, London Lives ref: smdsset_34_50827

This shows just how poorly paid general servants were, reflecting the low level of skill required and status of the work involved. However, the inclusion of food and lodgings would raise the standard of living above the financial remuneration alone, taking the real wage to a much higher level. It also demonstrates just how reliant servants were on the good will of their employers and perhaps shows why a reliable servant could be left significant amounts in the will of their employer.

6.3: Erard Workshop Accounts: the Financial Picture

We can glean an idea of the ongoing workshop expenses of a medium-sized specialist firm through the surviving workshop accounts of the London branch of Erard’s harp manufactory. On a daily basis, the London and Paris ends appear to have operated largely independently, but finances were transferred across the channel in times of difficulty, with one branch bailing the other out from time to time. Although, as with all of the sources used, the data is incomplete or at best lacks useful detail, it can be used to gain some idea of the nature of ongoing financial outlay and the structure of financial behaviour in 1807–9. Firstly, an overview of the picture shown by the accounts is

²³ Presumably James Scouler the elder. See Boalch (1995), 172.

²⁴ Presumably Joseph Mahoon. See Boalch (1995), 124.

²⁵ Presumably Americus Backers. See Boalch (1995), 9.

²⁶ A William Bailey, flute maker, was the victim of a burglary in 1784. See Old Bailey, t17840421-23.

constructed, followed by examinations of various levels of detail, as the accounts permit.

Over the two years, the monthly expenditure doesn't appear to form any consistent or repeating pattern. In part, this is skewed by Erard's arrival from Paris in July 1808 which, as described in Chapter 5, incurred additional costs of various kinds. However by overlapping the data such that each month of every year appears together, and removing the extra cost in July 1808, some pattern is hinted at. Figure 6.3 shows that in general, expenditure seems to peak in April and again in the three months from August to October. This may show that the making of instruments was focussed in the period after the season when fewer customers needed repairs to or supplies for their harps since they were away from London and workers could therefore be focussed on replenishing the stock of completed instruments ready for sale during the next season.

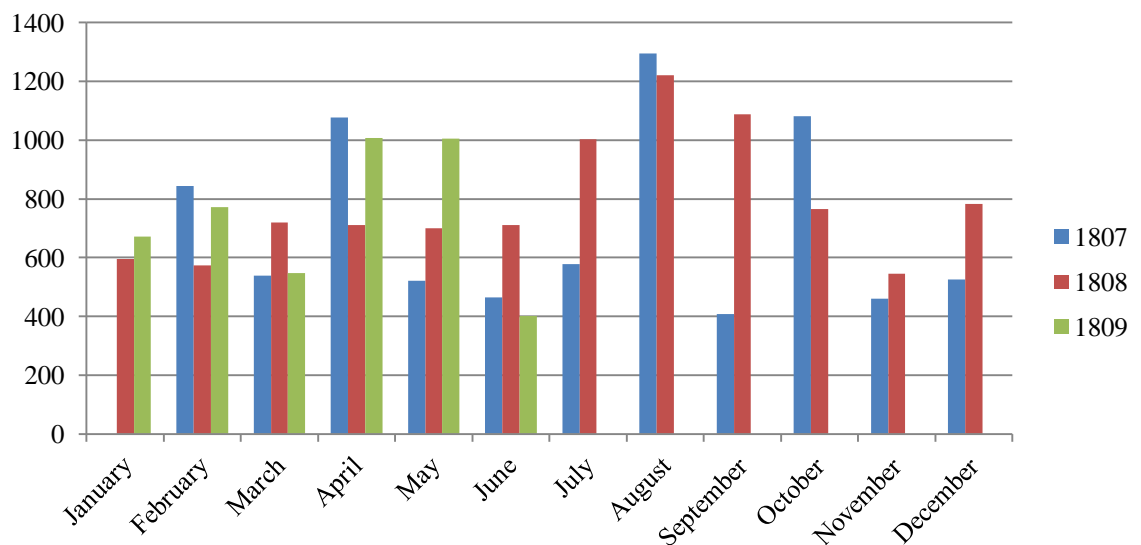


Figure 6.3: Erard's monthly expenditure by year for 1807, 1808 and 1809

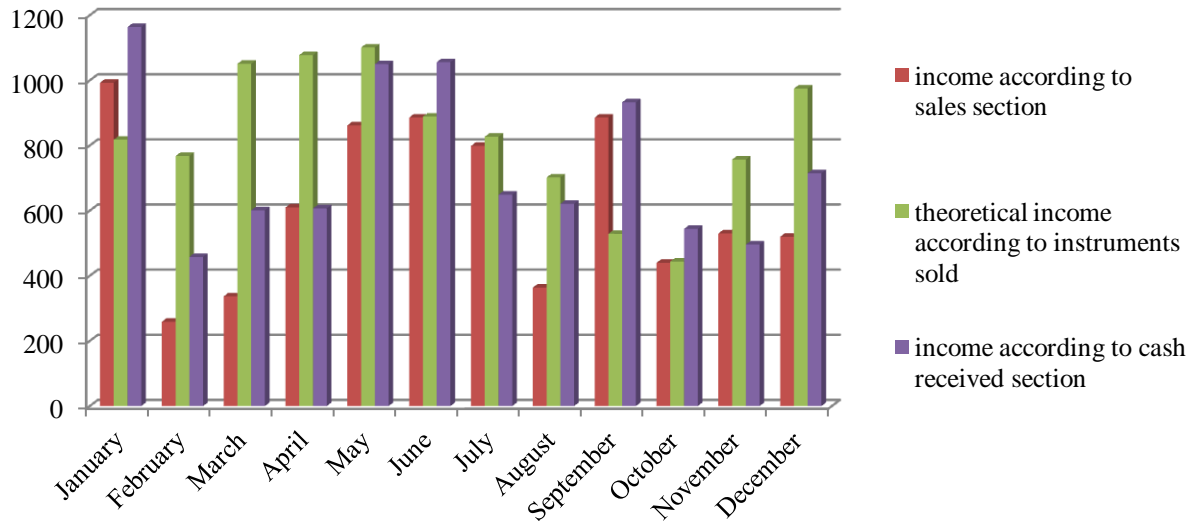


Figure 6.4: Erard's income data for 1808

A comparison with the income gleaned over the period may prove helpful in establishing whether there were indeed seasonal fluctuations in activity. However, there are three ways of extracting income detail from the ledgers. Firstly, the sales section can be used to determine theoretical income based on when instruments were 'purchased' by customers, often on credit. Secondly, this same section offers information on when payment was actually received for these purchases, which could be as much as a year later. Thirdly, and perhaps most reliably, the section of accounts listed under 'Received' gives another set of data. Although these three data sets give different overall results, a general picture of a peak in around May/June and another around December/January can be seen (Figure 6.4). 21 June (Midsummer) and 25 December (Christmas) were two of the quarter days which regulated the financial and employment year, so it may be that customers settled their accounts around these times. Alternatively, the July peak may be a result of people settling their bills before they left London for the country. It is also significant to note that January and September see peaks where the actual income as seen through the 'income according to sales' and 'income according to cash received' exceed the theoretical income figures. This means that customers who had bought harps on credit were settling their bills at these times. On the other hand, February to May and November to December are the months where the theoretical income significantly exceeds the actual income, indicating the desire of customers to acquire instruments on credit during these periods.

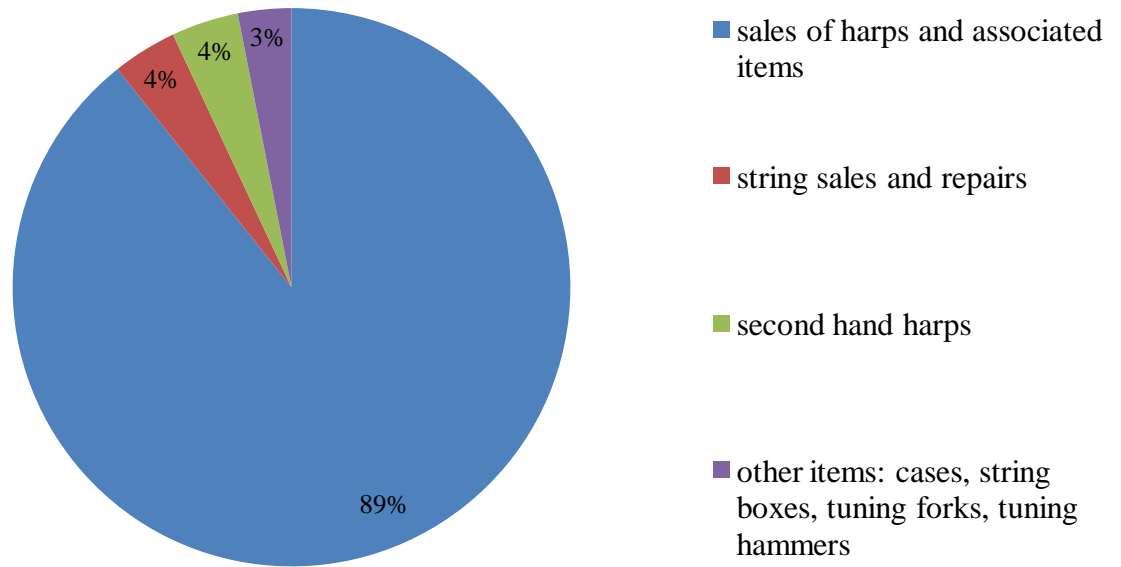


Figure 6.5: Income categories for the Erard firm in 1808

As can be seen in Figure 6.5, the income section also demonstrates that while sales of associated items were part of the firm’s business, harp sales formed almost 90% of their income in 1808. This is significant in underlying the extent to which Erard’s relied on instrument sales and had very little backup in their daily business to which they could turn in times of low sales.

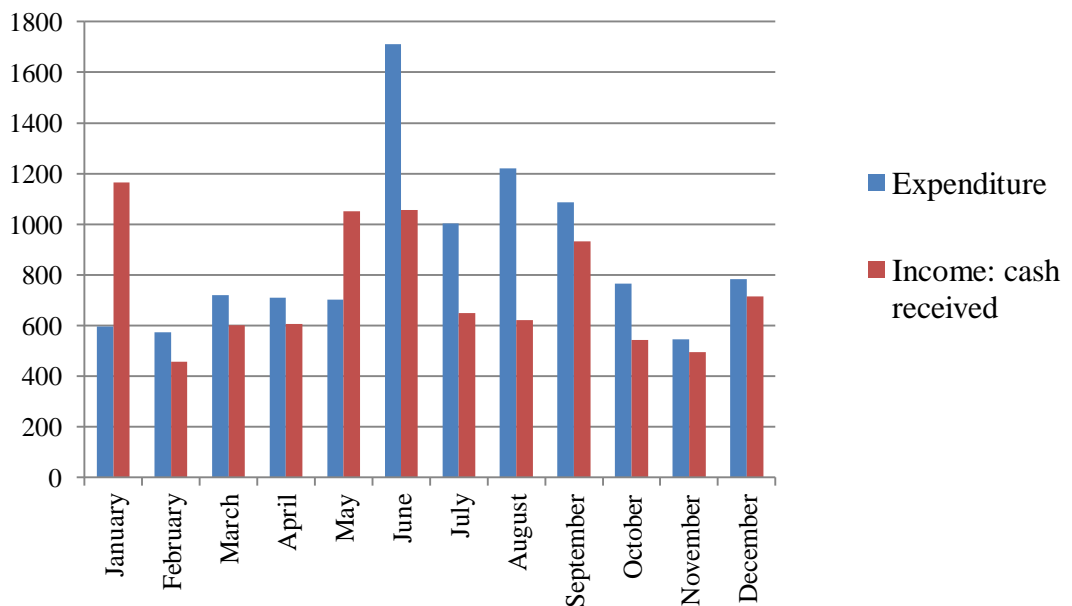


Figure 6.6: Erard’s expenditure vs income (cash received) for 1808

A comparison of income and expenditure for 1808 reveals that the data in this archive shows an overall loss for the year. Taking the income data from the ‘Cash Received’ section and the expenditure from the workshop accounts, it appears that over the year, the expenditure amounted to £10,421 9s 1d, while the income was only £8,901 11s 2d, making a total loss of £1,519 17s 11d. If one removes the £1,000 of bills paid for Mr Erard in Paris in June 1808, this loss is reduced by two thirds to £519. Since we do not have the same data for other complete years, it is not possible to ascertain for how long this pattern continued, but presumably the firm could not have operated at a loss for long, or it would have folded.

Some idea of how Pierre managed the London accounts and juggled loans and income between various sources in order to stay afloat can be seen in the surviving letters between the London and Paris branches. The collateral of a collection of important paintings seems to have been a useful underpinning to the firm, while a good ‘credit rating’ gave lenders confidence that they would indeed be repaid in due course. For example in September 1814, Pierre wrote to his uncle:

This morning I saw your close friend Mr Breguet who gave me £150, which along with the £200 from Mr Dumergue will help us to get through the week: the pay for the workers will be healthy [on] Saturday because we are getting rid of some of them.²⁷

However, in April the following year he was not so positive, stating that:

We are doing very poorly at the moment. I have not been able to pay the rent of £150. I could not send anything to Mr Lepard, who has received only £195 on the bill for £400 that came due 24 months ago. I requested a month's delay from Phillips for the £192 that was due on the 4th of this month. Yesterday I could not pay my debt of £98 that I had taken in order to pay Bourdelain.

So today we are behind on about £500 and as the coming months are very busy I would be very uncomfortable if the important deadlines were not to be reserved for the Fauntleroy's, whose kindness is my only hope.²⁸

John Bourdelain is recorded as a merchant based at 26 Jewry Street, Aldgate in 1822 and was still in London in 1839.²⁹ The Fauntleroy's (or Fauntelroy's) were a family of bankers, Henry taking over from his father in 1807. This shows that Erard was

²⁷ Letter of 22 September 1814.

²⁸ Letter of 7 and 12 April 1815.

²⁹ Will of Julie Krumpholtz, TNA: PRO PROB11/1553, written 16 February 1798, proved 10 March 1814.

borrowing from established banks as well as individual merchants who were willing to invest their surplus funds in entrepreneurial firms.

Erard also demonstrates the problems faced by many merchants, that while the firm may be solvent on paper, having cash in hand with which to pay pressing debts was a different matter:

you are in the black to the order of £35,000. But such is the nature of the objects that make up your assets that for the moment there are no reserves, only sums to receive from good debtors and the harps that if we are lucky can be sold for cash.³⁰

It was of fundamental importance to Erard's and others like them that their creditors believed that they would be repaid, otherwise insolvency or bankruptcy could follow. The situation was neither unique to instrument makers, nor to one level of society, but reflects a general stagnation from top to bottom. As Erard reported,

Nothing is more difficult than to obtain payments at this time in England. The people of the high society with whom you generally deal all give you the same excuse, that their tax collectors do not pay them and that they must wait.³¹

The overall picture seems to have improved significantly for Pierre when, in 1819, he was able to sell a number of his uncle's collection of paintings for £7,000, from which they were obliged to pay £525 in commission, leaving them with £6,475 in hand.³² This sale did not include the 'Rubens and its sketch', which were presumably very valuable, so the company gained significant cash funds whilst retaining some of their fall-back investment for future needs. Thus, from these Erard archives we can see patterns of expenditure for a business largely focussed on the construction of one type of instrument, funded in the short and medium terms by loans from merchants and banks and with valuable assets behind them as guarantees for the lenders and potential financial back-up for the firm itself.

³⁰ Letter of 10 October 1815.

³¹ Letter of 10 February 1817.

³² Letter of 21 January 1819.

6.4: Clauss Workshop Accounts

A second set of accounts adds to the picture offered by Erard's in showing that a significantly smaller specialist concern behaved in much the same ways around 20 years earlier. In 1786, English guitar maker Christian Clauss took his business partner Joseph Levy, a goldsmith and jeweller, to court.³³ In July 1783, they had agreed to be 'partners and joint Traders in the Trade Art and Mystery of making Forte Piano Guittars and other Musical Instruments and in buying selling and bartering all sorts of Musical Instruments' for the term of 14 years. Since Clauss had no money, Levy's main contribution was to be financial, initially investing £300 in the business. The partnership therefore seems to have been divided into instrument making on the part of Clauss with financial backing from Levy, an example of external funding being used to provide the fixed capital needed for this firm to be established.

Clauss's grievance was based on his accusation that Levy did not invest £300 into the firm as he had promised and that as a result Clauss was 'obliged from necessity during such time to work as a common Journeyman'. This is important in that it tells us that Clauss had not anticipated that he himself would be the person undertaking the manual work but that he had intended to employ others while remaining as the master in control of the workshop, perhaps undertaking the 'finishing'. The case documents reveal a general picture of each side accusing the other of not fulfilling their obligations and obtaining unfair gains as a result. Notably, Levy also mentions that about £150 of goods was sent to India, a fact which is not apparent from the accounts themselves, indicating the international nature of the trade in English guittars. Following Clauss's complaint and Levy's response, the financial transactions of the firm are given in some detail. There are 1890 expenditure entries and 425 income entries which have been transcribed and are included in Appendix 3.

We turn first to the distribution of income gained from different outputs and services. The accounts reveal that the firm focussed largely on plucked stringed instruments (mostly English guittars) and pianos. The income distribution in broad terms can be seen in Figure 6.7. This demonstrates that Clauss undertook more work in areas other

³³ TNA: PRO C12/154/35, Clauss v Levy, 1786.

than direct sales than did the Erard firm, but that the majority of their income nevertheless came from sales. It is impossible to go to any greater level of detail since entries do not permit an exclusive list of income categories to be made. For example, strings appear as a separate category at times, but are also included in entries relating to guittar sales, repairs and additions to instruments, so they can't form a distinct category.

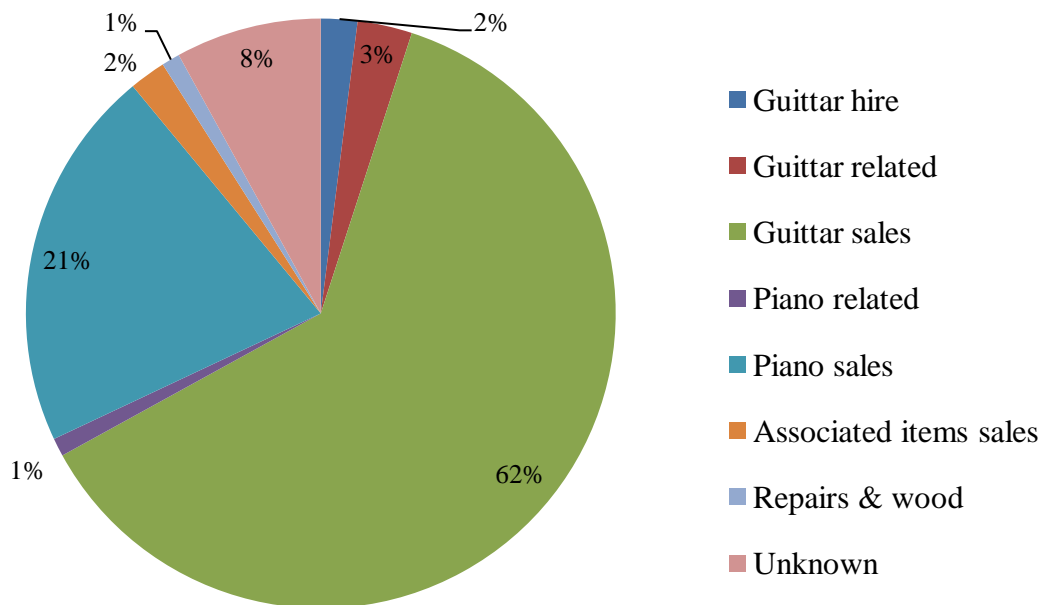


Figure 6.7: Distribution of income for Clauss & Levy between 16 July 1783 and 28 June 1786 (£ only)

However, an idea of the broad distribution of activities does become apparent, as can be seen in Figure 6.7. Decisions had to be made as to how to categorise each entry. Although some entries are very clear and require no consideration (such as ‘Of Sr Robt Smith for a Piano Forte Guittar’ in ‘Guittar sales’), others were placed in the category where the heaviest financial weighting would be. For example, an entry which includes ‘Of De Pappenheim to a Piano Forte Guittar and Strings’ was placed in the ‘Guittar sales’ category.

‘Associated items’ includes the sale of strings, music, music stands, tuning forks, cases and ‘sundries’. ‘Guittar related’ refers to machines being added, the patent box being fitted, stringing and tuning, and new fingerboards being added. ‘Guittar sales’ includes all entries where a guittar was sold: some of these entries also include strings, cases and music, but it is not possible to separate this information further. ‘Piano related’ consists of entries relating to the exchange and hire of pianos, while ‘Piano sales’ is almost

exclusively just that, except for one entry which includes ‘sundries’. ‘Repairs’ are largely to guittars, but one mandolin and one violin are mentioned, while ‘Wood’ covers the sales of various amounts of wood.

Therefore, accepting that this information can only be used to gain a general impression, the picture from the data is one with an emphasis on the sale of guittars (62%, £993) and pianos (21%, £334). However, there is an element of doubt as to whether the entries for ‘Piano forte’ sales actually refer to pianos, or whether they are missing the word ‘Guittar’ at the end. Some entries do certainly refer to pianos, but when a piano forte guittar sale is for 7gn and an adjacent entry for a ‘Piano forte’ is for the same amount, one asks whether these are not actually for the same type of instrument. Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing. The relatively large ‘unknown’ section (£133) mostly relates to money coming in ‘on account’, that is customers settling their outstanding bills, but there is usually no detail concerning the nature of the bill. However, it does at least tell us that Clauss and Levy were dealing in both cash and credit.

The overall picture the monthly income of the firm over the period in question can be seen in Figure 6.8.

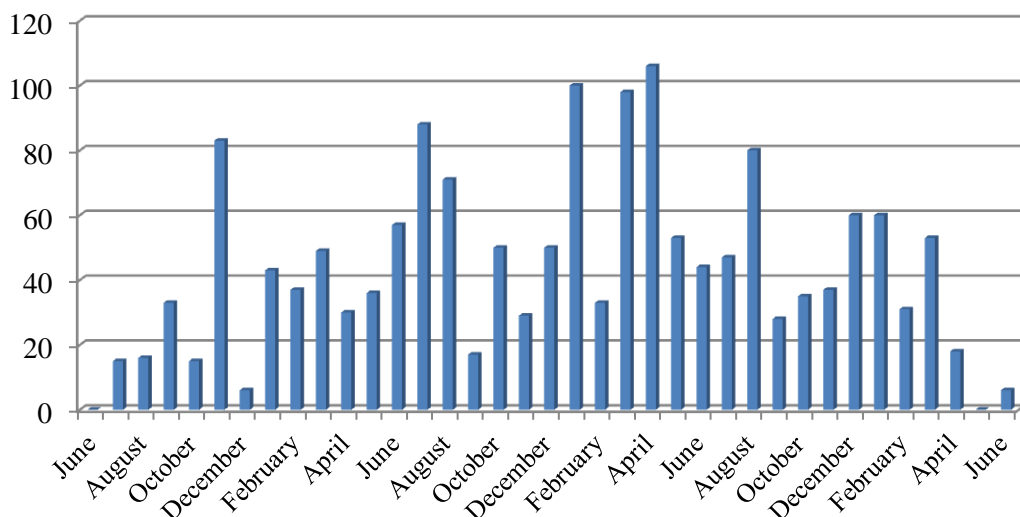


Figure 6.8: Clauss's monthly income from June 1783 to June 1786 (£ only)

Very little structure can be seen in this graph, other than an overall increase with monthly variations from June 1783 until around April 1785 followed by a similar decline until the end of the accounts. In order to see better if there is a yearly cycle, the four calendar years have been superimposed in Figure 6.9.

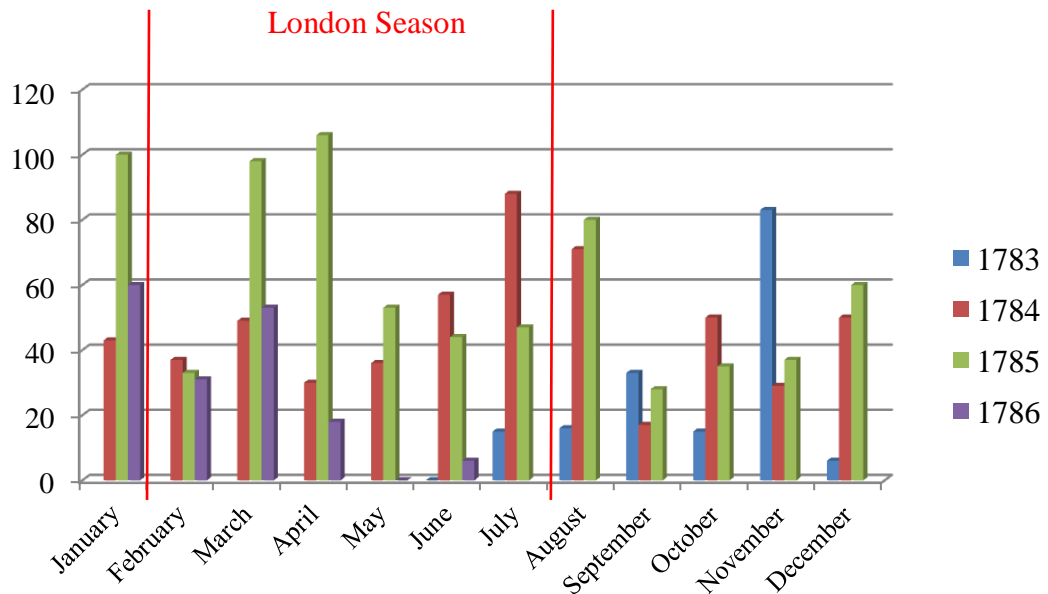


Figure 6.9: Clauss's monthly income with the years 1783, 1784, 1785 and 1786 superimposed (£ only)

Again, there is no clear, obvious pattern: months which saw a high income in one year seem to have seen a comparatively low income in another year. Even when considering the London season (taken here to be February to July), we see no real distinction between 'in season' and 'out of season', with overall income totals of £806 and £820 respectively. These figures are surprising in being not only very similar, but also the slightly higher number is for the 'out of season' period, when one might have expected a lower income.

Having examined the overall picture, we can now see whether any of the particularly high or low months have significant changes in activity. The months of November 1783, July 1784 and January, March and April 1785, which saw the highest levels of income, contain no particular different types of activity, but simply reflect an increase in the number of sales. In July 1784, Corri paid off his firm's bill for £30, which increased that month's figures. It is, however, clear to see that sales grew gradually from when

the accounts begin, to making reasonable amounts in 1784 and 1785, and then tailed off in 1786 when problems began to arise within the company.

So what do these findings reveal? Perhaps the clearest thing is the lack of seasonal variation in income, which suggests that English guittars were not reliant on the season, implying that they were of less significance for those who departed from London and of more significance for those who remained in the capital all year than is the case for Erard harps. This matches with the relatively high proportion of customers who were not 'of title'. As already mentioned, the English guittar was more of a universal instrument than the harp, possibly in part due to the relative costs. While Erard harps cost in the region of £78 (Mr Elouis, harp 991, sold 1807), Clauss's piano forte guittars seem to have cost 7gn to normal customers. In addition, and partly as a result, Erard's saw an income of almost £9,000 in 1808, compared to Clauss & Levy's £557 in 1784 and £721 in 1785, showing that the two firms were operating at completely different levels.

The larger section of the accounts relates to expenditure. As with the income section, the main problem for analysis is that of creating mutually exclusive categories. This is possible to a certain extent as some expenditure, such as paying the journeyman, is always listed separately, but other items purchased appear in any number of different combinations so are impossible to separate with any degree of accuracy. Analysis has therefore been confined to those areas where distinction is possible. Firstly, an overall picture of the monthly pattern can be obtained, as shown in Figure 6.10. The pattern which emerges is one of higher amounts in late 1783, when the company was being established, followed by a dip in early 1784 before a fluctuating time remaining within about £40 to £60 for most months until a decline from mid 1785 until the accounts end. October 1784 was high due mainly to 3 large bills: £25 to Mr Partis the lawyer; £27 for wood; and £23 for rent. From 1785, Clauss & Levy paid 15gn per quarter for rent, so presumably the £23 shows that they had got into arrears with this payment. June 1785, which saw another relatively high expenditure, was also boosted by two large payments, both to Mr Partis amounting to £41 in total. It is probable that all of the payments made to Mr Partis relate to the infringement on the patent as described by Levy in his defence.

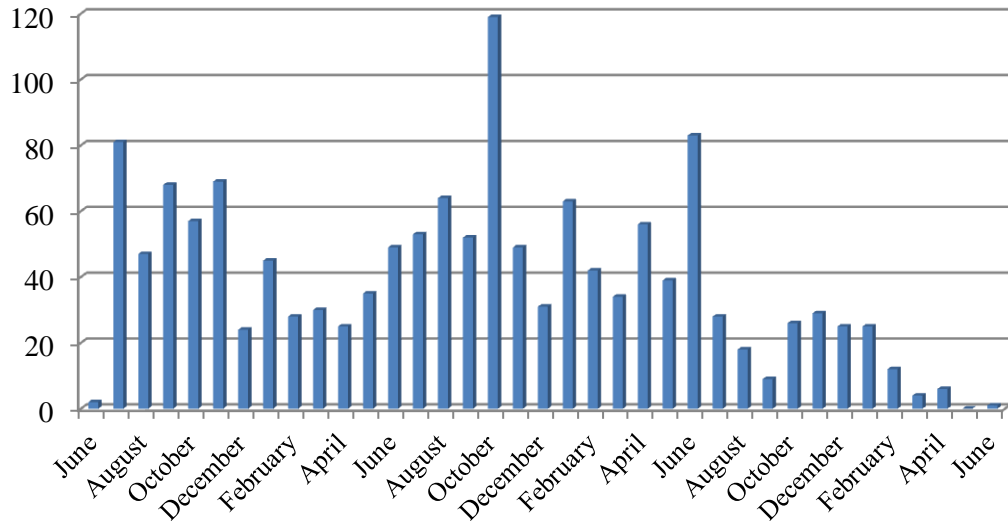


Figure 6.10: Claus's monthly expenditure from June 1783 to June 1786 (£ only)

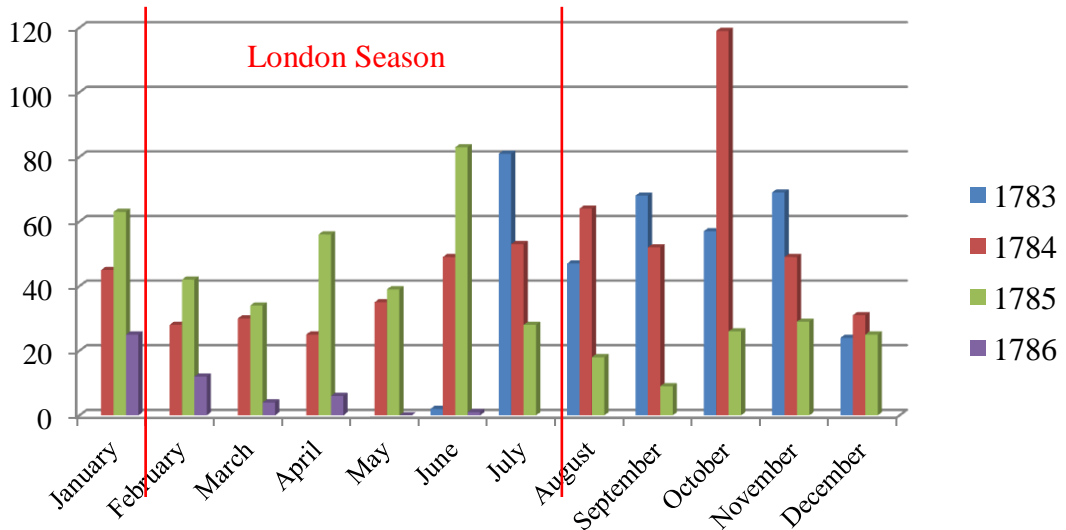


Figure 6.11: Claus's monthly expenditure with the years 1783, 1784, 1785 and 1786 superimposed (£ only)

Something more of a pattern can be seen when superimposing the four years. Expenditure was always low in December and after a rise in January, it then descended in both February and March before rising again towards the end of the London season, when it remained fairly consistent in 1783 and 1784, but dropped right off in 1785. This pattern may suggest that more materials were being bought towards the end of the season and in the 'out of season' months in order to replenish the stock of instruments ready for sale in the spring. Thus, while the income as explored above was not

influenced by the season, the expenditure appears to have some correlation with the busier months in London.

The accounts also show that Clauss & Levy were among the group of instrument makers, including Longman & Broderip, who believed that advertising was important. Other makers, such as Erard, very rarely utilised the public press, instead apparently relying on word of mouth. The pattern of expenditure on advertising begins at a moderate level, with an increase from November 1783. A typical advert from this month is reproduced as Figure 6.12.³⁴ This shows that these adverts can be seen as part of the legal wrangling over the patent rights which had been, according to Clauss, infringed by Longman & Broderip. Presumably, Clauss & Levy felt that making their case well known in the public domain would help their cause and prevent potential customers from buying instruments from other firms.

BY AUTHORITY.

PIANO FORTE GUITTARS IMPROVED.

CHRIſTIAN CLAUSſ, of Frith-ſtreet, Solu, begs leave to inform the Nobility, Gentry, and the Public, that he has lately obtained his Majesty's Royal Letters Patent, for his improvement in the Guittar, and hopes for the honor of their commands. He has now ready for ſale, a number of Piano Forte Guittars, which, independent of the advantages they poſſeſs under the Patent, will, he ventures to aſſert, for facility of performance, richneſs of tone, variety of ſtops, and in every other reſpect be found greatly ſuperior to any that can be produced againſt them.

The laborious, oppreſſive, and very expenſive oppoſition made to Mr. Clauff's Patent, is, he preſumes, ſome proof that even his adverſaries think highly of his improvements. But he claims no reputation on this account. The favorable ſentiments of ſuch men can confer no real applauſe. It is to his Customers and the Public he makes his appeal; they are his patrons, and will be his beſt judges. The bold and daring aſſertions of his oppoſers carry no conviction. However, he adviſes them to confine themſelves to thoſe. Should they venture to impoſe their ſpurious and imperfect imitations for his genuine inventions, he will endeavour to convince them that his Patent is not a pretended one, and flatters himſelf the ſame juſtice that gave him that Patent, will protect him in the enjoyment of it.

Figure 6.12: Example of a notice placed in a London newspaper (*The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, 27 November 1783, issue 3962)

This advert is also typical in only mentioning the name of Clauss: in all of the notices found in the newspapers, only Clauss's name is mentioned, sometimes with the suffix '& Co'. Levy does, however, make an appearance in trades directories, such as *Baileys*

³⁴ *The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, 27 November 1783, issue 962. The same advert also appears in the same publication on 29 November 1783, issue 964 and 6 December 1783, issue 970.

British Directory of 1785, where ‘Clauss & Levy’ are described as ‘patent musical instrument makers’.³⁵ As can be seen in Figure 6.13, from March 1785, the amount spent on advertising remained fairly constant, with slight drops in the monthly level in July 1784 and August 1785. April 1785 saw a much higher amount than any other month, due to ‘Two Advertisements in an Irish Paper’ costing £1 10s, and ‘For Translating an Advertisement into Dutch and two Advertisements inserting’ for £2 13s 6d. This direct advertising in foreign newspapers is significant both in that it is the only case of this practice found to date, and in showing Clauss & Levy’s international aspirations. There is also an increase in the number of notices placed in London papers in April 1785, the highest amount, £1 2s 6d, being for advertisements in ‘the Gazette’. On consulting *The London Gazette*,³⁶ one finds adverts describing the instrument as well as promoting the patent and indicating that instruments ordered ‘in Great Britain and Ireland, addressed as above, are executed with all possible Punctuality and Dispatch’. A final clause is also helpful in indicating that Clauss anticipated that the instruments should last for about 20 years. Whether this is Clauss imagining a length of time for promotional purposes or whether this is his real intention, it does demonstrate that makers gave their instruments a shelf life beyond which they did not think the instrument would still be working properly.

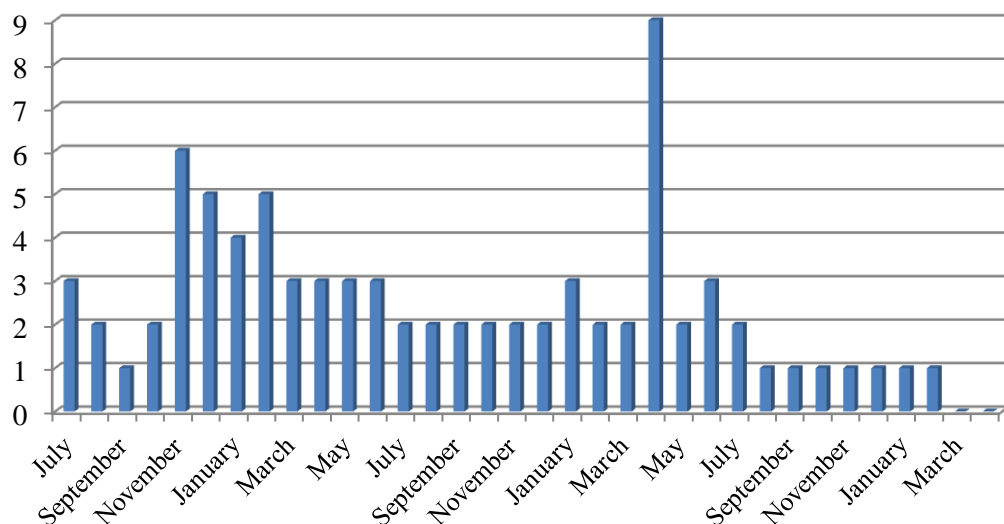


Figure 6.13: Clauss’s expenditure on advertising from July 1783 to April 1786 (£ only)

³⁵ Baileys (1785), 65.

³⁶ *The London Gazette*, issue 12642, 26 April 1785.

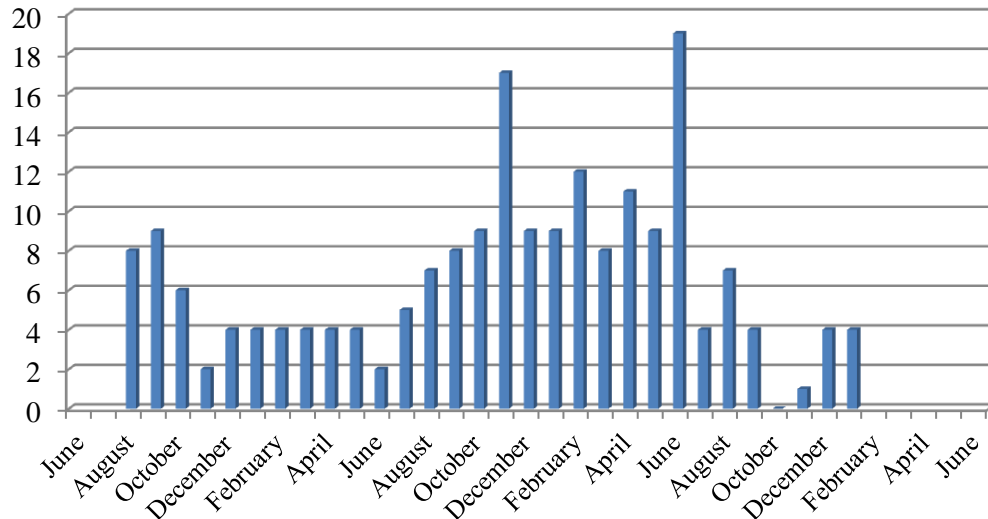


Figure 6.14: Claus's expenditure on his 'Journeyman' from June 1783 to June 1786 (£ only)

As we know from Claus and Levy's testimony, the firm employed at least one 'Journeyman'. The entries are only ever in the singular, so it seems likely that one individual filled this role for the duration of the accounts, or that only one person was employed at a time. The only entry which contains any additional information is one from August 1783 which describes him as 'a Frenchman'. We know little about the work the Journeyman actually undertook, except for one entry in October 1784 when he repaired a guittar. After initial higher amounts of £6–£8, presumably when stock needed to be made, the entries settle down to around £4 per month until August 1784. Then we see an increase in the overall level with a few busy months for the next year, before the amounts tail off towards the end of the accounts. The increase in Journeyman's wages may reflect a complimentary decrease in Claus's own work. £4 per month would give an annual income of around £48, so a decent wage but not a particularly high one. A sustained wage of £8 per month would clearly double this and make the journeyman quite well off, so he may have been pleased in those months where his workload increased.

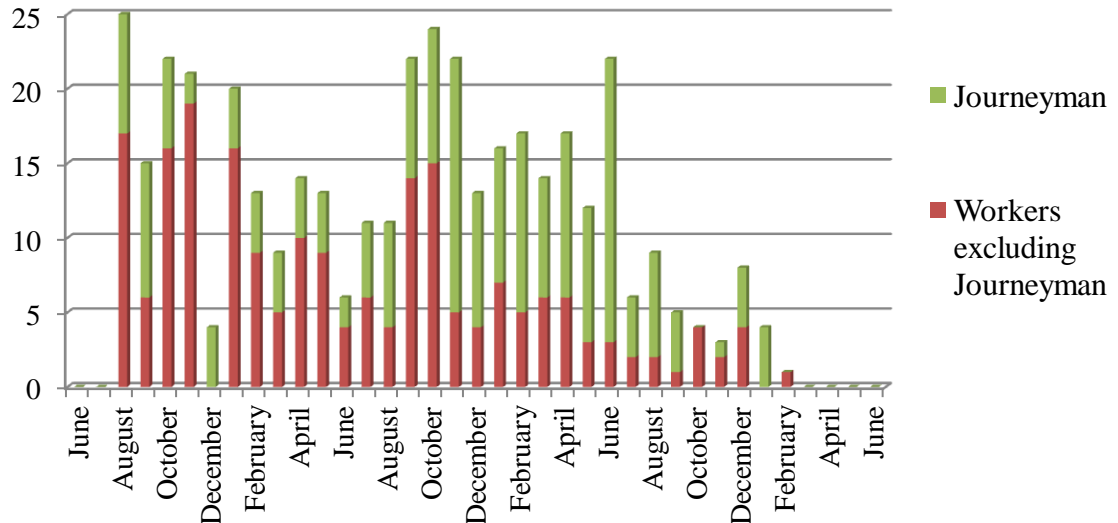


Figure 6.15: Claus's expenditure on his 'Journeyman' and other workers from June 1783 to June 1786 (£ only)

We can also gain some idea of what the Journeyman did by examining the work which was apparently paid for from other people. These activities include: tuning pianos; polishing guitars; varnishing guitars; making sound holes; making and engraving key tops; gilding key tops, machines and sound holes; fretting finger boards; and cutting wood. One Mr Foglar (?Vogler) was also paid for guitars, mostly during the setting up period of the firm, suggesting that at times complete instruments were bought in. This may have been John or Gerard Vogler, who worked from around 1777 to 1785 as instrument makers and publishers in Glass House Street, and who are represented by three surviving English guitars.³⁷

It remains unclear whether all of these items and skills were bought in from other companies, or whether the activities were taking place within Claus's workshop and were just listed separately in the accounts, although the former seems more likely given the distinction between these activities and payments to the journeyman. The parts of the construction process which are not listed include the making of the guitars themselves (except for the early period), so it may be this, and repairs, on which the journeyman was focussed.

³⁷ Pouloupoulos (2011), 626.

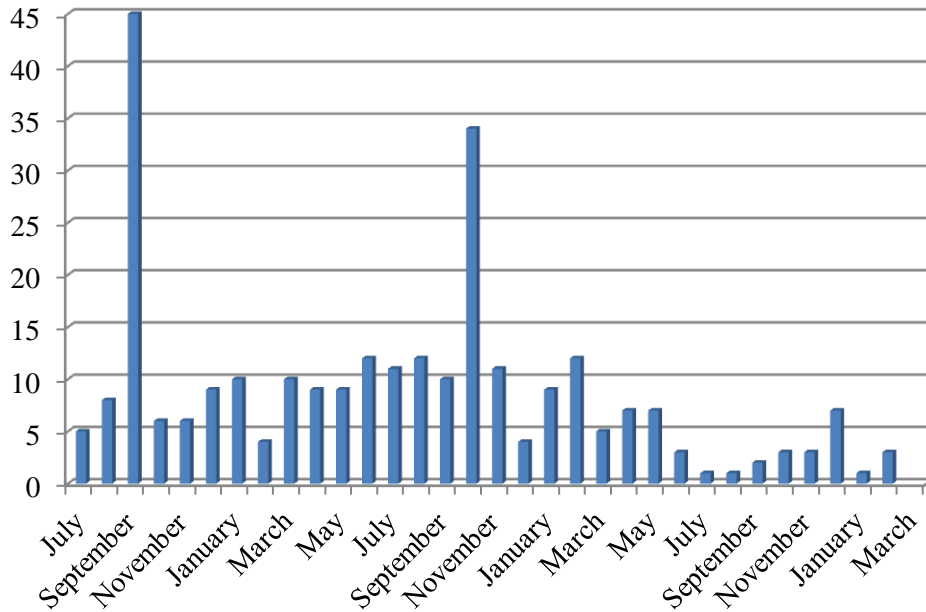


Figure 6.16: Claus's expenditure on 'Materials' from July 1783 to April 1786 (£ only)

Expenditure on materials is an area which remained fairly consistent throughout the accounts, with only a few major diversions from the usual £5–£10 per month. September 1783 and October 1784 both saw large bills for wood amounting to £37 in 1783, without which the monthly total for materials would be £8, and £27 in 1784, without which that month would have been £7, both more in keeping with the ongoing amounts. This suggests that while some materials are bought relatively infrequently but in large amounts, other materials were purchased often and in smaller amounts. The factors which would determine this include the availability of materials as well as their properties and whether they would remain useable after a period of storage. Indeed, some materials such as wood would need to be kept for some time in order to season and mature before they could be used. Expenditure in this area also begins to tail off towards the end of 1785, reflecting the reduction in activities of the firm.

The 'materials' category includes the purchase of green baize, flannel, brass plates, pins, nails, screws, glue, wire, turpentine, varnish, red and black dye, ink, fish oil, bones, buttons, ivory frames, ivory, candles, coals, hogs' bristles, leather and wood. Component parts, including bridges, key tops, machines, finger boards (tortoiseshell), guitar necks, sound holes and strings are also included. For analysis, a distinction has been made between entries in which a gerund is used (making, polishing, varnishing), which have been placed within the 'workers' section and where the object is simply

named, such as ‘for sound holes’ or ‘for varnish’, which have been placed in the ‘materials’ section. This may not represent what the person keeping the accounts intended, but there is a consistent difference made in the language, suggesting that there may indeed have been two different approaches going on simultaneously. It has been necessary to include other items here which appear in entries alongside materials where it has not been possible to separate them out. Such items are music stands, music, tuning forks, tuning hammers, locks and keys. One item remains a mystery: ‘Foilstones’ were purchased regularly, sometimes up to eight times a month and cost 10s for two gross, which works out at 0.4d each. It is not possible to be certain what foilstones were in this context, but the most likely possibilities are either semi-precious stones used for decorative purposes, or foil used to back the tortoiseshell covering of fingerboards.³⁸ Tortoiseshell is a translucent material, so it was common practice to colour or cover the wood on which it was to be fixed before application in order to change subtly the appearance of the shell itself. Unfortunately, none of the 11 surviving instruments by Clauss identified by Pouloupoulos has semi-precious stones as decoration³⁹ and most appear to have ebony fingerboards. However, we do know from the accounts that tortoiseshell fingerboards were regularly purchased, so the latter seems the most likely explanation.⁴⁰

An idea of the overall picture of expenditure can be seen in Figure 6.17. About half the firm’s expenses were for employment costs and materials. Interestingly, the workers account for 28%, very similar to the 26% spent on workers by the Erard firm as described above. This matches with Mokyr’s findings that ‘wages were the main cost to the firm’, although he doesn’t quantify his findings, which presumably varied between businesses depending on other necessary costs.⁴¹ Ball & Sunderland also refer to the ‘large expense’ of skilled labour,⁴² but they too are not able to give the necessary detail

³⁸ I am grateful to Graham Wells for his assistance, locating the term in the 1992 Oxford English Dictionary which includes both definitions. I am also grateful to Chris Nobbs, Panagiotis Pouloupoulos and The Tools and Trades History Society for their thoughts.

³⁹ Personal correspondence. See also Pouloupoulos (2011).

⁴⁰ Other makers certainly used foil under tortoiseshell on their instruments and it was common practice in furniture and other objects d’art. The guitar by John Preston, c1770, RCM 161 displays this feature.

⁴¹ Mokyr, ed (1999), 55.

⁴² Ball & Sunderland (2001), 293.

with which a direct comparison can be made. Another quarter of the expenses was taken by legal fees and maintenance together. This latter category is made up of rent, taxes and other costs relating to the upkeep of the premises. Items relating to the movement of instruments and communications, including porters, shipping, stamps and stationery, have a high presence in terms of the number of entries, but due to the relatively small amount for each, the overall expenditure is fairly small.

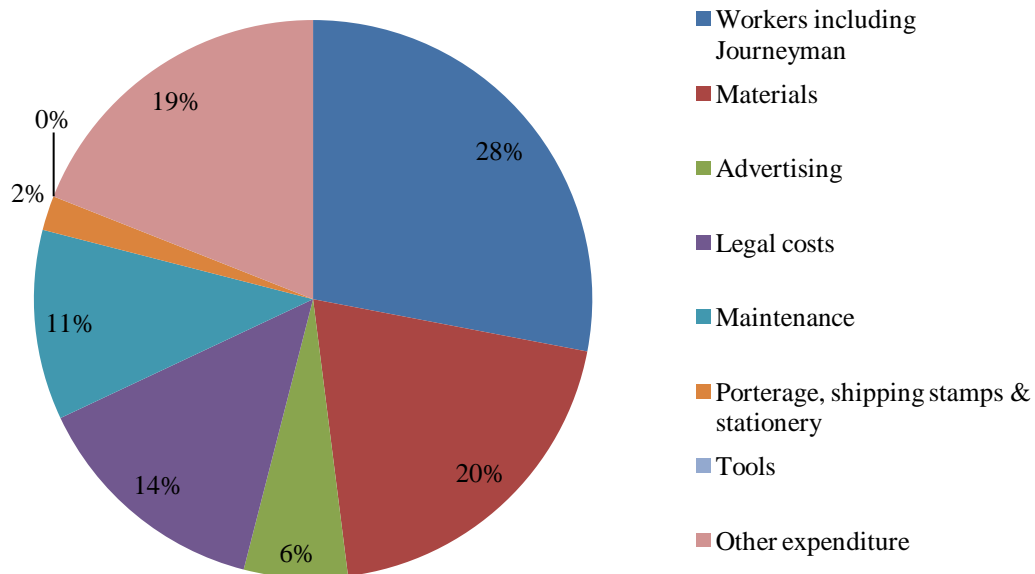


Figure 6.17: Division of Claus's expenditure (£ only)

An overview of the financial situation of the firm can be gained by calculating the overall statistic for income minus expenditure each month. This is shown in Figure 6.18. It is clear from this graph that some months saw a good profit while others saw a substantial loss. The biggest periods of loss were when the firm was being established, so presumably set-up costs were making an impact, and for three months at the end of 1784. October, November and December 1784 were months where income was relatively low and costs were relatively high, combining to give an overall monthly loss. The figures for June 1785 were dragged down by payments to the lawyer, as already mentioned.

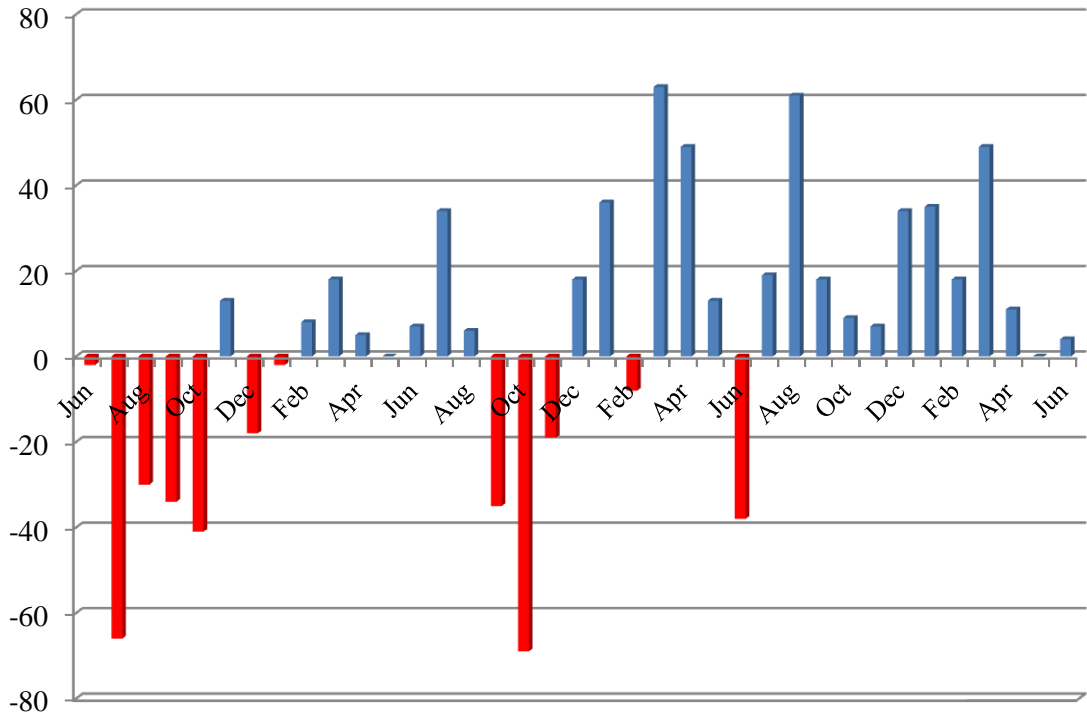


Figure 6.18: Claus's monthly income minus expenditure (£ only), giving overall income from June 1783 to June 1786

Over the three year existence of the firm, Claus & Levy saw an overall gain of £180 3s 6d, amounting to an average of £60 1s 2d per year. We have very few statistics from other companies with which to compare this, although as has already been mentioned we do know that in 1791 Broderip had an annual salary of £136 10s and Longman £409 10s.⁴³ Many other smaller tradesmen earned about £40,⁴⁴ so £30 each for Claus and Levy is not unrespectable for a new firm with a very specific output. It would be odd, though, if their journeyman was indeed earning upwards of £4 per month since his annual salary of £48 would be greater than that earned by his employers. Perhaps Claus and Levy were both disappointed in these figures, partly dragged down by legal wrangling, and their dissatisfaction led to their dispute. Presumably, though, Levy's main income from his goldsmith and jewellery business meant that he was able to remain solvent, but this was not the case for Claus.

⁴³ TNA: PRO C12/178/48, Smith v Longman, 1791.

⁴⁴ Picard (2000), 55. Based on Joseph Massie's statistics of average family incomes, compiled in 1759.

The accounts wind down in 1787 with the final entries dating from June. By July, the relationship had deteriorated significantly,⁴⁵ with Clauss apparently deliberately causing his business partner to spend a long weekend locked up in prison, which would have been a very unpleasant environment at that time. The court's decision in Levy's favour may have been disastrous for Clauss, as can be seen from subsequent events. Had they managed to put aside their individual differences, and once the patent rights were established, the firm could have become moderately successful since the keyed English guitar, and anything with a sense of invention around it, was very popular at this time, but after their disagreement was formally closed, it seems that Levy returned to his work as a goldsmith, while Clauss was forced into bankruptcy,⁴⁶ possibly as a direct consequence of needing to find £50 to settle with Levy. As the announcement in *The London Gazette* is the last known appearance of Clauss in the London archives, it is to be presumed that not long after the proceedings were completed, he moved to New York, where he is next found in 1788 working in the piano trade.⁴⁷

This court case and associated documentation has been useful in providing an example of a small firm's accounts. These enable us to gain an idea of workshop practices, links between makers, and the overall financial situation of the firm over a three-year period. Although there is relatively little time when the firm was a stable, ongoing concern, it nevertheless has shown the use of a journeyman and external workers in combination with the master and an external financier, all of whom could theoretically have worked together to make the business a success. Instead, though, we have a paradigmatic example of one of the ways firms could tear themselves to pieces and at least one of the partners find themselves facing bankruptcy. Having looked in detail at two specific firms, we now turn our attention to a broader archival source which gives small amounts of information about many companies and thus enables us to look at the bigger picture of instrument making in London: the archives of the Sun Fire Office insurance company.

⁴⁵ *The Times*, 12 July 1787, issue 795.

⁴⁶ *The London Gazette*, 31 July 1787, issue 12908.

⁴⁷ Clinkscale (1993), 67.

6.5: Musical-Instrument Businesses, as seen through Sun Fire Office Policies, 1760–79

The records of insurance companies began to be used extensively by historians in the 1990s in order to gain an overall picture of manufacturing trades in London and the provinces. Organologists have been using them increasingly since Whitehead & Nex published an examination of keyboard-instrument makers insuring with the Sun Fire Office between 1775 and 1787 in 2002.⁴⁸ The following analysis is based on policies for all kinds of musical-instrument makers dating from 1760 to 1779.⁴⁹ It includes those who are described in their policies as instrument makers, and those who are known to have been involved in the trade but are given alternative descriptions such as ‘Gent’ in the ledgers.

Barnett has undertaken a detailed examination of the Sun Fire registers in order to gain an overview of manufacturing in London during the 50 years from 1775. He has chosen to focus on two time spans, 1769–77 and 1819–25, in order to compare the situation at the beginning and end of this period. His aim was to construct an overview of manufacturing businesses so that individual trades could be set in context against a ‘bench-mark’ based on a ‘body of hard data’.⁵⁰ Barnett recognises that musical-instrument making was a significant manufacturing industry at this time and so includes it as a separate area of discussion.

Barnett’s approach to deciding which policies are relevant to his study is based on the inclusion of evidence of manufacturing in the policy itself. He states:

Another of the major problems is distinguishing between manufacturing and bespoke production. In many cases there was no distinction between production of an article and its sale by a shopkeeper/craftsman. However, the convention adopted for this book is that where no contemporary distinction is drawn and no specific indication is given in the policy register of a production process, the business is classified as retail. Again, where there is an indication of bespoke production, this too is treated as retailing, which is in line with modern SIC

⁴⁸ Whitehead & Nex (2002), 4–25.

⁴⁹ I am deeply grateful to Lance Whitehead for allowing me access to his transcriptions of policies from 1710–79. Although I have used policies transcribed by both Whitehead and myself in this thesis, all of the analysis found here is my own work.

⁵⁰ Barnett (1998), 5.

[Standing Interpretations Committee] practice. Where there is some production process, but also distribution, this too is classified as distribution. Only where there is a clear indication that the production process is paramount is it treated as falling within the appropriate manufacturing sector.⁵¹

Since most instrument makers were involved in retail and distribution as well as construction, and it is often not clear in the policies which component is the main activity of the firm, it is likely that Barnett has erred on the side of selecting too few firms from this industry. Indeed, on mapping his statistics against the policies we have transcribed, I have found that Barnett includes 56 firms, compared to my 103.⁵² Since most of the policies transcribed by us include ‘Utensils & stock’, often also with ‘goods in trust’, it is hard to tell how Barnett has come to a number of makers significantly less than we have found, but it does mean that the picture he has built is different from mine, which makes direct comparisons difficult.

The following analysis is based on the total policy values for policies taken out by musical-instrument makers between 1760 and 1779, unless otherwise stated. The analysis is usually based on policies, rather than firms, unless the term ‘number of firms’ is used. These two decades saw the insuring of musical instrument-making firms really take off, as can be seen in Figure 6.19, which is one reason why this source is a particularly rich mine of information.

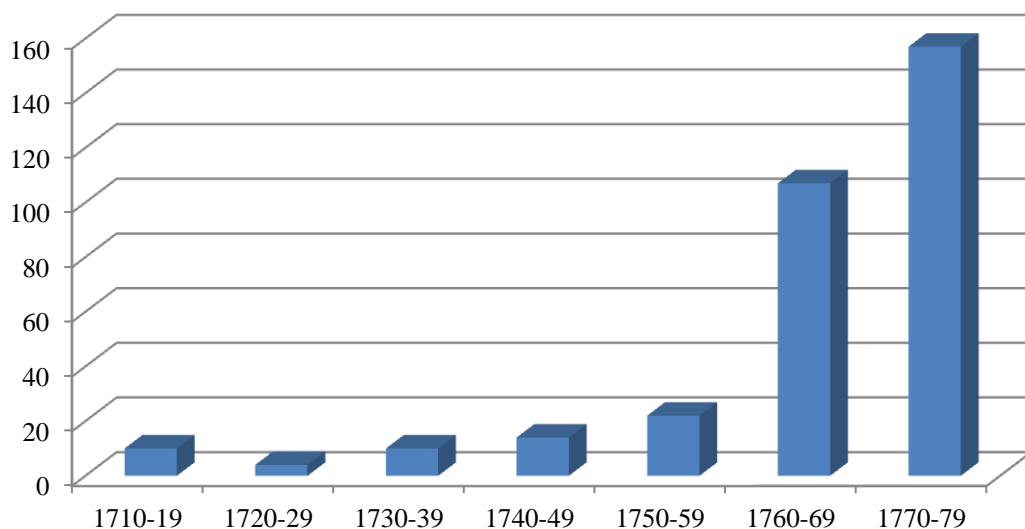


Figure 6.19: Number of policies taken out with the Sun Fire Office by musical-instrument makers from 1710 to 1779.

⁵¹ Barnett (1998), 25.

⁵² This is for the years 1769–77 only.

Some basic statistics relating to the policies from 1760 to 1779 are shown in Figure 6.20. As can be seen from Figure 6.21, the majority of firms only took out a single policy between 1760 and 1779, although some took out as many as 8 or 9. Jacob Kirkman and Thomas Smith, who were the two with the most policies, were both insuring houses which they were letting out to other people as well as their own premises. Although not directly relating to instrument making, such policies help to construct the picture of how instrument makers managed their finances and invested any surplus which they did not need to reinvest into their main business.

Figure 6.20: Basic statistics of Sun Fire Insurance policies used from 1760–79

Number of policies with legible policy values	258 (+6 illegible)
Number of firms	164
Total value of all policies	£141,350
Mean average policy value	£548
Median policy value (policy 129 of 258)	£400
Mode policy value	£200

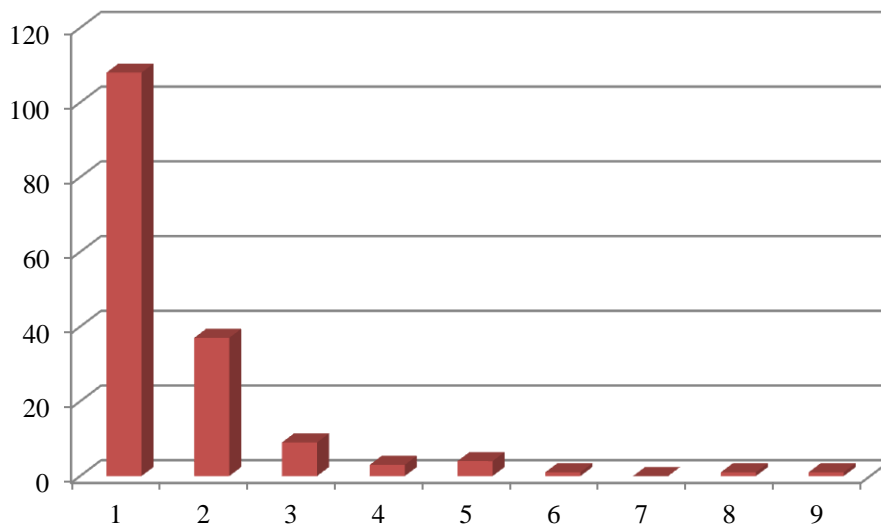


Figure 6.21: Number of individuals or firms taking out one or more policies (1760–79)

It appears that although policies were taken out all year round, there was a slight seasonal fluctuation with winter being the most common time for musical-instrument makers to take out policies (see Figure 6.22) and October being the busiest single month. Whether this was because makers were worried about the potential problems of bad weather, or that being ‘out of season’ they were able to concentrate on the business itself, is not clear.

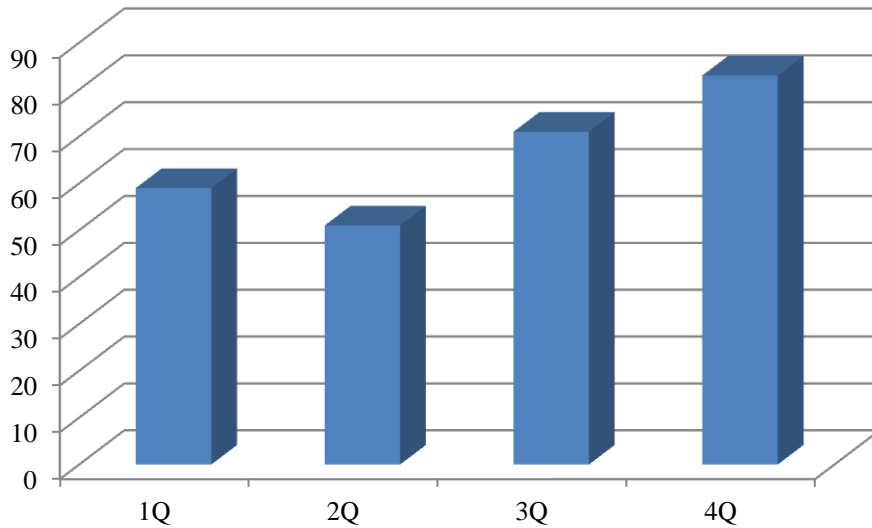


Figure 6.22: Pattern of policies by quarter

Key: 1Q: January, February, March 2Q: April, May, June
 3Q: July, August, September 4Q: October, November, December

If one looks in more detail (see Figure 6.23), it seems that the months in which the four quarter days fall, March, June, September and December, each saw a peak followed by a fall in the following two months, with the notable exception of October, which has a surprisingly large peak. The peaks in the quarter months may indicate that at these points of the year, some makers took stock of their businesses and finances and dealt with any outstanding matters, such as insurance.

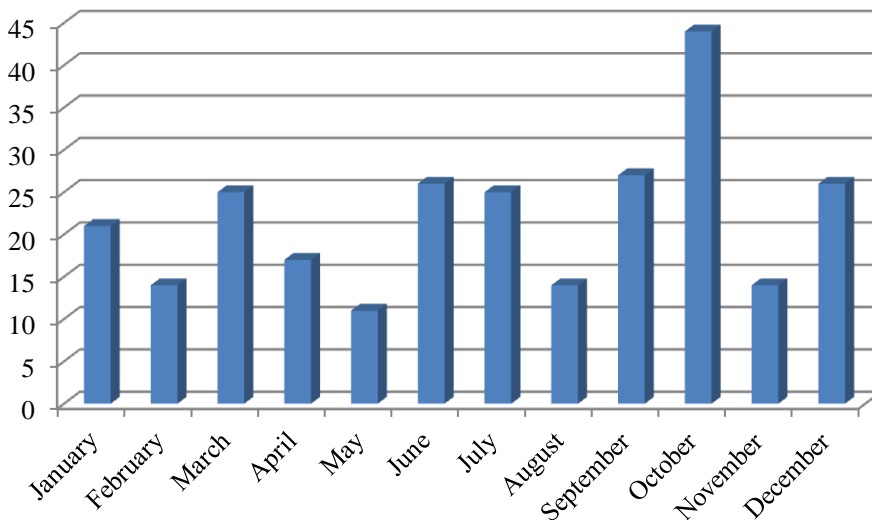


Figure 6.23: Policies taken out by month

Figure 6.24 shows the number of policies taken out by their value. The value of policies is another matter of some debate since it was usually the policy holder who submitted the valuation, not the fire office or their representatives.⁵³ Barnett reports that different writers have contrasting views as to whether values are overestimates, are about right, or are underestimates. As there is no way of being certain, if we are going to use the source as evidence, we simply have to work on the basis that they are about right but to draw conclusions with caution. Significantly, though, most policy values are exact multiples of £100, with a single policy in this data set for £150. Therefore, some degree of approximation must have been undertaken since if property had been itemised and valued precisely, the totals would be considerably more varied.

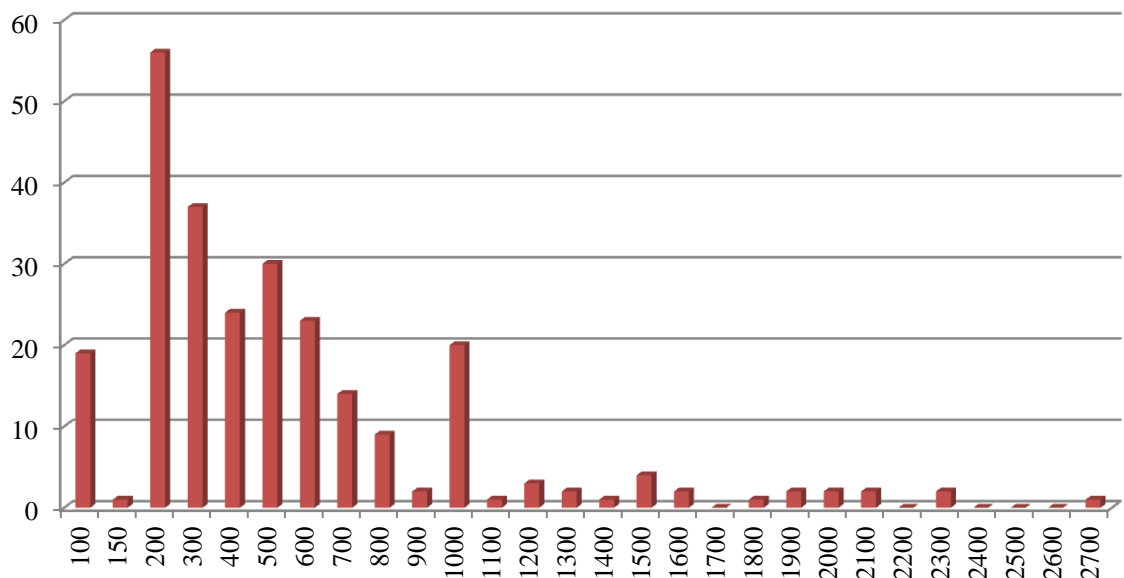


Figure 6.24: Numbers of policies by value (£)

For musical-instrument makers, the most common policy value (mode) is £200, while the median (middle policy) is £400. Furthermore, the numbers insuring at each value decrease gradually from £200 upwards, with an incongruous peak at £1,000. This shows that the weighting of the data set is in the low hundreds, and hence that most firms were small to medium in size. Since there are relatively few policies at £900 and £1,100, it is conceivable that the peak at £1,000 was a result of those planning to insure for these amounts being encouraged to round their figures up or down. In addition, the premiums required by the Sun company may also have had an impact on the precise

⁵³ Barnett (1998), 6.

valuations, particularly around these two amounts. According to Trusler, for property valued between £200 and £1,000, the policy itself together with the fire mark would cost 7s 6d, with an additional annual premium per £100 of 2 shillings for common insurance, 3 shillings for hazardous insurance and 5 shillings for double hazardous insurance.⁵⁴ Therefore, £200 and £1,000, being the limits of this main band, show boundary conditions, with valuations at these amounts being different in nature from valuations at other amounts. There is also a smaller peak at £500, which could be due to some of those who might have insured for £400 instead settling on the ‘rounder’ £500. Taken as a whole, we can see therefore that the policy values are not precise and should be treated as indicative rather than absolute.

It is useful, though, to be able to compare the policy values for the makers of different types of instrument. Rather than using the job titles as they are described in the policies, I have chosen to allocate instrument types according to what is known of particular makers from other archival sources and from surviving instruments. Thus, a ‘musical instrument maker’ in the policy would be placed in the category which best represents their known activity, unless no further detail is available, in which case they remain in ‘musical instrument makers’. This decision was particularly significant for stringed instruments since of all those makers included by me in this category, none is described as such in their policy. Three individuals, Frederick Hintz,⁵⁵ Charles Pinto⁵⁶ and Michael Rauche⁵⁷ are now best known for their English guitars but the first two are called ‘musical instrument maker’ with Rauche listed as a ‘music warehouse man’. The other firms, mostly called ‘musical instrument maker’ with Joseph Hill also called a ‘music shop’ keeper are known to have produced instruments of the violin family, the best known being Richard Duke jnr,⁵⁸ William Forster⁵⁹ and Joseph Hill.⁶⁰ This

⁵⁴ Trusler (1786), 11.

⁵⁵ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/162/346, 223574, 24 August 1765 & Ms 11936/193/340, 275750, 11 October 1769.

⁵⁶ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/264/312, 397154, 8 April 1778.

⁵⁷ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/149/523, 202292, 24 September 1763.

⁵⁸ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/178/80, 250010, 14 October 1767 & Ms 11936/260/259, 390084, 17 October 1777.

⁵⁹ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/168/168, 233663, 13 May 1767, Ms 11936/224/?, 327896, 7 July 1773 & 11936/249/594, 371877, 20 July 1776.

⁶⁰ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/144/555, 196111, 24 January 1763 & Ms 11936/224/?, 328639, 22 July 1773.

demonstrates the importance of cross-referring to other sources and to information already known about makers. If this had not been undertaken and the occupations named in the insurance policies used without further thought, then no stringed instrument makers would have been apparent. The distribution of policies by the known occupation of the policy holder is shown in Figure 6.25.

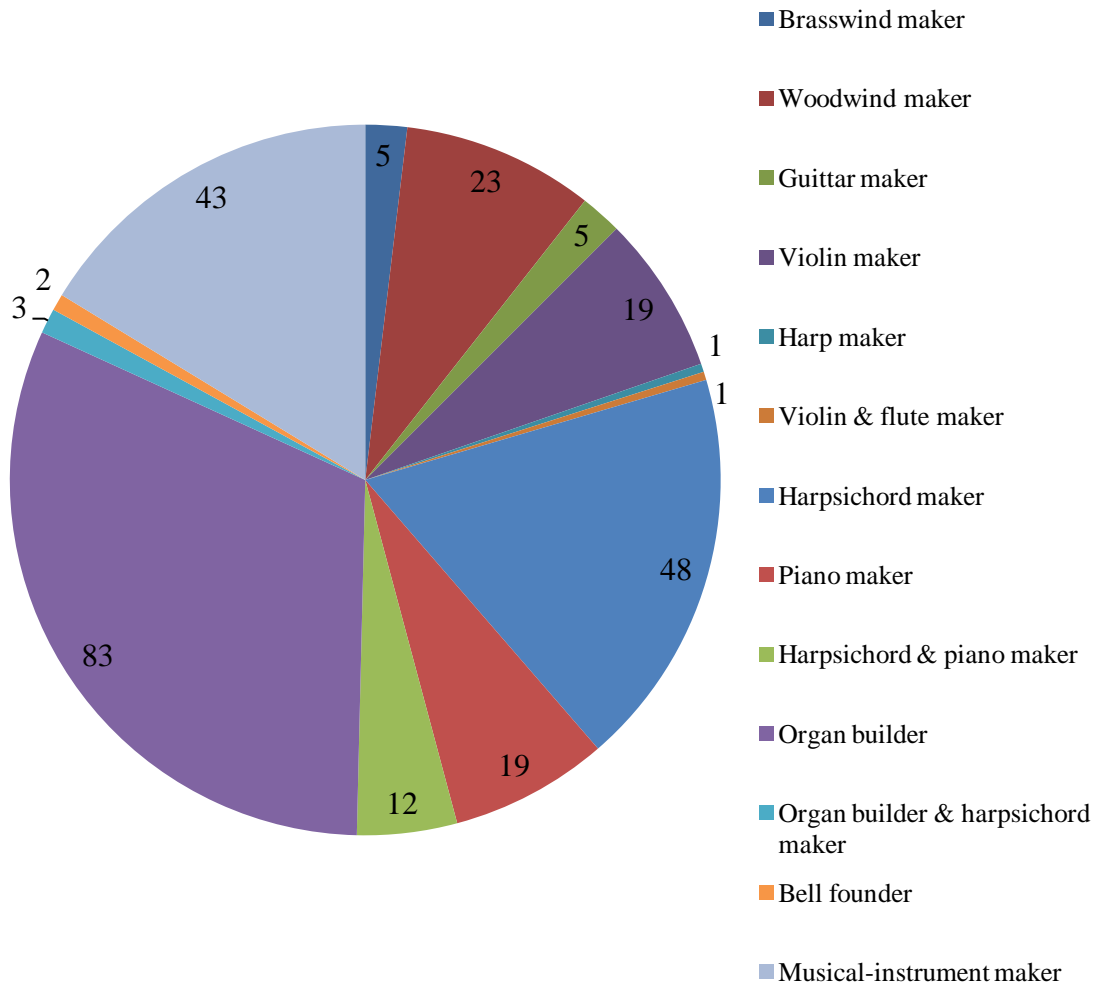


Figure 6.25: Number of policies by the known occupation of individual makers

It can be clearly seen that organ builders hold the highest number of policies, followed by harpsichord makers and musical-instrument makers. The overall picture of the distribution shown in Figure 6.25 becomes even clearer when these individual types are grouped according to the more basic categories of keyboard instruments, wind instruments (including brasswind and woodwind), stringed instrument, and general

(musical-instrument makers and bell founders). As can be seen in Figure 6.26, keyboard instrument makers dominate the insurance market.

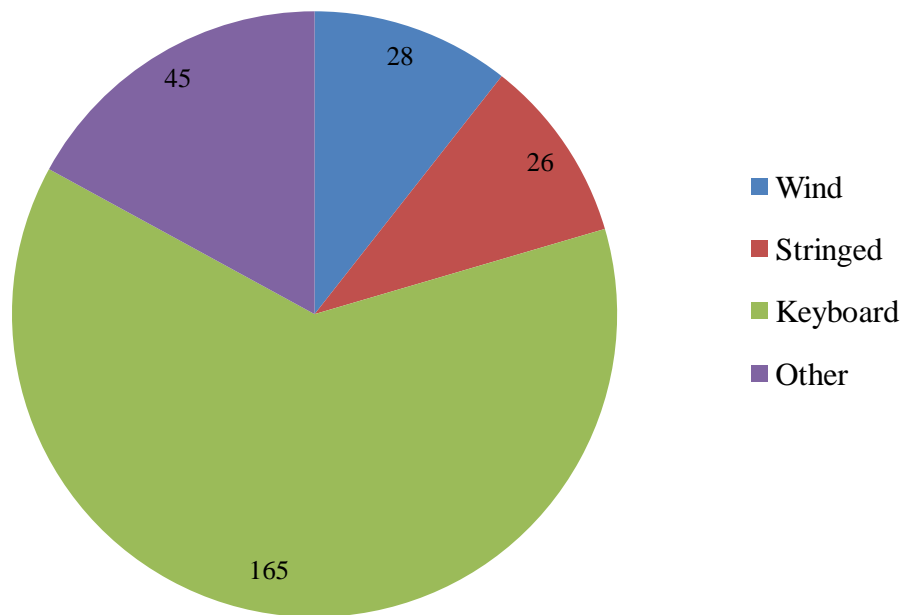


Figure 6.26: Number of policies by the known occupation of individual makers grouped according to type

One can speculate on the reasons for this. Keyboard instruments are the largest type and therefore contain the largest amount of material which in turn reflects the highest level of investment in each item and therefore the maximum potential loss. Also, the market for keyboard instruments was larger and expanding so there was room in the marketplace for a higher number of firms. Whether keyboard instrument making was more risky is also debatable. Heat would have been needed in all musical instrument workshops, but the combination of heat with wood shavings, varnish and other flammable materials probably led to the highest risk of fire in keyboard workshops.

The policies also show that it was not unusual for makers to be undertaking activities outside musical-instrument making. The most common groups who did this were the organ builders and general musical-instrument makers, with no woodwind or stringed instrument makers apparent in this category (see Figure 6.27). Organ builders combined their instrument-making activities with cabinet making or clock making, both of which occupations have parallels with component parts of organs, while making or dealing in 'toys', that is small items or 'nick-knacks' was undertaken by a harpsichord maker, a French horn maker and a musical-instrument maker. Four individuals doubled

up as printers while three were also musicians, both of which trades have a musical link with instrument making. Trades which have no apparent link with music include a victualler and a chandler.

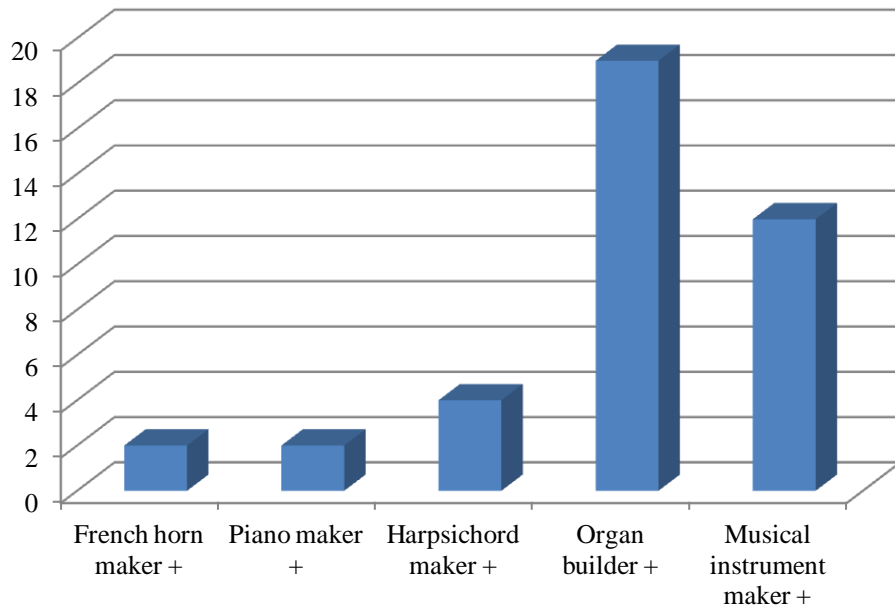


Figure 6.27: Number of instrument makers also undertaking activities outside musical-instrument making

Thus, the archives of the Sun Fire Office are useful in enabling us to gain some idea of the relative sizes of firms, how many from each category felt the need to take out insurance, and some sense of the distribution of firms across the industry. However, they cannot be used in isolation as not all makers took out insurance and some used other firms instead of or as well as the Sun. For example, we see from a memorandum at the bottom of the policy of organ builder John Crang, which is for a total of £1,000, that a further £3,000 of goods and stock were insured with the Union Fire Office.⁶¹ Further detailed analysis can be undertaken to draw out additional details concerning distributions and relative policy values of makers, but that goes beyond the scope of this particular analysis. However, when brought together with other sources, the Sun can give a great deal of detail concerning workshops and locations as well as the financial information. This source will be examined alongside other sources in the concluding chapter of this thesis in order to look more at the overall picture of instrument making in London. Next, however, I will use wills and bank accounts to gain some idea of

⁶¹ LMA ex LGL Ms 11936/137/9, 180620, 6 February 1761.

‘success’ followed by an examination of ‘failure’ through insolvency and bankruptcy records.

6.6: Success and Failure

6.6.1: Wills

How one determines the success of an historical business is largely down to factors measurable from archival sources, since it is possible neither to observe the daily running of the business nor to gauge the feelings of the workforce. Here, the main criterion for which we have evidence is the relative wealth of the head of the company. We can examine assets listed in the wills of makers proved through the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, which are readily accessible and give some idea of individual wealth at the time of writing. The wills used here are those signed between 1760 and 1819 and are listed in Appendix 7. Naturally there are individuals whose wills were written before 1760 who were still working after that date, and others who were working before 1819 whose wills were written after that date, but if one attempts to include all those working between 1760 and 1819, the boundary conditions become too complicated to manage effectively. The date of signing the will has been chosen as that was within the control of the individual, whereas the date of proving was arbitrary in that the individual could control neither the time of their death nor the speed with which the executors acted.

We can see from these wills that the most popular place for investing money was in the various consolidated bank annuities run by the Bank of England (see Appendix 7.1). These funds had been growing through the eighteenth century and a number of well-known musical figures including the composer G F Handel⁶² and the music publisher John Walsh⁶³ invested in them. There was a range of different funds opened during the period in question, usually bringing in from 3% to 5% per annum. Even though the investment itself was safe, making these popular places for those with spare funds to place their assets, the interest rates could change depending on the going rate for

⁶² Harris (2004).

⁶³ Bank of England Archives, AC 27/159, 2188, 2238, 2249, 2252 (1747–52).

transferring the annuities between holders.⁶⁴ No indication is given in the wills concerning when the investments were made and it is very difficult and time consuming to examine the records held at the Bank of England since the volumes are organised according to the separate funds and are only indexed by surname. However, some information has been gleaned from this source which can help to expand the picture from wills. For instance, the amount invested by Richard Duke is not mentioned in his will, but the Bank's archives shows that in June 1760, he had £100 in the 3% consols.⁶⁵ Of the 14 makers found who mention investment in their wills, 10 were involved in keyboard making, one in woodwind, another in brasswind, one making stringed instruments and another making strings (see Appendix 7.1).

An alternative place for funds to be invested was in property. A number of individuals list land and houses in addition to their own premises in their wills (see Appendix 7.2). In some cases, the property was an inheritance which they themselves had received from a relative, often in their home location rather than in London, but for others the purchase of one or more houses brought in a trickle of funds through rent in much the same way as the interest paid on annuities held at the Bank. All of the instrument makers with property were involved in keyboard manufacture except for violin maker Richard Duke. Most of the wills give no further information concerning any income generated through these properties. However, Abraham Kirkman includes the names of his tenants and the rates of their rent for most, but not all, of the properties. Rates vary from 7gn to £150 per year and the total income per year which is listed amounts to £372 7s, a useful income which exceeded that of many other instrument makers from their main occupation. Indeed, it was normal practice to invest in property as a kind of insurance for when work dried up or illness and old age prevented individuals from carrying on their businesses.⁶⁶ A regular income would still be coming in from rental payments which would be all the more important in keeping the family solvent.

Cash bequests are more common: of the 67 wills found, some 36 include amounts ranging in total value from £39,300 (John Broadwood) to just £3 (Henry Rawlins). In

⁶⁴ Floud & McCloskey (1994), 171–3.

⁶⁵ Bank of England Archives, AC 27/172, 959.

⁶⁶ Ball & Sunderland (2001), 369.

some cases, cash annuities are also mentioned, which presumably the successor is expected to pay from the ongoing business finances of the firm. Again we see a dominance of keyboard makers (see Appendix 7.3).

As has already become clear, the Kirkmans were one of the wealthiest families of instrument makers. In addition to annuities, property and cash bequests, Jacob appears to have been lending money to others on interest. We know that he had ‘£1,838 15s 5d due from General Taylor’, as well as two annuities from Mr Fanshaw and Mr Smith, an annuity of £100 from Capt Ternter, another from Mr George William Carrington, and a third from ‘Stephen John Sewell of the Adelphi & his wife Catherine & Thomas Oliver’.⁶⁷

The only other firm that matched Kirkman’s at this time in size and financial standing was that of Broadwood and here too we see loans being made in the 1790s, the same date as Kirkman’s will. Amounts in the region of £200 to £400 or less were common, but some individuals such as James Gibson borrowed £2,000 with one year’s interest standing at £100 (5%).⁶⁸ Broadwood seems to have offered this same rate of 5% to other individuals. Indeed, this was the maximum rate permitted by the usury laws relating to private (as opposed to governmental) borrowing, so Broadwood was making the most of his outlay.⁶⁹ Clearly this was a good financial investment for Broadwood, but carried with it a level of risk should his debtors default on their payments.

Wills, combined with other archives, can therefore offer some idea of the wealth of individuals, although the picture is far from clear or complete. Those who had a direct heir would not necessarily have needed to make a will, so we do not have information of their assets, while others may have used a court other than the PCC. Thus, wills form one building block amongst many in this discussion of the financial aspects of instrument making. Having looked at those with assets to bequeath at the time of their death, we can now look at the opposite end of the spectrum where individuals or firms had financial difficulties culminating in insolvency or bankruptcy.

⁶⁷ Will of Jacob Kirkman, TNA: PRO PROB11/1220, written 31 March 1792, proved 13 June 1792.

⁶⁸ Bodleian Library, Eng misc e663.

⁶⁹ Ball & Sunderland (2001), 338.

6.6.2: Failure

In many disciplines, the businesses which have been examined in the most detail are those with the greatest longevity and highest financial success. This is in part due to the fact that these are the firms for which archives survive, but also due to the view that the measure of a firm's importance is its success. However, as Hoppit points out, 'enterprise can be properly understood only when due regard is paid to bankruptcy and that the undoubted success of business expansion over the century has to be placed in the context of the possibility and reality of such bankruptcy'.⁷⁰

As has already been demonstrated, musical instrument firms including Erard and Clauss relied extensively on loans from external sources and also extended credit to their own customers. Many makers had trouble extracting payment. For example, brass maker John Köhler wrote to the Earl of Hardwicke, commander of the Cambridgeshire Regiment of Militia, in 1797 to beg for payment for a bill from 1793 since 'I am very much in want of it at this time, as I am laid up with a sore Leg & am not able to work'.⁷¹ Even Broadwood had trouble extracting payments from customers, as copies of letters in the firm's letter books attest. One example, from January 1802, was written by James to Mr Holder of Chelmsford and includes the section

My father... feels disappointed at the disregard you have paid to the terms of Payment... [and] he hopes you will not the ensuing April & October neglect him as you have done the last & expects you will remit him some money soon...⁷²

As Wainwright states, they even threatened some customers with legal action. As has already been intimated, this was not uncommon: indeed, even the highly successful entrepreneur Josiah Wedgwood suffered from bad debts, being owed some £41,477 in 1810.⁷³

Therefore, as Hoppit states, 'all businesses become indebted and can become insolvent'.⁷⁴ Problems only arise when the insolvency becomes long term rather than

⁷⁰ Hoppit (1987), 1.

⁷¹ Whitehead & Myers (2004), 94.

⁷² SHC, 2185/JB/6/1/1, 12.

⁷³ Wainwright (1982), 98, quoting Barbara & Hensleigh Wedgwood (1980), *The Wedgwood Circle 1730–1897* (London: Studio Vista).

⁷⁴ Hoppit (1987), 29.

short. Also, bankruptcy comes about either when the debtor realises he is unable to pay, or when the creditor believes the debtor is unable to pay, so a critical level of doubt and uncertainty has to have been reached.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the business world experienced fluctuations in the financial markets, including a number of years where crises struck. Hoppit has discovered that trade cycles were emerging by this time, stating that there were minor cycles every four years associated with fluctuations in exports, and major ones lasting about nine years which ‘rested on investment in fixed capital projects such as construction, transport and plant’. Wars had an impact on financial stability as they increased the amount of uncertainty in both the domestic and export markets. As a result of these and other factors, financial crises in 1772, 1778, 1788, 1793 and 1797 also saw relatively high bankruptcy figures.⁷⁵

6.6.3: Bankruptcy

In order for a person or business to be declared bankrupt, three conditions had to be met: firstly, the creditors had to prove that the debtor owed a total of £100 to one creditor, £150 to two or £200 to three or more creditors; and secondly, they had to be traders. Thirdly, the person or persons concerned had to commit an ‘act of bankruptcy’, that is an act which is designed to either avoid or delay creditors from collecting the money owing to them. The options for this include hiding, fleeing abroad, or ‘lying in prison’.⁷⁶

Most appear to have chosen the option of placing themselves in one of the debtors’ prisons. Residing in prison in the eighteenth century was not cheap as there were many fees to be paid, including a commitment fee and a discharge fee. Prisoners were obliged to support themselves, and many relied on friends or family to provide them with food and money.⁷⁷ Thus, bankrupts (or their assignees) had to continue to operate their businesses in one way or another in order to finance the bankruptcy proceedings themselves.

⁷⁵ Hoppit (1987), 118.

⁷⁶ Marriner (1980), 357.

⁷⁷ R L Brown (1996), 181–296.

These proceedings followed a set pattern which began with an announcement in *The London Gazette* by the commissioners, which alerted creditors to the fact the bankruptcy was occurring and to announce the date of the three meetings of the commission. The bankrupt was also sent a message to surrender themselves and their assets. Assignees were appointed who would be responsible for taking over the bankrupt's assets and for valuing them, collecting any outstanding debts and selling off any assets as was deemed appropriate. Once at least three-quarters of the creditors were satisfied that all that could be done to recoup their losses had been done, and the commissioners were of the same opinion, the bankrupt was discharged with their certificate of conformity, they were freed of any outstanding debts and could start business again with a clean slate.⁷⁸ For some, the process was relatively quick and meant a fresh start and a second chance, but for others, such as James Longman who is examined as a case study below, the process could be long, complicated and never really completed to the satisfaction of all parties. Firstly, though, we look at the overall picture of bankruptcy patterns.

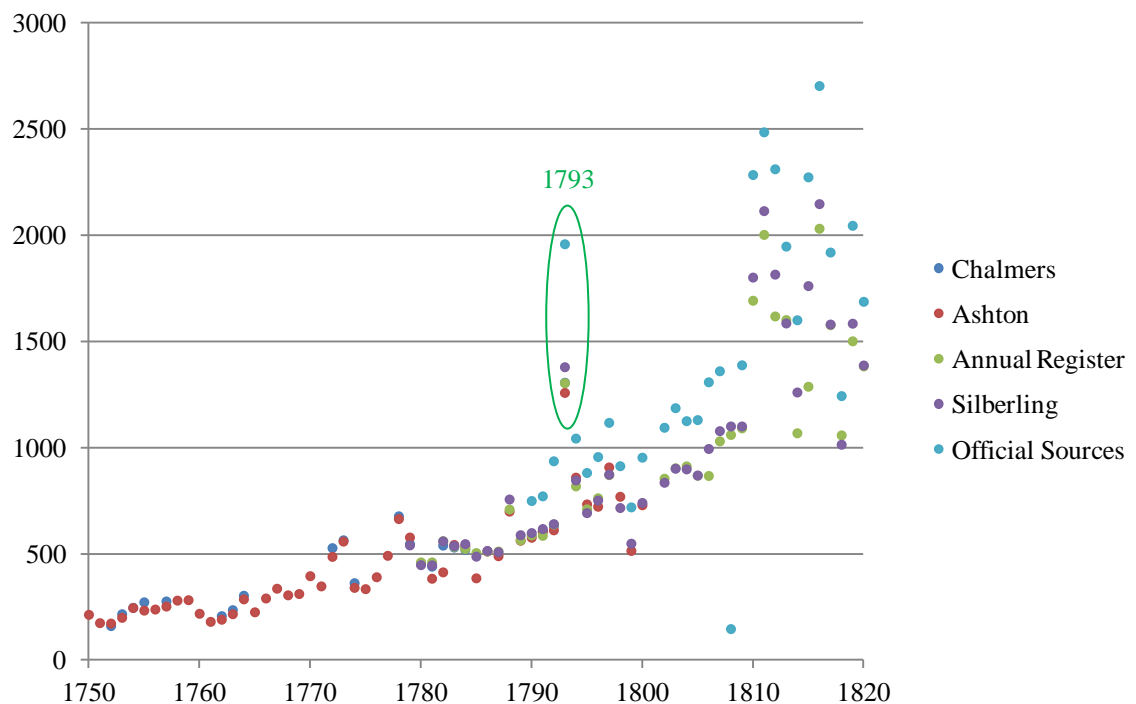


Figure 6.28: Overall picture of bankruptcies for the period 1760–1820 using statistics from Mitchell (1988),⁷⁹ highlighting the year 1793

⁷⁸ Marriner (1980), 361–4.

⁷⁹ Mitchell's sources are: G Chalmers (editions of 1794, 1804 & 1812), *Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain* (London); T S Ashton (1955), *An Economic History of England: the Eighteenth*

This graph demonstrates the problems faced by anyone researching in this field: the data from different sources is not always in very close agreement, particularly from the late 1780s onwards. However, it is clear that there was a conspicuous peak in 1793 where all of the sources give a much higher rate than would be expected from the general trend. The general trend is itself one of a gradual increase through the eighteenth century and for a more pronounced increase, shown by the steeper curve, from 1788. Nevertheless, all of the sources do agree on an ongoing increase in bankruptcy numbers into the nineteenth century.



Figure 6.29: Bankruptcies of musical-instrument makers for the period 1760–1820

Figure 6.29 shows the numbers of musical-instrument makers who suffered bankruptcy during the same period, using data from *The London Gazette* (see Appendix 8). Clearly, there were relatively few bankruptcies of musical-instrument makers before 1787. From that year until 1803, there was at least one bankruptcy a year, with four cases in 1793. From 1804, there are again fewer cases, but more than there had been before 1787. It is interesting to compare this envelope with that shown in Figure 6.28 above. There appears to be a change in distribution of overall figures in the year 1788 when the gradual trend jumped to a slightly higher level, only one year different from instrument

Century (London); *The Annual Register*, from J R McCulloch (1845), *Statistical Account of the British Empire* (London); J N Silberling (1925), 'British Prices & Business Cycles 1779-1850', *Review of Economic Statistics* (5), citing *The London Gazette*.

makers. Furthermore, both graphs show an anomaly in 1793 with a distinct peak in numbers. In contrast, though, whereas the overall figures continue to increase throughout the period, the number of instrument makers suffering bankruptcy does not, but instead reduces for the period 1804 to 1819. Further discussion relating to the period between 1787 and 1803 which led to an increase in the rate of bankruptcy will be included along with insolvencies in the following section.

6.6.4: Insolvency

For those who were not officially classed as traders, being declared bankrupt was not an option. These individuals remained responsible for their debts, but there was no formal process by which their assets could be divided and their debt cleared. As a result, they were at the mercy of the common law and the likelihood was that they would remain in one of the debtors prisons until they and their creditors came to some agreement or they died.

For the period under examination, musical-instrument makers are to be found among those listed in the Fleet Prison (8 individuals), the King's Bench (7 individuals) and the Marshalsea (1 individual) as well as one in the Poultry Compter and another in the Wood Street Compter. While the Fleet, King's Bench and Marshalsea were all specifically debtors prisons, the latter two establishments were among numerous small prisons, also called counters, which were controlled by local sheriffs and held prisoners guilty of civil offences, including debt.

Since prisoners in these various institutions were listed in *The London Gazette* (see Appendix 8), it has been possible to identify them and to see when their first, second and third notices were included. Then, for some it has been possible to refer back to the archives of each prison which are held at The National Archives and to discover more about their individual circumstances. Unfortunately the commitment books for the Fleet Prison have been lost for the years between 1760 and 1778, so it is not possible to find further information from this source. It is also necessary to use the various sources in conjunction with one another since while entries in *The London Gazette* include occupations, the Fleet Prison Commitment books do not.

By looking at insolvent debtors and bankrupts together, we can gain a more general impression of those experiencing financial difficulties whether or not they were classed as traders.

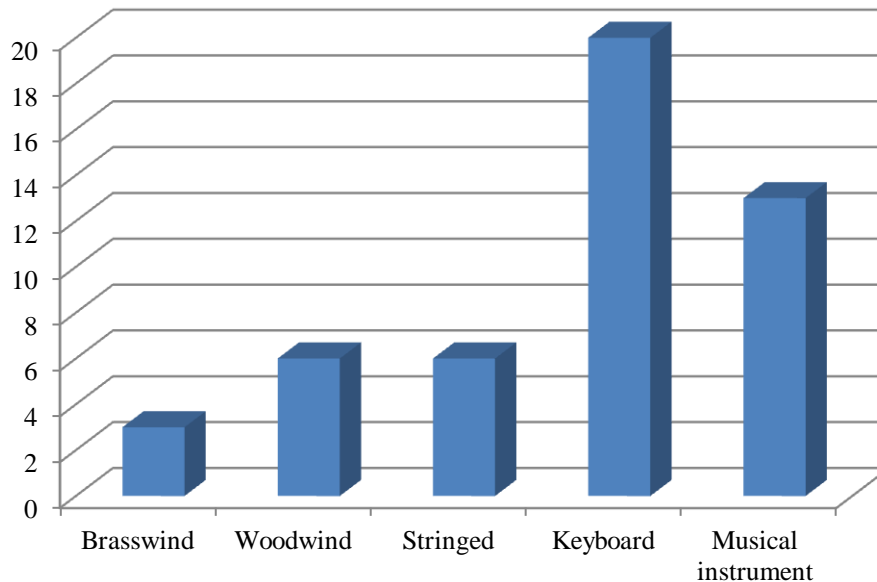


Figure 6.30: Bankruptcies and insolvencies within each instrument group, 1760–1819

Figure 6.30 illustrates the distribution of bankruptcies and insolvencies between the instrument groupings and shows that keyboard and general musical-instrument makers were much more likely to suffer financial distress than stringed, woodwind and particularly brasswind makers. Of course, as has become clear in earlier sections, there were more makers involved in these aspects of the trade, so a higher representation amongst failing companies might be expected.

Looking next at the overall failure figures by decade, we can see from Figure 6.31 that there was a definite peak in financial problems in the 1790s, which had been in part anticipated in the 1770s, and which subsequently tailed off into the 1820s. The 1780s was a relatively quiet time in terms of financial problems.

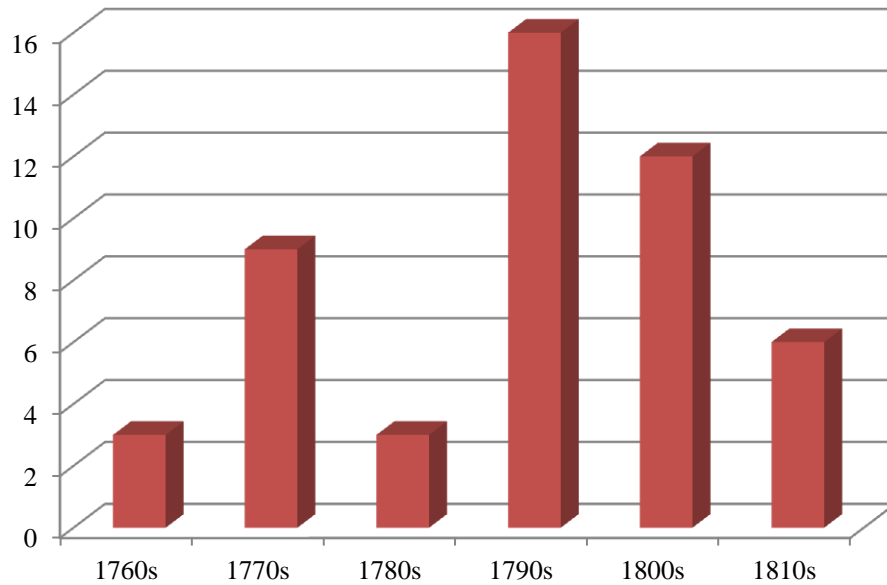


Figure 6.31: Bankruptcies and insolvencies by decade, 1760s to 1810s

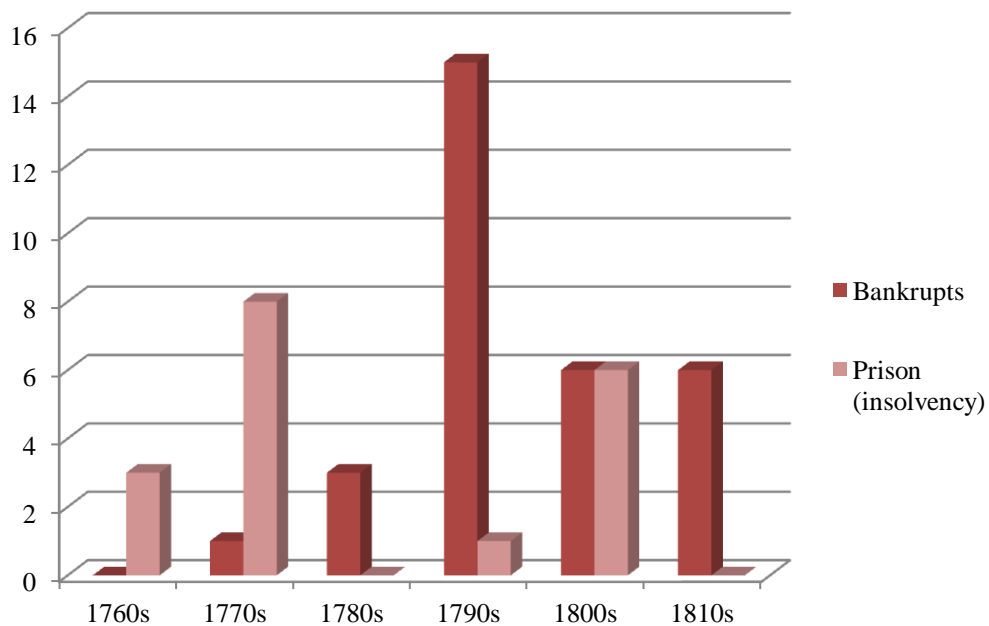


Figure 6.32: Bankruptcies and insolvencies by decade examined separately

Examining bankruptcies and insolvencies alongside one another, Figure 6.32 reveals that they did not occur in parallel. One of the reasons for the increase in bankruptcies in the 1780s and 1790s may be that more firms were classed as traders and could therefore go down this route which had a much clearer conclusion than that of insolvency: bankruptcy at least had light at the end of the tunnel.

The high figure for bankruptcies in the 1790s is due in part to the anomaly in 1793 which has already been commented on and can be seen as part of a widespread financial crisis in that year which grew largely out of the cotton industry. Hoppit describes this as ‘the most important [crisis] in the century’ and indicates that it was led by rising levels of doubt and uncertainty leading to investors calling in their debts, and wanting to exchange their bills for coin of the realm. This led to companies in many fields struggling as they had no cash in hand with which to pay their debts.⁸⁰ Thus, in this case instrument makers were caught up in widespread problems not necessarily of their own making. As already noted, the number of bankruptcies after 1804 returned to a relatively low level, and although there was a higher number of insolvencies in the 1800s than there had been in either the 1780s or 1790s, there were no insolvencies in the 1810s, suggesting that instrument makers were at this point somehow managing to buck the general trend of increased financial problems. Perhaps the most exciting period of novelty and experimentation in instrument making had passed and levels of risks had as a result become lower. The final section of this chapter looks in more detail at the financial wrangling and bankruptcy of one of the foremost firms active in London from the late 1760s, that of Longman & Broderip, whose bankruptcy proceedings began two years after the crisis of 1793.

6.7: Case Study: Longman & Broderip’s Financial Problems and Bankruptcy

Despite the success of their business for nearly three decades, Longman & Broderip ultimately succumbed to financial difficulties brought on by the widespread depression in the 1790s. Longman, in particular, seems to have borrowed large sums of money⁸¹ and, while this helped to create a huge business empire which stretched to Europe, India and the West Indies, when the cash crisis of the mid 1790s hit London businesses, Longman was not able to pay his dues.

Some of the problems faced by Longman & Broderip over the years can be seen in their advertisements and in the various court cases in which they were involved. Although

⁸⁰ Hoppit (1986), 54–5.

⁸¹ TNA: PRO B1/93, Office of the Commission of Bankrupts and Successors: Order books relating to petitions against declarations of bankruptcy, 1795–6, 68–73.

they had previously operated successfully within the credit system, in the 1790s Longman & Broderip tried to avoid the problem of outstanding debts, as shown in one of their advertisements:

To prevent the trouble and difficulty attending the collecting of cash due for tuning, and the frequent disputes respecting the same, it is humbly presumed that Ladies and Gentlemen cannot be offended if payment is required at the time, by the Tuner, except of those who agree by the year.⁸²

In an example of funds not being forthcoming, a case brought before the King's Bench in 1783 shows that George Wynne, a music seller who had been based in London but apparently moved to Cambridge, owed Longman & Broderip the sum of £164 16s 2d, the residue of a number of transactions relating to 'divers Goods Wares and Merchandizes [sic]', 'divers Materials and things necessary' as well as 'Work and Labour'.⁸³ It appears that Longman & Broderip won the case as well as their expenses.

The archival sources begin to give an impression of increasing financial difficulties from the mid 1780s. These initially do not rest on any real lack of money or credit, but rather on the lack of ready cash with which to pay off immediate and pressing debts. When Longman moved into 26 Cheapside, he became friendly with his neighbour, a china seller named Thomas Hodgson, and from about 1774 regularly borrowed money from him.⁸⁴ Longman's debts included £2,500 for a mortgage, £1,000 in the 5% stock, some £2,721 in the 4% stock and £3,000 in the 3% stock, making a total of £9,221 2s 4d, of which he endeavoured to pay off about £1,000 per annum, including interest. By September 1785, the amount of money owed by Longman was so great that he offered Hodgson a share in the business, essentially as a 'sleeping partner'. Longman had a three-quarter share of the partnership of Longman & Broderip, and offered Hodgson one third of that, that is a quarter of the whole business. Naturally Hodgson and his advisors needed to assess whether this was a fair offer, so the business was valued. The date for the assessment was chosen retrospectively as 1 August 1783 and its value at that time was deemed to be £29,377 11s 11d. This is a substantial amount, probably

⁸² *The Star*, 25 January 1792, issue 1170.

⁸³ House of Lords Record Office, Main Papers, Parchment Collection, HL/PO/JO/10/2/58, 27 January to 9 December 1783, Longman et al v Wynne, Writ of Error.

⁸⁴ TNA: PRO B1/94, 1797–8, 111–4.

equivalent to over £1¾ million in modern terms,⁸⁵ demonstrating the extent of the business which Longman and his partners had built up.

Before the situation was resolved, Hodgson died, having appointed his partner Payler Donaldson, Richard Burleigh⁸⁶ and James Longman as his executors. In December 1769, Sarah Smith, a young lady of some fortune, had given £3,200 to Hodgson to be invested on her behalf⁸⁷ and she therefore sent the executors her account of the money she claimed was due to her from Hodgson. Donaldson replied that he had paid off some of this debt and that Smith was also receiving £200 per annum from property belonging to the Hodgson estate. Longman too believed that Smith's claim was for more than was actually owed to her and added that he had made many payments as Hodgson's executor, having paid out more on behalf of the estate than he had received. He was also unable to determine how much money was owed to Hodgson from Longman & Broderip for his share in the business. Longman was clearly worried about having to pay off a large debt in a single payment. He argued that:

although the said Business is very Lucrative and Profitable yet from the very Great Extent thereof and of the Capital required therein it hath not been and would not be Practicable with any Degree of Convenience or advisable to draw out thereupon so much as would be necessary to pay at once the amount of the said one fourth part of the said Trade and Stock so assigned to the said Testator adding that it

is impracticable if not Impossible for him to pay the same in any other manner than as Directed and allowed to this Defendant by the said Testators ... without greatly distressing if not materially injuring the said Trade.⁸⁸

Further evidence concerning Longman's financial activities is found in the Bedford Estate Records.⁸⁹ In February 1788, Longman purchased a number of properties from Payler Donaldson who had inherited them from his father.⁹⁰ Later in the same year, Longman & Broderip took a loan of £500 from William Herne using these properties as

⁸⁵ There is no simple or generally agreed way of converting historical values into their modern equivalents, but to give some idea, TNA Currency Converter gives a modern equivalent of £1,846,344 at 1780 rates.

⁸⁶ Further information concerning Richard Burleigh has yet to be found.

⁸⁷ TNA: PRO C12/178/48, Smith v Longman, 1791; TNA: PRO C12/185/38, Smith v Longman, 1792.

⁸⁸ TNA: PRO C12/185/38, Smith v Longman, 1792.

⁸⁹ LMA, Bedford Estate Records, E/BER/CG/T/III/&/8-30.

⁹⁰ TNA: PRO C12/178/48, Smith v Longman, 1791.

security. In September, however, it appears that Herne required re-payment, so Longman was obliged to apply elsewhere for the money. This time, Longman, his wife Elizabeth and Broderip entered into a contract with James Vashon, a Captain in his Majesty's Navy, at that time in command of the ship the *Europa* on 'the Jamaica station'. Captain Vashon was not paid back until 1791, when Longman applied to Sir James Sanderson, Robert Harrison, John Brenchley, Matthew Bloxam and Robert Parker of Southwark to act as the firm's bankers. The bankers agreed and a rate of 5% on the mortgage was granted on the condition that Longman kept the premises in Middlesex insured against fire.⁹¹ In November 1791, Longman regained possession of these premises for the last time, before he finally sold them to Francis, Duke of Bedford, in August 1792, for £1,100. Thus, while Longman's financial dealings with numerous individuals and companies enabled him to increase the size of his business when all was going well, they not only brought court cases on his shoulders, but also added to the problems which ultimately led to Longman & Broderip's bankruptcy.

Longman and Broderip appear in the Registers of Commissions of Bankruptcy on 23 May 1795,⁹² initially with two suits brought against them, by James Pierce and Joseph Spooner. Two additional suits brought by Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow followed in November 1795 for £1,000 and in the Easter term 1796 for a further £627.⁹³ The assignees for their case were chosen, in the persons of:

William Bloxam of Lombard Street, Merchant

William Blake of Aldersgate Street, Banker

Josiah Banger of Hackney, Gentleman

Muzio Clementi of Upper Mary Bone Street, Gentleman [musician]

John Wood of Foster Lane, Cheapside, Jeweller⁹⁴

It was decided that these five men would assist Longman & Broderip in continuing to run the business as usual, as this would be of most benefit to the creditors.⁹⁵ David

⁹¹ LMA ex LGL Ms 8674/132/246, 79260, 11 October 1790, Hand-in-Hand.

⁹² *The London Gazette*, issue 13781, 23 May 1795.

⁹³ Fleet Prison Commitment Books: admissions registers detailing the commitment of debtors to the prison, TNA: PRO PRIS1/16, 1795 Feb 9–1796 Nov 16, 134; Fleet Prison Commitment Files, TNA: PRO PRIS2/73.

⁹⁴ TNA: PRO B1/93, 68–73 and TNA: PRO C13/33/13, Wood v Norman, 1803. This latter case relates to the ownership of various lands in which James Longman is again involved.

Davis, who had been the ‘superintendent’ of the firm for around ten years, now worked as the manager for the assignees.⁹⁶ A second announcement in the *Gazette*, dated April 1796 indicated that ‘their Certificate will be allowed and confirmed ... unless Cause be shewn to the contrary on or before the 14th Day of May next.’⁹⁷ However, by this date they were still not in the clear, as there remained some unsatisfied creditors.

On 28 July 1796, Richard Burleigh (Hodgson’s executor and legatee) together with Donaldson’s own bankruptcy assignees again pressed Longman for the debts owing originally to Hodgson. This case gives further details of Longman’s dealings with Hodgson. It had taken George Eltoft (Longman & Broderip’s clerk) and Payler Donaldson nearly three years to examine all the accounts which had passed between Longman and Hodgson, before reaching a total for the remaining debt in September 1794. They concluded that Longman still owed Hodgson £3,879 7s 11d, being the residue of borrowings and notes amounting in total to ‘near a Million of money’.⁹⁸ Longman had apparently paid off small amounts of this remaining debt before 1795 and it was assumed that the full amount would gradually follow, but when Longman & Broderip went bankrupt, the situation changed. Burleigh and Somersall were obliged to present evidence of their debt to the commissioners in order to gain a dividend along with the other creditors.⁹⁹ This matter was still not resolved in August 1798, when they appeared again to prove debts owing both to Hodgson’s private estate and to the partnership of Hodgson & Donaldson. It was ordered that they be admitted as creditors and that they should receive a dividend in proportion to that received by the other creditors.

Longman and Broderip were committed to the Fleet Prison on 13 November 1795, where they remained for almost a year, their discharge coming on 2 November 1796.¹⁰⁰ Following their release, Longman and Broderip together with the assignees continued to work to resolve the financial troubles. However, an 1802 court case indicates that the

⁹⁵ TNA: PRO E112/1771/5631.

⁹⁶ Old Bailey, t17960406-83 & t17960406-84.

⁹⁷ TNA: PRO ZJ1/94, 384.

⁹⁸ TNA: PRO B1/93.

⁹⁹ TNA: PRO B1/93, B1/94, B1/96 & B1/97.

¹⁰⁰ Entry books for discharges, TNA: PRO PRIS10/52; Discharges, TNA: PRO PRIS3/5.

structure of the firm changed, with Broderip working from the Haymarket shop and Longman taking Cheapside and Tottenham Court Road.¹⁰¹ This remained the status quo until November 1798 when the business was finally sold, in the same two divisions. Broderip still carried on working at the Haymarket shop, with a new partner, Charles Wilkinson junior.¹⁰² Longman's part of the business was bought by John Longman, Muzio Clementi (musician),¹⁰³ Frederick Augustus Hyde (music publisher), Frederick William Collard (piano maker), Josiah Banger (one of the assignees) and David Davis (organ builder and former employee of Longman & Broderip). This John Longman was James' brother¹⁰⁴ who still lived in Somerset and may have lived there until his death in 1819¹⁰⁵ with James Longman acting in his place in London.¹⁰⁶ John had apparently become involved to help his brother out of some of his difficulties: James was to receive £200 per year for his work for the firm, and he was to inherit John's portion of the business should John die first. In addition, James was to receive 1gn for every piano sold reflecting Southwell's patent, or the sum of £315 per annum (300gn), whichever was the greater. Furthermore, once John had been reimbursed for his initial investment, James was to take over his share in the business.

Unfortunately, James Longman's financial problems were not solved by this sale and the subsequent financial arrangements. Further disagreements over the Southwell Patent and James' lack of cooperation with the firm as well as further debts led to him being re-admitted into the Fleet on 26 January 1803, for want of bail in four cases, for a total of some £460.¹⁰⁷ This time, however, he would not leave prison alive. According to the prison inquest Longman was taken ill on 8 November, with 'a pleurisy in his side attended with fever and a cold'. He died shortly before midnight on Friday 11

¹⁰¹ TNA: PRO E/112/1787/6238, Longman v Assignees, 1802.

¹⁰² Kassler (2011a).

¹⁰³ The involvement of Clementi in the firm is discussed in Rowland (2004) and (2011), 125–91.

¹⁰⁴ TNA: PRO C/13/70/42, Shaw v Longman, 1806.

¹⁰⁵ John Longman was buried at St John the Evangelist, Milborne Port, on 12 June 1819 aged 77 (National Burial Index).

¹⁰⁶ TNA: PRO C13/29/34, Longman v Clementi, 1803.

¹⁰⁷ TNA: PRO PRIS 1/26, 49; PRIS 2/88.

November 1803¹⁰⁸ and was interred in the lower ground of St Bride's church, Fleet Street.¹⁰⁹

His death was announced in *The Times*¹¹⁰ and in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the latter also publishing a longer obituary notice, which included:

[Longman's] finances, however, were affected by the common misfortunes of the Continent. Mr. Longman, who, according to his own account, had 70,000l. owing to his establishment in Cheapside, Tottenham Court road, &c. was compelled to have recourse to a statute of bankruptcy, a remaining contingent of which immured him in the Fleet prison, where, borne down by the severe pressure of "a wounded spirit", he was suddenly seized with a pleuritic complaint, which terminated in his dissolution.¹¹¹

This gives a further explanation for Longman's financial problems. The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars had indeed given rise to widespread economic difficulties, and foreign trade of all kinds had sharply declined in the 1790s, resulting in the 1793 financial crisis and a British recession in 1797.¹¹² The figure of £70,000 appears on first perusal to be very high, but it is not out of proportion with the dealings between Longman and Hodgson, the valuation made of the company twenty years earlier, or indeed the debts owing to Wedgwood mentioned above.¹¹³

6.8: Conclusions

Although the period 1760 to 1820 was a period of great possibilities and opportunities for musical-instrument makers, it was also a period of risk-taking culminating in success for some and disaster for others. The culture of credit proved to be useful to firms such as Erard where there was on-going trust between the creditor and the debtor. The short-term loans which Erard was able to obtain based on a sound business enterprise, the growing popularity of the harp, and collateral assets in the form of a collection of valuable paintings, enabled the firm to get through its financial difficulties

¹⁰⁸ CLRO, Prison Inquests, 12 November 1803.

¹⁰⁹ St Bride's, Fleet Street, burials, LGL Ms 6543/1.

¹¹⁰ *The Times*, issue 5868, 16 November 1803.

¹¹¹ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, issue 73, 1803.

¹¹² Rudé (1971), 228.

¹¹³ Wainwright (1982), 98: some £41,477.

and to thrive into the twentieth century. However, other firms, notably that of Longman & Broderip, although working within this same financial structure, found themselves entangled in large networks of debt and instability, and were sucked into bankruptcy when their credit ran out and they had no cash with which to pay their debts.

Overall patterns of financial problems show that while in the eighteenth century, a time when a great deal of interest in novelty bred higher amounts of risk-taking, instrument makers followed wider patterns of bankruptcy and insolvency. Once the century had turned, they appear to have been able to buck the overall trend and to keep bankruptcy figures at a more-or-less stable level. Although the reasons for this must be conjectural, it is possible that the markets for pianos, harps and other 'high end' instruments had stabilised so investment here became less of a risk. Also, once the uncertainty relating to the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars had passed, people were perhaps happier to spend money on luxuries such as musical instruments.

The two main examples of failure in this study, Longman & Broderip and Clauss, both demonstrate that financial difficulties can be largely the result of the mishandling of finances, including debts and credit. In Longman's case, he had borrowed too much and had not been able to obtain payment from his customers, particularly those based abroad. With Clauss and Levy, their arguing led to the construction side and the financial side of the company becoming separated. This economic mismanagement may not have been true in all cases, but appears to have been a significant factor here. As well as their own problems, Longman & Broderip's failure was a contributory factor in the failure of at least two other businesses, Culliford & Co and Henry Holland. Thus networks, as well as being useful, can cause problems when a business fails.

The examples of Clauss & Levy, Longman & Broderip and Erard all demonstrate that the musical-instrument making industry was supported by finances from elsewhere. While a few large firms who had already been in business for a number of years, such as Broadwood's, were able to generate sufficient income not to need external assistance, many other companies borrowed either in the long term for fixed capital or in the short term for circulating capital, without which funding they simply would not have been able to continue in business. This pattern fits well with that described by Mokyr, who outlines the three main routes from which firms gathered their finance: firstly, they

ploughed back any surplus; secondly, they borrowed from friends, relatives or partners; and thirdly, they borrowed from the more formal capital market which operated mainly through merchants, wholesalers and country banks.¹¹⁴ Thus, instrument making appears to have been a ‘normal’ industry. For the firms who had funds which they could afford to invest outside their own businesses, bank annuities and property were the favoured investments. The two largest keyboard makers, Kirkman and Broadwood, also acted as lenders to individuals outside the music trade, thus taking financial operations full circle.

Those firms deemed with hindsight to have been the most successful, that is the ones who survived well into the nineteenth century, were largely involved in the piano trade. Thus we see Broadwood’s, Clementi & Co and Erard’s expanding both their domestic and foreign markets and producing new instruments which were at once desirable and affordable to more than just the aristocratic elite. They also took close control of their finances, as evidenced by Broadwood’s ability to lend money outside the business, and Erard’s letters showing how he managed short term loans on a daily basis. It would be fair to suggest that their success was a combination of being in the area of musical-instrument making which was growing the fastest coupled with good business sense.

To date, musical instrument-making firms have largely been examined in isolation, but this chapter demonstrates the need to place all firms into a wider economic context in order to understand how they operated, who was underpinning them and where their finances were coming from. In some cases this was individual merchants, such as the chinaman Hodgson in Longman’s case or goldsmith Levy in Clauss’s. As has also been shown, we can gain a better understanding of the business as a whole by examining where their finances were spent within the firm and what use was made of surplus income should any arise. Having looked at the finances, labour, markets and inner structures of musical instrument-making firms in each chapter, I will now draw these areas together to construct a picture of the business of musical-instrument making in early industrial London.

¹¹⁴ Mokyr (1999), 63–4.

CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis examines musical-instrument making in London, focussing in particular on four aspects of business operations: the family and its relevance to the family business; the markets; the structures of firms in terms of their labour; and financial operations. These elements are significant in being the overarching structures in which musical instruments were made in terms of personal relationships and professional interactions in Georgian London and beyond. As well as opening a window on the lives and working practices of musical instrument makers themselves, an understanding of the market forces and economic context driving and underpinning the musical world can help musicologists to position and contextualise the working and personal lives of composers and musicians. Furthermore, histories of the twentieth- and twenty-first-century music industry are becoming ever more popular amongst cultural and musical sociologists, so having an earlier history with which to compare their findings is useful. This work also adds to studies in the fields of business history and economic history at a period when working practices were changing more rapidly in many industries and locations than they had done previously. Studies of craft workers such as scientific-instrument makers can provide instances with which musical-instrument makers can be compared in order to gain an overview of artisanal production and its locus within an ever-changing environment.

The main challenge when undertaking this work rests in the need to access and bring together a wide range of sources, since little remains in terms of the firms' own records. This is necessary in order to find sufficient information to be able to construct a broad picture of musical-instrument making which is grounded in historical data. This process begins with locating relevant and useful sources and then exploring, transcribing and interpreting their contents. It has not always been easy to reconcile the information held in one source with that from another due to the nature of the archives themselves. Since each document was created for a particular purpose, the data contained within it is in some sense biased. This bias has to be considered when using the source for new purposes so as not to draw any false conclusions. The most extreme examples include court cases where individuals are putting their side of an argument as strongly as possible in order to secure a judgement in their favour. However, using as many sources as possible diminishes the effect of the bias of each individual source since a

centre of gravity becomes apparent and an appropriate interpretation of the evidence can be proposed.

As more archival sources become accessible due to the digitisation of both collections catalogues and the archives themselves, it is to be anticipated that more information will become available. However, researchers should not become complacent since search engines are never perfect and the material being searched can have idiosyncrasies which can distort the outcome of any search. Central to this is the fact that spellings were not standardised in the eighteenth century, with the names of instruments and people being spelt in a number of different ways. For example, when searching for information on piano makers during the research for this thesis, the instrument's name has been found spelt in numerous different ways, including piano forte, piano fort, pianoforte, forte piano, fortepiano, piano, piana forte and even piannaforty. Had a search been undertaken for only one spelling, much information would have been missed. It is therefore important to think phonetically, to search under a variety of spellings and with only a few letters, in this case 'pian'. This includes considering double and single letters such as in the name of piano maker Robert Soddart, who can be found with one or two ds as well as one or two ts. It is also helpful to think from a range of different points of view, including instrument names, makers' names and addresses so that any references with spellings which have not been considered can still be found.

The area covered by this thesis which is perhaps least examined by the wider scholarly community is that of the financial operations, and there is certainly room for further exploration to locate materials not used here as well as additional analysis of the data which formed the basis of Chapters 5 and 6. It would be of particular interest to be able to compare detailed accounts of a wind instrument-making firm from the late eighteenth century, but as yet no such archive has come to light. Although patterns of financial behaviour inevitably vary between firms based on their size and output, it is significant to note that both Clauss and Erard spent just over a quarter of their monthly outlay on their workers. Whether this is merely coincidental or whether this was normal can only be established with further data and research. The accounts of these two firms have helped us to see that while some workers were based in-house and were directly employed by the firm, others were employed on short-term contracts and some items were bought in from outside specialists.

The four main firms used as case studies throughout this thesis have given us a great deal of insight into the workings of different types and scales of manufacturers. We have seen that Broadwood and Erard were both top-end manufacturers who largely dealt with aristocratic customers. Clauss and Longman & Broderip both were catering for a wider range of markets with the latter doing so on a particularly large scale. We have also seen the contrast between the three specialist firms and the generalists of Longman & Broderip who catered to all levels and across the board in terms of instrument types. Between them, we can see the variety of structures which firms operating within the London musical-instrument trade as a whole were able to take.

There are a number of key points which have emerged from this work and which have enabled a model for musical instrument manufacturing businesses in London between c1760 and c1820 to be constructed. Firstly, the family was central to many firms, either as a single line of descent or as a group of complex interactions between different consanguineous groups. This is strongly related to the fact that in many cases, home and workplace coincided, and only a few firms set up large-scale manufactories during this period. Neither families nor firms conformed to a single structure: both varied in size and content but the structures built in either the family or the business context were highly significant in creating bonds and a sense of belonging which were important in the other. For small firms with no separate workshop, there appears to have been little distinction between private and professional areas, with making or storage permeating the whole establishment. Significantly, women were an integral and active part of musical instrument-making firms, particularly when the home and workshop were co-located or when death meant that continuity relied on a woman taking the lead. Roles included financial management, booking appointments and running the home and work spaces as well as involvement in instrument making itself.

Many aspects of construction changed little over the period in question. Division of labour was common, while some makers used the piece work (Broadwood) and putting out (Longman & Broderip) systems. Firms retained longer term employees on wages, as well as using seasonal workers as demand required (Erard). Instruments were also bought in from specialist makers and rebranded with the firm's name, in some cases making the identification of the actual maker difficult (Longman & Broderip). Some individuals and partnerships had formal contracts for the exclusive supply of

instruments to larger firms (Longman & Broderip with Culliford & Co), again making the untangling of businesses challenging. The movement of specialist woodworkers and cabinet makers between firms demonstrates the extent to which instrument making was integrated into wider manufacturing and business structures within London.

However, some changes did take place for a few musical-instrument makers. The most successful firms grew into large-scale operations, making use of factory production techniques bringing their workers together under one roof, but they did not adopt the power tools used in other industries so in some ways remained artisanal in style. The piano trade in particular increased in scale with some firms, notably Broadwood's and Longman & Broderip, relocating their workshops to large manufactories away from their central showrooms, this also having the effect of separating domestic and business operations. Nevertheless, as Dodd stated in 1843,

The pianoforte manufacture is one in which nothing but highly-skilled manual dexterity can make and adjust the numerous pieces of mechanism involved in it; and those workmen who possess this skill are not likely to be supplanted by any automatic machinery.⁷⁶⁹

Indeed, Morrison-Low's summary with relation to scientific-instrument makers can just as appropriately be applied to their musical contemporaries:

Unlike workers in other sectors of the economy which experienced dramatic economic upheaval through technological change during the Industrial Revolution, the skilled artisans of the scientific instruments trade did not become deskilled through sudden changes in technology – as did, for instance, the handloom weavers. The instrument trade thus forms part of the 'slow growth' model of industry during the Industrial Revolution. This is unsurprising, as most of the products were still hand-made, so productivity was always going to remain slow.⁷⁷⁰

As the century moved on, makers became much more likely to insure their property, as has been shown by the huge increase in policies taken out with the Sun Fire Insurance Company in the 1760s and 1770s compared to earlier decades. This demonstrates a change in business practices and in the thinking behind the construction process rather than any changes in manufacture itself. As yet we have insufficient evidence to state whether financial operations also saw any significant changes, although the similarity between the percentage of the monthly bills spent on workers between Clauss in the

⁷⁶⁹ Dodd (1843), 407.

⁷⁷⁰ Morrison-Low (2007), 293.

1780s and Erard in the 1800s already mentioned would suggest that there could be more continuity than change in at least this aspect.

The types of instrument made in part dictated the market which the maker was addressing, with customers ranging from professional to amateur, male or female, affluent to aspiring. This would in turn have an impact on the affluence of the maker since firms were able in general to operate on the basis of 100% mark-up on the production costs, as exemplified by Erard, Broadwood and Erat. This meant that the instruments which were more expensive to make also saw the highest amount of profit per item. They also held the highest amount of risk, so were more likely to be covered by a fire insurance policy. Some markets were beyond the control of makers and were instead heavily influenced by external factors such as the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic conflicts. These include the need for band instruments by military regiments as well as export markets to mainland Europe and the wider world, particularly in the European colonies. Other markets could be led by makers promoting new, fashionable inventions, playing to the excitement surrounding novelty and innovation.

Firms were usually financed from any combination of three main sources: the profits of the firm itself; partnerships where one partner provided the funding and the other the expertise; and short-term or long-term loans from banks and merchants. The amount of money made by instrument makers in wages ranged from a few shillings a week at the bottom of the scale to £5,000–£6,000 per year for the heads of the largest firms. While some makers were able to work well within the credit system through careful management of short-term loans, others over-reached themselves and as a result suffered financial failure. Patterns of bankruptcy matched the overall picture in London in the eighteenth century, but in contrast to a continuing rise overall in the early nineteenth century, numbers actually fell for instrument makers.

One theme which has come out of my research is the interconnectedness of the London musical-instrument trade. Many of the links between individuals and firms only become apparent when detailed examination and analysis of a variety of archival resources is undertaken. For example, three firms – those of Charles Pinto, Christian Clauss and Mary Shudi – were all connected in various ways both within and beyond

the musical world of eighteenth-century London: Pinto and Clauss disagreed publicly concerning patent rights to keyed guitars; Clauss's attorney, Mr Partis, also represented Shudi in the case brought against her by William Pether; and Clauss and Shudi both used Jacob Hansler, a dealer in musical woods, as one of their suppliers.⁷⁷¹ Furthermore, Pinto's early business partner Frederick Beck became Mary Shudi's son-in-law, showing that connections were personal as well as professional. In addition, Longman & Broderip bring to light further relationships between Clauss and Pinto: they appear to have used Pinto to supply them with guitars and they were as a result named in Clauss's petition, with instrument maker and mechanic Joseph Merlin appearing as a witness; and they used Henry Holland to supply them with organs, to whom Levy sold and lent items during the argument between himself and Clauss. Clauss's accounts also include the names of other individuals in the music business, such as music shop keepers Mr Welcker, Mr Burchell, Messrs Thompson and Mr Bremner;⁷⁷² alongside instrument makers Mr Merlin, Mr Beck (who has already been named in association with Pinto and Shudi), and Broadwood.

As well as enabling us to see links between makers and to conceptualise the complex structure of the instrument making industry as a whole, I have been able to reveal glimpses into how individual firms worked internally. Comparison between inventories has shown that there were businesses of different sizes operating in contrasting ways, much as one would expect to have seen in any area of artisanal craft at this time. The adoption of new practices involving changes in working practices, location, and the use of new types of power was not a universal process: changes occurred in different ways in different industries and for individual firms. Within musical-instrument making, we see small, family firms located in the home continuing well into the nineteenth century alongside the larger firms like Broadwood's and Erard's which grew in scale but did not necessarily change their fundamental working practices. Some instruments provide examples of companies working on fashionable instruments with expanding markets and potential for growth, but not all of which fulfilled that potential. There existed a complex network of individuals and firms making musical instruments for a range of markets at a time of both continuity and dramatic change. Each individual firm, be they

⁷⁷¹ As did Erard.

⁷⁷² Humphries & Smith (1970), 326–7, 92, 307–9 & 83–4.

small or large, expanding or failing, can help us to understand better this important part of the London commercial and musical worlds.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Probate Inventory of Joshua Shudi, TNA: PRO PROB31/681/425

A Plain true Just perfect and particular Account of all and Singular the Goods Chattels and Credits of Joshua Shudi / ~~otherwise Schudi~~ late of the Parish of Saint James Westminster in the County of Middlesex deceased which since / his death have been received by Mary Shudi ~~otherwise Schudi~~ Widow the Relict and Sole Executrix named in the / last Will and Testament of the said deceased as follows that is to say /

The Charge

This Accountant chargeth herself with the Sum of Three hundred twenty seven pounds four Shillings being the / Sum total of the Inventory hereunto annexed but this Accountant doth declare that the household Goods and Stock / in Trade mentioned in the said Inventory were sold by Auction for a great deal less than they were appraised at by her / Carrying on the business after the deceased's death which she did by Consent of the deceased Creditors /

} 327..4..0

A plain true Just and particular account of all and singular such Sum and Sums of Money as / have been necessarily paid laid out and expended by the said Mary Shudi ~~otherwise Schudi~~ and / which she hath been put unto as the sole Executrix named in the last Will and Testament of the said deceased / follow that is to say –

The Discharge

First – This Accountant craveth an allowance of the Sum of Seventy five pounds four shillings paid by her to / M^r. William Pether in part of a debt on Bond for the sum of one hundred and seventy one pounds which with Interest / amounted at the time of the deceased death to the Sum of One hundred and Ninety six pounds thirteen Shillings –

} 75..4..0

Also – This accountant craveth an allowance of the Sum of Thirty seven ponds eleven shillings and sixpence paid for / the Interest to the first day of February one thousand seven hundred and seventy Nine on the remainder of the said Mr / Pethers Bond –

} 37..11.6

Also – This Accountant craveth and allowance of the Sum of Two pounds two Shillings paid M^r. Rob^t Jenner / for the Probate of the Will of the said deceased as by bill and Receipt

} 2..2..0

Also – This Accountant craveth an Allowance of the Sum of Twelve pounds twelve Shillings paid by her to M^r. Allen a / debt due to him by Note of hand for money lent the said deceased in his Illness as per Receipt –

} 12..12..0

Also – This Accountant craveth on Allowance of the Sum of Two pounds three Shillings being paid by her to two Chairmen / for Carriage of Goods in the Deceased Way of Trade –

} 2..3..0

Also – This Accountant craveth an Allowance of the Sum of Three pounds being paid by her to M ^r . Price a Smith / in full of a debt due to him for Work done for the deceased –	} 3 –
Also – This Accountant craveth an allowance of the Sum of Two pounds eighteen Shillings and ten pence paid by her / to M ^r Thompson a Baker in full of a debt due to him for Bread as by bill and receipt –	} 2..18..10
Also – This Accountant craveth an Allowance of the Sum of Six Pounds Six Shillings being paid by her to M ^r . / Townsend in full of a debt due to him for money lent the said deceased in his Illness as by receipt	} 6..6..0
Also – This Accountant craveth an allowance of the Sum of Eleven pounds fourteen Shillings and Sixpence / being paid by her to M ^r Cosper the said deceaseds Journeyman for Wages due to him at the said deceaseds death as / by bill and Receipt –	} 11..14..6
Also – This Accountant craveth an allowance of the Sum of Six pounds Six Shillings paid by her to M ^r Ellmer / in full of a debt due to him for money lent the said deceased as by Receipt –	} 6..6..0
Also – This Accountant craveth an allowance of the Sum of Twenty five pounds being paid by her for half / a years Rent and Taxes due from the said deceased to the first quarter day after the deceaseds death –	} 25..0..[?]
Also – This Accountant craveth an allowance of the Sum of Four Shillings being paid by her to / Mess ^s . Martindale and Routledge for appraising the said Deceased Goods as by Receipt –	} 4..4..0
Also – his Accountant craveth a allowance of the Sum of four Pounds Nineteen Shillings and Eleven pence paid / by her to M ^r Partis an Attorney for Law Charges in a Suit brought by M ^r Pether against this Accountant in the Court of / Kings Bench as Executrix to the deceased in this Cause –	} 4..19..11
Also this Accountant craveth an Allowance of all the following Sum and Sums of Money being / minor Sums not exceeding forty Shillings necessarily paid laid out and expended by her and which she / hath been put unto as Executrix named in the last Will and Testament of the said deceased and that / she may be allowed the same upon her Oath as follows that is to say –	
Paid the Nurse for attending the deceased in his Illness	1..1..0
Paid M ^r . Cumbercross the deceaseds apothecary	15 6
Paid M ^r . Hunt apothecary	..3..6
Paid for sundry articles to nourish the said deceased in his Illness	1..18..0
Paid M ^r . Bates for a Chaldron of Coals being a debt due to him from the said deceased	1..17..0
Paid for advertisements –	..9–
Paid M ^r Crouch an attorney for attorney for Attendances and settling with the Creditors	1..1..0
Paid M ^r . Battersby a debt due to him from the said deceased	1..1..0

Also – This Accountant craveth an allowance of the following Sums of Money which she has / paid to the several Creditors for the said deceased hereafter mentioned as a Composition for their / several book debts, they having entered into an agreement to take such ~~book debts~~ ^{Composition} in full / ^{discharge} of such book debts among whom is William Pether party in this Cause – Viz

		Book Debts	Composition
425 Joshua Shudi dece'd Inventory and Account bro't in 1 st June 1780	Bart. Schulthes –	20..3..0	5..15..10 ½
	Jacob Hansler –	1..7..0	6..10 ¼
	William Allen –	3..15..8	1..1..[hole]
	William Wild for Burket Shudi –	16.16.0	4..17..0
	Jean Boulnois –	8.10..6	2..9..2
	William Pether –	19..2..6	5..10..9
	Philip Cook for George Smith –	5..13..11	1..12..6 ¼
	James Debatt –	10..2..0	2..17..11
	James Debatt for William Griffiths –	4..1..0	1..3..2
	William Hocker –	11..18..5	3..9..0
	Thomas Bryan –	1..7..6	7..6
	Daniel Quilt –	3..7..0	19.3
	John Battersby –	6..8..10	2..0..1 ¾
	Thomas Cooper –	3..16..9	1..0..11 ¼
	James Godins –	5..4..0	1..10 –
	Francis Henry Lenry –	3..6.. –	18.9 ½
	Thomas Price –	2..16..0	16..
	William Blackwell –	5..3..3	1..10.3 ¾
	Thomas Bowen –	1..11..9	9 –
	George Patten –	14..8..3	4..3..2 ¾
Mary Sawcer for Mary Gladwin –	9..6..0	2..3.6 ¾	
G. Jameson for Mess ^{rs} . Parker and Reed –	28..13..6	7..14..6	
John Snowden –	22.15.0	6..10.4 ½	

Also – This Accountant craveth an allowance of the Sum of five pounds five Shillings so much / being paid by her to M^r. Robert Longden her Proctor for drawing Copying and Ingrossing this account and / the Inventory hereunto annexed Stamps Acts of Court and Proctors fees in this Cause } 5 5 =

Lastly – This Accountant craveth an allowance of all and singular such further or other / Sun or Sums of Money which she shall or may hereafter necessarily pay out and expend or be put unto in / this or any other Suit or Suits that may hereafter be brought or commenced against her, which she shall or may / be obliged to bring or commence against any person or persons in this or any other Court as Executrix named in the last Will and Testament of the said deceased –

The thirtieth Day of May 1780
 The said Mary Shudi ~~otherwise Shudi~~ was duly } Mary Shudi
 Sworn to the truth of this Account –
 Before me

And: Colle Ducarel
 Surrogate
 Present Ken: Major
 Not: Pub.

A True and perfect Inventory of all and / singular the Goods Chattels and Credits / of Joshua Shudi late of the Parish of Saint / James Westminster in the County of Middlesex / deceased which since his death have come / to the hand possession or knowledge of / Mary Shudi Widow the Relict and Sole / Executrix named in the last Will and / Testament of the said deceased when valued / and appraised on the twenty fourth day / of June one thousand seven hundred and / seventy four by Robert Martindale and / Allan Routledge as follows that is to say –

In the Garrets

A German Stove and Funnels Mahogany / for twenty five Harpsichord-tops, three / old Trunks, sixty seven Leaves for sounding / boards, twenty one damaged ditto, seventeen / mahogany harpsichord cases, sixteen key / boards, an old Harpsichord, a small desk / and book Case, a deal box, eleven / Harpsichord frames, seven sets of keys / a Chest with an imperfect Set of Tools, a / small parcel of Crow Quils, a large Chest / Seven Wood Screws, eleven sounding board / Leaves, twenty six bellies ^{^ seventeen} Walnuttree / beeds, twenty one Octive bars, a parcel of / odd Bridges, two Gluing boards –

In the First Floor

An old Harpsichord about forty eight feet / Veneers three double keyed harpsichords / Mahogany Cases and frames, one ditto / not finished, one two unison ditto, a Bath / Stove Shovel tongs poker and fender, a / mahogany Spider leg table six ditto Chairs / horse hair seats two sconce Glasses, gilt / frames, a Chimney Glass ditto frame, a four / post bedstead printed Sammy Curtains, a / feather bed, a bolster, a pillow, an old mattras / three blankets, a dressing Glass, two prints / a small bedstead, a bed, a bolster, two pillows / three blankets, a quilt, a Nest of Shelves – Wearing // Wearing Apparel Linen &c / Four Suits of coloured Cloaths, one ditto old / black, a pair of old shag breeches, two ditto / hats, eight shirts, five Cravats, two / handkerchiefs, four pairs of Stockings, a / pair of Boots, two pair of Shoes, a pair of / Spurs, two old Surtout Coats, a Banyan / three pair of old Sheets, six pillow Cases, five / old table Cloths, six Towels, a Napkin, two / old Window Curtains, six table spoons, / six tea ditto, a pair of Tongs, six silver / handle knives ditto forks, a silver Watch / five faulty China bowls two tea pots, / twenty nine china plates, twelve Wine / Glasses a salt, a small Wilton Carpet, a broken Stair Case Lanthorn, a ~~passage ditto / and shade~~

In the Parlours &c

A Cast Iron bath Stove, Six Chairs leather Seats / a Walnuttree Bureau, a mahogany pillar & / Claw table, eleven prints framed and glazed, a / sconce glass in a Gilt frame, a mahogany tea / board, three mahogany Music Desks, two / China mugs, a Cannister five Cups, ditto Saucers / two decanters a bath stove fender Shovel tongs / poker Brush, a tea kettle, a Japanned Coal Scuttle / a mahogany Dining table, a ditto dumb Waiter / a ditto Tray, three prints, two Chairs, ten pieces / of Stone and other Ware, a Chest of Drawers, a Cloaths / horse three flat Irons, a box Iron and heaters / two stands seven ¼ inch Mahogany boards / eleven sundry boards a parcel of small ends of veneers, about one hundred and nineteen / feet of Veneers about 403 feet, 57 Walnuttree ditto about 88 feet

In the Kitchin &c

A Range with Cheeks and Keeper, two Trivets / a Gridiron, a Chopper, Spit, a fender, Shovel / and Tongs, a paid of brass Candle sticks, a flat / ditto, a Mortar and Pestle, a pepper box, a / Drudger, a Ladle, a Candlebox, two Copper / boiling pots and covers four sauce pans, three Covers, two stew pans, a frying pan, two Coffee / Pots, a Warming pan, a tea Kettle, twenty four / pieces of Stone tin and other Ware, a pewter dish / six plates, two Water ditto, a Callender, four dozen / of Glass bottles, a table four Chairs, a small Glass / a Glass Case, a Corner Shelf, ten knives and ten / forks, a Copper with Iron Work, a washing Tub / a form, a Basket, a parcel of Stone and other Ware / about sixty pound of Rose Wood, a small Range / fixed, a Side bed, two mahogany Slabs, five planks / Mahogany about 135 feet five Walnuttree ditto // about one hundred feet, a parcel of ends Mahogany / Walnuttree and Beach, five deals, two Harpsichord Bucks / ~~Bareks~~ Nine mahogany boards about one / hundred and thirty four feet ten ends of ditto / about forty five feet two Deals, a German Stove / funnel and Pan two double Glue pots two work / Benches with Screws an Iron Vice, a Wood ditto / forty two Wood Screws two Irons, a Wire Wheel a Stone and Trough, a parcel of frame legs / and Bits of Mahogany deal &c. twenty boxes / with Harpsichord stays &c. a Work Bench and / two Tressels –

This Exhibitant doth declare that all the / above mentioned Effects were valued and appraised / at the sum of two hundred and forty seven / pounds eighteen Shillings ad sixpence	}	247..18..6
Also – This Exhibitant doth declare that / the Lease of the said deceased house / being put up to sale and no person / offering any thing for the same the said / Lease as given up to the Landlord Money in the House at the time of the deceaseds / death		
Debts due and owing to the said / deceased at the time of his death / from the several persons following / which since have received by this / Exhibitant to wit	}	6..6..0
Received of M ^{rs} . Wants –		
Received of Captain Fitzwilliams –		
Received of M ^r . Olnys –		
Received of M ^r Cruttenden –		
Received of M ^r . Underwood –		
Received of M ^r Orpen –		
Received of [blank] Lowis Esq ^r –		
		£327..4..0
Debts due and owing to the said / deceased at the time of his death from / the several persons following but this / Exhibitant doth protest against / Charging herself with the same or any / part thereof until they shall be by her / received –		
Due from Mr Pannagar –		1..1..0
Due from Mr Lewis –		4..4..0
Due from Miss Leginers –		16..6
Due from Mr Reeves –		..10.6
Due from Mr Bassett –		..5 –

[inserted vertically in the margin at the centre of pp2&3:]

Also this Exhibitant doth declare that she hath in / her possession a pair of Silver shoe and knee / Buckles of the deceased of the vale of eleven / Shillings which she finds not

mentioned in the / Int^y with the rest of the deceaseds Wearing / Apparel but whether the value thereof was / included in the Sum total she cannot say but / that they were shown to the appraisers and / therefore submits whether she shall [^] be charged / therewith or not MS [this may be her handwriting - small and hard to read]

Due from M ^r Price –	.. 5 –
Due from Miss Jenkins –	..10 –
Due from Miss Brays –	..5 –
Due from M ^r Bretts –	..5 –
Due from M ^r Gardner –	..5 –
Due from M ^r Taylor –	1..18..0
Due from Miss Rocks –	7..6
Due from the Count of De Comple –	5 –
Due from M ^r . Cannon –	5 –
Due from M ^r Smith –	..10..6
Due from M ^r Kingsley –	– 5 –
Due from M ^r . Karnham –	..10 –
Due from Miss Fell –	2.6
Due from M ^r Taylor –	1..3.3
Due from M ^r . Rimbeller –	..2.6
Due from Miss Hemins –	1..15.0
Due from Miss Ward –	7.6
Due from Mr Cooper by Note of hand –	35..2..4
Due from Col. Fitzgerald –	3.19.0
Due from M ^r Horne –	22.1..0
	£ [blank]

Lastly the Exhibitant declares that no / other Goods of Chattles or Credits of the said / deceased or belonging to his personal Estate / than what are mentioned and set forth in / the aforegoing Inventory have since his / death come to her hands possession or / knowledge but that if at any time hereafter / any other shall be received by her she will / set forth the same and charge herself therewith / when legally called –

The 30th: Day of May
1780 the said Mary Shudi
was duly sworn to the truth
of this Inventory –
before me

} Mary Shudi [signed]

And: Coltee Ducarel
Surrogate

Present Hen: Major
Not: Pub.

Appendix 2: Probate Inventory of Charles Pinto, TNA: PRO PROB31/821/151

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Charles Pinto dec^d
Inventory
Bro^t in 23^d Feb^y 1792

A true full plain perfect and particular / Inventory of all and singular the Goods – / Chattels and Credits of Charles Pinto late / of Johnsons Court in the Parish of Saint – / Dunstan in the West London a Batchelor / and a Bastard deceased which at any time / since his Death have come to the hands / possession or knowledge of Charles Pinto / and Elizabeth Senegar Wife of Edward / Senegar the natural Children of the said / deceased and the nominees of His – / Majesty and Administrators of all and – / singular the Goods Chattels and Credits of / the said deceased for the use and benefit of / his Majesty follows to wit /

Cash in the said deceaseds House at the / time of his death – } 1..2..~ /

The following Household Furniture and other / Effects the Property of the said deceased in his / late Dwelling House situate in Johnsons Court / aforesaid were Valued and Appraised by Thomas Blackmoor of Fleet Market London Sworn – / Appraiser to wit – /

N^o 1. Loft.

A Quantity of old Wood and sundry Lumber

N^o 2. Garrett.

Five Doors ten Case Slips four Shuttles A Wainscott / two flap dining table part of an Organ ^ Case of an / Harpsicord sundry old Bedsted frames A Box with / a Quantity of old Iron a Trunk and sundry ffour / Mahogany Slabs one deal Board a fframe with Screws / A Quantity of frames and sundry old Lumber /

N^o 3. Passage

Six Glass Casements A small iron [?irune] Thirty two / pieces of Wood Quantity of iron pipe some iron and / backs for Stoves Quantity of painted Canvas twenty six // pieces of wood various – /

N^o 4. Front Garrett.

A Kitchen range two iron Kettles Iron meat hanger / Sixteen boards various a long iron barr Eleven Mahogany / Table flaps six Mahogany Chairs A Harpsicord Case – / part of two Bedsteads A Saddle and Bridle a Mahogany / table two Chests and a box with contents A fish Kettle / and Cover A working bench with sundry old iron / thereon a Chest of old iron A deal case A – / quantity of old wood A Mahogany pillar and / Claw Table A Slab A Writing desk three Stools – / three large maps of the World part of 2 Bedsteads / A Mahogany board two Spinnet Tops two iron – / bows A Harp A Mahogany Slab two pictures / parcel of wood hold fasts and sundry odd lumber. /

N^o 5. 2 Pair back Room

A four post bedstead with rod &c. A Pianoforte / A Harpsicord in Mahogany Case banded &c. A d^o / A d^o A d^o A d^o A Pianoforte A Harpsicord A d^o / A Spinnet A d^o A Mahogany Pillar and Claw / Table A Bread Table A pair of Tressels A / Mahogany dining Table with two flaps A Mahogany / dumb Waiter Some Scotch carpet some

bedside do – / A Quilt a Mattress in check case A feather Bed / and pillow A feather bed A Pillar and Claw – / in part of a Table A walnuttree Chest of / Draws A Pianoforte A Harpsicord A d^o A d^o / A d^o A folding leaf Leather Screen two – / Cloth horses A parcel of harpsichord stands with / Castors &c. A barrel Organ An easy Chair – A bath stove & Drum A Chimney Glass in / Carv'd and Gilt Frame A Bath Stove in brick / Work and various other sundry lumber Articles. /

N^o 6. Passage

A black figure A box A d^o A six leaf folding / Screen A Mahogany [?purtion] two Wainscott d^o /

N^o 7 ffront Room

A barrel and finger Organ fourteen loose Seats / A Mahogany Card Table A Desk A Bureau Bestead / A Map in black frame the portraits in black frames // A painting Six Mahogany Chairs six beach Chairs / stain'd Rush bottom Chair parcel of wooding feet / A harpsichord A d^o A d^o A small instrument / quantity of iron pipe A German Stove A German [sic] / A sett of harpsichord Keys A d^o A d^o A d^o A d^o / An Adas A Baskett with a Quantity of Dutch files / A German Stove An easy Chair A Corner Chair – / A bath Stove the back of a Stove A do A Mahogany / card Table A Mahogany tea Table A Mahogany / Pillar and Claw Table parcel of wood Four rush / bottom Chairs A Chest of Draws part of a napkin – / press part of a mahogany Table an iron barr three / window laths An iron rod sundry pieces of wood / part of a Bedstead A large Chest A four post / Bedstead with fluted posts lath &c. A large Trunk / containing twelve setts of harpsichord Keys various / ^ a feather Bed A goose feather bed A feather bed A hair mattress / three bolsters and four pillows two Blanketts and / sundry lumber. /

N^o 8. Back Room 1^{flr}

A painting over the chimney piece a Dumer [m has line over indicating omission – Dumb waiter?] Six / boxes with contents A Mahogany bureau A – / Mahogany bedstead with folding doors An eight / day Clock in Japann'd case A Quantity of reading – / and Music books bound and unbound on the / floor A Chest and two Furnitures therein A / Blanket a counterpane and sundry other Articles / A Wardrobe A Quantity of Books three Mahogany / teachests A large Cloths Press A Blunderbuss A Glass / A Magnifying Glass A Mahogany bureau A Chest / quantity of organ pipes some wine bottles parcel of / wood and sundry other lumber. /

N^o 9. Passage

About fourteen Mahogany music desks and a – bath Stove. /

N^o 10 front Room 1^{flr}

A bath stove a painting over the chimney / eighteen Prints framed and Glased A pier Glass in / carv'd and gilt frame Twenty one Guitars with / leather cover'd Cases Thirty one Guitar six d^o [?keyed] / A Patent Guitar by Longman & C^o Sixty five violin / various two small d^o eleven base Viols and / violoncellos one base viol with a case A harp A d^o // An eight day clock in Japann'd case An arm / chair six loose seat chairs Six violins and twelve / cases various About seventy violin bows various / two base viol cases A Mahogany dressing Table A / Mahogany Table sundry parts of violin and other / wood four pictures six small paintings six pier and / chimney Glasses four frames for pictures Six small / paintings some Mahogany boards A finger organ / A Cistern lined with lead a Case containing four / violins a Case and Violin A Case and violin – / two

Cases A walnuttree neehold Chest of Draws / A bird organ A Mahogany Pembroke table – / and parcel of sundry Articles. /

N^o 11. Back Parlour

A Stove A Chimney Glass A Chest containing sundry – / old iron ^{^A} large organ A Mahogany bureau A – / Machine for twisting of instrument Strings A small / d^o A box containing parcel of brass work– / A Quantity of boards A Marble Slab with – / Mahogany frame A Mahogany Press A Mahogany / Slab three Deals and three iron brackets A Mahogany / Chest of Drawers A Mahogany writing desk and – / frame An Instrument case A Bell instrument / an upright harpsichord a harpsichord case A marble / slab A small d^o A Mahogany Pillar and / Claw Table A Mahogany d^o A d^o /

N^o 12. Passage.

A passage Lamp /

N^o 13. ffront Parlour

A bath Stove with Air top sett of fire irons / A Chimney Glass in carv'd and gilt frame / A painting in gilt frame A d^o in gilt – / frame A Girandole gilt frame A Pier Glass in – / A Painting of hunting A Mahogany Music / stand six Mahogany chairs covered with green – / Merine two stools a painted buffet with Glass – / Doors a pianforte [sic] a Harpsicord A d^o A d^o / in tone A d^o A Chimney board ^{^ a neehold Chest of Draws} an upright / harpsichords twelve books and various other – / Articles A feather bed A d^o A d^o A d^o A d^o / two Pillows three Blankets A Quilts and a – / rug A Mahogany two flap dining Table – // A pillar and Claw Table A Mahogany board – / part of a turkey Carpet. /

N^o 14 Passage leading / from the Kitchen.

A Copper two Stone jars A Gridiron An iron tea / Kettle A quantity of bottles and sundrys A Copper / Pot a Gridiron five washing tubs A Plate rack – / An iron kettle cloths horse and mop A meat – / stand A [?Vni parcel of Wart] paper An iron tea – / Kettle A lead cistern sink lined with lead / copper fixed Iron ash Grate and sundrys. /

N^o 15. Kitchen.

A Kitchen grate a shovel and poker a – / toasting fork A Pier Glass A Mahogany table / some carpeting two cases for instruments An / arm chair A Coffee Mill a Register Stove A / Table Cloth A Mahogany dining table part of – / a desk A print framed and glassed a Pier Glass – / a Knife Box a flour tub A Walnuttree Chest – / of Draws an ironing board A Warming pan / A Footman a toasting fork two iron pots / two iron checks a Copper stand two tin – / dishes A Chest of Draws a Dutch oven. /

N^o 16. Back Kitchen.

Pair of Steps A Box lined with Copper A – / pickling tub lined with lead An iron Kettle – / a lead sink An oven fixed an iron back A – / lead cistern Marble Slab and sundry lumber – /

N^o 17. Yard.

Three pieces of Marble A Shelf five Jars various / three stone bottles and a copper pail. /

N^o 18. Wearing Apparel.

Nineteen Coats / Twenty three pair Breeches / Twenty six pair of Drawers and / Forty nine Waistcoats / Eight Shirts and one pair of Sheets. /

The above Household Furniture and / other Effects were valued and appraised –
/ at the sum of Two hundred and sixty / four pounds one Shilling and six – pence
– 264..1..6 /

Item Those Exhibitants declare that the / said deceased died possessed of a Freehold /
Messuage situate in Johnsons Court aforesaid / which was his the said deceaseds
Dwelling / House and which has since been – / Surveyed and valued by the said – /
Thomas Blackmore of Fleet Market – / Sworn Appraiser at the sum of One – / hundred
and Ninety Pounds – / } 190..~..~ /

Lastly these Exhibitant declares / that no further or other Goods / Chattels or
Credits of or belonging – / to the said deceased he at any / time since the said
deceaseds – / death come to their or either of their / Hands possession or
Knowledge./

On the Eighteenth day of / February One thousand seven – / hundred and Ninety two
The / said Charles Pinto and Elizabeth / Senegar were duly sworn to the / truth of this
Inventory – / } [signed] Charles Pinto / Elizabeth Sanigar [sic] /
Before me J Fisher /

Tho^s Adderley Jnr
Notary Publick

W^m Adderley

Appendix 3: Accounts from TNA: PRO C12/154/35, Clauss v Levy

[Sheet 3, Column 1:]

1783		L	s	d
June 24	Cash to Counsel for Opinion	2..	2..	..
	His Clerk	..	2..	6
July 3 ^d	For Advertisements in the Papers	1..	10..	..
7 th	For Two Newspapers	..	..	6
	For Three Gross Foilstones	..	6..	6
	To Mr Partis Attorney	30.	..	..
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		34..	1.	6
	The above Sums were Advanced on Account of the Partnership Prior to the Date of the Articles of Copartnership			
12 th	For Advertisements	..	11..	..
15 th	To Christian Clauss	10..	10..	..
19 th	For Advertisements	..	11.	..
20	For Three Sound Holes	..	7..	6
	For Two Dozen of Bridges	..	11.	..
	Ivory Buttons and a Piece of Leather	..	5..	4
	For a Brass Machine	..	5..	..
22 ^d	To the Clerk of the Solicitor General	..	10..	6
23 ^d	To M ^r Partis	30..	..	..
25 th	For a Sound Hole	..	2..	6
	For a Bottle of Varnish	..	2..	..
	For a finger Board	..	1..	6
	For Two Brass Machines	..	8..	..
	To Attorneys Clerk	..	1..	..
26 th	For Three Advertisements	..	15..	..
	For Four Memorandum Books	..	..	4
28	For Guitars making	2..	2..	..
	For Four large Machines	1..	..	..
	For Two Dozen Bridges	..	11..	..
	For Finger Boards and Wood	..	13..	2
29	For a Case to a Guitar	..	9..	6
30	For a Second Hand Guitar	1..	4..	6
31	For Six Sound Holes	..	15..	..
	To the Attorneys Clerk	..	10..	6
	For Black Rose Wood	..	2..	6
Aug st 1 st	For Brass Pins	..	3..	4
	For Six Common Guitars making	2..	8..	..
2 ^d	For Two Advertisements	..	11..	..
	For Two Newspapers	..	..	6
4 th	For Six Guitar Cases	2..	5..	..
	For Six large brass Machines	1..	10.	..
	For One Dozen Finger Boards	..	5..	6
	For a Silver Snuff Box given M ^r Partis	2..	12..	6
5 th	For Gilding Four Sound Holes	..	10..	6
6 th	For Six Sound Holes		15.	
	For making a Spanish Guitar	1..	10..	.

9 th	For Two Advertisements	..	11..	.
	For Two Newspapers	..	..	6
	For Nine Machines	1..	17..	.
	To the Frenchman (a Journeyman for Work)	1..	1.	
	For Strings	..	5..	
12 th	For a Sett of Guitar Strings	..	6..	..
13 th	For Wood	..	5..	
	For Sixteen Finger Boards	..	18..	.
14 th	To a Journeyman for Work	1..	11..	.
15 th	For Brass Pins	..	2..	3
	For Six Sound Holes	..	15..	.
16 th	For Two Advertisements	..	11..	..
	For a Newspaper	..	..	3
	For Eight Machines	1..	4..	
18 th	For 2 Tortoiseshell finger Boards	..	13..	.

[Sheet 3, Column 2:]

1783		[L]	[s]	[d]
Aug st 21 st	To M ^r Foglar for Varnishing and Polishing Three Guitars	1..	1..	
22 ^d	To a Journeyman for Work For a Case to a Spanish Guittar and Common D ^o	4.	12..	6
23	To Christian Clauss For Four Large Brass Machines For Six Sound Holes For Tortoiseshell finger Board and Varnish For Six Stops to Guitars	10. 1.. .. .. ..	.. .. 15. 26..	.. .. . 3 6
25 th	To M ^r Foglar for Three Guitars	1..	3..	.
29 th	For Vernier Wood	..	5..	6
30 th	For Advertisements 11 ^s for Machines 12 ^s / To M ^r Foglar for Six Guitars For Paper and Books	1.. 2.. ..	3.. 2.. ..	. 0 9
Sep ^r 2 ^d	For Six Sound Holes	..	15	.
3 ^d	For One Drill D ^o with Brass Wire	..	8..	6
5 th	For 16 Sound Holes Gilding and Brass Wire For Vernier Wood and the Carman	2.. ..	7.. 5..	6 2
6 th	For Advertisements and Papers	..	11..	3
8 th	To M ^r Foglar for Six Guitars For Guitars Varnishing For Ivory Frames	2.. .. 1..	2.. 3.. 16	.....
9 th	For Foilstones	1..	1..	.
11 th	For Coach Hire	..	1..	6
13 th	For Advertisements and Paper For Four Sound Holes Gilding To Journeyman for Work	.. .. 1..	11.. 12.. 16..	3 . .
15 th	For Finger Boards &c... to M ^r Craslar	..	9..	4
16 th	To Mr Foglar for Four Guitars For Six Stamps	1.. ..	8.. 1..	.. ..
20 th	For Twelve Guitar Cases To Journeyman for Work	4.. 4..	10 4..	.. .

	For Four Brass Machines and Drills	..	17.	
	For Two Sound Holes	..	5..	6
23 ^d	For Two large Brass Machines	..	10..	.
24 th	For Two Sound Holes Gilding	..	6.	.
25 th	For Gilding Two Machines	..	4.	.
	For Fire Stones and a Stamp	..	4.	.
27 th	For Two Advertisements	..	11..	..
29 th	To Journeyman for Work	2..	2..	..
	For foilstones at different Times	1..	6..	8
	For Gilding two Machines	..	9..	.
	For a Brass Plate and Neck Wood	..	3.	.
30 th	For a Brass Wire	..	8.	6
	To the Journeyman for Wood [sic]	..	2..	2.
	To Mr Binegar for Wood	37..	14.	
	For a Stamp	..	..	4
Oct ^r 1 st	Two Packing Cases and Porter	..	8	8
2 ^d	To the Waterman and Papers	..	2..	6
4 th	Two Advertisements	..	11..	..
	To M ^r Foglar for Three Guitars	1..	1..	..
	To Gross of Foilstones	..	10.	
	A Guitar Case	..	10..	6
	A Pencil	..	..	6
	Journeyman for Work	1..	8..	.
6 th	D ^o for D ^o	..	8..	..
9 th	Engraving Two Machines and One Tail Piece	..	5..	6
	Repairing a Violin and Varnish	..	9..	6
11 th	Two Advertisements	..	11..	..
	Journeyman for Work	3..	6..	..
	Twelve Brass Machines	2..	13.	..
	Finger Boards	..	16..	6
13 th	Two Gross, Two Dozen Foilstones	..	10..	10

[Sheet 3, Column 3:]

1783		[L]	[s]	[d]
Oct ^r 16 th	To Wood and Hog's Bristles	..	4..	2
18 th	Two Advertisements	..	11	..
	Journeyman for Work	1..	..	6
19 th	Two Gross Foilstones	..	10.	
21 st	To M ^r Partis a Watch given	2..	12.	6
22 ^d	Four Guitar Cases	1..	19..	.
25 th	Two Advertisements	..	11..	.
	Foilstones	..	11.	8
	To M ^r Foglar for 3 Guitars	1..	1..	.
	Six Sound Holes Gilding	..	18..	.
28 th	Six Sounds	..	15.	..
	To M ^r Foglar for Three Guitars	1..	3..	..
	To M ^r Partis	20..	..	..
31 st	To Chequered Wood	..	..	8
6 th	To Christian Clauss	6..	6.	
25 th	To D ^o	5..	5..	.

Nov ^r 1 st	Porterage	..	2..	.
	Postage of Letter and a Stamp	..	1..	7
	To M ^r Foglar for three Guitars	1..	3..	..
4 th	To ... Schafflin for Attendance at Lincolns Inn Hall and Coach Hire	1..	3..	..
	Two Advertisements	..	11..	..
6 th	D ^o	..	12..	6
	Black Wood	..	1..	4
	To M ^r Partis	20..	..	..
	Advertisements	1..	10..	.
7 th	Six Machines	1..	7..	..
	Foilstones	..	19..	6
	Fee to Councel	2..	2..	..
9 th	Eight spun Strings	..	1.	..
12 th	Files and Brass Pins	..	1..	6
	Brass Hammers	..	1..	3
15 th & 16 th	Advertisements	..	18.	..
17 th	Two Working Benches and Porterage	1..	13..	6
18 th	To Christian Clauss	7..	7..	..
	Journeyman for Work	..	9..	..
	Silver and Brass Wire and Coach Hire	..	3..	4
	Foilstones and Coach hire	..	15..	6
	Advertisements	..	13..	6
	To Preston for Strings	1..	1..	6
19 th	One Advertisement	..	6..	6
21 st	Paper and Stamps	..	4..	4
22 ^d	Coales and Candles	..	7..	2
	Pat. Stamp	1..	1..	..
	Journeymans Wages	..	19..	6
	An Iron Oven	1..	16..	..
23 ^d	Advertisements	..	6..	6
	A Gold Seal given to M ^r Mainstone	4..	4..	..
	To M ^r Roducker for Commission	1..	1..	
24	Coach hire	..	1..	.
25	A Brass Stamp	..	10..	6
	Coach hire	..	1..	.
26 th	D ^o Conybeare's servant	..	2..	6
	Varnish	..	4..	6
	Advertisements	..	7..	7
	Coals and Candles	..	6..	6
	Brass Hammers	..	8..	3
27 th	Porter	..	1..	..
	Advertisement	..	6..	6
28 th	Coals	..	1..	7
	Foilstones	..	10..	10
	Advertisements	..	7..	..
[Sheet 3, Column 4:]				
1783		[L]	[s]	[d]
Nov ^r 28	Glew Pot [sic]	..	1..	6

	Six Keys	..	1..	3
	To Christian Clauss	11..	..	.
29	Journeyman Wages	1.	1..	.
	Advertisements and Papers	..	14..	..
30	D ^o	..	5..	6
Dec ^r 1 st	Coach hire	..	1.	.
2 ^d	Advertisements	..	7	..
	A Skin	..	1..	8
	Brass Hammers	..	6..	.
3 ^d	D ^o Stamp	..	6..	.
	Coals	.	3..	3
	Coach hire	..	1.	.
4 th	Advertisements	..	7.	..
	White Wood	..	1..	3
5 th	Twelve Sound Holes	1..	10.	.
6 th	Advertisements	..	6..	6
	Journeyman Wages	1..	1.	.
	To y ^c Smith for Two Wheels	..	10..	6
	Porter	..	1.	..
	Six Guitar Cases	2..	14.	..
7 th	Advertisements	..	5..	6
8 th	To Commission	..	10..	6
9 th	Indian Ink and Coals	..	3..	1
	Candles	..	4.	.
	Varnish	..	5..	3
11 th	Advertisements	..	6..	6
	Ivory Frames	1..	19.	..
	Skin	..	2.	.
13 th	Advertisements	..	13..	6
	Journeymans Wages	1..	1.	.
	Coals and a Letter	..	2..	8
14 th	Advertisements	.	6..	6
17 th	D ^o	..	7.	..
	Varnish and Glue	..	6..	6
	Coals	..	2..	2
	Packing Box and Porter	..	3.	9
	Two Dozen Wood Screws	..	2.	6
18 th	Candles	..	7..	8
	Waterman and Portorage	..	3.	6
	Advertisements	..	6..	6
19 th	Foilstones	..	11..	8
20 th	Advertisements	..	7.	
	Four large and Two small Machines	1..	8.	
	Journeymans Wages	2.	2.	..
21 st	Advertisements	..	6..	6
22 ^d	Two Pieces of Vellum	..	11..	.
	A Stamp to D ^o	..	10..	.
23 ^d	Advertisements	..	7..	..
	Wood	..	5..	6
27 th	Coals and Wood	..	5..	4

	Journeymans Wages	..	10..	6
	Advertisements		7..	..
	Varnish	..	6..	6
30 th	Advertisements	..	7.	.
	Six Sound Holes	..	15.	.
1784				
Jan ^y 1 st	Carriage from Salisbury	..	2..	6
	Black Wood and Porter	..	2..	.
2 ^d	For taking out y ^c Order	..	10..	6
	Three Boxes of Wire	..	13..	6
3 ^d	Journeyman's Wages	1..	1..	
	Porter and Coals	..	5..	4

[Sheet 4:]

25th August 1786 Winter by Zincke

[Sheet 4, Column 1:]

		L	s	d
Jan ^y 3 ^d	Ten Sound Holes Gilding	1..	8..	3
6 th	Foilstones	..	6..	8
8 th	Varnishing & ^c	2..	12.	.
9 th	Packing Box and Porter Shipping and Stamp	..	8..	6
10 th	Journeymans Wages	1..	1..	.
	Foilstones and Coals	..	9..	9
12 th	To M ^r James for Advertisements	..	10.	6
15 th	Mr Auster for Wood	..	12..	6
	Copy of an Advertisement	..	2..	6
17 th	Six Machines	1..	4.	..
	Journeymans Wages	..	10..	6
	Screws and Coals	..	5..	9
	To M ^r Roeducker for Commissions	2..	2.	.
	Foilstones	..	5..	
19 th	Advertisements and Papers	..	9.	.
	Three Tortoiseshell Finger Boards	..	19..	6
	A Letter	..	..	6
20 th	Seven Sound Holes Gilding	..	19..	3
	Advertisements and Paper	..	8..	9
	Candles	..	7..	8
	To M ^r for Comm ⁿ	2..	2..	..
21 st	Advertisements	..	8..	6
	Coals	..	3..	3
23	Advertisements	..	8.	6
	To M ^r Preston	..	12..	..
	To D ^o	..	9.	..
	Two Tortoiseshell finger Boards	..	13.	..
24 th	Advertisements	..	17.	..
	Journeymans Wages	1..	1..	
	Coals	..	3..	3
26 th	To Christian Clauss	10..	..	
	Advertisements	..	8..	6

	Porter	..	1..	..
29 th	Advertisements	..	8..	6
30 th	Coals	1..	15..	6
	1 Dozen Sound Holes	1..	10.	..
	A Second Hand Guitar of Fishendorff	3..	3.	..
31 st	Advertisements	..	17..	..
	Journeyman's Wages	1..	1..	
	Varnishing &c	..	16.	..
	Seven Finger Boards	..	14..	..
	Candles	..	1..	9
Feb ^y 4 th	Advertisements	..	8..	6
	Foilstones	..	7..	1
	To Lady Rumbolds Servant	..	2..	..
	Brass Pins and Glue	..	..	11½
	To Christian Clauss	1..	1.	.
7 th	Six Guitar [sic] Cases	2..	5..	..
	Journeyman's Wages	1..	1..	.
	Foilstones	..	5.	.
	Varnishing and Polishing	..	13..	6
	Varnish and a Letter	..	6..	.
	Candles	..	1..	4
	Advertisements	..	17.	.
11 th	D ^o	..	8..	6
14 th	D ^o	..	17	..
	Journeyman	1..	1..	..
	Three Dozen Ivory Stops	1..	1..	.
	Six Brass Machines	1..	4.	..
	Candles and Letter	..	1..	..
	Porter	..	1..	..
	To M ^r Roeducker for Comm ⁿ	..	10..	6
21 st	Advertisements	..	17..	..
	Journeyman	1..	1..	..
	Varnish	..	6..	..
	Candles and Letter	..	1..	10
	To Christian Clauss	7..	7..	..
23 ^d	Porter	..	2..	..
	Advertisements	..	17..	..
25 th	Wood and Porter	..	3..	..
28 th	Six Guitar Cases	2..	5..	..
	Journeyman	1..	1..	
	Packing	..	8..	6
	Sundries	..	4..	7
	Porter	..	2..	..
	Advertisements	..	17..	.
	Foilstones	..	15..	..
March 1 st	Ivory Frames	2..	10..	..
	Nine Sound Holes Gilding	1..	2..	6
	Insurance	..	10..	6
	Wharfage and Letters	..	3..	3
3 ^d	Carriage Warehouseman and Porter	..	3..	2

4 th	Coachhire	..	2..	6
5 th	Porter	..	1..	..
6 th	D ^o	..	1..	.
	Varnish	..	7..	6
	Letter	..	..	4
	Foilstones	..	5..	
	Machines	1..	4..	
	Wood	..	8..	
	Journeyman	1..	1..	
	Candles and Ink	..	1..	2
	Coach hire	..	1..	6
	To — — — Schafflin	..	10..	6
	Advetisments	..	17	..
[Sheet 4, Column 2:]				
1784		L	s	d
March 6 th	To Christian Clauss	3..	3.	..
8	Four Dozen Screws	..	4.	
	To M ^r Preston for Strings	..	10..	6
9 th	Wooden Forks and Porter	..	4..	9
	Six Guitars Varnishing	..	6.	
	Varnish	..	5..	6
13 th	Advertisements	..	17.	.
	Twelve Guitar [sic] Cases	4..	10.	..
	Varnishing Five Guitars	..	5..	
	Varnish	..	3.	
	Journeyman	1.	1.	.
16 th	Candles	..	3	10
	Varnishing Guitar	..	1.	
	To a Music Master at N ^o 60 Haymarket for Commiss ⁿ	2..	2..	
17 th	Three Books	..	8.	.
18 th	A Skin	..	2	4
20 th	Advertisements	..	17..	.
	Journeymans Wages	1..	1..	
	Letter and Stamp	..	1..	.
	Six finger Boards	..	10.	.
21 st	Carriage of Two Guitars from Edinburgh and Sundries	..	10.	.
	A Counter [sic]	1.	1.	.
27 th	A Guitar Case	2..	5..	
	A Brass Machine	1.	4.	.
	Polishing Guitars	..	2..	6
	Letters	..	..	10
	Journeyman	1..	1..	..
	Advertisements	..	17.	..
	Foilstones	..	10.	5
30 th	Polishing Guitars	..	5.	.
	Wood	..	12.	9
31 st	Foilstones	..	5.	.
	Stops	..	7.	.
	Wood	..	2.	..

	Stamps and Letter	..	1..	6
April 2 ^d	Twelve Sound Holes	1..	10..	..
3 ^d	Journey man	1..	1..	.
	Advertisements	..	17.	..
	Two Dozen Stops	..	13..	5
	Foilstones	..	9.	..
5 th	Coals	..	18..	9
	Six Brass Machines	1..	4..	
	Varnish and Glue	..	4..	9
	Coals and Wood		3..	3
	Chimney Sweeper and Porter	..	2.	.
8 th	A Saw	..	1..	8
9 th	Christian Clauss	7..	7..	..
	Porterage and Shipping	..	3..	
10 th	Foilstones	..	6..	3
	Journeyman	1..	1..	.
	Carriage for Two Guitars and Porter	..	4..	6
	Advertisements	..	17.	.
13 th	Strings and Letter	..	6..	4
	Tortoiseshell finger Boards	..	13..	.
14 th	M ^r Mainstones Clerk	1..	1..	
	Nails	..	..	10
	Case and Booking	..	2.	5
	Hinges Bolt and Wood	..	6..	8
	Nails and Porter	..	1..	10
16 th	Twelve Sound holes Gilding	1..	13..	.
	Journeyman	1..	1..	
	Four Guitar Necks	..	10.	.
	Foilstones	..	10.	.
	Advertisements	..	17.	..
21 st	Wood	..	6.	7
22 ^d	For an Old Guitar	1..	5.	.
	Six Sound Holes	..	15.	.
24 th	Advertisements	..	17.	.
	Eight Guitars Polishing	1..	..	..
	Journeyman	1..	1..	
	Foilstones	..	7..	6
	Sundries Letters	..	2	1
28 th	Twelve Bridges and 2 Necks	..	9..	6
	To Porter and Paper	..	2..	
29 th	To Crevlar Writing a Letter	..	1..	.
	To a Gentleman's Serv[an]t and 2 Stamps	..	1..	6
May 1 st	Journeyman	1..	1..	.
	Advertisements	..	17.	..
	Ten Finger Boards	..	12..	6
	Two Packing Cases	..	4..	6
	Wood Glue and Pencil	..	2..	1
	Foilstones	..	5..	2
3 ^d	Strings	..	12.	..
	Two Tin Bottles	..	5..	6

	Two Gallons Spirits of Wine	1..	8.	..
	Gum	..	13.	..
	1 Yard Flannel	..	1.	..
	Six Machines	1..	4..	.
7 th	Wood	..	1.	..
8 th	Twelve Guitar Cases and Stamp	4..	10.	2
	Journeyman	1.	1.	..
	Advertisements	..	17.	..
	To Christian Clauss	7.	..	
14 th	Six Sound Holes	..	15.	..
15 th	Advertisements	..	17.	

[Sheet 4, Column 3:]

1784		L	s	d
May 15 th	Journeyman	1..	1..	9
	Two Brass Screws	..	3.	3
18 th	Glazing Two Doors	1..	12.	.
	Six Stamps	..	1.	.
19 th	Cleaning 2 Marble Hearths	..	7..	6
20 th	Strings	..	12.	.
22	Journeyman	1..	1..	.
	Finger Boards	..	15.	.
	Foilstones	..	7..	6
	Packing Cases and Glue	..	5..	1
	Advertisements	..	17.	.
24 th	Three Guittar Necks	..	7..	6
	Letters	..	1..	4
	Porter and Cooking	..	1.	.
29 th	Journeyman	1.	1.	.
	Five Necks for Guitars	..	12	6
	Six brass Machines	1..	4.	
	Foilstones	..	17..	6
	Gilding Six Sound Holes	..	16..	6
	Advertisements	..	17.	.
	Stamp and Porter	..	1..	
31 st	Foilstones	..	6.	.

The Second Schedule to which the above
Answer refers

1784				
June 1 st	Polishing Four Guitars	..	10	..
5 th	Advertisements	..	17.	..
	Journeyman	..	14	
	Neck for Guitars	..	5.	
7 th	To Musician for Comm ⁿ	2..	2..	..
	Foilstones	..	10.	..
	Six Sound Holes	..	15.	..
12 th	Advertisements	..	16..	6
	Foilstones	1..	2..	6
	Polishing Guitar	..	2..	6

	Boards	..	2..	..
	Nails	..	..	6
	Gentleman's Servant and Porter	..	9..	.
	Brass knocker		9..	6
	Hooks	..	..	8
	Foilstones	..	10..	10
	One Dozen Guitar Cases	4..	10.	..
	Mr Bach's Servant	..	2..	6
	A hold fast	..	..	8
15 th	Shop Bills	..	7..	6
16 th	Six Common Guittars making	2..	8..	..
17 th	Twelve Painting Brushes	..	1..	.
18 th	Foilstones	..	15.	..
	Glue &c	..	2..	4½
	Guitars Polishing	..	5..	.
19 th	Six Mahogany Stools and Covers	1..	16.	.
	Foilstones	1..	2..	6
	Advertisements	..	16..	6
	Journeyman	..	12.	.
	Four Guitars Varnishing	..	4..	.
22 ^d	Porter and Paper	..	2..	4
	Four Guitars and Two Bridges Varnishing	..	5.	
	Two Gallons of Spirits of Wine	1..	8..	
	Six Sound Holes	..	15.	..
	Coach hire	..	1.	..
	Foilstones	..	5..	10
	Six Sound Holes	.	16..	6
24 th	Three Guittars Polishing	..	4..	6
25 th	Coach hire	..	4..	6
	Varnish	..	6.	.
	Four Dozen Bridges	1..	12.	.
26 th	A Machine	..	5.	.
	2 Piano Fortes	15..	15	..
	Advertisements	..	16..	6
	Foilstones	..	10..	.
	Porter	..	1..	
28 th	Leters 1 ^s / Three Guitars Varnishing 3 ^s /	..	4.	.
	Stamps	..	1..	8
29 th	Foilstones	..	5.	.
	To Welcker for Sundries	2..	12.	..
	Journeyman	1..	1..	.
July 1 st	Varnish	..	4	..
	Brass lock and bell	..	10..	6
	Polishing three Guitars	..	7..	6
	Pens Ink & ^c.	..	..	4½
	Musick Books	2..	4..	8
3 ^d	Advertisements	..	16..	6
	Foilstones	1..	5.	.
	D ^o	..	12..	6
	Polishing Two Guitars	..	5.	

	Porter	..	1..	..
5 th	To M ^f Maddox's Servant		1.	..
6 th	Six Sound Holes Gilding	..	16..	6
[Sheet 4, Column 4:]				
1784		L	s	d
July 6 th	Insurance	2..	16.	.
	Shipping and Portorage	..	3..	6
	Brushes	...	1..	..
7 th	To – Schafflin for Comm ⁿ	2.	2.	
	Journeyman for 8 Machines	1..	12..	..
	Foilstones	..	8..	4
8 th	Coach hire	..	1..	.
	A Hammer	..	1..	..
	Porter	..	1..	6.
	To M ^f Roeducker for tuning 2 fortes	..	3..	
	a Pair of Compasses	..	2..	6
9 th	To M ^f Jacobs for [^] providing Signs Doors Sashes & ^c	14..	15.	.
10 th	To the Carpenter for Cover [^] and Work to the Copper	..	13.	.
	Varnishing Guitar and Bridges	..	13..	6.
	Foilstones	..	8..	9
	Brass Pins	..	3.	.
	Advertisements	..	11.	..
	Porter	..	1.	..
11 th	To M ^f Augler for Strings	..	2.	.
12 th	Three Sound Holes Gilding	..	8..	3
14 th	Four Guitars Varnishing	..	6..	..
	D ^o Mending	..	..	6
15 th	Journeyman	..	16.	..
	Stamps	..	1..	.
	To a Musician Comm ⁿ	2..	2..	
17 th	Varnishing and Polishing	..	16.	..
	M ^f Roeducker	.	3	..
	Advertisements	..	11	..
	Porter	..	1..	6
	Foilstones	..	10..	..
19 th	Guitars Varnishing	..	3.	..
	D ^o Polishing	..	2..	6
	Oil of Pike	..	1..	6
20 th	Journeyman	1..	4.	.
21 st	Black Dye	..	1.	.
	Edinboro' Letter and Commiss ⁿ	..	4..	6
22 ^d	Four Yards Green Baize	..	4..	8
23 ^d	Journeyman	1..	4..	.
24 th	Six Guitar Cases	2..	5..	.
	Foilstones	1..	7..	6
	D ^o	..	10	..
	Advertisements	..	11.	.
	Porter	..	1.	.
26 th	Six Machines	1..	4.	.

27 th	Six Guitars Varnishing	..	9..	
28 th	Strings and Music Books	1..	5..	2
	Foilstones	..	10.	.
30 th	Journeyman	1..	1..	.
	Polishing a Guitar	..	2..	6
	4 Tortoiseshell finger Boards	1..	6.	..
31 st	Six brass Machines	1..	4..	.
	Porter	..	1..	.
	Advertisements	..	5..	6
Aug st 2 ^d	Six Sound Holes	..	15.	.
	Journeyman	..	10..	6
	Guitar Strings	..	2.	6
	Two Tuning Forks	..	2..	6
	Two Books of Rosina	..	4	..
3 ^d	Paper and Stamps	..	1..	8
	4 Sound holes Gilding	..	10..	9
	Foilstones	..	12..	6
	Two Piano Fortes	15.	15	..
4 th	One Yard Baize	..	1..	.
	Two Tortoiseshell finger Boards	..	13.	.
5 th	Stamps	..	1..	..
7 th	Advertisements	..	11.	.
	Journeyman	1..	4.	
	8 Brass Boxes	..	6..	2
	Porter	..	1..	
9 th	Journeyman	1..	4..	.
10 th	Polishing Guitars	..	10.	..
	Foilstones	..	12	6
11 th	Two Tuning Forks	..	2..	..
	Frame for lights	..	3.	4
13	To M ^r Beck for a Piano Forte	9..	9..	
14 th	Advertisements	..	11..	..
	Wood	1..	11..	6
	Six Sound Holes	..	15..	..
	Four Tops of Keys Engraving	..	2.	
	Porter	..	1..	.9
16 th	Half Gallon Spirits of Wine	..	.7	..
	Six brass Tops of Keys	..	1..	..
17 th	Carman	..	1..	6
18 th	Foilstones	..	12..	6
19 th	Journeyman	1..	4.	..
20 th	Holley Wood [sic]	1..	1..	6
	Two Packing Cases	..	4..	6
21 st	Advertisements	..	11..	..
	Six Guitar Cases	2..	5..	2.
	Five Guitars Polishing	..	12..	6
	Journeyman	1..	4.	..
	Porter	..	1..	..
	Sound Holes and tops of Keys Gilding	1..	8..	6
	Six Brass Machines	1..	4..	..

	Pens Ink and Paper	..	..	4
	[Sheet 5:]			
	25 th August 1786 Winter by Zincke			
	[Sheet 5, Column 1:]			
1784		L	s	d
Aug st 24 th	Foilstones	1..	5	..
25 th	Journeyman	2..	8..	..
	Cutting Holly wood	..	6..	8
26 th	Ivory Frames and small buttons	1.	9	6
28 th	Two Guittars Polishing	..	5	.
	Foilstones	..	15	..
	Advertisements	..	11.	.
	Porter	..	1..	..
30 th	Stamp	..	6..	3
	Half a Quarter's Rent for the House in Frith Street	3.	10.	..
	Six Guitar cases	2	5	2
	To M ^r Smith for lamps and illuminations	2..	11..	..
	Packing Cases	..	4..	6
	Six Sound Holes	..	15..	..
	Rushes	..	4..	
Sep ^r 1 st	Journeyman	2..	8..	.
	Machine	..	4.	..
5 th	Six Machines and Tops for Keys	1..	11..	3
	Foilstones	..	15..	.
	Advertisements	..	11..	
	Porter	..	1..	6
	Coach hire	..	1..	6
	To M ^r Preston Strings and Music Books	3..	16..	6
	A Guitar	1..	5.	
	Box of Strings	..	4..	6
	To Christian Clauss	10.	..	
8 th	Polishing and Varnishing One Guitar	..	11..	6
9 th	Varnish	..	..	6
	Seven Ivory Frames	..	10..	6
10 th	Journeyman	2..	2..	..
	Porter	..	..	6
11 th	Piano Forte	12..	12..	..
	Polishing and Varnishing Two Guitars	..	14..	6
	Advertisements	..	11.	.
	Porter	..	1.	..
13 th	Two and a half yards Green Baize	..	4..	6
	Engraving Metal Tops of Keys	..	4..	.
	One and a half yard Green Baize	..	3..	.
15 th	Six Tops of Keys	..	4..	6
	Spirits of Wine	..	7.	.
18 th	Journeyman	2..	8	
	Six Guitar Cases	2..	8..	

	Advertisements	..	11.	.
	Porter	..	1.	.
20 th	Polishing and Varnishing Four Guitars	..	16..	6
	Two Skins	..	4..	.
23 ^d	Six Sound Holes	..	15.	
25 th	Four Guitars Varnishing	..	6.	
	Foilstones	1..	5.	.
	D ^o	..	13	6
	Advertisements	..	11..	.
	Porter	..	1..	.
27 th	Engraving tops of Keys	..	3..	..
29 th	Foilstones	..	2.	.
	Journeyman	1..	4..	.
	Copper Plate Engraver	1..	5..	.
	D ^o Printer	..	8.	..
	Carman	..	3.	.
Oct ^r 1 st	Six Machines Pully and Cords	1..	5..	..
2 ^d	Journeyman	2..	8	..
	Painting a Chandelier	1..	6..	6
	Polishing three Guitars	..	7..	6
	Advertisements	..	11....	
	Porter	..	1..	6
	Paper and Stamps	..	2..	6
4 th	Tow[ar] ^d ½ a Quarter's rent of the House in Frith Street	1..	8..	..
5 th	Varnish	..	6.	.
	Spirits of Wine	..	12..	6
	Gilding Sundry Articles	2..	10..	6
9 th	Journeyman	..	4..	..
	Advertisements	..	11.	.
	Polishing three Guitars	..	7..	6
	Porter	..	1..	.
11 th	D ^o	..	1..	3
	For Cutting Wood	2..	5..	9
	Candles	..	8..	..
	Foilstones	1..	13.	6
12 th	To M ^r Sydenham for ½ Quarter's Rent	23..	12..	6
	To M ^{rs} Mitchell for Changing Guitars	2..	2..	.
	Three Dozen tops of Keys	..	6..	.
14	Two Guitars Polishing	..	5..	.
15 th	To an Iron Plate and Nails	..	2..	6
16 th	Journeyman	3..	12.	.
	Advertisements	..	11..	..
	Porter	..	1..	.
	Two Tops of Keys	..	1..	6
	To Christian Clauss	6..	6..	
	For Wood	27	..	
18 th	Two Tops of Keys	..	1..	6
	Repairing an Oven	..	2..	
	Engraving Two Tops of Keys	..	1..	..

	A Brush	..	1..	..
19 th	Varnishing and Polishing Sundry Guitars	..	16..	
	Engraving Two Tops of Keys	..	1..	..
20 th	Glazier for cleaning Windows	..	1..	10
23 ^d	Advertisements	..	11.	.
	Four Guitars Polishing	..	10..	6
	Porter Pens Ink e ^t	.	1..	3
	Six Tops of Keys	..	4..	6
25 th	A Candlestick and Shade with Springs	..	4.	..
[Sheet 5, Column 2:]				
1784		[L]	[s]	[d]
	Sep ^r 25 th			
	A Chandelier	1..	4..	
26 th	Polishing and Varnishing Eight Guitars	..	17..	6
27 th	Engraving Six Top of Keys	..	3.	..
	Sound Holes and Tops of Keys	1..	13..	6
28 th	Six Sound Holes	..	15	..
	To M ^f Partis	25.	17..	.
	Three Machines	..	12	..
	Journeyman	3..	12.	..
	A Guitar Repairing to D ^o .	..	2..	.
29 th	To a quarter's Poor Rate	..	18..	9
	A Guitar Box & ^c	..	6..	9
30 th	Advertisements	..	11	
	Porter	..	1..	
	Two Guitars Varnishing	..	5..	.
	For putting Letters round y ^e Arms	..	10.	6
Nov ^r 2	A Brass Stamp	..	4..	.
	Letter Porterage and Nails	..	1..	2
	Ivory Frames &c	1..	5.	.
6 th	Six Guitar Cases	2..	5..	2
	Advertisements	..	11.	..
	Porter	..	1.	.
8 th	Two Dozen brass Keys	..	2.	..
	Six Tops of Keys and Six Sound Holes Gilding	1..	4..	..
	1 Dozen black Strings	..	5..	.
	To Dying of Wood black	..	4..	.
9 th	Journeyman	4..	..	
	Polishing and Varnishing of Guitars	1..	1..	.
	A music Stand	..	1..	6
10 th	Two Sound Holes	..	6.	.
12 th	Two Boxes of Wire and Glue	..	5.	.
13 th	Six Sound Holes	..	15.	
	Six Machines and four Tops of Keys	1..	8.	6
	Advertisements	..	11.	
	Porter and Paper	..	1..	3
15 th	A brass machine large and Sundries to D ^o	2..	2..	.
	Advertisements	..	5.	6
	Writing D ^o	..	3..	.

	A Newspaper	..	..	3
16 th	To M ^{rs} Hopgood for a Guitar returned	4..	14..	6
	Candles	..	8..	.
	Polishing Two Guitars	..	5.	..
17 th	Six Tops of Keys Engraving	..	3.	
18 th	Polishing One Guitar	..	2.	6
19 th	Journeyman	13..	12.	.
	Fretting a Dozen finger Boards	.	5..	.
20 th	Advertisements	..	11..	6
	Porter	..	1..	.
22 ^d	M ^r Potter for a Commiss ⁿ	2..	2	..
23	Varnishing Six Guitars	..	12.	6
	Gilding Tops of Keys And Sound Holes	..	18..	3
24 th	Carriage of a guitar from Norwich	..	2.	.
	Six Stamps and One quire of Paper	..	1.	10
	For Stamps	1..	1.	..
25 th	A set of Strings for a Piano Forte	..	10.	6
26 th	Catgut Strings	..	1..	..
	Screws and Steel	..	..	7
	Three Dozen of Bridges to the Journeyman	1..	4	.
27 th	To four sets of Strings for a Piano forte	2.	2	..
	For Writing a Paragraph	..	2..	6
	Inserting D ^o	..	5..	6
	For another	..	7.	..
	A Sound Hole	..	2.	
	Porter	..	1.	.
	Wood	.	1.	1
29 th	To Stock and Bitts	1..	5.	.
	Four Feet for a Piano Forte	..	2.	6
	Candles	..	8.	.
	Tuning Screws for a Piano Forte	..	3.	6
30 th	Half a Pint of Red Colour	..	2.	..
Dec ^r 1.	Six Sound Holes	..	15.	.
	Journeyman	2..	8.	.
2 ^d	Brass Pins	..	3..	7
	To M ^r Schola for Comm ⁿ	1..	1..	..
3 ^d	Porter	..	1..	3
	A Turning Hammer [sic]	..	..	9
	To M ^r Hooper for Mahogany	1..	8.	.
	A Letter from Norwich	..	..	7
4 th	Six Guitar Cases	2..	5.	..
	Advertisements	..	11.	6
	Porter	..	1..	..
	To M ^r Broadwood for Mahogany	..	11..	..
7 th	Polishing Two Guitars	..	5.	.
	Ink	..	..	6
9 th	Carriage &c of Guitar to Miss Masham	..	2..	9
10 th	Porterage	..	..	6
11 th	Advertisements	..	11..	6
	Porter	.	1..	.

14 th	Journeyman	3..	12.	.
	Varnishing and Polishing Six Guitars	..	14..	6
	Porter and Booking	..	1..	2
15 th	Seven Sound Holes gilding	1.	3..	3
16 th	Advertisements	..	8.	..
18 th	D ^o	..	6.	9
	Six Machines	1..	4..	..
	Porter	..	1..	.
20 th	Six Guitars Varnishing	..	12..	.
	Brass Hinges to Piano Forte	..	3..	2
21 st	To M ^r Roeducker for Tuning Two Piano Fortes	..	3..	..
	Journeyman	3..	12..	..
	Paper	..	..	2
23 ^d	Polishing Two Guitars &c	..	6.	..
[Sheet 5, Column 3:]				
1784		[L]	[s]	[d]
Dec ^r 24	Tuning a Piano Forte	..	1.	6
25	Advertisements	..	12.	6
	Porter	..	1.	.
	D ^o and Candles	..	9.	.
30 th	To M ^r Brown the Clerk for ½ Years Salary	3..	3..	
	To Xmās last			
	Porter	..	1.	
	Commiss ⁿ to Schafflin	4..	4	..
31 st	Engraving Six Tops of Keys and 7 Sound Holes and Scolloping	..	4..	9
	Stamps and Ink	..	1..	1
	Coachhire	..	2..	.
1785.				
Jan ^y 1 st	Advertisements	..	12.	
	Porter	..	1.	.
3 ^d	Three Sound Holes Scolloping	..	..	9
4 th	To M ^r Preston for Silver Strings	..	12.	.
	Six Songs	..	2.	
	Nails and Box	..	2..	9
	To Six Tops of Keys Engraving	..	3.	.
5 th	Varnish	..	1.	.
	Journeyman	3.	12..	.
6 th	Paper	..	..	9
7 th	Polishing Guitars	1..	10.	
	Porter	..	1	
8 th	Advertisements	..	12.	.
	Porter	..	1.	
	Letter	..	..	5
10 th	Half a Years Water Tax		15.	.
	Journeyman	..	10.	6
	Two Dozen Tops and Nine Machines	2..	14..	.
	Catgut Strings	..	4.	
	to M ^r Preston for Strings and Songs	..	12..	8
	Polishing Three Guitars	..	7.	6

	To Twelve Tops of Keys Engraving	..	6.	.
	Three Sound Holes Scolloping	..	..	9
11 th	Twelve Sound Holes	1..	10..	
	To M ^r James	2..	2..	
	4 ³ / ₄ Yards Green Baize	..	8..	3
	Paper	..	..	7
13 th	Sixteen Sound Holes and 24 Tops Gilding	3..	14	..
	1lb Hogs Bristles	..	2..	6
	200 Bills Printing	..	3.	.
	Porter	..	1.	.
15 th	Advertisements	..	12.	.
	Porter	..	1..	
	Spirits of Wine &c	1..	13.	6
17 th	Two Dozen Guitar Cases	9..	..	.
	Wire and Nails	..	..	9
	Leather	0..	2..	0
18 th	Strings	1..	1..	.
	Wire and Nails	..	..	9.
128 [sic]	A Memorandum Book	..	..	2.
19 th	To Y ^c Marrow Bones and Cleavers	..	1..	..
	Lamplighters	..	..	6
	Paper &c	..	..	6
	Patrole Beadle and Watchman	..	2..	6
20 th	To M ^r Welcker	1..	8..	6
	Advertisements	..	6.	..
	Coach hire	..	1.	..
	One Quarters Poor Rate	..	18.	9
	Stamps	..	1..	8
22 ^d	Advertisements	..	5.	6
	Journeyman	4..	13.	.
	Machines and Sundries	..	10..	6
	Porter	..	1..	.
24 th	Advertisements	..	6..	6
25 th	Journeyman	..	5..	..
	To M ^r Annesley for a Bond	1..	1..	
	Carpenter	..	10.	6
26 th	Four Guitars Polishing	..	10..	.
	Advertisement and Paper	..	6..	9
28 th	To M ^r Sydenham ¹ / ₄ ^s rent	15..	15..	
	Advertisement	..	6..	6
29 th	Four Guitars Polishing	..	10.	..
	Waterman and Porter	..	7.	.
	Wire	..	10..	6
	Four Sound Holes and Three Scolloping	..	12.	9
	Porter	.	1.	.
	Advertisements	..	5..	6
Feb ^y 1 st	Advertisements	..	5..	6
	For Colour and Spirits of Wine	3..	4.	6
	Candles	..	8..	..
	Six Machines	1..	3..	6

	Twelve Tops of Keys	..	9.	.
	Journeyman	3..	12.	.
2 ^d	Two Boxes of Strings	..	9..	6
3 ^d	Journeyman	..	10.	.
4 th	Three Sound Holes	..	15.	
	Window Blinds	1..	18.	6
	Sound Holes and Tops making and Engraving	..	15.	9
	Letters and Wood	..	1..	2
5 th	Advertisements	..	11.	.
	Porter	..	1.	.
8 th	Hogs Bristles	..	4..	
	Four Guitars Polishing	..	10.	.
	Nails	..	..	5
	Spindle and Sundries	..	4..	6
9 th	To M ^f Anslar for 32 Planks of Hair Wood [sic]	4..	16.	.
	Brass Pins	..	1..	.
	A Second ^ Hand Common Guitar	..	7..	6
	Three Sound Holes	..	9	..

[Sheet 5, Column 4:]

1785		[L]	[s]	[d]
Feb ^y 10 th	One Dozen Sound Holes Gilding	1..	13.	..
	One Dozen Tops of Keys D ^o	..	15.	..
11 th	Journeyman	3..	12.	.
	A Neck making	..	2..	6
12 th	Advertisements	..	14	..
	Porter	.	1..	..
	Waterman and Shipping	..	8.	..
14 th	Porter	..	1..	..
15 th	Polishing Four Guitars	..	10.	.
	Stamp	..	..	4
	Songs and Music	..	3..	5
	Two Dozen of Keys for Turning	..	2.	..
17 th	Four Sound Holes making	..	12.	..
18 th	Rector of Y ^e Parish	..	1..	..
	Journeyman	3..	12	..
19 th	Advertisements	..	13..	.
	Paper and Porter	..	2..	..
	Six Machines	1..	4..	..
23 ^d	Varnishing	..	12.	..
	Four Sound Holes	..	12.	.
	Six Machines	1..	4.	.
	Tuning Fork	..	2..	3
24 th	To M ^f Roeducker for tuning a Piano Forte and Strings	} ..	2..	.
28 th	Journeyman	..	16.	.
	Advertisements	..	13.	..
	Six Guitar Cases	2..	5.	..
	Leather	..	4.	.
	Six Guitars Varnishing	..	12.	.

	Porter	..	1..	..
March 1 st	A Guitar Case	..	10.	6
2 ^d	Stamps	..	1.	..
3 ^d	Paper	..	..	4½
4 th	Six Machines	1..	4..	..
	Shop Windows Cleaning	..	1..	6
5 th	To Varnishing 6 and Polishing 1 Guitar	..	13..	6
	Advertisements	..	13.	.
	Porter	..	2..	6
7 th	Strings	..	5.	.
8 th	D ^o and Music Books	1..	2.	6
9 th	Journeyman	..	16	..
	To D ^o	3.	12	..
	Polishing 4 Guitars	..	10	..
11 th	Gilding Thirteen Second [sic] Holes	1..	15.	6
12 th	Advertisements	..	13.	.
	Six Guitars Varnishing and One Polishing	..	14..	6
	Porter Paper Pens &c	..	2.	1
14 th	To Ten Tops of Keys Engraving	..	5.	.
	Glue	..	2..	3
15 th	Stamp and Porter	..	1..	10
	Commiss ⁿ to a Music Master	2..	2.	.
17 th	Two Dozen Tops of Keys	..	18.	.
	Six Machines	1..	4.	.
	Ten Plates Gilding	..	12.	6
	One small Machine	..	2..	6
	Three Sound Holes Gilding	..	8.	3
18 th	Stamps	..	1.	.
	Polishing Two Guitars	..	5.	.
	Porter	..	1.	.
19 th	Advertisements	..	13.	.
	Porter	..	2.	.
	A Machine	..	4.	..
	Turpentine	..	3.	.
21 st	To M ^r Roeducker	..	1..	6
23 ^d	Journeyman	3..	12.	.
	Letter	..	..	7
24 th	Watch Tax	..	9..	4½
25 th	Six Tops of Keys and three Sound Holes Gilding	..	15..	9.
26 th	Advertisements	..	13.	..
	Porter	..	1..	.
28 th	Six Sound Holes	..	13.	6
	Paper	..	1..	1½
29 th	To M ^r James for a Piano Forte Guitar bought of Longman & C ^o	} 8..	8..	..
April 2 ^d	Advertisements	..	13	..
	Porter	..	1.	..
4 th	Four brass rings	..	1..	3½
	To a Retainer at M ^r Lee's Office	1..	3..	6
	M ^r Partis	1.	1	

	Twelve Guitars Coloured and Varnished	1..	9..	
	Journeyman	2..	8..	
	Music Book	..	5..	.
6 th	Stamps	..	1..	.
7 th	Polishing Two Guitars	..	5..	.
8 th	Journeyman	1..	1..	.
	M ^r Lee's Clerk	..	5..	.
	Eight Dozen Silver Strings	..	12.	.
9 th	Advertisements	..	13.	.
	Journeyman	1..	17..	0
	Porter	..	1..	.
	Polishing One Guitar	..	2..	6
	Letter	..	..	5
11 th	Three Sound Holes Eight Plates Gilding	..	18.	3
12 th	Paper	..	1..	.
14 th	Journeyman	1..	4..	.
15 th	A Quarters Rent	15..	15..	..
	One Dozen Silver Strings	..	12	.
	Hooks and Allum	..	1..	5
	One Quarter's Land Tax for y ^e House in Frith Street	..	18.	..
	For Trnslating an Advertisement into Dutch and Two Advertisements inserting	2..	13..	6

[Sheet 5, Column 5:]

1785		[L]	[s]	[d]
April 15 th	Two Advertisements in an Irish Paper	1..	10.	.
	Letters	..	..	6
	Six Sound Holes	..	13..	6
	Eight Tops of Keys Engraving	..	2..	8
	Two Packing Cases	..	4..	6
16 th	Six Guitars Polishing	..	1..	
	Machines and Tops of Keys	1..	8.	6
	Advertisements	..	13..	
	D ^o	..	12..	6
	Porter	..	1..	6
	Key to a Guitar Case	..	..	2
	Letter	..	..	4
18 th	Engraving Tops of Keys	..	1..	6
	To M ^r Callender Commiss ⁿ	1..	1.	
19 th	Six Sound Holes and One Plate Gilding	..	17.	9
20 th	Polishing 2 Guitars	..	5.	.
	To the Rector	..	1..	..
21 st	Journeyman	2..	8	..
	Fretting three finger Boards	..	1..	6
	Coach hire	..	1.	6
	Carriage and Porterage	..	3..	6
	Colouring and Varnishing Six Guitars	..	12.	.
23 ^d	Advertisement	..	12.	6
	D ^o in the Gazette	1..	2.	6

	D ^o in other Papers	..	12..	.
	Porter	..	3.	..
25 th	Six Tortoiseshell finger Boards	1..	19.	..
	Journeyman	1..	4	..
26 th	Three Sound Holes and Six Plates Gilding	..	14..	6
27 th	Four Gross of small Buttons and } Two Dozen of large D ^o	..	18..	
	Journeyman	1..	4..	
28 th	Six Sound Holes	..	13..	6
	Engraving five Tops of Keys	..	1..	8
	An Oval Sound Hole	..	2..	6
	Polishing Four Guitars	..	10..	
30 th	Advertisements	..	12.	.
	Porter	..	1..	6
	Two Packing Cases	..	4..	6
	2lb Colour	..	14.	..
	Spirits of Wine	..	6..	
May 3 ^d	Journeyman	1..	4	..
4 th	Ivory	..	6.	..
	Six Steel Awls	..	1.	..
6 th	Journeyman	..	16.	..
	D ^o	..	8.	.
	Two Boxes of Steel Strings	..	5.	..
7 th	Porter	..	2.	2.
	M ^f Roeducker for Tuning forte Piano	..	.	6
	Polishing Four Guitars	..	10	..
	Advertisements	..	12.	..
9 th	Paper and Stamp	..	1.	1
10 th	A Quarters Poors Rate	..	18..	9
	Pins	..	2.	3
11 th	Polishing 2 Guitars	..	5	.
12 th	Six Machines	1..	4.	..
	Six Tops of Keys	..	4..	6
	One D ^o large	..	1.	..
14 th	Advertisements	..	12	..
	Porter	..	1..	..
17 th	Seven Sound Holes and 6 Tops of Keys	..	18.	6
18 th	Journeyman	4..	16.	..
	Fretting three finger Boards	..	1..	6
	Six Tortoiseshell finger Boards	1..	19	..
20 th	A Cavet [sic]	1..	1..	.
	Six Machines and Six Tops of Keys	1..	8..	6
21 st	Advertisements	..	12..	
	Porter	..	1..	..
	Letters	..	1..	8
23 ^d	Gilding 2 Oval Sound Holes	..	6.	..
	D ^o Six Tops of Keys	..	7..	6
	D ^o Six Sound Holes	..	16.	6
	Letter	..	..	7
	To M ^f Taylor Commiss ⁿ	2..	2..	..

	Screws	..	2..	6
	Paper	..	..	4½
	Journeyman	2	..	..
	D ^o	..	12	..
	Porter	..	1..	..
25 th	Packing Cases	..	8.	..
	Custom House Charges &c for Guitar to Cork	}	7..	6
26 th	M ^r Smith for illuminating Lamps	4..	12.	..
	Engraving Seven tops of Keys	..	2.	4
	To M ^r Martin in part of Commis ⁿ	..	12..	6
27 th	To a Pulley &t &t from the Street Door to the 2 Pair of Stairs	}	18..	..
	Two Quarters Windon Tax and House Tax due Lady Day	}	4..	13..
28 th	Advertisements	..	12.	..
	Porter	..	1.	..
31 st	Varnishing and Colouring Guitars	..	12.	..
	Sixteen Dozen Silver Strings	1.	4.	..
June 1 st	Silver Tops of Keys and Six Sound Holes Gilding	}	1.	5.
	Journeyman	4..	4..	..
2 ^d	M ^r Partis	20.	..	..
	Stamps	..	1	..
3 ^d	Polishing 2 Guitars	..	3	..
	Paper and Nails	..	..	9

[Sheet 6:]

25th August 1786 Winter by Zincke

[Sheet 6, Column 1:]

		[L]	[s]	[d]
1785				
June 5 th	Advertisements	..	12..	6
	Porter and Booking	..	2..	2
6 th	Six Machines and Tops of Keys	1..	8	6
	One Top of Key	..	..	9
7 th	Six Sound Holes	..	13	6
8 th	Journeyman	..	8	..
	Letter	..	..	4
10 th	Polishing 3 Guitars	..	7..	6
13 th	Journeyman	..	10..	6
	A Machine	..	4..	..
	Engraving 6 Tops of Keys	..	2..	..
	Porter	..	1..	..
	1 Guitar Polishing	..	2..	6
14 th	A Tuning Hammer	..	..	10
	Porter	..	1.	6
15 th	Six Guitars Polishing	..	10..	..
	M ^r Roeducker	..	1..	6
	Journeyman	1..	4..	..

16 th	D ^o	1..	4..	..
	[2 blank lines]			
18 th	Paid to Exchanging a Guitar for Gent Campbell	2..	2..	..
	For a Machine made from the Specification	1..	1..	
	Insurance	1..	18.	.
	M ^f Partis	21..	..	
	His Clerk	..	5.	.
	M ^f Mainstone to retain Council	1..	1	
	Coach hire	..	2..	..
	Six Guitars Varnishing	.	10.	.
	Porter	..	1..	
	Coach hire	..	2..	..
	Expenses at Coffee House	..	2..	8
19 th	Coach hire from Consultation	..	2..	
20 th	Expenses at Kings Arms Tavern	..	14	..
	Porter	..	1..	6
	Coach hire	..	1.	.
	Paper	..	..	8
	Salmon	..	2..	6
	Beer	..	1.	5½
21 st	To M ^f Rodengen for Attendance	..	10..	6
	Advertisements and Paper	..	12.	3
22 ^d	D ^o	1..	13..	3
	Two Quarters Watch	..	10..	5
23 ^d	To M ^f Barber Subscription to the Fire	..	5.	.
	Journeyman	8..	8..	.
24 th	Paper	..	..	8
25 th	Advertisements	..	18.	
	Porter	..	1.	.
27	M ^f Brown Clerk for yr's Sallary	3..	3.	
	Stamps	..	..	6
29 th	Journeyman	1..	11.	6
	A Neck to a Guitar	..	2..	6
30 th	Journeyman	1..	11.	6
	Porter	..	1..	2
	Plating top of Keys	..	5..	..
	Two Packing Cases	..	4..	6
	One D ^o large	..	6.	..
	Wood	..	3	..
July 1 st	Tuning a Forte Piano	..	1.	6
	Stamp	..	..	4
	Porter	..	1..	.
	Music Books	..	12.	.
2 ^d	Advertisements	..	18.	..
	Porter	..	1.	.
4 th	A Quarters Rent due Mids ^r last	15.	15.	..
5 th	Journeyman	1.	12.	.
	One Dozen Silver Strings	..	2.	.
	Shipping &c of Guitar to Dublin	..	3.	6
6 th	Porters	..	2..	..

9 th	Advertisements	..	11.	.
	Porter	..	1.	..
11 th	Journeyman	.	8.	.
	Two Dozen brass Keys	..	2.	.
12 th	Lock for Guitar Case	..	..	8
16 th	Advertisements	..	11.	..
	Letters and Porters	..	1.	4
19 th	Journeyman	2.	8..	.
	Cleaning Windows and Porter	..	2.	6.
	To M ^r ----- Comm ⁿ Money	2.	2.	
21 st	Journeyman	..	6.	.
23 ^d	Advertisement	..	5.	6
	Porter	..	1..	..
25 th	Engraving 6 Tops of Keys	..	2..	..
26	Three Packing Cases	..	6.	9
	To M ^r Hansler for Strings &c	..	16	0
	To M ^r James	..	10	6
28 th	Tuning a Forte Piano	.	1.	6
	Songs	..	1..	4
	Beer to Bricklayers	..	..	7
30 th	Advertisement	..	5.	6
	Porter	..	1..	..
	Screws	..	3..	.
Aug st 3 ^d	Journeyman	2.	8.	..

[Sheet 6, Column 2:]

1785		[L]	[s]	[d]
Aug st 5 th	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Porter	..	1..	..
	Varnishing and Polishing Seven Guitars	..	18.	..
8 th	Stamps	..	..	10
	Porter 2/6 Lady Archers Servant 1/	..	3..	6
9 th	Tuning a Piano Forte	..	1..	6
10 th	1 Doz ⁿ top of Keys Gilding	..	13..	6
11 th	Journeyman	..	15.	
13 th	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Porter	..	1..	..
	Letter	..	..	5
15 th	Paper	..	..	8
16 th	Three Quarters rate for Paving &c	3..	5.	9½
18 th	Journeyman	2..	8..	..
19	Seven Tops of Keys & 3 Machines	1..	9..	3
	Country Dances Music of	..	3.	.
20 th	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Porter	..	2.	.
23 ^d	Two Guitars Polishing	..	5.	.
	Two Quarters Rent for Water	..	15	..
24 th	Six Tops of Keys	..	4..	6
26 th	One Quarters Poor Rate	..	18..	9
27 th	Advertisement	..	5..	6

	Two Guitars Polishing	..	5.	.
	Porter	..	1.	..
	Journeyman	1..	13.	..
29 th	Engraving Six Tops of Keys	..	2..	.
31 st	A Sumōns for F. A. Murray	..	2..	.
Sep ^r 3 ^d	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Porter	..	1.	.
6 th	Journeyman	2..	8.	..
	A Bottle of Liquid	..	10.	6
9 th	An Order for St. A. Murray	..	6..	8
10 th	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Porter 2 ^s / Stamps 6 ^d /	..	2..	6
15 th	Journeyman	2..	8.	
	Silver Strings	..	3.	.
	Booking a Parcel	..	..	2
17 th	Advertisement	..	5.	6
	Porter	..	2..	9
20 th	Silver Strings	..	5..	..
21 st	Varnishing Six Guitars	..	10	..
	A Gallon of Varnish	1..	2..	..
24 th	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Porter	..	1..	..
29	Two Dozen Guitar Tops		12..	..
Oct ^r 1	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Porter	..	1..	..
3 ^d	Six Guitars Varnished	..	10..	..
4 th	One Quarter's Window Tax due Mids ^r 1784 for y ^e House in Frith Street	..	11..	3
	Two Tuning Forks	..	2..	4
5 th	Six Sound Holes Gilding	1..	2..	.
8 th	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Porter	..	1..	..
12 th	One Quarters Rent	15.	15	..
14 th	Brass Pins	..	..	3
	Six Machines and Tops of Keys	1..	8.	6
15	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Porter	..	1.	.
	Six Guitars Polishing and Four Sound Holes	..	17	..
	Brass Wire	..	1.	.
	Brass and Steel Strings	.	9.	..
20 th	Six Tops of Keys Engraving	..	2.	.
21 st	Silver Strings	..	3.	..
22 ^d	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Porter	..	1..	.
24 th	Stamps	..	1..	.
	Porter	..	1..	.
	Strings	..	1..	6
25 th	Six Tops of Keys Gilding	..	6..	..
	Porter	..	2..	..
27 th	Six Guitars Varnishing 1 Polishing and 4	..	14.	6

	Sound Holes			
28 th	Fur Packing Cases	..	9.	.
29 th	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Polishing 4 Guitars	..	10.	..
	Porter	..	1.	..
	Six Machines and 6 Tops of Keys	1..	8.	6
Nov ^r 1 st	Lock and Brazil Wood	..	2..	.
2 ^d	Six Tops of Keys Engraving	..	2..	.
	Porter	..	1.	.
	For a Sound Hole Borer	.	2..	..
3 ^d	Tape and Stamps	..	1..	1
	Silver Strings	..	10.	6
	Wood	..	4..	1
4 th	Guitars Polishing	..	5.	.
	Writing Paper	..	..	8
5 th	Advertisement	..	5.	6
	Porter	..	1.	.
7 th	Four Quarters rate to the Rector	..	4..	2
	Six Tops of Keys Gilding	..	6..	.
8	Three Guitars Cases Making	1..	4.	.
[Sheet 6, Column 3:]				
1785		[L]	[s]	[d]
Nov ^r 9 th	Journeyman	1..	12	..
	Brass Pins	..	1.	9.
11 th	Porter	..	1..	.
12 th	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Porter	..	1..	..
16 th	One Quarters Poor Rate	1..	..	10
	Porter	..	..	6
	To a Stove in the back Parlour and fixing d ^o	..	10..	6
	For a Copper in back Kitchen	1.	12	..
	Fixing D ^o	..	12	..
	Comm ⁿ Money to Masselino	2.	2.	.
	Watering Pot for y ^e Shop	..	1..	2
17 th	Four Guitars Polishing and 3 Sound Holes	..	11..	6
	Silver Strings	..	12	..
	Two Quarters Watch	..	12.	6
	Spirits of Wine	1..	2..	..
18 th	Six Machines and Tops of Keys	1..	8..	6
19 th	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Porter	..	2.	.
22 ^d	Coach hire	..	1.	..
23 ^d	Porter and Coach hire	..	2.	..
	Engraving 6 Tops of Keys	..	2.	.
	Candles	..	8..	4
	Polishing Four Guitars	..	10	.
24 th	To M ^r Haley for Purchasing a Guitar	6..	6..	..
26 th	To D ^o for D ^o	4..	4..	..
	To D ^o for 2 Sets of Strings tuning Fork	..	15.	..

	Packing Case and Instruction Book	}			
	Coach hire		..	2.	..
	Advertisement		..	5..	6
	Porter		..	1.	..
	Four Guitars Polishing		..	10.	..
30 th	Stamps		..	..	6
Dec ^r 2 th	Polishing Four Guitars		..	10.	.
3 ^d	Polishing 2 D ^o		..	5.	..
	Porter		..	1..	.
	Advertisement		..	5..	6
5 th	Two Quarters Rate for Paving &c due at.	}	2..	3.	9
	Michaelmas last				
6 th	Polishing 2 Guitars		..	5.	..
	Coloured Leather		..	2..	6
	Letter		..	..	5
7 th	Polishing 2 Guitars		..	5.	..
8 th	Six Machines and Tops of Keys		1..	8..	6
10 th	Advertisement		..	5..	6
	Engraving Six Tops of Keys		..	2.	..
	Porter		..	1.	..
12 th	Six Machines and Tops of Keys		1..	8..	6
	Glazing		..	1..	6
	Six Tops of Keys Engraving		..	2..	.
13 th	To M ^r Napier Comm ^l		2..	2	..
15 th	Eighteen Tops of Keys Gilding		..	18	..
16 th	Six Tops Engraving		..	2.	..
	Six Machines and Tops of Keys		1..	8..	6
17 th	Advertisement		..	5..	6
	Six Guitars Polishing		..	15	..
	Porter		..	1	..
19 th	Silver Strings		1..	1..	0
	Journeyman		2..	17.	9
	Tortoiseshell finger Board		..	4..	6
22 ^d	Six Machines and Tops of Keys		1..	8..	6
	Paper and Stamps		..	1..	.
	Advertisement		..	5..	6
	Porter		..	1..	6
26 th	Journeyman		1..	16	..
	Six Tops of Keys Engraving		..	2..	..
27 th	Watchmen and the Waits		..	1..	6
	Lock and Key to a Case		..	..	9
28 th	Beadle		..	1..	..
	Porter		..	1..	..
29 th	M ^r Brown half a Years Salary		3..	3.	..
	Turncock		..	1..	..
	Porter		..	1..	..
	Twelve Tops of Keys Gilding		..	12	..
	Candles		..	4.	.
30 th	Screws		..	1.	..
	1 Ball of Packthread [sic]		..	..	1

	Cleaning Water Pipe	..	1	..
31 st	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Porter	..	1.	..
1786				
Jan ^y 3 ^d	To y ^e Waits	..	..	6
4 th	Silver Strings	..	10.	6
	For D ^o of Clarke	..	10	..
5 th	Stamps	..	..	6
7 th	Packing Cases	..	4..	6
	One large d ^o	..	9.	.
	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Candles 2 ^s / Porter / 1 ^s /	..	3	..
9 th	To for a Christmas Box	..	1.	..
12 th	Subscription on Account of y ^e Shop Tax	..	2..	6
13 th	Paper	..	1.	5½
14 th	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Porter and Coach hire	..	3.	6
20 th	One box of Steel Strings	..	3..	5
[Sheet 6, Column 4:]				
1786		[L]	[s]	[d]
Jan ^y 21 st	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Journeyman	1.	16	
	Neck to a Guitar	..	2.	6
	Porter	..	1..	.
24 th	Cleaning y ^e Shop Windows	..	1..	6
25 th	One Quarter Rent due Christmas	15..	15..	
	For an Agreement with M ^r Hutt of y ^e Foulis	..	13.	8
	East Indiaman previous to his taking our Goods } Shipping Goods at Gravesend	..	7..	6
	Journeyman	2..	8.	.
26 th	Letter to M ^{rs} Denton	..	3..	6
	Stamps	..	..	8
27 th	Two Tuning Hammers	..	2..	4
	Candles	.	2.	.
28 th	Advertisement	..	5.	6
	Porter	..	1.	6
	Wood	..	2..	.
Feb ^y 2 ^d	Key to a Case	..	..	2
	Letter with a Draft	..	1.	..
	D ^o	..	..	6
	M ^r Mainstone's Clerk	1..	1.	..
3 ^d	Nails	..	..	1
4 th	Advertisement	..	5..	6
	Porter and Booking	..	1..	2
	D ^o	..	1..	.
	Nine Dozen Silver Strings	..	11..	3
7 th	Seven Small Music Stands	..	2.	.
8 th	Porter	..	1..	..
	Candles	..	2.	.

	9 th	Eight Guitars Polishing and 3 Varnishing	1..	3.	.
	10 th	Six Machines and tops of Keys	1..	8..	6
	11 th	Advertisement	..	5..	6.
		Porter	..	1.	..
	13 th	Engraving Six Tops of Keys	..	2.	..
		Two Quarters Window and House Tax	4..	13.	8
	14 th	Tuning a Piano Forte	..	1.	6
	16 th	Six Machines and 6 Tops of Keys	1..	8..	6
		Porter and Letter	..	1..	6
	20 th	Advertisement	..	5.	6
		A Music Stand	..	1.	..
	23 ^d	Porter and Booking	..	1..	2.
	24 th	Candles	..	2.	..
		Letter	..	..	8
	25 th	Advertisement	..	5.	6
		Porter	..	2.	.
March	2 ^d	Taking Snow from y ^e Top of House	..	1..	..
	4 th	Advertisement	..	5..	6
		Porter	..	1..	..
		Letter	..	..	6
	5 th	Porter and Stamps	.	1..	6
	11 th	Porter	..	1..	..
	14 th	One Quarters Poor rate	1..	..	10
		2 Quarters rent for Water	..	15	..
		Key to Case	..	..	3
	16 th	Paper and Letter	..	..	10
	17 th	Porter and Booking	..	2..	2.
		Four Packing Cases	..	9..	.
	18 th	Advertisement	..	5..	6
		Porter	..	1.	.
		Cleaning Shop Windows	..	1..	6
		Stamp 6 ^d Hair Broom 1 ^s /6 ^d	..	2..	..
	25 th	Porter	..	1.	..
	30 th	Carpenter repairing Shop Window	..	14	..
April	1 st	Advertisement	..	5..	6
		Porter and Letter	..	1.	6
	6 th	Six Tops of Keys Gilding	..	6.	
	8 th	Porter	..	1..	.
	10 th	To M ^r Meyers for repairing Guitar	..	2.	.
	15 th	Porter	..	2..	8
	22 ^d	D ^o	.	1..	.
	25 th	For a Piano Forte Guitar	4..	4.	..
	26 th	To y ^e Glazier	1..	5.	.
May	2 ^d	To M ^r Adams for a Key to y ^e Passage Door	..	3.	.
	5 th	Coach hire to Richmond	..	4.	.
	16 th	To J. Hubbard for repairing Guitar	..	6..	.
		Expenses of a Summons from D ^o	..	2..	10
June	15 th	To M ^r Brown for a Quarters Wages due Lady } Day } [2 empty lines]	1..	11..	6

The Third Schedule to which
the above Answer refers

1783					
16 th July	Of M ^r . . . for a Piano Forte	7.	4.	6	
29	Of M ^r Shafto for a D ^o	8.	8..	.	
23 ^d Aug st	Of M ^{rs} Skyrme for a D ^o	8..	..		
27 th	Of M ^r . . . for a D ^o	5..	5..	..	
	Of Miss Cotterell for a D ^o Exchanged	3.	..	..
4 th Sep ^r	Of M ^{rs} Granville for a Piano Forte	8..	8.	..	
6 th	Of M ^{rs} Crawley for a D ^o	8..	8	..	
	Of M ^r in Henrietta Street for a Second Hand Piano Forte Guitar	4..	4	..	
16 th	Of S ^r Henry Harpur for a Piano Forte	7..	5	..	
[Sheet 6, Column 5:]					
1783		[L]	[s]	[d]	
28 Sep ^r	Of a Music Master in Chancery Lane for a D ^o	5..	8.	.	
2 Oct ^r	Of S ^r John Davis for a Piano Forte	8.	8.	.	
31 st	Of Lady Campbell for a D ^o	7.	7.	.	
6 th Nov ^r	Of Lady Story for a D ^o	20.	..		
11 th	Of Lady Campbell for a D ^o Exchanged	3..	3.	..	
18 th	Of M ^{rs} Colebrook for a D ^o	7.	7.	..	
24 th	Of Duff Esq ^r for 2 D ^o	21.	..	.	
22 ^d	Of M ^r Robinson on Account	4..	4	..	
25 th	Of M ^r Samuel or a D ^o	7.	7.	..	
26 th	Of M ^{rs} Coneybear for a D ^o	10..	10	..	
27 th	Of M ^r Evans for a Ditto	7.	7.		
	Of a Stranger for a Common Ditto	2..	12.	6	
6 th Dec ^r	Of M ^r Smart for a Piano Forte	5..	5.	..	
23 ^d	Of M ^r Robinson on Account	1..	1.	.	
1784					
30 Jan ^y	Of Mess ^{rs} Corri & C ^o By a Bill to Balance Of Charles Fishendorff 29 th Oct ^r on Acc ^t Of Do 17 th Nov ^r on Acc ^t	14..	14	..	
17 th	Of Rob ^t Bullock Esq ^r for a Piano Forte	7..	17.	6	
20 th	Of M ^{rs} Deboes for a D ^o	7..	7.		
22 ^d	Of M ^r Smith & C ^o for a D ^o in Exchange	1..	11.	6	
28 th	Of M ^r Banks for a D ^o	5..	12..	6	
30 th	Of M ^r Fishendorff 30 th Jan ^y 1784 in full	3..	3.	.	
4 th Feb ^y	Of M ^{rs} Rumbold for a Piano Forte	7.	7..	..	
	Of M ^{rs} Coneybear for y ^e use of a D ^o	1..	1..	..	
14 th	Of M ^r Robinson on Account	1..	1..	..	
21 st	Of M ^{rs} Burton for a Piano Forte G ^r	7..	7..	.	
23 ^d	Of M ^{rs} Burgess for a Piano Forte	7.	7	..	
	Of Mess ^{rs} Corry and C ^o D ^o	12.	3.	.	
1 st Mar	Of M ^r Eberhart D ^o D ^o	5..	5	..	
5 th	Of Lady Onslow D ^o	7.	7	..	
16 th	Of Miss Farqueson D ^o	7.	7	..	

	19 th	Of Miss Calvert D ^o	6..	6	..
	20 th	Of W ^m Thomson Esq ^r D ^o	5..	15..	6
	31 st	Or M ^r Robinson	1..	1..	..
		Of C. Morris Esq ^r for D ^o	15..	15	..
		Strings to D ^o	..	12	..
9 April		Of Lord Duncannon for a Piano Forte	7..	7.	..
	22	Of M ^r Bates for a Machine to D ^o	2..	2	..
	27	Of M ^{rs} Darbage for a Machine to D ^o	3..	3	..
	28	Of M ^r Cichrall of Piano Forte	10..	16	6
	30	Of M ^r R. Westropp for D ^o	7..	10	6
3 ^d May		Of M ^{rs} Burgess D ^o D ^o	8.	8.	.
	5	Of M ^r Dunsall for a Stop	..	10.	6
	13	Of Capt ⁿ Dixon D ^o D ^o	7.	7.	.
	14	Of M ^r Harnest for Old Guitars	4	14	6.
28 th May		Of Capt ⁿ Byran for a Second Hand Guitar	2.	12..	3..
	31	Of M ^r Cecil for a Piano Forte Guitar	7..	7	..
		Of M ^r Ganear for a D ^o	5..	5.	..
1 st June		Of M ^r Higgins for a Common Guitar	3..	3.	..
	7	Of Miss Evans for a Piano Forte Guit ^r	7.	7	
	10	Of M ^{rs} Burchin for a D ^o D ^o	6..	6	
	11	Of M ^{rs} Murray for a D ^o D ^o	14..	14	..
	16	For a brass Machine	..	4	..
	23	Of . . . Evans Es ^d D ^o a Piano Forte	9.	9	..
		For 2 Music Books	..	4..	.
	28	Of M ^{rs} Morant for Machine & Strings	..	12	..
		Of . . . Strong Esq ^r a Piano Forte	7..	10	..
		Guitar and Book			
	29 th	Of M ^r Fentum for D ^o	5..	5	..
July 1 st		To a Musick Book	..	1..	6
	2 ^d	Of Lady Rich for Music Book & Songs	..	2..	6
	5.	Of . . . Maddox Esq ^r for a Piano Forte Guit ^r	7.	12	..
	7	Of M ^{rs} Bateman D ^o	9.	9.	..
	8	Of Lady Sigonier in Exchange	4..	4.	..
		For a Spanish Guitar Stringing	..	3.	.
	13	Of M ^r Richards for a Piano Forte Guit ^r	5	16	..
	15	Of Lady Salton for D ^o	7..	7	..
	17	To a 2 nd Hand Common Guitar Music	2..	2.	6
		Books and Strings			
		To a Music Book and Stop	..	3.	.
	20	Of Lord Mitford for a Piano Forte Guitar	7.	10	..
		And Music Book to D ^o			
	21	Of De Pappenheim to a Piano Forte	7..	8..	6
		Guitar and Strings			
		Of Corri and Sutherland by Bills in	30	..	..
		Part			
		Of M ^r Ansler for Wood	5..	11..	..
	22	For a Music Book	..	1..	6
	26	Of M ^{rs} Holmes for 1 Months Hire	..	10.	6
Aug ^t 2 ^d		Of M ^r Messing for a Music Book	..	3..	..
	3	Of Capt ⁿ Goanston to Music Book	..	1..	6

5	Of M ^r Bremner for 2 Piano Forte Guitars	}	16..	10.	..
	For Strings to D ^o		..	6	..
6	Of M ^r Cook for y ^e Machine in Guitar And Strings and Booking	}	2.	14	..
9	Of M ^{rs} Taylor for Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar		..	9..	6
13	Of M ^r Jones for a Guitar and Sundry Expences	}	1..	17	..
14 th	Of S ^r Rob ^t Smith for a Piano Forte Guitar		7.	7	..
	Of D ^o for a Music Book		..	1.	6

[Sheet 7:]

25th Aug^t 1786 Winter by Zincke

[Sheet 7, Column 1:]

1784			[L]	[s]	[d]
August 17 th	Of M ^r Ansler for Wood		3..	16	..
19 th	Of Henry Cooper Esq ^r a Piano Forte Guitar		7..	7.	.
23 ^d	Of Lord Delaval a Piano Forte Guitar	}	3..	13.	6
	Exchanged on Acc ^t of M ^{rs} Trentum				
24	Of M ^r Dymock a Piano Forte Guitar & Music Book	}	10..	13.	.
25	Of M ^r Callender a Piano Forte Guitar		5..	5..	.
28	Of M ^r Smith Music Master for Guitar		10..	10..	.
	Of D ^o for Packing Case and Strings		..	8..	.
Sep ^r 2 ^d	Of Miss Tuting a Piano Forte Guitar on Hire One Month	}	..	10..	6
7	Of M ^r Crawford a Piano Forte Guitar & Sundrys		8..	6..	6
	Of Lady Rumbold for a Music Book		..	2..	6
	Of Henry Cowper Esq ^r a Piano Forte Guitar		7..	7..	
	Of M ^r Rob ^t Smith for a Tuning Fork		..	2..	6
17	For a Music Book and Strings		..	4..	6
25.	Of M ^{rs} Holmes for 1 Months Hire		..	10.	6
29	Of the Journeyman for 2 Planks of Wood		..	4.	
Oct ^r 2	For 2 Planks of Wood		..	6..	.
5	Of M ^r Haldimand for a Piano Forte Guitar		10.	15..	6
	Of M ^{rs} Mitchell for a D ^o		5..	5..	..
6	Of Mr Annesly for a D ^o and Music Books		6..	8.	6
11	Of M ^{rs} Hopgard for a D ^o		5..	5.	.
	Of Miss Tuling Conduit Street		6..	16.	6
12	Of D ⁿ Lowder a Piano Forte Guitar		7..	7..	
21	Of M ^r Gusthart a D ^o and set of Strings		7..	8..	6
26	Of M ^r Tuling for 5 Planks at 3 ^s / each		..	15..	
27	Of M ^r Hayley for y ^e Hire of a Guitar		..	6.	.
Nov ^r 1.	Of M ^r Thompson for a Piano Forte Guitar and Sundrys	}	7..	14..	6
3	Of Cap ⁿ Smith for a Piano Forte Guitar		7..	7..	..
16	Of M ^{rs} Southern for a Common Guitar		..	18.	

	22	Of Baron Polinetz for a Piano Forte Guitar	7..	7.	.
	23	Of M ^{rs} Skyrme for y ^e Patent Machinery in a Guitar	2..	12..	6
	24	Of M ^{rs} Broome for One Months Hire of a Guitar	..	10..	6
	29	Of C. Proby Esq ^r for repairing a Guitar Of M ^{rs} Colebrook for y ^e Patent Machinery in a Guitar	..	18.	..
Dec ^r 2 ^d		Of Lord Cathcart for a Piano Forte Guitar and Strings	7..	11..	6
		Of M ^r Thompson for a Piano Forte Guitar	5..	5..	
	9	Of Miss Masham for a Piano Forte Guitar and for Hire of D ^o	8..	18..	6
	13	Of M ^r Thompson for a Piano Forte Guitar	5..	5..	
	18	Of M ^{rs} Dyrell for a Piano Forte Guitar	10..	10.	
	30	Of M ^r Dymock D ^o	12..	12..	
1785					
Jan ^y 1 st		For a Music Stand	..	2..	6
	3	Of Miss Tuting Jun ^r a 2 nd Hand Piano Forte Guitar	4..	10..	
	7	Of M ^r Taylor for a Piano Forte Guitar Of M ^r for a Common Guitar	5..	5..	
	10	Of Miss Tuting for 2 Songs	..	1..	..
	13	Of M ^r Banks for a Piano Forte Guitar & Case Of Walker Esq ^r for D ^o	5..	12.	6
	18	For 7 Dozen Violin Strings	7..	7..	.
	19	For Two Songs	1..	1.	..
	21	For Lady Ducie for a Piano Forte Guitar Of M ^{rs} Claremount for 2 Months Hire of a Guitar	..	17..	6
		Of M ^{rs} Upton for 3 Months Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar	1..	11..	6
	24	Of M ^{rs} for 1 Se of Guitar Strings Of M ^r Tomegan for a Piano Forte Guitar 2 Books and a Set of Strings	..	1..	6
			7..	13..	.
	25	Of M ^r Davis for Guitar Strings Of M ^r Glasfurde for D ^o	3..	10.	.
		Of M ^r Tyrell for 2 Piano Forte Guitars and Music Book	1..	16..	.
			11..	14	..
	26	Of M ^r Burchell for a Piano Forte Guitar Of M ^r Smart for 3 Piano Forte Guitars and a Common Guitar	5..	15..	
			21..	21..	..
	27	Of M ^{rs} Ramly for a Piano Forte Guitars and a Common Guitar Of M ^r Lee for a D ^o	4..	4..	
			5..	15..	6
	29	Of M ^r Jackson for a Second hand Guitar	1..	19..	6
Feb ^y 1		Of M ^r Belville for a Piano Forte Guitar Of y ^e Smith for Old Files	7..	7..	..
			..	1..	6
	2 ^d	Of Baron Pollinetz in Exchange for Piano Forte Guitar	1..	1..	..

	Of M ^r Smith for a Musick Book	..	5..		
3 ^d	For making a Neck and Machine in a Common Guittar	}	..	15.	
7	For a Set of Guitar Strings		..	1.. 6	
	Of M ^{rs} - - - for a Piano Forte Guitar		5.	15.. 6	
[Sheet 7, Column 2:]					
1785			[L]	[s]	[d]
Feb ^y 8 th	Of the Queens Music master a Second Hand Common Guitar	}	1..	11..	6
11	Of the Journeyman		..	1..	.
14	Of Ferguson & Sons a Piano Forte Guitar and a Set of Strings	}	5..	6..	6
	Of Miss Dymick for Three Months Hire of a Guitar a Stop and Gilt Top	}	..	15.	
15	Of Lady Tyrconnel for Mending a Piano Forte Guitar		..	5.	..
	Of Mr Schafflen for a brass Machine For Mending a 2 nd Common Guitar		..	5..	6
16	For a Music Book		..	2..	6
17	Of M ^r Thompson for repairing a Guitar	}	..	5.	..
19	For 1 Weeks Hire of a Common Guitar		..	7..	6
22	Of Mrs Morant in Exchange of a Piano Forte Guitar	}	..	1..	..
24	Of Major Akerman in Exchange of a Piano Forte Guitar	}	1..	1..	.
	Or M ^r Hope in Exchange of Piano Forte Guitar and base and Strings To D ^o	}	3..	3..	
26 th	Of Captain Smith for repairing a Common Guitar	}	2.	16.	6
27	Of Captain Smith Two Weeks Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar	}	..	5.	.
	Of M ^r Tace for a Second Hand Common Guitar Strings and Books to D ^o	}	2.	..	..
March 1 st	For a Guitar Case		..	5.	.
2	Of M ^r Cahusac for a Piano Forte Guitar and Case to D ^o		..	12.	.
	Of Lady Middleton for putting the Patent Machinery in a Guitar		5..	12.	6
	Of M ^r Hawkshand for a Piano Forte Guitar		3..	3.	.
4	Of M ^r Chapman for a 2 nd Hand Common Guitar		7..	7..	.
5.	Of the Earl of Clanricarde for a Piano Forte Guitar and Music Books		1..	1..	..
	Of Lord Peters for a Piano Forte Guitar and Packing Case		7..	1.	6
			7..	10..	6

	For Stringing and Tuning a Guitar	..	2..	..
7	Of M ^E Chartion for a Piano Forte Guitar	7..	7.	.
8	Of M ^E Chartion for a Packing Case For a Tuning Fork	..	3..	6
	For Varnishing a ommon Guitar	..	2..	6
10	Of M ^E Cahusac for a Common Guitar and Case	2..	9.	6
	For a Music Book and Set of Strings	..	6..	6
12	In Exchange of a Music Book	..	1..	6
14	Of Mr Robinson in Exchange of a Piano Forte in Part	1..	1..	
15	Of M ^E Cranden for a Forte Piano	21.	...	
16	Of Miss Lightfoot at M ^E Rowleys for a Piano Forte Guitar and Music Book to D ^o	6..	11..	..
	Of M ^E Welcker for a Piano Forte Guitar and Case to D ^o	5..	12..	6
18	Of M ^E Massey for a Piano Forte Guitar and Packing Case to D ^o	5..	8..	..
19	Of M ^{ES} Henry for a Piano Forte Guitar	7..	7	..
21	For a Machine to a Mandolin	.	15	..
22	For a Set of Strings	..	1..	6
24	For 3 Sets of Strings & a Music Book	..	6..	.
	Of M ^E Kempty for Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar	..	10..	6
	Of M ^E Kempty for a Piano Forte Guitar	5..	5.	..
28	For a Song	..	1.	..
31	Of M ^E Duff for Music Books and Songs	..	13	..
April 5	For a Stp and 3 Setts of Strings	..	7	..
	Of M ^{ES} Dealtry for One Months Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar	..	10.	6
7	Of Earl of Clanricarde for 2 Patent Bridges and 3 Setts of Strings	..	18	..
9	Of M ^{ES} Wynch for a Piano Forte Guitar	7..	7..	
	Of M ^E Howard for a D ^o	7..	7..	
11	Of William Croydon Esq ^E for a Music Book	..	3..	
	Of M ^{ES} Cargill for a Piano Forte Guitar Case and Music Book to D ^o	7..	18	..
	Of W ^m Croydon Esq ^E for One Months Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar	..	10..	6
12	For Tuning and Stringing a Piano Forte Guitar	..	2..	6

[Sheet 7, Column 3:]

1785		[L]	[s]	[d]
April 16 th	For a Second Hand Guitar Case and Stringing a Guitar	..	6..	6
18	For Guitar Strings	..	..	6

	For a Music Book	..	..	6
20	Of E. Bower Esq ^t for Stringing a Guitar and Stop	..	5.	.
22	Of M ^t Watson for 6 Piano Forte Guitars	36.	..	
23	Of M ^t Burch for Carriage & Portorage	..	3.	6
25	Of Miss Saville for a Piano Forte Guitar	7..	7..	..
26	To a Song	..	..	6
27	Of Major Butler for a Piano Forte Guitar and Sundrys	11..	12..	6
28	Of M ^t Bremner for a Piano Forte Guitar and Case	5..	12	..
29	Or M ^t Brown for a Piano Forte Guitar	6..	16.	6
	Of the Earl of Clanricarde for a Piano Forte Guitar	5..	5..	.
30	Of D ^o for a Guitar Case and Stop	..	10..	6
	Of M ^{ts} Deal[?ta]y for a Piano Forte Guitar	6..	16..	6
May 2 ^d	Of M ^t Bremner for a Packing Case	..	3.	.
	Of M ^{ts} Winch for Stop to a Guitar	..	2..	6
9	For Steel Strings	..	1..	.
	Of M ^t French for a Piano forte Guitar Case and Musick Book	7..	10.	.
10	For a Musick Book	..	3.	.
	For a Song and Guitar Key	..	1..	..
16	For a Music Books & set of Strings	..	3.	6
19	For a Silver String and Song	..	1..	.
23	For a Gilt Top	..	5.	
24	Of M ^{ts} Wilkinson for a Piano Forte Guitar	7..	7..	..
	Of Lady Stapleton for y ^e Hire of a Forte Piano Guitar	..	7.	6
25	Of M ^{ts} Herman for a Piano Forte Guitar a Case and Music Books	8..	4.	..
26	Of M ^t Fuller for a Piano Forte Guitar Case and Strings	7..	10.	..
	Of M ^t Merlin for 4 Piano Forte Guitars by a Bill	21..	..	.
	Of M ^t Merlin for a Packing Case Custom house Charges and Waterage	..	12...	6
31	For a Music Book	..	2..	.
June 1	Of E. Mason Esq ^t in Exchange of a Piano Forte Guitar in part	1..	1.	..
3 ^d	Lord Berkley for a Piano Forte Guitar Strings and Packing Case	7..	13	..
	Of M ^{ts} Howard for a Packing Case	..	3.	.
4	Of Lady Rumbold for a Piano Forte Guitar in Exchange	3..	3.	.
6	Of M ^{ts} Stinton for 1 Months Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar	..	10.	6
8	Of M ^t Williams for a Common Guitar and Stop	2..	4..	6
10	Of Lady Rumbold for a Stop to a Piano Forte Guitar	..	2..	6

18	Of M ^f Kennedy for a Second Hand Piano Forte Guitar and Case	5..	5.	.
	Of M ^f Williams for a Common Guitar Case and Stop to D ^o	3..	3.	.
15	Of Major Gen ^l Campbell for a Piano Forte Guitar 2 Music Books & Song & 2 Setts of Strings to D ^o	6..	18..	6
21 st	Major Gen ^l Campbell for Exchange of a Piano Forte Guitar & 2 Setts Strings	2..	6.	.
22	Of M ^f Robinson in full	1..	1..	
24	Or M ^{rs} Morant for a Stop and Strings to a Guitar	..	6..	
25	For 3 Machines	..	9.	.
27	Of M ^{rs} Bullock for Stringing and Tuning of a Guitar	..	2.	..
	Of M ^{rs} Morant for a Music Book	..	3.	.
	For repairing a Violin	..	1.	.
29	Of M ^f Eberard for a Piano Forte Guitar in part	2..	2.	.
30	Of M ^f Keily for Hire of a Pianoforte Guitar	..	10..	6
	Of M ^{rs} Day for a Piano Forte Guitar a Silver Plated Top and Case	7..	5..	6
July 1 st	M ^f Capper for a Forte Piano and Sundries	16..	9.	.
4	M ^{rs} Morant for Machine and Neck & a set of Strings D ^o 2 Music Books and Song	..	16..	6
	D ^o One set of Strings	..	8..	6
	For Mending a Neck of a Guitar & 2 Strings	..	2..	6
5	Of M ^f Kennan for a Piano Forte Guitar & Sundrys	7.	14	..
7	Of Miss Marcham for Strings	..	8.	.
	Of Miss Peart for a Piano Forte Guitar a Stop & Case	..	2.	.
12	Of M ^{rs} . . . for Tuning a Guitar & New Lock to Case	..	2..	
15	For a Music Book	..	3..	6
16	Of M ^f Heron for a Piano Forte Guitar	7..	7..	
18	Of Miss Banderfield for a Piano Forte Guitar	2..	12.	6
19	Of Miss Masham for a Music Book	..	3.	.
[Sheet 7, Column 4:]				
1785		[L]	[s]	[d]
July 20.	Of Miss [blank] for Tuning & Stringing a Guitar	..	1..	6
	Of M ^r W ^m Croydon Esq ^f for 2 Months Hire for a Piano Forte Guit ^f	1..	1..	.
25	For a Set of Strings	..	1..	6
28	D ^f Brownfield for 2 Songs	..	2..	..
29	Of Miss Godfrey for a Piano Forte Guitar & Strings	7..	17..	6
30	Of M ^f Herman for a Packing Case	..	3.	..
	Of Miss Farquier for a Patent piano Forte Guitar In Exchange	2..	2.	..
August 1.	Of Miss Tolleron for Hire of a Common Guitar For a Guitar Case	..	7.	..
8	Of Lady Rockingham for a Piano Forte Guitar & 2 Books	12..	16..	6
	Of Miss Gunman for a Piano Forte Guitar & Sundrys	5..	11.	..
9	Of Lady Archer for fitting the Patent Machinery in a Guitar	3..	3.	

	Of Capt ⁿ Smith for a Set of Strings	..	1..	6
10	Of D ^r Leake for a Second Hand Piano Forte Guitar	5..	5.	.
	For a Stop and Strings for a Guitar	..	2..	
11	For Steel Strings	..	..	6
13	For Music	3..	..	
16	For 2 Sets of Strings	3..	..	
19	Of Corri and Sutherland by y ^e hands of M ^r Weston by a Bill in full	27.	6..	2.
	For 2 Books of Country Dances	..	4.	..
20	Of Captain Parker for a Piano forte Guitar & Sundrys	7..	10.	..
22	For a Steel String for a Guitar	..	..	1
23	Of Mess ^{rs} Thompson for a Piano Forte Guitar without a Case	4..	17..	6
25	Of Cap ⁿ Smith for a Piano Forte Guitar & Case	6..	6.	.
29	Of M ^r Phillips for Exchange of Guitar Case	..	6.	.
30	Of Miss Stregon for Stringing & Tuning a Guitar	..	2.	.
Sep ^r 5	Of S Thompson Esq ^r for putting y ^e Patent Machine in a Piano Forte Guitar & Sundries	3.	..	6
7	Of Miss Boddington for 2 Sets of Strings and Packing Case	..	7..	6
9	Of Miss Hughes for a Piano Forte Guitar and a Music Book	7..	8..	6
	Of M ^r Fuller for a Music Book Stop and Seven Steel Strings	..	4..	8
12	Of M ^r Preston for a Piano Forte Guitar and Case	5..	13..	..
15..	Of M ^{rs} Anderson for 10 weeks Hire & Porter	1..	7.	
	Of M ^{rs} Gregory or Tuning and Stringing a Guitar	..	2..	.
	Of M ^r Fuller for One Weeks Hire	..	2..	6
17.	Of M ^r Reynolds for a Piano Forte Guitar & Case and Sundries	7..	15	..
	For a Silver String	..	..	6
20 th	Of Cap ⁿ Goldthwaite for 5 Months Hire of a Common Guitar & a Set of Strings	..	14.	
21	Of M ^r Hansler for 4 Planks of Air Wood	..	12.	..
29	Of M ^r Ghillini for Sundries	..	12..	10
	For a Violin String & 2 Steel Guitar Strings	..	..	8
Oct ^r 3	Of Miss Leslie for a Piano Forte Guitar and Case and One Mo ^s Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar	6..	6.	.
5.	Of Miss Leslie for a Tuning Fork and a Set of Strings	..	3...	6
11	Of Lady Noel for Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar and 2 Sets of Strings	2..	6..	.
13	A String	..	..	6
18	To One Dozen of Steel Strings & a Song	..	1.	6
20	M ^r Morse in Exchange of a Piano Forte G ^r For a Music Book	2.	2.	.
		..	2.	6
21	Of M ^r Mist for repairing a Guitar		1..	6
25	Of Mess ^{rs} Thompson for 2 Piano Forte Guitars	9..	15.	..

	Of M ^{rs} Middleton for a Piano Forte Guitar and Case and Tuning Fork	7..	9..	6.
	Of M ^r Morse for Exchange of a Case	..	5.	.
26	Of M ^r Forbes for a Piano Forte Guitar & Packing Case	5..	7.	6
27	Of M ^r Craft for 3 Months Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar	1..	11..	6
Nov ^r 1	For a Stop to a Guitar	..	2.	.
2	Of M ^r Hall for M ^r Margraph for a Piano Forte Guitar and Sundries	6..	1.	.
4	Of Miss *Pollard for 1 Mo ^s Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar	.	7..	6
7	Of Serg ^t Rook for 2 nd Hand Guitar Case Stop and 2 Sets of Srings	3.	.	.
11	Of M ^r Hacks for a Piano Forte Guitar 2 Music Books and Packing Case to d ^o	5..	13..	..
	Of M ^{rs} Ottley for a Piano Forte Guitar and Case	7	7..	.
14	For a Song	..	..	3
	Of M ^{rs} Leslie for 3 Sets of Strings Silver	..	3..	8
17	Brass Wire	..	..	1½
	Of M ^r Cullender for repairing a Guitar a new set of Keys and a Stop	..	8.	..
18	Of M ^r Austin for putting y ^e Patent Machinery in a Guitar and finger Board and Music Book	3..	12.	.
24	Of Miss Meath for a Piano Forte Guitar Case and Music Book	6..	6	..
	For One Silver & 4 Steel Strings	..	1..	.
25	Of M ^{rs} Austin in Exchange of a Piano Forte Guitar	4..	4.	.
29	Of M ^r Ghillini for a Silver String	..	..	3
Dec ^r 3	For a Set of Silver Strings	..	1.	..
5	For a Set of Strings	..	2.	.
6	Of J. Gretton Esq ^r for 3 Mo ^s Hire of a Forte Piano	1..	11.	6
7	Of M ^{rs} Dempster for a Piano Forte Guitar and Case	7..	7..	..
10	Of M ^r Hooper for a Piano Forte Guitar 3 Music Books and a Set of Strings	9..	18..	6
13	Of Miss Pickering for a Piano Forte Guitar Case & 6 Mo ^s Hire of a D ^o	8..	8..	.
	Of M ^r Fuller for y ^e Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar and Case	..	2..	.
19	Of Miss Evans for a Piano Forte Guitar and Case	5..	5.	.
	For a Stop to a Guitar	..	1..	6
22	M ^{rs} Daniel for repairing a Mandolin	..	3..	6
	Of M ^r Ghillini for Strings	..	13.	.
26	Of M ^r Denué for a Piano Forte Guitar	5..	5.	..

	27	Of Miss Dickson for a 2 nd Hand Piano Forte Guitar & Case	5.	5.	..
	[Sheet 7, Column 5:]				
1785			[L]	[s]	[d]
	Dec ^t 27	Of M ^t Ghillini for guitar Strings For a Guitar String	..	..	6 3
	28	Of Mess ^{rs} Charles Harris & C ^o for a Piano Forte Guitar & Case 2 Sets of Strings and Packing Case	7..	13..	6
	29	Of Miss Green for a Piano Forte Guitar And Case Ornamented Of M ^{rs} Austin for a Set of Strings	8.	..	6
	30	Of Mrs Hamilton for Stringing & Tuning A Guitar	..	2..	.
1786					
	Jan ^y 2.	To a Song	..	..	6
	4	For a Music Book	..	2.	..
	6	Of Miss Evans for 4 Dozen of Guitar Strings Of M ^{rs} Birchell for a Piano Forte Guitar & Case	..	8.	..
		Of M ^{rs} Dickinson for 2 Sets of Strings	5..	5..	..
	9	Of Mr Bulkley for repairing a Spanish Guitar	..	3..	.
	14	For Stringing and Tuning a Guitar	..	1..	6
	18	For a Music Book	..	1..	6
	19	Of M ^t Ghillini for 2 Strings	..	..	6
	20	For Strings	..	4..	6
	21	Of M ^t Hobart for Wood Of D ^o for Sound Hole Of M ^{rs} Daniel for a Piano Forte Guitar and Case	..	10	..
			..	6.	6
			7..	7.	..
	23	For 2 Silver Strings	..	..	6
	24	Of M ^t Hill for one Mo ^s Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar	..	10..	6
	25.	Of M ^t Banks for 2 Second Hand Common Guitars	2..	2.	6
	26	Of M ^t Partis and Weston on Acc ^t of Longman and Broderip per Bill Of M ^{rs} Denton for a Piano Forte guitar And Case	28..	15.	9
			7.	7.	6
	28	Of M ^{rs} Dealtry for a Set of Strings	..	2.	9
	30	Of M ^t Haley for 3 Silver Strings	..	.	9
	31	Of Miss Patterson for a Piano Forte Guitar and Case	7..	7..	6
Feb ^y 1.	1.	Of Miss Sowden for Tuning and Stringing to a Guitar For a Glass Staccato	..	2.	3
			1..	11..	6
	2.	Of M ^{rs} Dealtry for 10 Silver Strings Received of M ^t Shafflers	..	.	6
			4..	17	.
	3	Of M ^t Priest for a Piano Forte Guitar	5..	5.	6

	7	Of M ^r Everhard in part	2.	2.	
	8	Of M ^r Dickinson for a Stop to a Guitar	..	2..	..
		Of Capt ⁿ Goldthwaite for 1 Mo ^s Hire of a Guitar	..	10.	6
	11	Of Lady Mahon for a Piano Forte Guitar and Case	7..	7.	..
	16	For Tuning & Stringing a Guitar For a Song	..	.	8 6
	18 th	Of Capt ⁿ Gibbs for a Piano Forte Guitar and Sundries	5..	14.	.
	21	For a Machine and finger Board	..	10	..
	23	Of M ^r Clark for a 2 nd hand Melon back Guitar	2..	9.	..
	28	Of M ^{rs} Jones for a New Neck and Machine to a Guitar	..	15	..
March	3 ^d	Of M ^{rs} Cawne for a Piano Forte Guitar Case and Stop	7.	9.	.
	4	Of R. Barnard Esq ^r for a 2 nd Hand Piano Forte Guitar and Case For a String and Tuning a Guitar	5..	5	.
		Of M ^{rs} Wattell for 1 Mo ^s Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar	..	10..	6
	10	M ^r Kennedy for Tuning & Stringing to a guitar	..	3..	6
	13	Of M ^{rs} Skyrme for a Stop to a Guitar	..	2..	6
	16	For a Song	..	..	6
	17	Of Mess ^{rs} Hardess Mantz & C ^o for a Piano Forte Guitar a Case and Sundrys	6.	14	..
	22	Of Mrs Falconer for a Piano Forte Guitar and Case	6..	6	
	23	Of M ^r Wilson for Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar	3..	3	..
	25	Of M ^{rs} Milner for a Piano Forte Guitar Case and Music Stand	7..	10.	6
	27	For a Music Stand D ^o a Music Book	..	2.	.. .
	28	Of M ^{rs} Birchell for a Piano forte Guitar & Case	5..	5.	.
	29	Of P ^r Deline Esq ^r in Exchange of Piano Forte Guitar & Case	3..	3.	
	31.	Of y ^e Duke of Athol for a Piano Forte Guitar a case and Packing Case	7..	10..	
April	3	Of Lord Cathcart for a Piano Forte Guitar a Case and Sundries	8..	14..	6
	7	Of Lady Lincoln for 1 Mo ^s Hire of A Forte Piano	..	10.	6
	17	Of M ^r Rob ^t Lowe for a Patent Piano Guitar a Case & Packing Case	6..	9.	.
	25	Of M ^r Maclardie for a 2 nd Hand Common Guitar and Case	1..	10	..

26 th	Of M ^{rs} Phillips for 1 Mo ^s Hire of a Piano Forte Guitar	..	10..	6
	Of M ^{rs} Phillips for Tuning a Guitar	..	2.	
	Of M ^r Priest of Arundel for a Packing Case	..	3.	..
28	Of M ^r Robinson for repairing a Guitar	..	3..	.
June 28	Of S ^r Lucas Pepys for a Patent Piano Forte Guitar and Case	6.	6..	.

[Sheet 7, Bottom of the sheet:]

The Fourth Schedule to which the above Answer refers.

Bought of J Levy & C^o

M^r Henry Holland

1786

		£	s	d
April 24 th –	130 Planks of Air Wood, 134 boards of Belly Wood a Parcel of Mahogany Wood 10 Piano Forte - / Guitars 6 Common D ^o unfinished 3 Common large D ^o D ^o five Common Second hand D ^o – One / Common ditto with a machine, 9 Guitar Cases one Second Hand Violin one Bath harp For piano.. / Fortes on Common Guitar finished 19 Common finger Boards fretted 14 Ivory Rings for Sound Holes / 1lb of Guitar Wire 3 Doz ^{en} Silver Guitar rings 7 Gilt Sound Holes 1 doz. Of Tops of Keys 12 Machines 6 / Gilt tops of Keys 6 ungilt D ^o 17 Guitar Stops One Guitar Bridge 1 Chandelier a Packing Box 52 Bodies of / Guitars 4 Bottles with Varnish Composition a Parcel of wood screws and one Stove . . . /	89	..	..

Appendix 4: Erard Workshop Accounts, 1807–9, RCM 497

Month	Year	day	Expenses	£	s	d
February	1807	4	Mrs Jocland for the harp and strings no 929	13	13	
February	1807	4	Miss Wright for the harp no 885	12	12	
February	1807	5	To Riley for brown varnish	1	2	
February	1807	5	Paid the Carriage for the harp no 100	1	11	10
February	1807	5	Paid for tools		14	7½
February	1807	5	Poor rates and Church rate	14	7	6
February	1807	5	Mrs Horns house bills and book for 4 weeks	26	10	
February	1807	5	To Mr Forrest for buck-skin leather	4	14	
February	1807	8	Mr Scheener for the harp no 936 and Strings	13	1	
February	1807	8	To John for Straw twine & Sundries		6	6
February	1807	11	To a man for turning the lathes wheel		12	
February	1807	11	Mrs Horns house bills and book	11	17	1
February	1807	11	Paid for rags		3	
February	1807	11	To Riley for brown varnish	1	2	
February	1807	11	Mr Saml Wild house rent from Midsommer to Christmas 1806	75		
February	1807	7	Paid to the workmen	33		10½
February	1807	13	Mr Allison for the late Mr Fiesinger's funeral	42	3	6
February	1807	13	Mr Weisbart on account of his bill from last year 1806	50		
February	1807	14	To Rogala and Gronsdorf for their bills - Check no 1	62	9	
February	1807	14	Black sealing wax		1	6
February	1807	16	Paid Carriage for the harp no 557. Edward Bentink		18	6
February	1807	17	Mr Collier for the Carving of one Eagle	2		
February	1807	17	To Riley for brown varnish	1	2	
February	1807	18	Messrs Stephenson for a bill - Check no 2	100		
February	1807	18	Mr Fiesinger Shoe Maker	2	10	6
February	1807	14	Paid to the workmen	49	17	2
February	1807	19	Paid to Edward Lydiatt - Check no 3	25	18	
February	1807	19	To Mrs Lindon	10		
February	1807	20	Mr Bennett iron-monger for castors	4	1	
February	1807	21	for dutch rushes		3	3
February	1807	21	[Page total]	552	1	10
February	1807	21	Paid to Ms Oye for the harp no 887 by Check no 5	12	12	
February	1807	21	Returned to Mr Shepley the Soom previously paid by Charles Meyer	*	*	*
February	1807	21	To Mr Fiesinger for Miss Shepleys harp no 824 and retaking our receipt no 6	84	18	6
February	1807	23	To Mr Pardoe as p bill	2	10	6
February	1807	23	To Riley for brown varnish	1	2	
February	1807	23	Brass hooks		2	9
February	1807	23	Paid to the workmen	39	6	10½
February	1807	25	Madme Dusseck for the harp no 912	12	12	
February	1807	26	Mr Pygram Sawyer by Check no 7	16		9
February	1807	26	Mr Allison Carpenter on account	20		
February	1807	26	Miss Wright for the harp no 913	12	12	
February	1807	26	One Pint brass varnish		5	6
February	1807	27	one schilling for a Stamp		1	
February	1807	27	Mrs Horns house bills and book	10	1	1½
February	1807	27	Paid also her house bills	2	5	1½
February	1807	28	Miss Denton her fee for Mrs Cumberbalch harp no 807. no 8	12	12	
February	1807	28	Mr Philip Meyer for no 921 no 9	22		

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February	1807	28	Carraige for the harp no 892		18	
February	1807	28	To Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	4	1	
February	1807	28	Paid for Screws as p bill		10	
February	1807	28	Paid to the workmen	39	5	9
February	1807	28	[Monthy total: February 1807]	845	6	8½
March	1807	2	Paid for at tin box		1	9
March	1807	3	Mr Thorpe Composttion maker	80		
March	1807	3	Mr Brown as p bill	1		
March	1807	4	Paid to Madme Dusseck for Mrs Colbrook no 945 and Miss Gordons harp 763. No 10	25	4	
March	1807	4	padi the difference of Mrs Pope harp no 804	1	5	9
March	1807	5	for Glass paper		12	
March	1807	5	Two Quarts brown varnish	1	2	
March	1807	6	Mr Meyer father his premium for no 901	12	12	
March	1807	6	For ivory black		4	
March	1807	6	For turpontine and paste		1	2
March	1807	6	[Page total]	415	19	6½
March	1807	6	[Running total to date]	967	9	4½
March	1807	6	Mr Hitchin for Leather Skins		7	
March	1807	6	Paid Carriage for Mrs [?apreeces] harp		6	
March	1807	7	Mrs Horns house bills	2	4	3½
March	1807	7	Carriage for the harp no 905		10	
March	1807	7	Paid to Madme Letourneur for Miss Hutton harp no 928	10	3	
March	1807	7	Paid to the workmen no 11	33	8	9
March	1807	9	Paid the Car man Heal	1	5	
March	1807	9	Mr Jones premium for no 947	12	12	
March	1807	9	To Paptist Meyer for no 919	2	2	
March	1807	9	Mr Mitchell glazier as p bill	3	10	6
March	1807	10	Mrs Lindorf	10		
March	1807	10	Paid Carriage for one Piano forte		6	11
March	1807	10	Alms to a poor woman		5	
March	1807	11	For binding tapes Covers as p book	1	17	6
March	1807	11	To the Engraver		2	6
March	1807	11	Carraige for the harp no 209		7	10
March	1807	13	Two Quarts brown varnish	1	2	
March	1807	13	Two bills for glue	3		
March	1807	13	Leather bags for the Pedals		8	9
March	1807	13	Two files and Turpentine		1	
March	1807	13	Carriage for the harp no 458		14	6
March	1807	13	Green baize Mr Lonsdale		14	3
March	1807	13	Paid for Italia harp Strings	6	9	
March	1807	14	Paid to John Chairman for Mrs Crocker		8	
March	1807	14	Paid to the workmen	40		
March	1807	17	To Mr Hensler for Belly boards	10	12	
March	1807	18	Mr Duff for silvered harp strings	8	5	
March	1807	18	given the Tax gather for poors alms	[?]	7	
March	1807	18	Mrs Horns house bills	2	6	2
March	1807	19	The C[h]airman Mansfield as p bill	3	2	
March	1807	20	To Riley for Two Quarts brown varnish	1	2	
March	1807	20	Paid to the Estate of the late Brokes Henry Coon as p bill	3	13	
March	1807	20	Two Hollow ivory by Johns Receiptd	2	14	
March	1807	20	[Page total]	151	15	9½
March	1807	20	[Running total to date]	1119	5	2
March	1807	21	Paid to the workmen as p bill and Receipt	42	16	

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March	1807	23	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	11	10
March	1807	23	wages to the maid servant from Decr 1806 to March 1807	3		
March	1807	23	Mr Gronsdorff as p bill and Receipt no 12	15	12	
March	1807	23	For Turpentine whitehing & & as p bill		2	11½
March	1807	23	Mr Lacouse of himself took of Mr Morland	25		
March	1807	24	One Bundle Dutch rushes		3	
March	1807	25	For rages Pumice Stone Tripoli & &		9	8
March	1807	25	advanced to Mr Haas	3		
March	1807	25	Return paiment to Miss Sall on a draft of one hundred pounds no 13	30		
March	1807	25	Madme Dufresnois for no 850 and 860	25	4	
March	1807	28	To Frayer as p bill	10		
March	1807	28	Lent to Mr John Baptiste Meyer	10		
March	1807	28	To Riley for varnish	1	2	
March	1807	28	Mr Grundy Bricklayer his bill of 1806	11		2
March	1807	28	To Mr Adolpho Engraver as p bill		10	
March	1807	28	Paid for one Key		2	
March	1807	28	Paid to workmen as pr book no 14	37	4	1½
March	1807	28	To Mr Row as per bill	9	3	
March	1807	28	To Mrs Horns house bills and book	3	4	6
March	1807	30	Mrs Wright for no 209 premium	5	5	
March	1807	31	Paid to Mr Charles Meyer for Miss Rush 911 and for Miss Bushel	29	8	
March	1807	31	[Monthly total: March 1807]	538	16	8½
April	1807	1	Paid Mrs Macnamara for Lady Js Fitzgerald for no 904 half	6	6	
April	1807	1	Mr Morris Surgeon for the year 1806 no 15	15	14	
April	1807	1	To Mr Allison Carpenter	1	12	11
April	1807	1	Advanced to Mr Allison no 16	20	3	4
April	1807	1	Chev Marin on account no 17	16	16	
April	1807	2	To Mr Erard no 18	500		
April	1807	2	Coach hire on business		7	
April	1807	4	for green baize		5	3½
April	1807	4	Mr Banneck Plumbers bill	1	12	2½
April	1807	4	[Page total]	827	15	0
April	1807	4	[Running total to date]	1946	16	10
April	1807	4	Paid the Carraige of a harp by Mr Erard Paris Miss Barry		11	
April	1807	4	Mr Lydiatt as p bill no 19	25	18	
April	1807	4	Mrs Urqhardts harp from aberdeeon no 413		17	8
April	1807	4	Paid Carriage for the harp no 362		19	4
April	1807	4	To Kluth for brush raggs & &		7	10
April	1807	4	Paid for Dizi letters parcell and harp Carraige		2	10
April	1807	4	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	17	9
April	1807	4	Paid to the Workmen as p book	31	6	4½
April	1807	6	Given to the Subscription of the workmen of Mr Clementis manufactory [?buert]	3		
April	1807	7	Mr Riley 2 Quarts brown varnish	1	2	
April	1807	7	Mr Buckingham for ropes as p bill	1	11	
April	1807	8	Advance to Carrol to purchase iron	3		
April	1807	8	Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	1	4	
April	1807	9	Lion Marks, 18 old hats as p bill	3		
April	1807	9	advanced to Rogala	5		
April	1807	9	To a labourer turning the lathes wheel for Frayer		2	6
April	1807	9	Paid for Glue of Mr Philips	1	10	

Appendix 4: Erard

April	1807	11	Paid to Mr Atkinson for the assessed taxes for the last Two quarters no 20	25	4	6
April	1807	11	Paid for Mahogany for Music Stands	1	18	6
April	1807	11	Paid to the Workmen as p book	44	19	9
April	1807	13	To Kluth as p bill		11	7½
April	1807	13	Mrs Horns house bills and book	3	3	6
April	1807	15	Mr Jones half fee for 856 Mr Cripps no 21	6	6	
April	1807	15	To brown varnish Two Quarts	1	2	
April	1807	15	Paid Cheval Marin harp no 905 Sold by Youber no 22	8	5	
April	1807	18	Mr Collier for the Carving of one Eagle	2		
April	1807	18	Paid to Rogala for work delivered	22	4	9
April	1807	18	Rector of the Parish		5	
April	1807	18	One Pint Lacker varnish		5	9½
April	1807	18	To the workmen as p book no 23	45	1	4½
April	1807	20	To Horn wages and interests due to me by my private book no 25	65	1	
April	1807	20	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	12	9
April	1807	20	To John for Twine Straw		5	6
April	1807	20	[Page total]	311	19	4
April	1807	20	[Running total to date]	2236	6	10
April	1807	20	To Kluth for Gold and Turpentine		10	2
April	1807	20	Paid to Mr Hitchin for Two Skins		7	
April	1807	22	Paid to Samel Weisbart String maker his bill for 1806 deducting £1 15 for silver string no 26	62	4	9
April	1807	23	Mr Knight Ironmongers bill of last year 1806 no 27	19	19	5
April	1807	24	To Riley for brown varnish	1	2	
April	1807	24	Mr Priddy for olive oil		6	6
April	1807	24	Paid Carriage for the harp no 699.		11	8
April	1807	24	Returned to Madme Latourneur the £34 for 939	34		
April	1807	25	Mr Duff for Silvered Strings no 28	7	7	
April	1807	25	The Carriage for Sycamore of Mr Ross		12	
April	1807	25	To Kluth for Turpentine Pumice stone		5	8
April	1807	25	Paid for leather bags as p bill		14	2
April	1807	25	To John for Straw as p bill		4	4
April	1807	25	Mrs Horns house bill and book	2	15	1
April	1807	25	To the workmen as p book no 29	39	7	3
April	1807	27	To Mr Bond for Wire as p bill	1	19	
April	1807	27	To Mrs Smith for Silk as p bill		18	6
April	1807	28	Paid for Land taxes as p Receipt	3	11	2
April	1807	28	To Mr Ph Meyer for 852 Mrs Dorins harp no 30	21		
April	1807	30	Paid the Carriage for the harp no 941 Mr Owen		10	
April	1807	30	Paid for Letter to Lisbon		2	9
April	1807	30	Paid Postage of 2 letters for Mr Elouis		6	
April	1807	30	Advanced to Mr Ck Meyer by his father	5		
May	1807	1	Paid Mr Morris Surgeon his bill no 31	11	19	6
May	1807	1	To Mr Riley for brown varnish	1	2	
May	1807	1	Paid the Carriage for the platform and Stool to the opera house		2	6
May	1807	1	Paid Mrs Krumpholz fee for 941 no 32	14	14	
May	1807	2	Madme Dufresnois fee for 835 no 33	12	12	
May	1807	2	Paid to the workmen as by my book no 34	44	18	3
May	1807	2	Mrs Horns house bill and book	4	12	1½
May	1807	4	To John & Kluth as p bill		13	6
May	1807	4	[Page total]	294	4	10½
May	1807	4	[Running total to date]	2530	11	8½

Appendix 4: Erard

May	1807	4	To John for Nails		2	6
May	1807	5	Mrs Brown as p bill no 35	10		
May	1807	5	Paid the Carriage of Coln Smiths harp		1	
May	1807	6	Coach hire for Mr Lacouse		10	6
May	1807	6	To Riley for varnish	1	2	
May	1807	8	For flatted Iron wire		15	
May	1807	8	Paid for Charcools	1	10	
May	1807	9	advanced to the Carpenter Allison on account	5		
May	1807	9	Paid to Carrol as p bill & Rect no 36	18	12	6
May	1807	9	To Gronsdorff as p bill & Rect no 38	15	12	
May	1807	9	Paid to Mr Duff for Strings	1	7	
May	1807	11	To Kluth for Sundries		7	10½
May	1807	11	Mrs Horns house bills and book	3	18	7½
May	1807	11	Paid to workmen as p book no 37	38	4	3
May	1807	11	Paid Carraige for the wood by Pegram		5	6
May	1807	13	To Mr Prockter turner as p bill & Rect no 39	35	11	8
May	1807	16	Paid to the workmen as p book	56	3	2
May	1807	16	To Colleman for a drill tool and bits fetched by him.		9	8
May	1807	16	Paid to Hitchin for leather skins as p bill		7	
May	1807	16	For green baize as p bill		7	6
May	1807	16	Paid to Mr Duff for Strings	1	7	
May	1807	16	Kluths bill Rushes and Turpentine		8	10
May	1807	16	For leather bags to the Pedals		10	10
May	1807	16	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	6	6
May	1807	18	Mr Ph Meyer for no 965	17		
May	1807	19	To Riley for brown & white varnish	1	7	6
May	1807	20	Paid for Two letters for Mr Elouis Edinbourg		6	
May	1807	20	Paid the Carriage for the harp no 497 Mrs Malonek		17	6
May	1807	21	To Mr Collier for Carving an Eagle	2		
May	1807	21	Mr Immyns his fee for 510	5	5	
May	1807	21	To Mr Lonsdale for green baize	4	10	10
May	1807	22	To the Engraver Adolpho as p bill	2	9	
May	1807	22	[Page total]	227	8	5
May	1807	22	[Running total to date]	2765	6	1½
May	1807	22	Paid to Mr Pegram for wood as p bill and Receivd no 40	36	16	10
May	1807	23	Mr Allison Carpenter his bill and advanced as usual £20	21	10	10
May	1807	23	Paid to the workmen as p book no 41	47	8	
May	1807	23	To Heale Caravan man for D:glasses harp to Hanwell		15	9½
May	1807	23	For green [?Jassenat] & Ribbons		13	3
May	1807	23	To Kluth for sponge & &		2	6
May	1807	23	For leather bags for Pedals		9	4
May	1807	23	Mrs Horns house bills and Pook	2	15	8
May	1807	23	Paid the Carriage for the harp no 29 Hime & Son Liverpool		7	6
May	1807	27	Madme Dufresnois for no 934	12	12	
May	1807	29	Paid to Mr Wilde house rent £37 10 and on deducting Land tax no 42	33	18	10
May	1807	29	Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	6	18	
May	1807	30	Paid to the workmen as p book	35	2	1½
May	1807	30	To John Martin for Straw		3	8
May	1807	30	For oil & Turpentine &		5	1
May	1807	30	Mrs Horns house bills & book	2	16	1½
May	1807	30	Paid the Carraige no 459 Miss Monson		12	6
June	1807	1	Mr Bucking for Matts & Cords	2	8	

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June	1807	1	Returned to Madme Letourneur for Lady Clintons desk allowance	10	6	
June	1807	1	To Mr Lydiatt as p bill & Rd	30	11	
June	1807	1	To Kluth as p bill & Rd	8	13	3
June	1807	1	To Mr Freyer for mahogany music Stand as p bill & Rd	5	8	
June	1807	2	To Riley for varnish	1	2	
June	1807	2	Mr Dederic Smith (Tinman) as p bill & Receivd for String boxes no 43	33	18	6
June	1807	2	Mr Walton for glass paper	6	8	
June	1807	3	Mr Browning for Mahogany wood as p bill & Rd	1	19	8
June	1807	3	To Mr Jones his bill	1	8	
June	1807	3	To Mr Browning for wood	6		4½
June	1807	3	Madme Letourner 3 Chaldrons of Coals	9	12	9
June	1807	3	[Page total]	300	1	9
June	1807	3	[Running total to date]	3066	7	10½
June	1807	5	To a fotman drink money	5		
June	1807	5	Mr Barkes for wire of the 5 Nov 1806 by his book	11	4	
June	1807	5	To Mr Panford for wood as p bill Rd	11	6	1½
June	1807	6	Paid to the workmen as p book no 44 & 45	43	14	11
June	1807	6	Paid to Kluth & John Martin for Sundries	8	7	
June	1807	6	Mrs Horns house bills & book	3	15	6½
June	1807	9	Mr Phillips for glue one bill from the 7 May and one delivered this day	3		
June	1807	9	For Brass flatted	7	6	
June	1807	9	for brown varnish	1	2	
June	1807	9	Mr Hale for the harp no 975 Carriage	1	15	8
June	1807	9	Mr Hutchinson Pavement & lights rents	3		
June	1807	10	Pd Carriage for the harp no 950 Mr Owen	11	6	
June	1807	11	Mr Walton for glass Paper Two bills	14		
June	1807	12	drink money to a footman of G Grants Esq	5		
June	1807	12	To Mr Miland for 1 Pint of Lacker varnish	5	6	
June	1807	12	Paid to John Martin for Sundries as p bill	10	4½	
June	1807	12	To Kluth as p bill	9	9	
June	1807	12	Paid to the workmen as p book	36	9	7
June	1807	12	Paid servand wages	3		
June	1807	12	Mrs Horns house bills and book	3	10	
June	1807	12	Carriage for the harp 215 Mrs Cole	1	17	6
June	1807	17	To the Collector of Names Directory	1		
June	1807	17	for brown varnish	1	2	
June	1807	18	Miss Elphinstones harp 463 Carriage	1	5	6
June	1807	19	Paid to Mr Paddon for 909 fee	12	12	
June	1807	19	Paid Messes Hanfords & Co brass as p bill Red no 46	76	15	6
June	1807	20	For One letter of Mr Elouis	9		
June	1807	20	Paid Carriage for no 178 Mrs Dickins	8		
June	1807	20	Paid to the workmen as p book no 47	50	14	6
June	1807	20	To Brown & Lydiatt as p bill	5	6	
June	1807	20	To Brown for a Lock & key	10		
June	1807	20	Lonsdale for green Baize	8	3	
June	1807	20	Paid to Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	5	12	6
June	1807	20	[Page total]	266	14	5½
June	1807	20	[Running total to date]	3291		1
June	1807	23	Mr Schram for no 957	8	6	
June	1807	23	Returned to Miss Rush of Kensington Terrace for a String box & Strings	5	10	

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June	1807	23	To Lonsdale for green baize	4	5	
June	1807	23	To Riley for brown barnish	1	2	
June	1807	23	To Mr Allison the Carpenter	6		
June	1807	23	To Gronsdorff as p bill no 48	15	12	
June	1807	23	To Wm Turnbull for Strings as p bill			14
June	1807	27	Paid to the workmen as p book no 49	47		10½
June	1807	27	Paid to Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	3	9	
June	1807	27	Paid to Riley for sundries		1	3½
June	1807	27	For Persion silk as p bill		11	3½
June	1807	27	Mrs Horns house bills and book	3	9	9
June	1807	30	Mr Hitchin for Two Sheep Skins		7	
June	1807	30	To Cks Meyer by his father	5		
July	1807	1	Paid to Mansfield for Comissions	11	6	
July	1807	3	To Madme Dufresnois for no 959	12	12	
July	1807	3	Paid to Mr Duff for Silverd St	3	9	
July	1807	3	Mr Corri for no 980	12	12	
July	1807	4	Mr Longmate Engraver his bill of last year 1806	4	2	6
July	1807	4	To Mr Rose for wood as p bill Recd	38	10	
July	1807	4	Mr Saintsburys bill	63	13	
July	1807	4	To Rogala for 14 Machines at £2.7.0	32	18	
July	1807	4	Paid to Rogala three months interest for 900 due to him	22	10	
July	1807	4	Also paid to Rogala interest for 500	6	5	
July	1807	4	Paid to the workmen as p book	46	1	2½
July	1807	4	Mrs Horns house bills and book	3	5	2
July	1807	4	To Kluth for green baize	11	18	2
July	1807	7	To Riley for brown varnish	1	2	
July	1807	7	Mr Lonsdale for green baize	4	9	6
July	1807	7	Mr Sehismser for the late Mr Fiesinger	1	1	
July	1807	7	advanced to Mr Allison	20		
July	1807	7	[Page total]	391	17	9½
July	1807	7	[Running total to date]	3660	13	10½
July	1807	8	Paid for a letter of Mr Elouis			9
July	1807	8	Mrs Hawkers harp no 140 Carraige form Plymouth	1	13	9
July	1807	9	Alms to a poor sailor		2	
July	1807	9	Paid Carraige for no 423 Miss Anne Fraser Tytlers harp		5	6
July	1807	9	Mr Sainsbury for Cast brass as p bill	3	10	
July	1807	11	To Mr Lydiatt for 14 Machines	30	2	
July	1807	11	Paid to the workmen as p book	43	6	7
July	1807	11	Bean feast expences	20		
July	1807	11	Mrs Horns house bills and book	1	15	2½
July	1807	11	To Mr Lydiatt Rogala for Sundries as p bill		10	3
July	1807	11	Bought a wood Chopper of axe	1		
July	1807	11	Leather bags		9	2
July	1807	13	Madme Dufresnois for no 977	12	12	
July	1807	14	Mr Lonsdale for green baize	4	5	
July	1807	14	Mr Pegram for wood sawing	13		6
July	1807	14	To a porter for Carrying Mrs Pooles harp		3	
July	1807	14	To Mr Duff	1	7	
July	1807	17	To Reyly for brown varnish	1	2	
July	1807	17	Mr Buckingham for Ropes & Matts	3	6	
July	1807	18	To Mr Sainsbury for brass	1	3	6
July	1807	18	advanced to Mr Allison Carpenter	5		
July	1807	18	Paid to the workmen as p book	37	18	11
July	1807	18	To Kluth for Sundries		12	

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July	1807	18	Mr Harris for Sundries		12	
July	1807	18	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	6	2
July	1807	20	To John Martin for Straw and nails		9	
July	1807	22	Mr Phillips for glue	1	10	
July	1807	22	Postage for a letter from Mr Lehnbold of Moscow		1	6
July	1807	23	Advanced to Mr Allison £20 and his bill settled	20	17	7
July	1807	24	To Mr Johns [Jones] the remainder of his fee no 856	6	6	
July	1807	24	To Mr Parkes for [?shear Stell]		14	2½
July	1807	24	Alms to un poor Professour Chevr de Vaulou		4	6
July	1807	24	[Page total]	216	6	1
July	1807	24	[Running total to date]	3875	12	11½
July	1807	24	To Mr Miland for pale Lacker and brush		7	
July	1807	24	To Mr Row Stationer as p bill & Red	1	5	11
July	1807	24	Mr Duff for Silvered Strings	3	9	
July	1807	27	To Riley for brown varnish	1	2	
July	1807	27	Paid to the workmen as p book	40	16	6
July	1807	27	To Kluth Martin & Carmen	1	1	2
July	1807	27	Mrs Horns hous bills and book Candles & Oil	3		1
July	1807	27	Paid for Ising glass		4	
July	1807	28	To Mr Buckingham for Matts & ropes	2	3	
July	1807	30	Paid to Mansfield his bill for Porterage Cartage	9	6	
July	1807	30	To John Murphy for portorage as p bill		12	
July	1807	31	Paid to John Mansfield the Chairmen for Sundries	2		
August	1807	1	Paid to Christoph Rogala for his promissory note	499		
August	1807	1	To Mr Burkingyoung for lining a Case	1	17	6
August	1807	1	To Mr Adolpho for engraving	3	6	
August	1807	1	Paid to workmen as p book	36	15	9
August	1807	1	Mrs Horns house bills and book	1	19	11
August	1807	3	To Lonsdale for green baize	4	10	3
August	1807	4	Mr Hitchin for sheep skins		7	6
August	1807	4	To Mr Dizi for no 940 944 974	37	16	
August	1807	4	Mr Bond Ironmonger as p bills & Red	10	17	
August	1807	6	Alms to a poor widow women		2	6
August	1807	6	Mrs Macnamara for no 920	12	12	
August	1807	7	To Riley for brown varnish & white	1	7	6
August	1807	8	Paid to Heal Carmen for moving the harp no 984		12	
August	1807	8	advanced to Mr Allison Carpenter	4	4	
August	1807	8	Paid to Mr Cooke the Ship brokers for the insurance for Mr Lehnhold of Moscow 4 Harps	30	2	6
August	1807	8	[Page total]	719	12	1
August	1807	8	[Running total to date]	4590	17	½
August	1807	8	Paid to the workmen as p book	41	11	6
August	1807	8	Mrs Horns house bills and book and Persian Silk	5	5	7
August	1807	8	To Mrs Macnamara for one Music desk		10	6
August	1807	10	Mr Pond for 8 pairs Book Keepers		2	6
August	1807	10	Mr Saintsbury for Brass	6		6
August	1807	10	for the Making of leather bags		12	10
August	1807	10	To Kluth and Martin for Sundries	1		2
August	1807	10	Mr Parkes for Iron Cramps		16	2
August	1807	11	To Mr Tillier Gilder as p bill and Red	24	1	2
August	1807	11	Mr Weisbart on account for Strings	50		
August	1807	11	Paid for a letter of Mr Elouis		2	9
August	1807	13	Mr Philips for glue	1	10	
August	1807	13	Mr Philips for glue delivered this day	1	10	

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August	1807	13	Mr Duff for Silvered Strings	3	12	
August	1807	14	Mr Delacouge for his pension	24		
August	1807	15	Paid to the workmen as p book	44	11	7
August	1807	15	To Kluth & John for Sundries		9	10
August	1807	15	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	14	
August	1807	17	To Riley for brown varnish	1	2	
August	1807	17	Porterage for Casimir & Dufresnois harps		2	6
August	1807	17	Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	1	16	8
August	1807	17	alms to a poor woman		1	
August	1807	17	Mr Walton for Two Quires of glass paper		2	8
August	1807	18	Paid Rogala interest for his bill dis	2	15	7
August	1807	18	To Rogala for work delivered	23	5	
August	1807	18	To Mr Braur for 2 frame Saws		8	
August	1807	18	Mr Saintsbury as p bill	1	19	7
August	1807	19	To Marstatter alms towards burrying his wife	2	2	
August	1807	19	Paid to Mr Bond for Brass wire	6	4	
August	1807	20	To Mr Pulley broker his bill for Shipping the 4 harps for Lehnhold Moscow and Mrs Lemmers together	12		6
August	1807	22	Paid to the workmen as p book	55	11	10½
August	1807	22	[Page total]	316	2	5½
August	1807	22	[Running total to date]	4906	19	6
August	1807	22	For Candles & Oil		10	11
August	1807	22	Mrs Horns house bills & book	1	17	8
August	1807	22	To John Martin & Johns for Sundries		19	5
August	1807	22	John Martin for Straw &		11	11
August	1807	22	To Barrett Riley & Kluth		4	
August	1807	24	To Mr Gilpin for Mrs Krumpholtz	19	18	8
August	1807	24	To Mr Baxter for Mrs Krumpholtz	55	12	6
August	1807	24	To Mr Foulger for Mrs Krumpholtz	19	18	6
August	1807	24	To Mr Thos Obec for Mrs Krumpholtz	18	8	
August	1807	24	To Mr Langlade for Mrs Krumpholtz	11	1	4
August	1807	24	To Mr Pelinage for Mrs Krumpholtz	38		
August	1807	24	To Mr Dale for the attorney for Mrs Krumpholtz	4	3	
August	1807	24	Paid to Reyly for brown varnish	1	2	
August	1807	24	Paid to Mr Samuel Jones for Mr Elouis	5	18	8
August	1807	27	Settler with Mr Allison for his bill 19 Cases £20 advance	22	17	6
August	1807	27	To Mr Lydiatt as p bill & Rd	25	18	
August	1807	29	Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	8	5	
August	1807	29	Paid Mr Hensler for Belly boards & air wood	50	9	
August	1807	29	For Measure & Carriage of these wood		6	
August	1807	29	Paid to the workmen as p book	37	1	1½
August	1807	29	To John Martin for Sundries		9	1½
August	1807	29	Kluths bill		14	5½
August	1807	31	Mr Lonsdale for green baize	4	18	
August	1807	31	Mr Burkinyoung as p bill		18	6
August	1807	31	To Mr Bond as p bill	2	17	
September	1807	1	Two bundles of Matts & Cord as bill & Red	2	9	6
September	1807	1	Two Quarts of brown varnish as p bill	1	2	
September	1807	1	Paid to Mr Charls Meyer	20		
September	1807	1	Alms to a poor woman		5	
September	1807	1	Two letters from Moscow		3	
September	1807	4	Paid the Carriage & porterage for a harp from Brighton		10	6
September	1807	4	Returned to Mansfield		11	
September	1807	5	Paid to workmen as p book	52	19	9

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September	1807	7	To John Martin 2 bills for Sundries	13	8
September	1807	7	To Kluth & Riley for Sundries	5	1
September	1807	7	The Oil man as p bill	8	7
September	1807	7	Bill for Candles to Mr Green	18	8
September	1807	7	[Page total]	413	2 4½
September	1807	7	[Running total to date]	5299	2 6½
September	1807	7	Silk for pillars for harps as p bill	17	2
September	1807	7	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	7 11
September	1807	7	Porterage for Casimirs harp	2	
September	1807	9	2 Quarts of brown varnish as p bill	1	2
September	1807	9	Paid to Mr Keefe bricklayer as p bill & Recd	3	1 8
September	1807	10	For Moving wood Sycamore	5	
September	1807	10	Paid to Mr Sensburys for brass as p bill	1	1 4
September	1807	12	Paid to the workmen as p book	56	3 8½
September	1807	14	Paid to Kluth for Sundries	19	5½
September	1807	14	To John Martin	4	4
September	1807	14	Paid to the oil man	5	6½
September	1807	14	To Hailes for Chandles	9	11
September	1807	14	House expenses	2	19 5
September	1807	14	Servants wages for one quarter	3	
September	1807	15	Mr Sensbury for his bill	3	
September	1807	15	Paid for 4 Quires of Sand paper	5	
September	1807	15	for repairing Mrs Dearslys harp case	6	6
September	1807	16	Paid to Mr Lonsdale for green baize	4	9 6
September	1807	16	2 Quarters Poor rate	6	
September	1807	16	For 2 Quarters watch rate 2 quarters Church rate	1	17 6
September	1807	16	2 Quarts of brown varnish as p bill	1	2
September	1807	19	To Mr Tilliers the gilder	10	4 6
September	1807	19	advanced to Mr Allison Carpenter	5	
September	1807	19	Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	8	8
September	1807	19	To Mr Freyer for work as p bill & Recd	9	6 2
September	1807	19	To Mr Sensbury for brass	1	1 2
September	1807	19	To Kluth for varnishing & painting 6 Music Stand	4	6
September	1807	19	Paid to the workmens wages	32	17 6
September	1807	21	to Mansfield the Cartman as p bill	4	7 6
September	1807	21	for Carriage of the harp no 460	15	6
September	1807	21	John Martins bill	7	8
September	1807	21	The Oil mans bill	6	
September	1807	21	[Page total]	164	14 0
September	1807	21	[Running total to date]	5463	16 6
September	1807	21	Kluths bill	8	1½
September	1807	21	for one pint of lacker	5	6
September	1807	21	A coopers bill	18	7
September	1807	21	Mr Horns hous bills & book	3	2 7
September	1807	22	To John Philips for brasse flattened	1	13 2
September	1807	22	To Mr Sensbury for files	4	2
September	1807	22	Paid to Mr Charles Meyer by his servant as premium	12	
September	1807	23	To George Dixon for Sycamore and Sawing	29	12 2
September	1807	23	2 Quarts of brown varnish	1	2
September	1807	25	for one deal plank 4 inches thik	9	6
September	1807	26	To Rogala for 10 Machines	23	10
September	1807	26	To Gronstorf for 12 Cases	15	12
September	1807	26	To Kluth for varnishing 17 Harps	14	11
September	1807	26	To Madme Dufresnois for no 998	12	12

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September	1807	26	To the workmen as p book	32	16	9
September	1807	28	Paid for 3 [?Saks] as p bill	1	11	6
September	1807	28	John Martins bill		3	10
September	1807	28	Mrs Smiths bill for ribbon	1	1	4
September	1807	28	Kluths bill		4	
September	1807	28	Hailes bill for Chandels		13	9
September	1807	28	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	3	11
September	1807	29	Paid to Mr Barrets a bill for wire	1	1	
September	1807	30	advanced to Haas	4		
October	1807	1	Paid to Mr Buckingham for 2 bundles of Mats and Cords	3	3	
October	1807	1	Paid the Carriage for the harp no 362 Miss Chetwynt		18	9
October	1807	2	2 Quarts of brown varnish	1	2	
October	1807	2	To Mr Keiffner for no 984	12	12	
October	1807	2	To Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	1	16	
October	1807	2	To Allison Carpenter	5		
October	1807	3	Paid to the workmen	37	19	4½
October	1807	5	To Charles Meyer advanced	10		
October	1807	5	for Carriage for no 713		13	
October	1807	5	[Page total]	236	18	10
October	1807	5	[Running total to date]	5700	15	4
October	1807	5	Mr Howis for oil		2	8
October	1807	5	Kluths bill for Sundries		6	10½
October	1807	5	Barret for 2 bills		14	5
October	1807	5	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	6	3
October	1807	5	For silk gaze		18	
October	1807	6	advanced to Miss Merelle	10		
October	1807	7	Paid to Rogala a note of hand from Mr Erard	418	2	6
October	1807	7	To Mr Sansbury for brass	1	15	4
October	1807	7	To Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	3	9	
October	1807	7	for Glue Two bills	3		
October	1807	8	To Mr Holliday for a carpet	12		
October	1807	10	Paid to the workmen as p book	34	18	
October	1807	10	To Mr Lydiatt for 12 Machines	26	3	
October	1807	10	for the Insurance against fire	26		
October	1807	10	Paid to Freyer for work received	12	10	
October	1807	10	To Mr Bourgnignon for a Case lined	1	17	6
October	1807	10	Paid for the Carriage no 160 Miss Hanbury		11	
October	1807	10	Mr Tillyer the gilder	23	9	
October	1807	10	Paid to Mr Row Stationer for paper & Stamps	4	7	
October	1807	12	John Martins bills		17	8
October	1807	12	The Oil mans bill		7	9
October	1807	12	Kluths bill		3	3
October	1807	12	Mrs Horns hous bills & book	3	8	5
October	1807	13	Two Quarts of brown varnish and one pint of white	1	7	6
October	1807	13	To Mr Sainsbury		15	10
October	1807	13	For wire as p bill	1	19	6
October	1807	15	Mr Allison the Carpenter advanced	25		
October	1807	15	To Mrs Macnamara for the harp no 904	12	12	
October	1807	16	Mr Dixon the Printers bill	3	13	6
October	1807	16	Carraige for no 616 Mrs Bowirie		18	
October	1807	16	To Mr Adolphi for a door plate	4	8	6
October	1807	16	Paid for three sheep skins		11	3
October	1807	17	To Brown for 10 pedals and 10 Corner pieces the balance	6		
October	1807	17	To Lonsdale for green baize	4	11	3

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October	1807	17	Paid to the workmen & for Candlelighting	41	14	4½
October	1807	17	[Page total]	690	19	4
October	1807	17	[Running total to date]	6391	14	8
October	1807	17	To Mr Sainsbury for Steel wire	2	9	
October	1807	19	Mr Hailes for Candles bill		18	9
October	1807	19	The Oil mans bill		5	3
October	1807	19	Paid for ivory black		8	
October	1807	19	Paid to Kluth		5	9
October	1807	19	John Martins bill		8	8
October	1807	19	Howis the oilmans bill		5	6½
October	1807	19	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	3	10
October	1807	21	Paid the Carriage for no 330		10	11
October	1807	21	Two Quarts of brown varnish	1	2	
October	1807	21	Income tax for Mr Erard	100	1	
October	1807	21	Land tax for do	11	4	2
October	1807	21	Poor rates to Michaelmas	3		
October	1807	21	Income tax for Fiesinger	15		4
October	1807	21	Income tax for John Horn on his account	6		2
October	1807	22	Carriage for no 816		7	9
October	1807	23	one gross of Screws		12	
October	1807	24	for Steel wire		1	5
October	1807	24	for the Carriage of a harp		4	
October	1807	24	Paid to Mr Johns as p bill	6	16	10
October	1807	24	Paid to workmen	36	4	10
October	1807	26	for Brass varnish		5	6
October	1807	26	To Mr Tillier gilder	15		6
October	1807	26	Paid to Madme de Ronssey for 2 harps	24	2	
October	1807	26	Hailes bill for 12 doz lb of Candles	6	6	
October	1807	26	Kluths bill		7	8½
October	1807	26	Howis the oil mans bill		4	10
October	1807	26	Mrs Horns hous bills and book	2	19	10
October	1807	27	Two Quires of sand paper		2	6
October	1807	27	Paid to Prockter the Turner	26	8	
October	1807	28	Carriage for no 231		12	
October	1807	28	Two Quarts of brown varnish	1	2	
October	1807	29	for blak wood 80 feet	1	15	
October	1807	29	To Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	4	2	6
October	1807	29	[Page total]	271	17	7½
October	1807	29	[Running total to date]	6663	12	3½
October	1807	31	Paid to the workmen as p book	41	6	3
October	1807	31	The Oil mans bill		3	
October	1807	31	John Martins bill		6	4
October	1807	31	for leather bags		15	4
October	1807	31	Mrs Horns house bills & book	3	6	10
November	1807	2	for brass hookes for Music Stands and hinshes [hinges]		14	6
November	1807	4	for nails		2	
November	1807	4	Carriage for the harp no 86 Mrs Bignells		13	
November	1807	5	To Mr Halle for Carraige of Mrs Colobroks & Miss Thomlinsons harp		10	6
November	1807	7	For Iron wire for Mr Lydiatt	1	4	
November	1807	7	Paid to the workmen as p book	39	6	3
November	1807	9	Paid to Mr Lonsdale for green baize	4	10	3
November	1807	9	Mr Wilde 6 Months house rent	75		
November	1807	9	To Mr Duff for 6 Sets of Silverd Strings	3	9	

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November	1807	9	Paid the Carraige of Miss Wegrans harp	2	6
November	1807	9	Kluths Two bills	12	8
November	1807	9	John Martins 2 bills	4	8
November	1807	9	Mr Horns hous bills and book	2	4
November	1807	10	for Two Quarts of brown varnish	1	2
November	1807	10	To Mr Broodwood for Mr Fountain at Cork no 988	9	15
November	1807	10	advanced to Mr Allison Carpenter	5	
November	1807	10	To Mr Bond for Screws	10	6
November	1807	10	Carriage for Strings from Liverpool	3	4
November	1807	14	for 1 pint of Brass varnish	6	2
November	1807	14	To Mr Bond for Screws	12	6
November	1807	14	Paid to the workmen as p book	44	12 6½
November	1807	16	To Mr Philips for flattened wire	14	
November	1807	16	Priddies bill for oil & vinegar	9	1
November	1807	16	Ferichilds bill	8	11
November	1807	16	Kluths bill	11	6
November	1807	16	Mrs Horns house bill and book	2	6 2
November	1807	16	Carriage of a harp	2	
November	1807	16	Paid to Mr Tillier gilder	16	2 6
November	1807	16	Paid for Brown varnish	1	2
November	1807	16	[Page total]	258	5 7½
November	1807	16	[Running total to date]	6904	13 5
November	1807	18	Paid for Steel	4	6
November	1807	18	To Saml Weispart on account of his bill	59	17
November	1807	18	advanced to Mr Allison Carpenter	4	
November	1807	19	To Kluth for Gold and Turpentine	2	7½
November	1807	21	To Brown the Balance of his bill	6	
November	1807	21	To Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	4	16
November	1807	21	Paid the workmen as p book	36	16
November	1807	23	for Persian webbing ruber	1	1 9
November	1807	23	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	5 11
November	1807	23	Mr Street for gardening	10	6
November	1807	24	Paid for 2 Quarts of brown varnish	1	2
November	1807	24	Carriage for Two Cases	1	
November	1807	24	To Haas workmen	1	
November	1807	24	Carriage for the harp no 754	3	6
November	1807	24	for one letter for Mr Elonis		7
November	1807	26	To Mr Lydiatt for 14 Machines	30	12 9
November	1807	26	To Self on account of Horn	12	12
November	1807	27	for 3 Quire of Sandpaper	3	9
November	1807	27	to Mrs Lindoff	10	
November	1807	27	to Mr Atkinson for window taxes house duty & Porters tax	25	4 6
November	1807	28	to John the workmen for 12 Cases	6	16 10
November	1807	28	for pad locks for String boxes	1	10½
November	1807	28	Paid to the workmen as p book	40	13 9
November	1807	30	To Mr Collier for Carving Two Eagles	4	
December	1807	2	To Reilly for varnish	1	2
December	1807	2	To Mr Philips for glue Two bills	3	
December	1807	2	To Mr Hitchin for one [reed] skin	7	6
December	1807	3	To Mr Adolphe for engraving plates	3	1 6
December	1807	3	for pieces of Book skins	15	
December	1807	3	To Mr Sainsbury for brass	1	8
December	1807	4	for yellow silk gouce	16	6
December	1807	4	for 6 dozen Castors for Music Stands pans & nozzles	6	4

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December	1807	4	To Lonsdale for green baize	4	17	
December	1807	4	[Page total]	269	18	4
December	1807	4	[Running total to date]	7174	11	8
December	1807	5	to Mrs Macnamara for no 987	12	12	
December	1807	5	to Miss Dean for 990	12	12	
December	1807	5	To Kluth for Japaning & gilding 6 Music Stands	4	4	
December	1807	5	Paid to Mansfield for work as p bill	5		
December	1807	5	Paid to the workmen as p book	41	13	1½
December	1807	7	to Madme Letournier for Coals and Italien Strings as p bill & R	100	9	
December	1807	7	Howis bill oil men	6	4	
December	1807	7	do	4		
December	1807	7	for 13 dozen red bags	9	8	
December	1807	7	Kluths bill	16	5½	
December	1807	7	Mrs Horns house bills & book for 2 week	3	18	9
December	1807	8	to Mr Bourgnigown for lining a Case	1	17	6
December	1807	10	to Mr Sensbury for 58 lb of Brass	5	16	2
December	1807	10	for the Brass work fror 2 Cases for India	1	17	3
December	1807	12	to Freyer for 12 Music stands	10	16	
December	1807	12	To Tillyerd the gilder	22	10	6
December	1807	12	To Riley for his bill	6	10	6
December	1807	12	To Mr Collier for Carving one Eagle	2		
December	1807	12	Paid to the workmen as p book	43	14	4½
December	1807	14	advanced to Mr Allison Carpenter	3		
December	1807	14	Paid for silk as p bill	1	5	3
December	1807	14	Kluths bill	13	11½	
December	1807	14	Mrs Horns house bills & book	2	10	10
December	1807	11	To Mr Duff for 28 sets of Silverd Strings	11	14	
December	1807	11	Two Quarts of brown varnish	1	2	
December	1807	18	Paid for Two Skins	7		
December	1807	18	To Sensbery for 168 lb weight of Steel	12	12	
December	1807	18	To Colleman the balance of his bill	11		8
December	1807	19	For painting Two Caisses	1	18	
December	1807	19	To Lonsdale for green baize	4	14	9
December	1807	19	Paid the Carriage for no	9	6	
December	1807	19	Paid to Mr Philip Meyer	3		
December	1807	19	[Page total]	331	15	10
December	1807	19	[Running total to date]	7506	7	3
December	1807	19	Paid to the workmen as p book	39	10	3
December	1807	19	Mr Mason the linen drapers bill	1	19	
December	1807	19	Kluths & Reyly bill	9	10	
December	1807	19	John Martins bill	8	10	
December	1807	19	Howis the oilmans bill	9	2½	
December	1807	19	for leather bags	8		
December	1807	19	Mrs Horns House bills & book	2	15	7
December	1807	19	Servants wages for 1 quarter	3		
December	1807	23	To Reyly for 2 quarts of varnish	1	2	
December	1807	23	To Mr Allison Carpenter in advance	10		
December	1807	23	To Mr Bourgnignon for for lining 2 caisses for India	5	19	3
December	1807	23	To Kluth the varnisher his bill	10	13	6
December	1807	24	To Colleman on account of his work	10		
December	1807	24	A Christmas box to John	1		
December	1807	24	A Christmas box to the Servant Maid	1		
December	1807	24	Paid to the workmen as p book	38	4	2
December	1807	24	To Hailes for Candels & Soap	3	15	6½

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December	1807	24	Howis the oil mans bill	10	10	
December	1807	24	Christmas boxes	2	15	
December	1807	24	Paid the Carriage for harps	11	6	
December	1807	24	Mrs Horns house bills & ook	2	11	
December	1807	28	advanced to Mr Allison Carpenter	23	5	
December	1807	28	To Mr Thorps Man a Christmas box	10	6	
December	1807	28	To Mr Dengele for the harp no 985	12	12	
January	1808	1	To Reyly for 2 quarts of varnish	1	2	
January	1808	1	To Mr Collier for Carving two Eagles	4		
January	1808	1	To Brown for work Deliverd	6		
January	1808	1	Advanced to Cs Meyer	5		
January	1808	2	To Mr Tillier gilder	27	13	2
January	1808	2	Paid to the workmen as p book	42	12	10
January	1808	2	Mrs Smiths bill for spones	3		
January	1808	2	[Page total]	260	2	0
January	1808	2	[Running total to date]	7889	13	4½
January	1808	2	Paid for Brass varnish	5	6	
January	1808	2	Paid the Carriage for a harp	1	5	
January	1808	2	Kluth	11	9½	
January	1808	2	Mrs Horns bill & book	2	2	6
January	1808	5	for Strings of a new String Maker Wm Fossey	10	6	
January	1808	5	3 quires of Sand paper	3	9	
January	1808	6	To Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	5	9	
January	1808	6	for the Carriage of a box from Birmingham	10	8	
January	1808	6	To Mr Bourgnignon for lining 2 boxes	4	10	
January	1808	6	Paid to Sensbury for brass wire	1	2	9
January	1808	6	Paid Mr David Barry for painting the house	12	8	10
January	1808	6	To Mr Thorp Composition Maker	100	9	8
January	1808	6	To Barret for work delivered	3	12	2
January	1808	6	Two quarters rent for water	1	15	
January	1808	6	To Johns for 10 bodies & 6 Sounding boards	6	6	
January	1808	6	for 3 quires of Emery paper	3	9	
January	1808	7	Paid to Mr Row for Stationiry	6	14	
January	1808	7	Paid of a harp 3 times to the opera house for Mr Cs Meyer	5		
January	1808	7	Paid to the workmen as p book	38	17	10½
January	1808	7	Priddys the oil Mans bill	14	3	
January	1808	7	Kluths bill for colours	7	1	
January	1808	7	Howis bill	6	2	
January	1808	7	Johns bill	11	2	
January	1808	7	Mrs Horns house bills & book	2	6	6
January	1808	7	Lonsdales bill for green baize	4	5	
January	1808	11	Paid to Madme de Fresnoy for no 979	12	12	
January	1808	11	Paid to Mrs Macnamara for 1026	12	12	
January	1808	11	Paid to Mr Reyly for varnish	1	2	
January	1808	12	Paid for Ivory	5	5	8
January	1808	12	Mr Lydintts bill	26		
January	1808	12	paid to Mr Duff for strings	3		
January	1808	13	Two bills for Glue	3		
January	1808	14	To Professor Hague for no 967	12	12	
January	1808	14	To Mrs Locke on Mr De Laconse account	4		
January	1808	14	[Page total]	275	17	7
January	1808	14	[Running total to date]	8165	10	11½
January	1808	15	To Mr Philip Meyer for no 1019	20		
January	1808	16	Paid to Mr Bourgnignon for lining a harp Case	1	17	6

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January	1808	16	Paid to the workmen as p book	40	14	
January	1808	16	Mr Howis's bill		4	11
January	1808	16	Kluths bill		5	6
January	1808	16	Mrs Horns hous bills and book	2	2	6
January	1808	16	Mr Sensbury for brass		8	6
January	1808	16	Paid to Reyly for varnish	1	2	
January	1808	22	advanced to Mr Allison Carpenter	5		
January	1808	22	Kluths bill		10	6
January	1808	22	Paid for 2 Skins		5	
January	1808	22	To Mr Adolphi for plates	4	15	6
January	1808	26	To Mr Buckingham for ropes & Mats	3	4	
January	1808	26	Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	2	10	
January	1808	26	Paid to the workmen as p book	40	16	4½
January	1808	26	Paid for silk reban & webbing		19	2
January	1808	26	Mrs Horns house expenses	2	3	9
January	1808	27	Paid to Kluth for work Deliverd	5		
January	1808	27	Brokerage for picture frames	15	3	2
January	1808	27	alms to a poor Man well recommended		5	
January	1808	27	Paid for a red leather Cover for a harp	3	10	
January	1808	27	To Mr Sensbury for files	1	19	11½
January	1808	29	To Wm Fossey String Maker	4	13	
January	1808	29	Paid the Carriage for Lady Arabella Wards harp		14	6
January	1808	29	For Mrs Dunbars harp		10	10
January	1808	29	Paid to Collier for Carving two Eagles	4		
January	1808	30	To Tillyerd the Gilder	10		
January	1808	30	To Brown for work delivered	8		
January	1808	30	To Bourgnignon for lining two Cases	3	15	
January	1808	30	Kluths bill for Sundries	1	1	2½
January	1808	30	Workmens wages for the week	42	1	10
January	1808	30	Hailes the Chandlers bill	2	6	10
January	1808	30	Howis the oil mans bill		15	7
January	1808	30	John Martin the Porters bill		3	8
January	1808	30	for leather bags		11	10
January	1808	30	Mrs Horns house expenses	1	16	9
January	1808	30	[Page total]	233	7	3
January	1808	30	[Running total to date]	8398	18	2½
February	1808	1	To Reilly for varnish	1	2	
February	1808	1	To Mr Deacon for 4 Music Stools	12		
February	1808	1	To John Philips for rolling brass		13	3
February	1808	3	for 2 Skins (sheep) & buck skin	1	7	
February	1808	3	Paid the Carriage for no 775 Mrs Plumptre		9	6
February	1808	3	To Sainsbury for brass	20	8	
February	1808	3	To Lonsdale for Green bais	4	10	3
February	1808	3	Paid the Carriage for no 840		8	
February	1808	5	Paid to Mr Clemens for 12 belly boards	3	12	
February	1808	6	Paid to the workmen as p book	40	8	4½
February	1808	6	Paid to Henry Pratt for 3 dozen of tuning Keys	3	1	
February	1808	6	To the String maker		9	6
February	1808	8	To Mr Duff for 17 sets of Strings	9	18	
February	1808	8	To Mrs Locke	2	2	
February	1808	8	Two Quarts of varnish	1	2	
February	1808	10	for Screws		7	
February	1808	10	Kluths bill		3	4
February	1808	10	Howis bill		7	3

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February	1808	10	Mrs Smiths bill for Persion		16	
February	1808	10	Mrs Horns house bill and book	2		6
February	1808	10	Paid for Screws		2	4
February	1808	10	Six quires of Sand paper		7	3
February	1808	10	Mrs Smiths bill for Persion	*		
February	1808	10	To Mr Tillyard gilder	20	4	4
February	1808	13	To Mr Lydiatt for Machines delivered	26	12	6
February	1808	13	To John Chairman for his bill	5	5	5
February	1808	13	Paid the Carriage for a harp no 275 Lady Chs Campell		9	6
February	1808	13	Paid to the workmen as p book	43	6	10½
February	1808	15	Paid for Screws		2	8
February	1808	15	Paid to Weispart String maker	60		
February	1808	15	Paid to Mr Knight Iron Monger	30	8	
February	1808	16	Paid taxes to the workhouse		7	
February	1808	16	Carriage for a harp no 886		5	6
February	1808	16	For Mr Casimirs bill	3	6	
February	1808	16	Paid a bill for Scarlett persian		12	4
February	1808	16	Priddys bill for oil		6	
February	1808	16	Kluths bill for Sundries		8	7½
February	1808	16	Howis the oil mans bill		8	11
February	1808	16	[Page total]	297	19	2½
February	1808	16	[Running total to date]	8696	17	5
February	1808	16	Hailes bill for candles & soop	2	4	4
February	1808	18	Paid for Steel		5	3
February	1808	18	Paid the Carriage of Casemirs harp		13	
February	1808	18	Advanced to Mr Allison Carpenter	30		
February	1808	18	To Mr Davis for Sycamore timper	29	11	6
February	1808	19	Advanced to Mich Carrol for iron pins	7	17	6
February	1808	20	Paid to Mr Sensbury for tools	1	5	
February	1808	20	Advanced to Mr Dizi	15		
February	1808	20	allowance for a Music Stand to Madme Letourneur		10	6
February	1808	20	Paid for one pint of brass varnish		5	6
February	1808	20	for vitriolic		8	2
February	1808	20	Paid to the workmen as p book	44	18	10
February	1808	22	Paid to Reilly for varnish	1	2	
February	1808	22	for 8 Stone of iron wire	2	8	
February	1808	22	Paid for Two skins		6	
February	1808	22	Six Set of Silverd Strings Mr Duff	3	9	
February	1808	22	Paid to Clementson for scarlet Persion	1	10	4
February	1808	22	Kluths bill		5	3
February	1808	22	John Martins bill		11	6
February	1808	22	Mrs Horns hous bills and book	1	18	
February	1808	22	Paid Mr Davis for Sawing Sycamore	8	9	9
February	1808	23	Paid for Glue	3		
February	1808	23	Paid the Carriage for the harp no 613		15	
February	1808	23	To Lonsdale for green bais	4	10	3
February	1808	23	Paid the Shipbroker on account of picture frames	15		
February	1808	23	to the appraiser	1	1	
February	1808	23	Coach hire to the Custom house		3	
February	1808	27	Paid for Isinglass		8	
February	1808	27	for a Sponge		3	
February	1808	27	for Screws		1	1
February	1808	27	Mr Johns bill for work delivered	13	10	
February	1808	27	Paid to Colleman as p bill	15	8	6

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February	1808	27	Paid to Sensbury for brass	4	2	
February	1808	27	Paid to Brown for work delivered	8		
February	1808	27	To Mr Tillyard the Gilder	21	1	
February	1808	27	Paid to the workmen as p book	31	6	10½
February	1808	27	[Page total]	271	19	1½
February	1808	27	[Running total to date]	8968	16	6½
February	1808	27	Paid for Brown varnish	1	2	
February	1808	29	Kluths bill		8	10½
February	1808	29	Howis the oilmans bill		7	10
February	1808	29	Hailes the Candles bill		8	9
February	1808	29	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	10	
March	1808	2	Martin the porters bill		4	4
March	1808	2	Priddy the oil mans bill		12	
March	1808	2	Mrs Smiths for hosiery		15	
March	1808	2	Paid to Mr Duff for Strings	4	10	
March	1808	2	Paid for leather bags		8	10
March	1808	6	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	7	4
March	1808	6	To Mrs Lock	3	3	
March	1808	6	To Mr Desmond	25		
March	1808	6	advanced to Mr Charles Meyer one note of Mr Birchol	30	3	3
March	1808	6	Paid for varnish	1	2	
March	1808	4	for lining of a Case	1	17	6
March	1808	4	to Mr Philips for flattening brass		16	9
March	1808	4	for varnish	1	2	
March	1808	4	Paid to the workmen as p book	48	2	½
March	1808	8	Paid the Carriage for Mr Owen a parcel		1	6
March	1808	8	Porter for Carrying harps		5	
March	1808	8	Carriage for a Music Stand Mr Owen		2	4
March	1808	8	To John the Chairman for Messages	1	4	6
March	1808	10	To Reily for varnish	1	2	
March	1808	12	for Carriage of a french harp of Mr Tetter		8	8
March	1808	12	Carriage for wood		6	
March	1808	12	Mr Lydiatt as p bill	25	16	
March	1808	12	To Kluths 2 bills	17	4	3
March	1808	12	To Bourgnignon for pipes to a Stove	1	16	3
March	1808	12	a red leather Case for a harp	3	10	
March	1808	12	To Lonsdale for green baize	4	5	
March	1808	14	To Mr Bamford for wood beech & dale	11	4	
March	1808	14	Paid the workmen as p book	43	9	
March	1808	14	Paid for the Stuffing 2 Music Stools	1	12	
March	1808	14	for 7 Stone iron wire	2	4	5
March	1808	14	To a boy for turning the wheel		5	
March	1808	14	To Weisbard for balance of his old bill	42	14	
March	1808	14	Paid to Mr Bourgnignon for a String box	2		3
March	1808	14	[Page total]	284	19	8
March	1808	14	[Running total to date]	9253	16	2½
March	1808	14	To Mr Adolphi Engraver	2	10	
March	1808	14	Paid for the Carriage of no 194		10	1
March	1808	14	To Kluth for ivory black oil &		12	3
March	1808	14	Howis bill		12	7½
March	1808	14	John Martins bill		4	6
March	1808	14	Mrs Horns house bills & book	2	7	2
March	1808	16	Paid the Carriage for no 212		9	6
March	1808	16	Paid to Madme Dufresnois for no 1050 & 1055	25		

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March	1808	17	To Mr Duff	3	9	
March	1808	19	Paid for varnish	1	2	
March	1808	19	To Mr Pegram for American dele & wanscot	37	8	11½
March	1808	19	Paid the Carriage of no 881		12	6
March	1808	19	Paid to Heretemorten as per bill	9	8	
March	1808	19	for 5 Gross of Screws		5	3
March	1808	19	Paid to the workmen	53	16	9
March	1808	21	Paid to Mr Tillierd the Gilder on account	8	0	0
March	1808	21	Paid to Madme Letourneur for Italien Strings	4	4	
March	1808	21	Paid to Hasses boy		3	
March	1808	21	Paid for 3 Skins		11	3
March	1808	21	Paid to Mr Hanford & Co for brass	78	7	11
March	1808	21	Howis the oil man		4	
March	1808	21	Wax & Tallow Chandlers bills Hailes		11	9
March	1808	21	Kluths bill		6	3
March	1808	21	John for Straw		2	6
March	1808	21	Mrs Horns house bills & book	2	3	6
March	1808	21	Servand Maids wages for 3 Months	3		
March	1808	22	To Mr Townsend for 123 belly boards	47	2	
March	1808	22	To Mr Lonsdale for green baize	4	10	3
March	1808	22	Carriage for the harp no		4	
March	1808	22	2 Gross of Screws		2	
March	1808	24	4 Gross of Screws		5	
March	1808	24	Paid to Chev Marin on account	20		
March	1808	24	Paid to Johns for Sand paper 4 quires		5	
March	1808	25	for brown varnish	1	2	
March	1808	25	Advanced to Mr Allison Carpenter	5		
March	1808	25	To Miss Schram for Strings premium		8	
March	1808	25	2 Gross of Screws		2	2
March	1808	25	Paid for Brass varnish		5	6
March	1808	26	Paid to Colleman his bill	13	18	6
March	1808	26	[Page total]	329	8	2
March	1808	26	[Running total to date]	9583	4	4½
March	1808	26	To Brown for work deliverd	6		
March	1808	26	To Mr Mazzinghi premium for 1058	12	12	
March	1808	26	To Mr Collier for Carving 2 Eagles	4		
March	1808	26	Paid to the workmen as p book	42	13	
March	1808	26	Paid to Sensbury for Brass		18	
March	1808	26	Paid to Mr Tillier the Gilder	30	6	6
March	1808	26	Miss [?Nosencon] for yellow gauze	1	12	6
March	1808	26	John Martins bill for 15 dozen leather bags		10	6
March	1808	26	Hailes the Chandlers bill		12	3
March	1808	26	Kluths bill		14	4
March	1808	26	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	10	2
March	1808	29	for brown varnish	1	2	
March	1808	30	for black ebony	1	18	9
March	1808	30	To Duff for Silverd Strings	4	19	
April	1808	1	Paid the Carriage for a harp no 247		13	6
April	1808	1	To Buckingham for Cords & Mats	4	1	5
April	1808	1	To the publishers for the directory		1	
April	1808	2	To Comnt Newbourg for 1054	12	12	
April	1808	2	Paid to Barrett	7	18	10
April	1808	2	To Lonsdale for green base	4	5	
April	1808	2	Paid to the workmen	48	17	2½

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April	1808	2	Kluths bill	10	9½	
April	1808	2	Priddys bill for oil	3	6	
April	1808	2	Howis bill	10	3	
April	1808	2	John Martins bill	5	4	
April	1808	2	Mrs Horn house bills and book	1	19	4
April	1808	5	Paid to Duff for Silverd Strings	3	9	
April	1808	5	To the Engraver	2	8	
April	1808	5	To Mr Wild half years house rent land tax deducted	63	15	10
April	1808	5	To Reyly for varnish	1	2	
April	1808	5	3 bills for Glue	4	10	
April	1808	5	for Carriage of Mr Elouises Music	16	8	
April	1808	9	To Reyly for work deliverd	13	10	
April	1808	9	[Page total]	281	8	8
April	1808	9	[Running total to date]	98864	13	½
April	1808	9	Paid to the workmen as p book	49	7½	
April	1808	11	Paid for 3 Skins	6	9	
April	1808	11	To Mr Lydiatt for work delivered	30	14	0
April	1808	11	Kluths bill	9		
April	1808	11	Howis bill	7		
April	1808	11	for Persian & Riban	17		
April	1808	11	Mr Priddys bill for oil	6	6	
April	1808	11	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	17	2
April	1808	12	The Stationers bill	7	12	
April	1808	12	for varnish	1	2	
April	1808	13	To Lonsdale for green baise	4	5	
April	1808	13	To Mr Duff for Strings	5	11	
April	1808	13	To Mrs Lock	3		
April	1808	13	To Freyer on account for his bill	10		
April	1808	13	To Johns for his bill	12	18	
April	1808	13	To John the Chairman for Commissions	2	3	
April	1808	13	Mr Wilkinson premium for no 1021	12	12	
April	1808	13	Paid to the workmen	47	3	4
April	1808	18	for a vice	19	10	
April	1808	18	for pieces of bucks Skin	2	6	
April	1808	18	Johns bill	4	2	
April	1808	18	Kluths bill	3	9½	
April	1808	18	Howis bill for oil	4	1	
April	1808	18	Hailes the Chandlers bill	13	3	
April	1808	18	for leather bags	11	8	
April	1808	18	for 2 Sponges	4	6	
April	1808	18	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	19	11
April	1808	20	Paid the Carriage for no 897 Mrs [?Aponcase]	9	6	
April	1808	20	Priddys bill for oil 13 gallons	14	10	
April	1808	20	To Reyly for varnish	1	2	
April	1808	20	To Mr Schram premium for no 1045	7	19	4
April	1808	20	To Mr Schram for no 595 Second hand	5	5	
April	1808	20	Paid to Lacouse for no 1053	12	12	
April	1808	20	To Mr Lacouse the balance due for his pension to te end of April	3	9	
April	1808	23	To Forsy the String Maker	2	2	
April	1808	23	To Kluth for Ivory black	9	4	
April	1808	23	[Page total]	244	2	6
April	1808	23	[Running total to date]	10108	15	6½
April	1808	23	To Colleman his bill	11	6	6

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April	1808	23	Tillyard the Gilders bills	39	11	
April	1808	23	Paid to the workmen as p book	44	17	11
April	1808	25	24 old hats	3	12	
April	1808	25	Paid the Carriage for no 1015 Lady Thompson		12	6
April	1808	25	Paid for 3 Sheep Skins		10	
April	1808	26	Paid for varnish	1	2	
April	1808	26	Two gross of Screws		2	8
April	1808	26	4 quire of sand paper		7	8
April	1808	26	To Mr Bond the Iron mongers bill	5	6	0
April	1808	26	To Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	3	18	
April	1808	26	To Mr Priddy for an oil bill		11	9
April	1808	26	[?Nisburd] his bill		5	0
April	1808	26	Howis: bill		5	7
April	1808	26	Hailes bill		3	3
April	1808	26	Johns bill		1	1
April	1808	26	Mrs Horns house bill and book	2	10	10
April	1808	27	Carriage of Lady Chs Lowthers harp		14	2
April	1808	28	To Mr Wilkinson for Strings for no 1076 included in the above bill	10	10	
April	1808	28	Premium for the Same harp no 1076 Mr Wilkinson	12	12	
April	1808	28	Land tax	7	10	2
April	1808	28	Carriage for Mr Williams harp no 972		4	6
April	1808	30	Morris the Surgeons bill	18	5	6
April	1808	30	Advanced to Mr Allison Carpenter	32	9	3
April	1808	30	To Mr Bourgnignon for lining 2 Cases	3	15	
April	1808	30	To Mr Proctors Turneurs bill	28	1	
April	1808	30	To Adolphi Engravers for 26 plates	3	18	
April	1808	30	To the new String Maker	1		
April	1808	30	Paid to the workmen as p book	55	2	10½
April	1808	30	John the Porters bill		3	6
April	1808	30	Davis bill		16	6
April	1808	30	Kluths bill		9	1½
April	1808	30	a bill for Persian		5	6
April	1808	30	Howis bill		7	6
April	1808	30	Hailes the Chandlers bill		6	6
April	1808	30	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	9	3
April	1808	30	Bricklayers bill		7	6
April	1808	30	[Page total]	294	12	7½
April	1808	30	[Running total to date]	10403	7	2
May	1808	2	Paid to Mr Lonsdale for green base	4	5	
May	1808	2	To Mr Desmond a cheque	40	12	
May	1808	5	To Mr Weispart for his bill	74	8	
May	1808	5	To Chevr Marin	16	8	6
May	1808	5	for Brass varnish		6	
May	1808	5	for brass bookepers		4	
May	1808	5	for one quarter poors rates	3		
May	1808	5	2 quarters watch rates	1	17	6
May	1808	5	for a Silck Cover for a harp no 1077		16	
May	1808	6	2 quarts brown varnish	1	2	
May	1808	6	2 Skins		7	
May	1808	6	Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	5	11	
May	1808	6	To Mr Meyer the Elder premium for Strings		15	
May	1808	6	to Mrs Macnamara		10	6
May	1808	7	To Kluth his bill	10	10	

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May	1808	7	To Brown his bill	12		
May	1808	7	To Mr Lydiatt	28	16	8
May	1808	7	Paid to the workmen as p bills and book	45	12	6
May	1808	9	Paid to Mr Sainsbury as p bill	1	19	10
May	1808	9	Paid to Mr Hailes for Candles		9	
May	1808	9	Paid for leather bags		10	
May	1808	9	to John		1	6
May	1808	9	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	6	
May	1808	10	Paid to Haas for lacker		3	6
May	1808	10	Paid the Carriage for Mr Elouis Music		2	2
May	1808	10	2 quarts of brown varnish	1	2	
May	1808	10	Paid to Reyle for varnish	1	2	
May	1808	10	Carriage for Steel wire		3	9
May	1808	10	To Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	3	18	
May	1808	12	To Chevr Marien	4	15	
May	1808	12	To Miss Letourneur for no 1063	12	12	
May	1808	12	To Mr Dale Premm for no 1006 & Strings	15	15	
May	1808	12	Paid to Mr Dale for a Music Stand for the same harp no 1006	2	5	
May	1808	12	to Mr Napio for Italian Strings	5	16	
May	1808	12	To Mr Fosse for strings	1	2	6
May	1808	12	to Buckingham for Mats & Cords	2	6	6
May	1808	12	Carriage of a Packing Case Cs Newbourg		1	
May	1808	14	Paid to the workmen as p book	49	19	4½
May	1808	16	Paid to Chevr Marin	15		
May	1808	16	[Page total]	357	19	9½
May	1808	16	[Running total to date]	10761	6	11½
May	1808	16	Boot hire		3	3
May	1808	16	Kluths bill for Turpentine &		11	7½
May	1808	16	Johns bill		4	8
May	1808	16	Mr Horns house bills and book	2	10	5
May	1808	16	Paid for book keepers		3	8
May	1808	19	for Stuffing 2 Music Stools	1	12	
May	1808	21	Paid to Colleman as p bill	8	13	6
May	1808	21	To Mr Bond Ironmonger	11	4	9
May	1808	21	To Mr Tillyard the gilder his bill	31	16	
May	1808	21	Mr Sainsbury for Cast brass	6	16	6
May	1808	21	for Steel wire		15	9
May	1808	24	4 quires of sand paper		5	
May	1808	21	Paid to workmen as p book	47	11	6
May	1808	22	advanced to Mr Charls Meyer	2	2	
May	1808	23	To Lonsdale for green baize	4	15	6
May	1808	23	To Reyly for varnish	1	2	
May	1808	23	To Fossey for Strings	8	6	
May	1808	23	Paid to Mr Bapt Mayer on account of Horn to be deducted from his account	105		
May	1808	23	Paid to Mr Duff for Strings	7	16	
May	1808	23	Kluths bill		13	2
May	1808	23	Candlers bill		10	3
May	1808	23	Howiss bill		8	
May	1808	23	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	13	9
May	1808	24	To Mr Schram for no 1014	12	12	
May	1808	24	for 3 days Coach hire		17	9
May	1808	28	for 3 Skins		10	6
May	1808	28	Paid for Brown varnish	1	2	

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May	1808	28	Paid to Mr Sainsbury for Cast brass	2	5	10
May	1808	28	To Johns for work deliverd	11	8	6
May	1808	28	Paid to Mrs Lock her pension	1	1	
May	1808	28	Paid to the workman as p book	51		
May	1808	30	To Mr Philip for glue	2	13	4
May	1808	30	Carriage for no 455		15	3
May	1808	30	Kluths bill		8	6
May	1808	30	Mrs Horns house bills and book	1	19	6
May	1808	30	[Page total]	332	9	½
May	1808	30	[Running total to date]	11093	16	
June	1808	1	To Mrs [?Bianekiher] premm for no 1078	12	12	
June	1808	2	To Mr Fossey String Macker	2		
June	1808	2	Easter dues for the Parish Clergyman		10	6
June	1808	2	Paid to Reily	1	2	
June	1808	4	Paid to Kluth for 6 Music Stand Jappenning	8		
June	1808	4	To John Mansfield for portorage	6	7	6
June	1808	4	To Brown for work deliverd	8		
June	1808	4	To Mrs Lock her pension	1	11	6
June	1808	4	To Colleman for 12 Machines	20	3	
June	1808	4	Paid to the workmen as p bills and book	41	10	6
June	1808	6	To Carol his bill	13	2	9
June	1808	6	To Mr Atkinson Collector	100	2	
June	1808	7	To Mr Atkinson land tax	11	4	4
June	1808	7	To Mr Philp Meyer for no 1072 & 1074	42		
June	1808	7	To Mr Sainsbury for brass as p bill	4	15	8
June	1808	4	Kluths bill		7	10
June	1808	4	for lacker & bruches		6	8
June	1808	4	Howis bill		6	5
June	1808	4	Johns bill		3	10
June	1808	4	Hailes the Chandlers bill		7	10
June	1808	4	Smiths bill for Persian		11	4
June	1808	4	Mrs Horns house bills & book	1	18	6
June	1808	4	Leather bags 18 dozen		12	
June	1808	10	To Mr Fossey String Macker	6	19	6
June	1808	10	To Mr Bennett Ironmonger	10	3	2
June	1808	10	To Mrs Miles for no 1002	12	12	
June	1808	10	Paid to Mr Sainsbury for files	1	7	
June	1808	11	To Losdale for green baize	4	10	3
June	1808	11	for brown varnish	1	4	
June	1808	11	To Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	6	7	6
June	1808	11	To Mr Davis for Sycamore	21	16	
June	1808	11	To Mr Lydiatt his bill	29	1	4
June	1808	11	Paid to the workmen as p book	41	9	6
June	1808	11	Carriage of a box of Steel wire		6	1
June	1808	13	Colleman expences for a journey to the Country to put a new spring in no 1079	1		
June	1808	13	Paid to Mr Adolphi for engraving plates	3	3	
June	1808	13	[Page total]	417	16	6
June	1808	13	[Running total to date]	11511	12	6
June	1808	14	Paid the Carriage for no 95		8	6
June	1808	14	Paid to Fossey String Maker	2	18	
June	1808	14	To Mr Bond for 24 grosse of Screws	1	14	
June	1808	14	To Mr Williams at Lord Courtenys his balance	10		
June	1808	14	Paid the Carriage of a box with iron Pins on Carols account		17	6

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June	1808	16	for one gross of 3 inch Screws	4	3
June	1808	16	for wire	18	8
June	1808	16	for Castors for a harp	4	3
June	1808	16	for one thousand nails	3	
June	1808	16	To Sensbury for brass	13	6
June	1808	16	for a Carpet to Mr Johns	4	4
June	1808	16	To Taylor for Single plate	8	3
June	1808	16	Paid on the 16 May on 4 bills drawn by Mr Erard in Paris	1000	
June	1808	16	To Lacouse on account of his pension	8	
June	1808	14	Hiles the Chandlers bill	9	10½
June	1808	14	Kluths bill	2	3
June	1808	14	Johns bill	3	9
June	1808	14	Porterage	8	
June	1808	14	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	4
June	1808	14	one quarter wages to the Servand Maid	3	
June	1808	18	To Mr Allison the Carpenter	3	
June	1808	18	To Saml Weisbart the balance of his bill	20	8
June	1808	18	To Mr Sensbury for Steel for pedals	15	3
June	1808	18	Paid to Reyly the varnisher	1	4
June	1808	18	To Dockree the Screw Maker	6	7
June	1808	18	To Colleman on account	6	
June	1808	18	To Duff for Silverd Strings	7	16
June	1808	18	Paid to the workmen as p book	36	16
June	1808	20	Paid to Kluth for painting iron rails	1	1
June	1808	21	Paid Carriage of Mr Sempsons harp	5	
June	1808	21	for Isinglass	7	
June	1808	22	Two bills for glue	2	13
June	1808	22	John Martins bill	2	4
June	1808	22	Howis bill	9	10
June	1808	22	Mr Horns house bills & book	2	1
June	1808	24	To Mr Buckingham for Cord & Mats	2	8
June	1808	24	To Fossey String Maker	12	
June	1808	24	[Page total]	1154	6
June	1808	24	[Running total to date]	12665	18
June	1808	24	For Coach hire	5	
June	1808	25	To Freyer on account of his work	7	6
June	1808	25	To Reider his bill	5	12
June	1808	25	To Reyly for varnish	1	4
June	1808	25	To Colleman on account	6	
June	1808	25	Paid to Mr Tillyard the gilder	27	9
June	1808	25	To Dockree for Screws & Harbers	3	15
June	1808	25	To Johns for 12 Cases	10	2
June	1808	25	To John for glass paper	4	6
June	1808	25	Paid to the workmen as p book	38	3
June	1808	27	Hailes the Chandlers bill	13	1½
June	1808	27	for Spirits of wine	7	10
June	1808	27	Mrs Horns house bills & book	2	1
June	1808	25	Paid to Mr C Meyer	25	5
June	1808	25	Carriage for Sycamore wood	3	
June	1808	25	To Kluth for rags bruches & Turpentine	12	7
June	1808	29	To Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	3	6
June	1808	29	for green baise to Lonsdale	4	8
June	1808	29	Paid to Reyly for brown varnish	1	4
July	1808	1	Two quarters rent for water	1	15

Appendix 4: Erard

July	1808	1	to a footman of Lady Mary Taylors		7	
July	1808	2	To Mr Buckinham for Cord & Matts	1	18	
July	1808	2	Rylies Pill for work delivered	9	10	
July	1808	2	Paid to Horn the Violin payer for Mr Claxtons harop no 436	5	5	
July	1808	2	Paid to Colleman on account of his work	6		
July	1808	2	Paid to the workmen as p book	39	4	6
July	1808	5	To Mr Endig on account for Sycamore	20		
July	1808	5	for Two Stones of wire		18	
July	1808	5	for Black sealing wax		2	
July	1808	5	for 3 Skins		8	
July	1808	4	Kluths bill		3	16
July	1808	4	Howis the oil man		9	6½
July	1808	4	John Martins bill		2	6
July	1808	4	Mrs Horns house bills and book	1	19	1
July	1808	4	[Page total]	236	4	8½
July	1808	4	[Running total to date]	12902	3	6½
July	1808	7	To Mrs Ireland for the harp no 1060 Mrs Vollers	13	15	6
July	1808	7	To Allison Carpenter the balance of his bill	1		11
July	1808	7	Advanced to Mr Allison	30		
July	1808	8	for Two Sponges		4	
July	1808	8	for Charcoal		1	10
July	1808	8	Paid to Fossey String Maker	10	1	
July	1808	8	Paid the Carriage for Lady Lushingtons harp no 113	1	0	2
July	1808	8	To Colleman on account	6		
July	1808	9	To Reyly for varnish	1	4	
July	1808	9	To Brown for work delivered	5		
July	1808	9	Paid to the workmen as p book	41	8	4
July	1808	10	Paid to Mr Philips for flattening wire		11	8
July	1808	10	Paid to Madme Letourneur for Italien Strings	53		
July	1808	10	Paid to Madme Dufresnois for no 1071	12	12	
July	1808	10	To Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	2	4	
July	1808	10	Howis bill		8	10
July	1808	10	Mrs Horns hous bill and book	1	18	2
July	1808	13	To Mrs Lock for her pension	5	5	
July	1808	14	To Mr Ladey for Sycamore	47	16	5
July	1808	14	Carriage for a harp		2	6
July	1808	16	Beanfiast expenses for the workmens dinner	21	9	9
July	1808	16	for 2 quarts varnish	1	4	
July	1808	16	To Colleman on account of his work	6		
July	1808	16	Mr Lydiatt bill for his work	30	9	4
July	1808	16	Paid to the workmen as p book	38	11	9½
July	1808	18	To John Mansfield for work done	4	3	6
July	1808	19	To Mr Desmond	37	16	
July	1808	19	Paid to Chev Marin	8	4	
July	1808	19	Paid to Fossey String Maker on account	1	2	
July	1808	19	Paid to Mr Phillips	1		
July	1808	19	Paid to Mr Row the Stationers bill	10	11	4
July	1808	19	Kluths bill		13	11½
July	1808	19	John Martins bill		6	
July	1808	19	Hailis bill for Candles		6	7½
July	1808	19	Mrs Horns house bills and book	1	14	6
July	1808	19	[Page total]	397	6	1½
July	1808	19	[Running total to date]	13299	9	8
July	1808	19	Paid the Carriage for no 425 Mr Lacouse		2	6

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July	1808	19	To the Chevr Marien	8	4	
July	1808	22	another bill of Stationery		4	9
July	1808	22	To Charls Meyer a note	15	0	6
July	1808	22	To Mr Tillier gilder on account	5		
July	1808	22	To Colleman on account	6		
July	1808	22	To Fossey the String maker	11	11	6
July	1808	22	Reyly for varnish	1	4	
July	1808	23	to Sensbury for Brass		11	5
July	1808	23	Paid to the workmen as per book	39	5	
July	1808	23	To Duff for Silverd Strings	7	16	
July	1808	23	for sand paper		5	
July	1808	23	to Buckingham for Cords	1	6	3
July	1808	23	Mrs Look	1	1	
July	1808	25	for varnish	1	4	
July	1808	25	for a Mahogany bedstead	6	6	
July	1808	26	Paid 2 bills for glue	2	13	4
July	1808	26	for 2 Saws		4	4
July	1808	26	for Steel		7	7
July	1808	26	Kluths bill		7	6
July	1808	26	Johns bill		3	4
July	1808	26	Hailiss bill		6	7½
July	1808	26	Mrs Horns house bills & book	2	8	11
July	1808	26	Paid to Mr Erard	10	10	
July	1808	26	Paid to the Coach Man for Mr Erard arrivell from Paris	2	2	6
July	1808	26	Retourned to Comte de Newbourg for Strings	1	10	
July	1808	27	Paid for Two skins		7	
July	1808	28	Paid to Mr Erard	6	6	
July	1808	30	Paid to Comte Newbourg for the harp no 1095. & 1067	25	4	
July	1808	30	Paid to Mr Erard	30	3	
July	1808	30	To Mr Tillier as per bill	30	6	
July	1808	30	To Lonsdale for green Baise	4	17	
July	1808	30	To Kluth as per bill	6	10	9
July	1808	30	To Mr Hensler for air wood	6	17	6
July	1808	30	To Johns as per bill	5	2	
July	1808	30	[Page total]	241	9	3½
July	1808	30	[Running total to date]	13540	18	11½
July	1808	30	Paid to Freyer as per bill and on account of his new work	20		
July	1808	30	To Mr deLacouse		11	7
July	1808	30	To Heretemarten as per bill	5	7	
July	1808	30	Paid to Colleman on account of his work	10		
July	1808	30	To Fossey String maker	10	8	
July	1808	30	Paid to the workmen as per book	30	14	9
August	1808	1	Paid for the Carriage of Pictureframes		17	
August	1808	1	for brown varnish	1	4	
August	1808	1	Coach hire for Mr Erard		10	
August	1808	1	Mr Erards washing bill		17	
August	1808	1	The Green Grocers bill		6	1
August	1808	1	for Silk &		11	8
August	1808	1	oil mans bill		19	7½
August	1808	1	Oranges & lemens		11	6
August	1808	1	a bill for Knives & forks		14	
August	1808	1	6 yards of Carpeting	1	4	
August	1808	1	To Mr Lydiatt for one pint of lacker		6	6
August	1808	1	Hailes bill for Candles		14	5½

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August	1808	1	Mrs Horns house bills & book	2	6	11
August	1808	2	Paid to Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	3	6	
August	1808	2	Paid to John for a Parcel directed to Mr Erard	2	7	5
August	1808	2	To Mr Eadey for Sycamore as per bill	7	6	
August	1808	5	to Kluth for Ivory Black & Turpentine		16	5
August	1808	5	Paid to Mr Erard	63		
August	1808	6	Paid to Coleman on account of his work	6		
August	1808	6	Paid to the workmen as per book	40	12	10½
August	1808	6	Paid for Rotten Stone		1	6
August	1808	6	Paid for Coach hire		7	
August	1808	9	for 6 dozen Castors	3	12	
August	1808	9	To Caroll for work delivered	7	10	
August	1808	9	to Adophis the Engraver for plcd and for printing Cards	2	18	
August	1808	9	Paid to Mr Meyer the father on the account of Mr Carls Meyer	5		
August	1808	9	To Reily for Brown varnish	1	4	
August	1808	9	for Carriage of another emperial for Mr Erard	4	16	6
August	1808	9	[Page total]	237	1	9½
August	1808	9	[Running total to date]	13778		9
August	1808	9	Paid the Carriage of no 995 Mrs Newcomb		12	
August	1808	9	to Collemann for one Compasses		6	6
August	1808	9	the Butchers bill	1	2	6
August	1808	9	Sannders bill for fish	2	11	6
August	1808	9	Greengrocers bill		9	10
August	1808	9	oil mans bill		9	4
August	1808	9	Escudiers bill for pastry		16	6
August	1808	9	Poulterers bill	1		6
August	1808	9	Wine Merchants bill & &	2	3	2
August	1808	9	A bill for carthen ware glass & &	1	11	½
August	1808	9	washing bill		10	4
August	1808	9	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	19	4
August	1808	11	To Mr Allison Carpenter his balance	3	19	
August	1808	11	advanced to Mr Allison for 14 Cases	25		
August	1808	11	Carriage for a french harp		14	
August	1808	11	for the Carriage of iron pins on account of Carroll		5	11
August	1808	11	Carriage of a harp of Mr Dizi		5	
August	1808	11	to Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	2	8	
August	1808	12	to Mr Sensbury for 2 quires of emery paper one pair of nippers		8	8
August	1808	13	to Mr Bourgingnon for lining of a Case	1	17	6
August	1808	13	To Fossey String maker	9	15	6
August	1808	13	To Coleman on account	6		
August	1808	13	Carriage of Mrs Dunbard harp no 1008	1	17	
August	1808	13	Carriage of Mrs Piercys harp		14	
August	1808	13	To the workmen as p book	39	17	5
August	1808	13	to Brown for work delivered	6		
August	1808	15	for brown varnish	1	4	
August	1808	15	to John the Chairman	4	9	6
August	1808	15	Sannders bill for fish	1	7	9
August	1808	15	Robinsons bills for silk gauze	1	5	8
August	1808	15	Kluths bill		6	4½
August	1808	15	Howis bill the oil man		15	1
August	1808	15	the Chandler Hailes bill		18	7½
August	1808	15	Green grocers bill		5	1
August	1808	15	John Martins bill		10	

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August	1808	15	to Wall Mr Erards hatter		10	
August	1808	15	washing bill		13	1
August	1808	15	[Page total]	116	19	8½
August	1808	15	[Running total to date]	13895		5½
August	1808	15	Grocers bill	1	13	3
August	1808	15	wine bill	5		
August	1808	15	Mrs Horns house bills and book	2	18	10
August	1808	15	Coach hire on business		6	
August	1808	16	Carriage of Mrs Bryans harp		5	
August	1808	17	Carriage of no 1014 Miss Tomlinson		12	6
August	1808	17	Sent to Mr Williams at Lond Courtenays	20		
August	1808	17	to a porter from the opera on the account of Mr Charls My	4		
August	1808	18	Paid to Mr Mayston linen draper for goods delivered to Mr Erard	11	15	
August	1808	18	to Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	1	12	
August	1808	18	advanced to Freyer	1		
August	1808	18	to Mr Sensbury for 2 broaches		2	
August	1808	19	Paid a noth [note?] for Mr Charls Meyer	5	3	2
August	1808	19	to Mr Lydiatt as per bill and Recd	25	16	
August	1808	20	Paid a noth [note?] for Mr Charls Meyer	1	16	1
August	1808	20	Carriage of no 392 Mrs Hydes		16	8
August	1808	20	to Henry Bratt for 6 dozen tuning Keys	6	7	6
August	1808	20	to Mr Schram for no 868 Lady Gosford	12	12	
August	1808	20	to Mr Eady for 6 3 inch dales	3	16	
August	1808	20	To Colleman on account of his work	6		
August	1808	20	To Mrs Lock	2	2	
August	1808	20	Paid to the workmen as p book	42	3	½
August	1808	20	To Fossey String Maker	11	12	
August	1808	20	to Johns for work deliverd			
August	1808	22	To Reyly for Brown varnish	1	4	
August	1808	22	for Mr Erard	2	8	6
August	1808	22	a noth of Mr Charls Meyer	21		
August	1808	22	Carriage of a box of Steel wire		16	10
August	1808	22	boot hire		5	
August	1808	22	Sannders the Fishmongers bill	2	4	6
August	1808	22	Howis the oilmans bill		9	7
August	1808	22	Gilis the Green grocers bill		6	2
August	1808	22	Hailes the Chandlers bill		9	10½
August	1808	22	Lonsdale the Hosiers bill	2	7	9
August	1808	22	Butchers bill	1	8	10½
August	1808	22	washing bill		13	7
August	1808	22	[Page total]	212	16	8½
August	1808	22	[Running total to date]	14107	17	2
August	1808	22	Kluths bill		6	5
August	1808	22	Raparing Silk Stockings		4	3
August	1808	22	Johns bill		3	5
August	1808	22	Fruitirers bill		19	9
August	1808	22	Mrs Horns house bill and book	4	18	3
August	1808	24	Paid to Mr Buckingham for Cords and Matts	1	17	3
August	1808	25	Paid for a String box		3	
August	1808	26	deiverd to Mr Erard	12		
August	1808	26	to Fossey String maker as per bill	9	6	6
August	1808	27	Paid to Mr Bulley Ship broker for the picture frames	15	15	
August	1808	27	for 3 Skins as p bill		8	6

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August	1808	27	Paid a noth of Mr C Meyer		15	
August	1808	27	to Tillier the gilder	32	5	8
August	1808	27	to Reyly for Brown varnish	1	4	
August	1808	27	to Colleman on account of his work	6		
August	1808	27	Paid to the workmen as p book	37	10	7
August	1808	27	Green Grocers bill		7	7
August	1808	27	Howis bill		2	8
August	1808	27	Butchers bill		9	
August	1808	27	washing bill		14	7
August	1808	27	Fishmongers bill		17	7
August	1808	27	Kluths bill		7	9
August	1808	27	Johns bill		2	
August	1808	27	Iron		2	9
August	1808	27	Bot of almonds		5	
August	1808	27	Mrs Horns house bills and book	3	11	½
August	1808	30	Paid for Brown varnish	1	4	
August	1808	30	Paid the Carriage for the harp no 972	1		10
August	1808	31	Paid to Mr Erard	150		
August	1808	31	Paid for Books Skins	1	7	6
August	1808	31	Paid to Colleman for fiels		1	8
August	1808	31	[Page total]	284	11	6½
August	1808	31	[Running total to date]	14392	8	8½
September	1808	1	Paid the Carriage for no 611 Miss Jones Turntun green		10	6
September	1808	1	Paid a noth of Mr C Meyer		10	16
September	1808	1	Paid to Mr Endey for 826 ft Scamore and 697 ft Sawing as p bill and Red		24	12 8
September	1808	2	for wire and Plates		11	
September	1808	3	for leather Bages		15	
September	1808	3	to Mr Erard. Schu maker	1		
September	1808	3	for a news paper		2	
September	1808	3	for one Screws veiwer [?screw driver?]		1	
September	1808	3	to Colleman on account		6	
September	1808	3	to Brown for work deliverd		10	
September	1808	3	to Hertenmarten for work delivered		5	5 6
September	1808	3	Paid to the workmen as p book		39	10 4½
September	1808	3	for brown varnish		1	4
September	1808	5	Paid to Mr Erard in Cash L20 p Chek 30		50	
September	1808	5	to Mr Lonsdale Two bills for Gren Baiz		8	14 6
September	1808	5	to Mr Erard. p. Chek		250	
September	1808	5	Paid to Mr Erard a noth of Mr Faveryear of two month			
September	1808	6	Paid to Mr Erard		10	
September	1808	6	Paid the Carriage for no		8	2
September	1808	6	to Sainsbury for Brass		10	
September	1808	6	to Mr Erards Taylor		9	19
September	1808	7	4 Quarters Rate for paving in this parish		3	
September	1808	8	Paid to Mr Erard in Cash			
September	1808	8	Paid to Seinsbury for Steel wire		1	2 10
September	1808	8	to Fossey String Macker on account		3	
September	1808	8	for one Gross of Screws		1	8
September	1808	8	Paid to Mr Erard		200	
September	1808	9	To Reyly for varnish		1	4
September	1808	10	to Fossey String Maker		10	6
September	1808	10	Paid to Procktor the Thurner		20	13
September	1808	10	Paid to a Porder for Carrigen a harp		2	6

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September	1808	10	Paid to Colleman on account	6		
September	1808	10	for the Carriage Miss Gillwory		2	
September	1808	10	Paid to the workmen as p book	42	11	1
September	1808	10	[Page total]	1076	2	9½
September	1808	10	[Running total to date]	15468	11	6
September	1808	11	Paid to Mr Johns for 6 Quire Glass paper and 1 Dozen Pencil		13	6
September	1808	13	Paid to Mr Phillips for two bills of Glue	2	13	4
September	1808	13	the Carriage for a Smahl box on the account of Carroll		6	10
September	1808	14	the Carriage for no 185		10	
September	1808	14	the Carriage for no 923 Miss von Essen		10	3
September	1808	15	Paid a noth of Mr Chs Meyer	24		
September	1808	15	for 6 Stone of Irone wire	1	17	
September	1808	15	a noth of mr C Meyer	1	13	
September	1808	15	Mr Keoffe Brecklayer	1	2	4
September	1808	15	Paid Mrs Horns house bills and book from the 29 August	13	3	9
September	1808	15	Paid Mrs Horns house bills and book from the 5 September	12	14	4
September	1808	15	Paid Mrs Horns house bills and book from the 11 September	9	3	10
September	1808	15	Paid to Wm Lonsdale no 7 Broad Street for a feather Bed and large piellow. and a fine flock Mattross	17	6	6
September	1808	17	to Mrs Loock	2		
September	1808	17	to Mr Erard	2		
September	1808	17	to Michael Carrol for work deliverd	8	19	3
September	1808	17	to Reyly for varnishing harps as p bill	11	19	
September	1808	17	to Reyly for Brown varnish	1	4	
September	1808	17	to Mr Sainsbury for Brass		10	4
September	1808	17	to Colleman on account	6		
September	1808	17	To Mr Duff for 6 Sets of Silverd Strings	3	18	
September	1808	17	Paid to the workmen	33	15	4
September	1808	19	to Lady Elizabeth Berisfords footman		5	
September	1808	19	for Steel wire		19	6
September	1808	20	Paid to Fossey String Maker	12		
September	1808	20	Paid for 27 feet Lime trie		11	3
September	1808	20	Paid for a large Blading hame		8	
September	1808	20	for 2 Stone Iron wire		11	8
September	1808	20	to Mr Atkinson for window Taxes house duty	25	4	6
September	1808	20	to Mr Phillips for wire flatted		7	
September	1808	20	for files and Handles		13	6
September	1808	21	to Mr Adolpho for ingreiving plates	2	2	
September	1808	21	Paid to Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	1	13	
September	1808	21	to John on the account of Dizi		2	
September	1808	23	Paid to Mr Erard in Cash	25		
September	1808	23	to Reyly for Brown varnish and 1 Pint of white	1	10	
September	1808	24	to Freyer for 12 Music Stand	10	16	
September	1808	24	to Kluth for varnishing 6 Music Stand and two pond	6	6	
September	1808	24	to Colleman on account	6		
September	1808	24	to Tillier on account	6		
September	1808	24	Paid to the workmen	39	12	9
September	1808	24	[Page total]	295	2	9
September	1808	24	[Running total to date]	15763	14	3
September	1808	26	Paid to Mr Sainsbury for Steel and Cast brass		18	2
September	1808	28	Paid to Mrs Horns house bills and book	17	10	8½
September	1808	28	Extra bills for Mr Erard	17	19	10

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September	1808	28	Paid to Fossey String Maker	5	16	
September	1808	28	Paid for Brass to Coleman		1	5
September	1808	28	Paid for Books wood		6	
September	1808	29	Paid to Mr Allison Carpenter the balance of his bill	3		
September	1808	29	advanced to Mr Allison for 12 Cases	25		
September	1808	30	Paid to Reyly for varnish	1	4	
September	1808	30	Paid for Brass		1	5
September	1808	30	Paid the Carriage for no 764	1	4	
September	1808	30	Paid for wood to Marstetter		1	8
October	1808	1	Paid the Carriage for the harp no 840 Admiral Dacres		14	8
October	1808	1	Paid the Carriage for the harp no 95 Mrs Hamond		19	7
October	1808	1	Paid for Steel wire		2	1
October	1808	1	to Mr Tillier the Gilder	31	10	
October	1808	1	to Mr Lydiatt for 12 Machines no 1139 and 322 Springs	36	10	8
October	1808	1	to Mr Row as per bill	9		3
October	1808	1	to Mr Buckingham for Matts and Corts	1	19	
October	1808	1	Paid to Mr Sainsbury for Brass		6	
October	1808	1	to Coleman on account	6		
October	1808	1	Paid to the workmen as p book	42	4	6
October	1808	1	Paid to Mr Reeve for no 1012	12	12	
October	1808	3	Paid to Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	3	18	
October	1808	3	Paid to the Maid Servand 3 Months wages	3		
October	1808	4	to Fossey String Maker	13	7	
October	1808	4	Paid to Mrs Horns house bills and book	14	3	6½
October	1808	4	Extra bills for Mr Erard Paid	4	8	11
October	1808	7	to Mr Sporling for wine	5		
October	1808	7	Paid the Carriage for no 622		6	
October	1808	8	to Mr Erard	6	6	
October	1808	8	to Coleman on the account of his work	5		
October	1808	8	to Reyly for varnish	1	4	
October	1808	8	to Johns for Glass paper		5	
October	1808	8	Paid to the workmen as p book	47	1	
October	1808	8	[Page total]	318	1	5
October	1808	8	[Running total to date]	16081	15	8
October	1808	8	On the 6 October Paid to Mr Wild half a years house rent	63	15	8
October	1808	10	to Wm Hall for Iron pins on the account of Catroll	22	1	
October	1808	12	Paid to Mr Sainsbury for Brass and files	2	2	10
October	1808	12	Paid to Mr Lonsdale for green Beise	6	7	6
October	1808	13	Paid to the footman of Henry Fawcett Esq		7	
October	1808	13	for Stuffing 2 Music Stools to Mr Davison	1	12	
October	1808	14	Paid for the Coths to Richmond and bood hire and for the Sawieurs at Mr Hensler		9	6
October	1808	15	Paid to Fossey String Maker	11	15	6
October	1808	15	Paid to Dederick Smith for String boxes	14	7	6
October	1808	15	Paid Mrs Horns house bills and book	15	16	
October	1808	15	Extra bills for Mr Erard	6	16	11½
October	1808	15	Paid to Coleman on account of his work	4		
October	1808	15	Paid to Reyly for Brown varnish	1	4	
October	1808	15	Paid to Burkinyoung for the repairing of a Stove	2	12	6
October	1808	15	Paid to the workmen as p book	38	13	6½
October	1808	17	Paid to Mrs Look	1	1	
October	1808	18	Paid to Madme Dufresnois for two harps no 1071 1112	25	4	
October	1808	19	Paid to Brown the Balance of his bill	1	10	
October	1808	19	for Steel to Barrett		4	6

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October	1808	19	to Mr A Greatorex for two Quarters Rate for the poor and Church Rate	9		
October	1808	21	Paid to Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	3	18	
October	1808	21	Paid the Carriage for wood of Mr Hansler		14	
October	1808	21	Paid the Carriage for wood of Mr Pygram		4	
October	1808	21	to John Mansfield for Commisons	5	17	6
October	1808	21	for Lacker and Eisenglass		11	6
October	1808	22	for Brown varnish	1	4	
October	1808	22	Paid a wine bill of F Wilcoks	1	7	
October	1808	22	to Freyer a bill for Claves	2	3	4
October	1808	22	for Steel		10	6
October	1808	22	Paid to the workmen and for Candel leiding	57	13	2
October	1808	22	Paid to Barrett as p bill	7	10	2
October	1808	22	to Tillier gilder	10		
October	1808	22	to Mr Erard	5		
October	1808	22	[Page total]	325	17	2
October	1808	22	[Running total to date]	16408	12	10
October	1808	22	for Steel		7	1½
October	1808	24	for Steel		19	9
October	1808	24	two bills for Glue	2	13	4
October	1808	24	for Brass and Steel		16	3
October	1808	24	to Mr Marier on his account	6	5	9
October	1808	24	[Running total to date]	16928	17	3½
October	1808	26	to Mrs Horns house bills and book	15	2	10½
October	1808	26	Extra bills for Mr Erard	6	14	5
October	1808	26	to Copple Meyer for Steel wire	19	15	
October	1808	26	to Mr Stephenson for Cast iron		6	3
October	1808	27	Paid to Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	5	11	
October	1808	29	to Reyly for varnish	1	4	
October	1808	29	four quires of Sand paper		5	
October	1808	29	to Mr Hitchins for 8 Skins	1	8	
October	1808	29	for Emery		1	
October	1808	29	to Mr Bourkingyoung for pipes & Stoves	1	9	
October	1808	29	Paid to the workmen as per book	40	7	1
October	1808	31	to Mr Desmond for 4 Months	50	8	
October	1808	31	Paid to Mrs Horns house bills and book	22	14	
October	1808	31	to Brown for work deliverd	10		
October	1808	31	to Mr Erard	5	5	
October	1808	31	to Mrs Reilly as alms	3		
November	1808	4	to Mr Davis for wood		4	
November	1808	4	to Mr Erard	6	6	
November	1808	4	to Johns for pencils for Mr Erard		5	
November	1808	4	Paid for Silverd wire		19	3
November	1808	4	to Mr Adolpho Engraver	2	4	
November	1808	4	to Freyer on acct of the Music Stands	1		
November	1808	4	for Wire and Metal		14	4
November	1808	5	Paid to the workmen as p book	44	15	8½
November	1808	5	Paid Mrs horns house bills and book	35	4	
November	1808	7	Paid Mr Sainsbury for Cast brass	16	8	
November	1808	7	to Sporling a wine bill	15	5	8
November	1808	7	to Mr Ferarrie for a noth payable at 4 Months			
November	1808	7	to Mr Allison the pallance of his bill	4	1	3
November	1808	7	advanced to Mr Allison for 12 Cases	25		
November	1808	7	[Page total]	347	1	3½

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November	1808	7	[Running total to date]	16797	13	1
November	1808	12	to Mr Tillier gilder for work deliverd	18	11	6
November	1808	12	to Bond for wire	1	16	
November	1808	12	Paid to Reyly for varnish	1	4	
November	1808	12	for a plane		4	
November	1808	12	Paid to the workmen as p book	44	9	6
November	1808	13	to Mr Erard	5		
November	1808	13	to Fossey the String Maker	14	4	
November	1808	13	Paid to Mrs Horns house bills and book	22	13	9½
November	1808	15	Paid for wire an Iron		12	3
November	1808	15	Paid to John Palmer Collector for tax	2		
November	1808	15	[Running total to date]	16928	12	7
November	1808	16	to Mrs Lacouse	3		
November	1808	16	for files and emmry to Mr Sainsbury		16	4
November	1808	19	to Lonsdale 3 bills for hosiery & baise	12	4	
November	1808	19	to Lydiatt for work deliverd	36	6	
November	1808	19	for Brown varnish	1	4	
November	1808	19	for 2 gallons of turpentine	2	14	
November	1808	19	to Burguinhon for lining a Case &	2	11	6
November	1808	19	Paid to Duff for Silverd Strings	2	18	
November	1808	19	to the workmen as per book	46	3	6
November	1808	19	Mrs Horns house bills and book	13	2	5½
November	1808	21	Paid to Chev Marin	25		
November	1808	21	for book holders for Music Stands		3	8
November	1808	21	to Sensbury for Steel	2	10	
November	1808	21	to John Philips for flattening wire	1	10	
November	1808	24	to Richd Barkes for Steel		5	3
November	1808	24	to Sensbury for Brass		3	4
November	1808	24	for the Carriage of wood		12	6
November	1808	24	to a timber Measurer		5	
November	1808	24	for Brown varnish	1	4	
November	1808	24	for files		4	2
November	1808	26	to Duff for Silverd Strings	5	11	
November	1808	26	for 2 bills for glue	2	10	4
November	1808	26	for Steel and Brass		5	8
November	1808	26	4 quires of Sand paper		5	
November	1808	26	Paid to the workmen as per book	49	13	2
November	1808	26	to Sainsbury for files		19	10
November	1808	26	to Mr Erard	5		
November	1808	26	Paid Mrs Horns house bills and book	22	19	1
November	1808	26	[Page total]	350	19	10
November	1808	26	[Running total to date]	17148	12	11
December	1808	1	Paid to Mr Erard	40		
December	1808	2	Paid to Mr Adolpho for harp plates	1	10	
November	1808	30	Paid to Mr Desain Mr Erards Taylor	11	14	
December	1808	2	to Fossey Stringe Maker	13	14	
December	1808	2	to Reyly for varnish	1	4	
December	1808	3	for fiels		10	10½
December	1808	3	for Brass and fiels		19	8
December	1808	3	Carriage for Mrs Barches harp form Scotland no 647	2	4	
December	1808	3	for Screws		8	
December	1808	3	Paid to the workmen as p. book	49	6	9½
December	1808	5	Paid to Mrs Comber for Carriage of wood		10	
December	1808	5	Paid Mrs horns house bills and book	27	13	

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December	1808	6	to Wm Hayworth for a turning Lathes	10		
December	1808	7	for fiels		8	6
December	1808	9	for Steel and other articles		6	8
December	1808	9	To Tillier the gilder	29	6	6
December	1808	9	to Mr Davis Sawyer on account	4		
December	1808	10	Paid to the workmen as p book	51	32	
December	1808	10	to Hankey for Brass pins and wire		16	10
December	1808	13	Paid to Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	3	18	
December	1808	13	Paid for Brass	1	18	4
December	1808	13	for flatening Steel		16	3
December	1808	14	Paid for [?feet] Claws for the Piano		7	6
December	1808	14	Paid for Metal wire		16	
December	1808	14	for do to to. G. astor	1	9	
December	1808	14	to Mr Wingfield attorney	10		
December	1808	14	Paid to Reyly for Brown and white varnish	1	10	
December	1808	15	Paid to John Dixon prinder	7	3	
December	1808	17	Paid Mr Tillier on account	2		
December	1808	17	to Mr Erard	2		
December	1808	17	Mrs Horns house bills and book	13	17	2
December	1808	17	Paid to the workmen as per book	48	16	
December	1808	17	Paid to Beyram for wood a bill of £42 one of £22.18.4 and Cash 15=11=8=	80	10	
December	1808	20	Paid to Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	3	12	
December	1808	3	3th December Paid to Axtor for air wood	57	19	4
December	1808	16	16th to Fossey String Maker	16	2	
December	1808	10	on the 10 December Paid Mrs Horns hous bills and book	10		10
December	1808	20	[Page total]	508	11	5
December	1808	20	[Running total to date]	17657	4	4
December	1808	22	to allison the Carpenter the palance	5	16	
December	1808	22	advanced to Mr Allison	25		
December	1808	24	to Mr Davis Sawyer on account	2		
December	1808	24	to Reyly for varnish	1	4	
December	1808	24	to Johns for work deliverd	12	17	4
December	1808	24	to Freyer on account of his work	15		
December	1808	24	to the workmen as per book	49	6	9
December	1808	24	for Coach hire to Kensington Palas & back		6	
December	1808	24	to Mrs Horns house bills and book	8	17	2½
December	1808	27	to Davis the Sawyer on account	4	1	
December	1808	27	for Steel wire		3	
December	1808	27	one Gross of Screws		1	11
December	1808	29	for Steel wire		1	6½
December	1808	29	for Steel wire		1	8
December	1808	30	for a Set of Steel letters for Marking brass		9	
December	1808	30	to Mr Scott for belly boards	19	3	
December	1808	30	to Duff for Silverd Strings	6	16	8
December	1808	31	for Dog & Sheepskins		13	6
December	1808	31	to Lydiatt as per bill	34	13	9
December	1808	31	to Mansfield for Messages	6	7	8
December	1808	31	to Fossey String Maker	9	17	6
December	1808	31	Carriage of a harp from Liverpool	1		
December	1808	31	Paid to the workmen as per book	45	17	7
December	1808	31	29 December for Steel wire		3	6½
December	1808	31	on the 6th October 1808 Paid to Mr Bond as per bill	1	13	2½
December	1808	31	2 July 1808 to Mr Sainsbury for Brass	8	3	

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December	1808	31	22 December to Sainsbury for Brass	2	15	6
December	1808	31	31 October 1807 to Sainsbury for Brass wire	1	8	1
December	1808	31	14 March 1808 to Sturck for 3 Stone ½ Iron wire	1	5	
December	1808	31	18 September to Sainsbury for Brass		1	2
December	1808	31	9 December 1807 2½ Dozn brass Corners and Gild Screws		18	3
December	1808	31	to Sainsbury for Cast Brass 9th September 1807		1	4
December	1808	31	to N Taylor Short Steel Single Plates 1 Stone wire	1	3	5
December	1808	31	19 September for a large Blading hamer		8	
December	1808	31	to Mr Barkes for Steel wire		3	
December	1808	31	10 December 1807 to Castling 12 Large button hinges		19	
December	1808	31	to Elvans for 6 gross of Screws		7	
December	1808	31	to Geo Knight for Steel letters		6	8
December	1808	31	to Mr Bond 1 Gross 2 In Screws		4	3
December	1808	31	14 December 1808 for Brass flattened		6	
December	1808	31	22 Novemer 1808 Iron wire flatted	1	10	
December	1808	31	19 July 1808 for Brass flatted	1		
December	1808	31	11 July 1808 Iron wire flatted		11	8
December	1808	31	3 March 1808 Iron wire flatted		1	18
December	1808	31	[Page total]	275	1	6
December	1808	31	[Running total to date]	17932	5	10
January	1809	2	2th January to Mrs Macnamara for no 1107	12	12	
January	1809	6	two bills for Glue	2	13	4
January	1809	6	to a Collecctor for the work house		7	
January	1809	6	Coach hire for 2 Journeys to Kingsington to the Prinsess		14	
January	1809	6	for belly boards to Mr Scott	19	12	
January	1809	6	to Lonsdale for green baize 2 bills	8	15	3
January	1809	6	for Brown varnish	1	4	
January	1809	6	to Sainsbury for fiels		17	10
January	1809	7	for Black ivory		9	7½
January	1809	7	for Steel wire		2	1½
January	1809	7	for a Red leather harp Cover	3	10	
January	1809	7	to Davis the Sawyer on account	4		
January	1809	7	for 4 large Skins		14	
January	1809	7	for one Set of Ivorie for the piano forte		12	
January	1809	7	to the workmen as per book	45	3	11
January	1809	7	Paid to Mrs Horns house bills and book	17	1	11
January	1809	10	to Mr Row for Stationery	11	4	4
January	1809	10	Paid a glasier and Plumbers bill	6	2	3
January	1809	10	Paid for one Gross of Screws		1	3
January	1809	10	to Sainsbury for Cast Brass	2	10	6
January	1809	10	Paid for 14 old hads to Marks	2	9	
January	1809	11	Paid a bill to Kluth		13	2½
January	1809	14	Paid to Mr Lacouse for a old french harp by Chek 287	12	12	
January	1809	14	for Brown varnish	1	4	
January	1809	14	for wine as per bill		16	6
January	1809	14	Paid for water Rent	1	15	
January	1809	14	to Mr Erard	15		
January	1809	14	to Mrs Horns house bills and book	8	1	5
January	1809	14	to the workmen as per book	47	7	
January	1809	14	to Sainsbury for Cast Brass		5	
January	1809	16	To Mr Philips for flattened wire	1		
January	1809	16	Carriage of a harp no 114		9	6
January	1809	16	a wine Marchants bill	15	5	
January	1809	17	to Duff for Silverd Strings	3	18	

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January	1809	17	[Page total]	248	2	11½
January	1809	17	[Running total to date]	18180	8	9½
January	1809	17	To Bond Iron Monger	13	2	
January	1809	17	to Mr Hill on the account of Horn	12	16	8
January	1809	17	To Fossey String Maker	8	19	
January	1809	17	to Mr Desmond on account	10		
January	1809	19	Paid the Expenses of wood of Davis belonging to Mr Erard	2	9	
January	1809	19	Paid to Wm Lonsdale for a [?Soffey]	15	15	
January	1809	19	Paid to Mr Thorp a bill for one year	113	5	5
January	1809	19	to Mr Burkhard Mr Erards Taylor	27	16	6
January	1809	20	Paid to Sainsbury for fiels		15	5
January	1809	20	Paid the Carriage for a harp no 114	1	4	
January	1809	21	Paid to Mr Adolpho	1	13	
January	1809	21	Paid for varnish	1	4	
January	1809	21	to Kluth a bill for Sundries		6	9
January	1809	21	to Kingson for Turning the will		8	6
January	1809	21	Paid to the workmen as per book	47	7	1
January	1809	21	Mrs Horns house bills and book	20	3	1
January	1809	23	Paid to Endey for Beech	5		
January	1809	23	for Mehogeny		12	10
January	1809	25	the Carriage of no 331		13	6
January	1809	26	to Mr Allison on account	8	8	
January	1809	26	Paid for Matts	1	10	6
January	1809	28	to Johns for work deliverd	7	18	4
January	1809	28	to Brown for work delived	11	10	
January	1809	28	to Mr Bamford for wood	6	4	11
January	1809	28	to Mr Tillier the Gilder	37	11	6
January	1809	28	to Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	9	9	
January	1809	28	to Reyly for varnish	1	4	
January	1809	28	to the Workmen as per book	41	5	4
January	1809	28	Mrs Horns hous bills and book	14	17	6
February	1809	2	Paid to Carroll for wire	2	1	
February	1809	2	Paid to Mrs horns house bills and book	14		4
February	1809	2	for Lacker		3	3
February	1809	2	Paid the Insurance for the year 1809	30	6	6
February	1809	2	to Sainsbury for Brass	3	10	
February	1809	2	to Barrett for		1	10
February	1809	2	Paid to Mr Virtue the return of his noth	28	19	
February	1809	2	[Page total]	502	12	9
February	1809	2	[Running total to date]	18683	1	6½
February	1809	2	Paid for varnish	1	5	
February	1809	2	for Brass		1	6
February	1809	3	to Carroll for wire	2	2	9
February	1809	3	to Mr Leeson no 23 Manchester Sqr for no 212	37	14	
February	1809	3	Paid to Mr Burginyoung for 3 Cases	5	19	6
February	1809	3	the Carriage for no 150		11	4
February	1809	4	Paid for Sand paper		5	
February	1809	4	to Mr Burkes for Brass	1	13	5
February	1809	4	for Windows and hous tax	28	12	4
February	1809	4	to Madme Letourneur for no 1097	12	12	
February	1809	4	to Colleman for work deliverd	9	4	
February	1809	4	to Fossey String Maker	10		9
February	1809	4	Paid to the workmen as per book	44	13	10
February	1809	6	to Mr Fraser on the account of Mr Erard	27	6	1

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February	1809	6	to Mr Newman Linen Draper for Mr Erard	22	8	
February	1809	6	to Mr Erards Shoe Maker	5	3	
February	1809	6	to Sainsbury for fiels and handles	1	7	1½
February	1809	6	Paid fror Sheet Brass	1	4	
February	1809	7	Paid to Mr Allison the palance of his bill		6	
February	1809	7	advanced to Mr Allison for the next Cases	25		
February	1809	7	Kluths bill		7	8
February	1809	7	Nespitts bill		1	8
February	1809	10	Paid to Mrs Horns house bills and book	10	19	7
February	1809	10	Paid for Eisinglas		14	
February	1809	10	on the 9 Feb to Mr Erard for S L	22	14	
February	1809	10	to Wm Morris Esq	25		
February	1809	10	to Mr Php Meyer for the harp no 1106 on account	10		
February	1809	11	Paid to Reyly for varnish	1	5	
February	1809	11	Paid for fiels		1	10½
February	1809	11	Paid the Cariage for a harp no		3	
February	1809	11	Paid to the workmen	45	16	7
February	1809	13	Paid for a Small Brush and on ePint of Lacker		7	6
February	1809	15	for Brown varnish	1	5	
February	1809	15	two bills for Glue of William Phillips	2	13	4
February	1809	15	to Sainsbury for Brass	10		7½
February	1809	15	to Richard Parks Ironmongers Cast Steel		3	4
February	1809	18	to James Bennett Ironmongers for Nozells and pans	3	12	
February	1809	18	Paid the Carriage for a harp no 254		11	6
February	1809	18	[Page total]	363	16	4
February	1809	18	[Running total to date]	19046	17	10½
February	1809	18	to Kluth for a bill delived for Musick Stand	9	1	
February	1809	18	to Lydiatt for work deliverd to 1167	31	1	
February	1809	18	to Lonsdale for Green Baize two bills	8	15	
February	1809	18	Paid to Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	7	4	
February	1809	18	Paid to Mr Reiter Extrea		10	6
February	1809	18	Paid to Mr Deacon for one Straw pullicass and one Stool	3	15	6
February	1809	18	Paid Mrs Horns house bills and book	18	3	
February	1809	18	Paid to the workmen as per book	52	18	2
February	1809	18	Paid to Mr Bicknell Carpenter for Skeylightframe	3	5	2
February	1809	20	Paid for 18 old hads to Marks at 3s 6d	3	3	
February	1809	20	Paid the Carriage for no 197 harp on hire 6 Months		12	
February	1809	22	to adolpho 8 Plates Engraving	1	4	
February	1809	22	to Mansfield for work done	9	2	
February	1809	22	to Reyly for varnish	1	5	
February	1809	22	to Fossey String Maker	11	8	6
February	1809	22	for 12 pensels		8	
February	1809	22	for Brass	3		8
February	1809	22	Paid for handles to Brown		8	
February	1809	22	Paid to Nespill for Kork	2		6
February	1809	22	for Steel		6	2½
February	1809	22	to Sainsbury for Brass	1	8	2
February	1809	25	to G Knight Ironmonger	23	10	9
February	1809	25	Carriage of Mrs Holdrings harp		7	
February	1809	25	Carriage of wood		8	6
February	1809	25	to Mr Stouton for a writing desk	15	15	
February	1809	25	to Mr Desmond	17	16	
February	1809	25	Carriage for no 109		13	
February	1809	25	for 2 flatting hamers		7	

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February	1809	25	Carriage of Coll Hammiltons harp no 1010		14	6
February	1809	25	to Knight Ironmonger	23	10	9
February	1809	25	to John for Sandpaper		3	9
February	1809	25	Paid to the workmen	51	18	11
February	1809	25	to Reilly for varnish	1	5	
February	1809	25	to Mr Erard	10		
February	1809	25	Coach hire for do		4	6
February	1809	25	Paid for do	1	1	
February	1809	25	[Page total]	307		½
February	1809	25	[Running total to date]	19353	17	11
February	1809	27	Paid Mrs Horns house bills and book	17	1	7
March	1809	1	Paid for Steel wire		7	4
March	1809	1	for varnish	1	5	
March	1809	1	to Mr Erard	5	5	
March	1809	1	to Mr Greatorer poor Rate	7	2	6
March	1809	1	Mrs Horns hous bills and book	11	3	1½
March	1809	2	Paid to Haas for Spierts of wine		5	
March	1809	2	for maen Springs		6	
March	1809	2	Paid the Carriage for wood		7	4
March	1809	2	to the Bristol Coper Compy Harfords	57	8	
March	1809	4	for Clening varnishing 4 Sets of forks	1	15	
March	1809	4	to Mr Barkes for Steel		17	7½
March	1809	4	for varnish	1	5	
March	1809	4	to Dity for a work bench	1	10	
March	1809	4	to the Workmen as per book	54	10	10
March	1809	4	for two Sets of Ivory for the Pianoforte	1	8	
March	1809	4	To Buckingham for Cords & Mats	3	8	6
March	1809	4	for Sawing & Carriage of wood		8	
March	1809	7	Paid to Miss Gilvory for premium of a french harp My Lloyd	1		
March	1809	7	Paid the Carriage for a Pianoforte Mr Bourdlain		6	
March	1809	9	Paid for 6 Ships Skins	1	1	
March	1809	9	Paid for Steils for tols and Steel	1	1	10
March	1809	9	to Mr Erard	1		
March	1809	11	Paid to Colleman for work deliverd	14	13	
March	1809	11	To Tillier the gilder	37	4	
March	1809	11	for varnish to Reyly	1	5	
March	1809	11	to Colleman for tols and Black wacks		4	6
March	1809	11	to Bond for tols		5	8
March	1809	11	to Mrs Horns house bills and book	11	15	9½
March	1809	11	to Hanke for Ivory		5	
March	1809	11	for Belle Pads to Dity	5	5	
March	1809	11	to the work men as per book	51	2	6
March	1809	13	Paid for a lin plate to Mr Alderson		4	
March	1809	13	[Page total]	292	7	1½
March	1809	13	[Running total to date]	19646	5	½
March	1809	15	to Mr Adopho for Engraving	1	14	
March	1809	15	to Duff for Silverd Strings	3	18	
March	1809	15	to Haas for Clening one Set of forks and Schleity		9	6
March	1809	15	Paid the Carriage fo a harp no 561 Mrs North		9	
March	1809	15	to Sainsbury for Brass	1	13	
March	1809	15	to Mrs Horns house bills and book	14	15	10
March	1809	15	to a footh man of Lady aboyee		7	
March	1809	15	to Lonsdale for green Baise	9	10	2
March	1809	15	to Mr Thurston for Belly boards	5	12	

Appendix 4: Erard

March	1809	18	Paid the Carriage for wood		7	
March	1809	18	advanced to Mr Allison	5		
March	1809	18	Paid to Haas for Clening one Set of forks and Scht		9	6
March	1809	18	Paid for Coach hire		3	6
March	1809	18	for varnish	1	5	
March	1809	18	for Steel wire and Leather		5	6
March	1809	18	for Springs	1	3	4
March	1809	18	to Mr Duff for Silverd Strings	4	9	
March	1809	18	Paid to the workmen as per book	52	19	4½
March	1809	20	Paid for Iron		2	4
March	1809	20	Paid the Carriage of Lady Aclands harp no 764		15	6
March	1809	21	for one pind Lacker		6	6
March	1809	21	to Mr Walmisby for no 1173	12	12	
March	1809	21	Paid Mrs Horns house bills and book	16	7	10
March	1809	22	Paid for wire		7	6
March	1809	22	Paid to Cadman on account	20		
March	1809	22	Paid for Coach hire		3	6
March	1809	22	to Sporling for a wine bill	10	12	
March	1809	23	to Fossey String Maker	8	2	6
March	1809	23	Paid for one lether to Mr Erard		10	6
March	1809	24	to Mr Erard in Cash. Patend deliverd	4		
March	1809	24	[Page total]	178	11	8½
March	1809	24	[Running total to date]	19824	16	9
March	1809	25	Paid to Mr Php Meyer the Palance of no 1166	3	6	6
March	1809	25	theCarraige for wood from Pegram		4	
March	1809	25	Paid for varnish	1	5	
March	1809	25	to Haas for Clenning forks and Stets		12	6
March	1809	25	Paid to the workmen	49		3½
March	1809	27	Paid to Mr Jones for no 1164	15		
March	1809	27	to Mr Jones	3	4	
March	1809	28	to John Mansfield	5	3	
March	1809	28	to Fossey String Maker	1		
March	1809	29	Paid to Mr Erard	2		
March	1809	29	for Brass wire		6	9
March	1809	29	to a foot Man drink Money Miss Pott		2	6
March	1809	31	to Mrs Dussek for no 1103	12	12	
March	1809	31	the Carriage of a harp no 678 Adml Cornwallis		19	
April	1809	1	to Duff for Silverd Strings	3	18	
April	1809	1	to Lydiatt as per bill	30	14	
April	1809	1	to Herdemaster for work deliverd	5	8	2
April	1809	1	to Reyly as per bill	13	10	6
April	1809	1	to P Reiter	4	8	6
April	1809	1	Paid to Mr Row as per bill	13	17	
April	1809	1	the Carriage of Mrs Broadhurst harp no		9	8
April	1809	1	to Mr White for Books for Mr Erard		7	6
April	1809	1	to Johns for Sand paper		5	
April	1809	1	Paid to the workmen	44	10	4
April	1809	1	Paid to Mrs Horns house bills and book	12	6	8
April	1809	3	to Mr Nicholson for Mr Erard	12	12	
April	1809	3	Paid to Reiter the palance of his bill		10	
April	1809	3	Paid for 3 Skins		10	6
April	1809	3	Paid to Mr Erard	1	1	
April	1809	5	Paid for Iron to Mr Barks	1	16	3½
April	1809	5	to a Porter		1	

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April	1809	5	the Carirage of no 951 Mrs Coles		19	
April	1809	5	Paid to Mr Erard in gold	21		
April	1809	5	Paid the Carriage for no 509		14	6
April	1809	6	3 bills for Glue	4		
April	1809	5	[Page total]	273	14	6
April	1809	5	[Running total to date]	20098	4	3
April	1809	6	Paid to the workhouse for Coals		2	6
April	1809	6	for Isinglas		14	
April	1809	6	two bills for varnish	2	10	
April	1809	8	for a Saw		15	
April	1809	8	Paid alms to a poor Man		2	
April	1809	8	Paid the Carriage for Steel wire		2	10
April	1809	8	to Mr Allison	27	1	5
April	1809	8	to Sainsbury for Steel	16	14	6
April	1809	8	to Kluth for work deliverd	24	7	9
April	1809	8	Paid to the workmen as per book	49	4	9½
April	1809	10	to Haas for Clening fork and Huts [?ie heads]		9	6
April	1809	11	Paid to Mr Cadman for Mr Erard	100		
April	1809	11	to Mr Wild house rent	65	17	10
April	1809	11	for Iron		3	10
April	1809	11	to Duff for Silverd Strings	3	18	
April	1809	14	Paid to Mr Duffield for Mr Erard	220	18	5
April	1809	14	Retournt to Miss Dale of a one hundred pound noth	15	7	
April	1809	14	to Adolpho for Plates	1	10	
April	1809	14	for Brass	1	16	9
April	1809	14	Paid Mrs Horns house bills and book	19	2	5
April	1809	14	Paid also Mrs Horns hous bills	17	2	7½
April	1809	15	for varnish	1	5	
April	1809	15	to Tillier the gilder	36	15	
April	1809	15	to Mr Adolpho for Plates [row crossed out]	1	10	
April	1809	15	Paid to the workmen	51	1	10½
April	1809	21	Paid to Mr Jeffery for no 1168 and Stringer and box	13	5	
April	1809	21	Paid to Sainsbury for Brass	3	7	9
April	1809	21	[Page total]	673	15	9½
April	1809	21	Total Expences of Mr Erards Manufactory from the 2th February 1807 to the 21th April 1809. as per Book bills and Receipts	20449	2	3
April	1809	21	Paid to Mr Recordon for a watch for Mr Erard	9	9	
April	1809	21	to Barrett for work deliverd	8	8	2
April	1809	21	for varnish for pictures		2	9
April	1809	22	Paid to the workmen as per book	49	3	6½
April	1809	22	to Fossey String Maker	10	8	
April	1809	22	for Steel wire		12	6
April	1809	22	for Mohagony wood	4	2	6
April	1809	22	paid the Carriage of do		11	
April	1809	22	Coach hire for Mr Erard		7	
April	1809	22	to Duff for Silverd Strings	6	3	
April	1809	29	to Haas for Clening forks and Heads		9	6
April	1809	29	for varnish	1	5	
April	1809	29	to Duff for Silverd Strings	4	19	
April	1809	29	for Sand paper		5	
April	1809	29	to Fossey String Maker	2	9	
April	1809	29	to workmen as per book	56	4	6
April	1809	29	to Mr Erard	5	5	

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May	1809	1	to Mr Kirkman for 145 belly board at 12 Each	87		
May	1809	2	Paid to Mr Row for Mr Erard	40		
May	1809	4	Paid to Mrs Horns house bills and book	11	2	7½
May	1809	4	Paid also Mrs Horns hous bills and book	10	15	
May	1809	5	Paid to a Man for Mofing the Coach	7		
May	1809	5	Paid alms to a Man	9		6
May	1809	5	Paid to Mrs Newland premium for no 392 Miss Little	3		
May	1809	6	paid for Ivory as per bill	2	14	9
May	1809	6	Paid to Mr Desmond	27	16	
May	1809	6	Paid to Mr Lydiatt as per bill & Red	23	14	
May	1809	6	the Carriage for Steel wire	4	8	
May	1809	6	for one pint Lacker	6		6
May	1809	6	for Char Coals	2		6
May	1809	6	to Phillips for wire flatted	1	5	
May	1809	6	Paid to the workmen as per book	52	8	4
May	1809	6	[Page total] has both £421..10..6 and £416 = 3			
May	1809	9	Paid the Carriage for a harp of Miss Taylor		11	
May	1809	9	Paid to Duff for Silverd Strings	6	3	
May	1809	9	8 May Paid to Mr Schram no 1150 1049	21	4	
May	1809	11	Paid Mrs Horns house bills and book	10	19	
May	1809	11	Paid to Madme Letourneur the palance of no 1153 . 1156 . 1142	2	8	9
May	1809	13	Paid to Haas for Clening forks & [?Heads]	9		6
May	1809	13	to Burkingyoung for Mending a Stove	5		
May	1809	13	Paid for varnish	1	5	
May	1809	13	for Coals and Matts	2		11
May	1809	13	to Brown as per bill	8	10	
May	1809	13	for 2 Dozen of Tuning keys	2	2	
May	1809	13	to Colleman as per bill	14	9	4
May	1809	13	to Mansfield for Comisons	10	16	10
May	1809	13	to Kluth as per bill for gold and [??ays]	?	2	
May	1809	13	Paid to the workmen as per book	41	13	5
May	1809	13	Paid to Mr Depond for drahing the Machiens	10		
May	1809	13	Paid the Carriage for Lady Arabelle Wards harp no 60	1	5	
May	1809	16	Paid to Mr Schucard for Taxes	116	2	4
May	1809	16	Paid to Sainsbury for Steel and Feils &	2	17	
May	1809	16	Paid to Fossey for Stringes	9	7	
May	1809	17	Paid for Iron	2		3
May	1809	17	Paid the to Mrs Miles for Mrs Shuldam a balance of £29=13 for a bill of £100 on account of no 1181	29	13	
May	1809	18	Paid to Davis for wood 3 bills	74	1	
May	1809	18	for 3 Skins		14	
May	1809	18	to Lonsdale for Green Baise	14	9	
May	1809	19	to Mr Erard to Gretesen	30		
May	1809	19	Paid 3 bills for Glue	4		
May	1809	20	Paid the Carriage for a harp from Edingburg		16	5
May	1809	20	to Mr Elonis for Musick to Stasoners Hall		5	
May	1809	20	Paid to the workmen	58	1	1
May	1809	20	[Page total]	474	17	10
May	1809	20	[Running total to date]	894	13	1
May	1809	26	to Mr Allison on account	3		
May	1809	26	to Collier for Carning one Eagel	2	5	
May	1809	26	to Buckingham for Matts	1	10	
May	1809	26	one pint of Laker		6	6
May	1809	26	for varnish	1	5	

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May	1809	26	for one Key		1	6
May	1809	26	to Pygram for Sawing wood	66	13	8
May	1809	26	to Tillier on account	10		
May	1809	26	for pies wakes [?piece of wax]		2	10
May	1809	26	to Mrs Horns house bills and book	16	6	6
May	1809	27	to the workmen as per book	46	12	4
May	1809	27	Alms to a Poor man		2	6
May	1809	27	to Madme Dussek for no Miss Russells harp	12	12	
May	1809	27	for Silverd Strings	4	9	
May	1809	27	for a Glue pott		15	8
May	1809	27	for a [?Gleun Stone]		4	8
May	1809	27	to Haas for Clining forks and [?Sturts or Heads]		9	6
June	1809	2	Paid for Two Stamps for Mr Erard	1	1	
June	1809	3	Paid to the watch Man		3	
June	1809	3	for Books Skins	1	4	
June	1809	3	to Tillier on account	20		
June	1809	3	to Mr Erard	12		
June	1809	3	to Sainsbury for Brass	4	8	
June	1809	3	to Lydiatt for work deliverd	26	10	
June	1809	3	to Brown for work deliverd	10	5	
June	1809	3	to Duff for Silverd Strings	4	7	
June	1809	3	for two wood Screws		4	
June	1809	3	for Beech wood		18	
June	1809	3	to the workmen as per book	52	13	2
June	1809	3	[Page total]	300	17	8
June	1809	3	[Running total to date]	1190	19	11
June	1809	6	Paid for Brass		7	
June	1809	6	for fiels		2	10
June	1809	8	Paid the Carriage for Mrs Hooks harp		9	6
June	1809	8	for a Glue pott		15	6
June	1809	9	to Allison Carpenter for Packing Cases	30	4	
June	1809	9	to Fossey String Maker	19	5	6
June	1809	10	to Mansfield	5	11	6
June	1809	10	to Kluth for Musick Stands	8	18	
June	1809	10	to Tillier Gilder on account	10		
June	1809	10	to Thomas Wilkinson Esq for Lay Anne Windhm	33	6	
June	1809	10	to Dockio for work deliverd	10	3	6
June	1809	10	to Carroll for work deliverd	15	11	5
June	1809	10	Paid to the workmen as per book	47	5	5
June	1809	10	Paid to Collier for Carving one Eagel for no 1201	2		
June	1809	10	Paid for varnish	1	5	
June	1809	10	Paid for Iron		3	6
June	1809	10	Paid to Mrs Horns house bills and book	13	1	5½
June	1809	10	[to the workmen as per book] line crossed out	47	5	5
June	1809	13	Paid to a porter for a harp Case of Lady Courteny		2	
June	1809	14	Paid Mrs Horns house bills and book	12	3	6
June	1809	15	to Duff for Silverd Strings	5	11	
June	1809	15	to Fossey String Maker	3	19	
June	1809	15	to a Poor women		1	
June	1809	15	[Page total]	220	6	7½
June	1809	15	[Running total to date]	1410	16	6½
June	1809	15	[Final total: Paid]	21843	18	1

Appendix 5: Sun Fire Office Insurance Policy Data, LMA ex Lgl Ms 11936

Name	Policy date	Reference	Occupation description	Reference occupation (known)	Address	Total value
Addison, Robert	1767, Oct 23	11936/178/68, 249981	Cabinet maker organ builder & upholder	Organ builder	Hanover Street	300
Aire, John	1773, Nov 13	11936/226/?, 332729	Organ builder	Organ builder	Angel Court	200
Astor, George	1779, Jul 9	11936/276/74, 415975	Musical-instrument maker	Piano maker	Holywell Street	100
Auge, Peter	1778, Mar 23	11936/264/183, 396385	Musical-instrument maker	Stringed	Porter Street	300
Bachhop, Johan George	1778, Sep 22	11936/269/66, 402872	Musical-instrument maker and cabinet maker	Musical-instrument maker	Holborn	200
Backers, Americus	1766, Jul 31	11936/168/565, 235790	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Jermyn Street	400
Barnes, Robert, & John Norris	1772, Jan 11	11936/213/145, 307601	Musical-instrument makers	Violin maker	Windmill Street	500
Barton, George	1773, Nov 18	11936/227/?, 332975	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Witch Street	?
Baxter, William	1769, Nov 17	11936/194/22, 277457	Organ builder	Organ builder	Leadenhall Street	100
Baxter, William	1773, Sep 24	11936/224/?, 330188	Organ builder	Organ builder	Wardour Street	400
Baxter, William	1771, Jan 9	11936/202/507, 293096	Organ builder	Organ builder	Lime Street	200
Beck, Arnold Frederick	1763, Aug 2	11936/148/438, 201685	Cabinet & musical-instrument maker	Piano maker	Glassonbury Court	200
Beck, Arnold Frederick	1767, Sep 17	11936/177/458, 248579	Musical instrument & cabinet maker	Piano maker	Broad Street	300
Beck, Arnold Frederick	1771, Aug 29	11936/208/140, 301057	Musical-instrument maker	Piano maker	Broad Street	600
Beck, Arnold Frederick	1775, Aug 5	11936/240/356, 357037	Musical-instrument maker	Piano maker	Broad Street	1000
Beckman, Nicholas	1775, 5 Oct	11936/243/251, 360046	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Little Russell Street	300
Beloudy, Anthony	1769, Dec 8	11936/194/184, 278200	Organ builder	Organ builder	Coachmakers Yard	400
Beloudy, Joseph	1775, Jan 28	11936/236/230, 349448	Organ builder	Organ builder	Coachmakers Yard	500
Beyer, Adam & Lawrence	1768, Mar 3	11936/180/324, 254641	Organ builder	Organ builder	Compton Street	700
Bride, Richard	1765, Jul 29	11936/163/131, 222833	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind maker	Burleigh Street	600
Bride, Richard	1770, Jun 14	11936/199/173, 285473	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind maker	Burleigh Street	800

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Broadhurst, William	1767, Feb 16	11936/173/562, 242668	Cabinetmaker, organ builder & chandler	Organ builder	Church Lane	100
Broadwood, John	1779, Jul 15	11936/277/125	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord & piano maker	Great Pulteney Street	1600
Broadwood, John	1779, Dec 24	11936/279/579	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord & piano maker	Great Pulteney Street	1900
Buchhop, Johan George	1778, Sep 22	11936/269/66, 402872	Musical-instrument maker and cabinet maker	Musical-instrument maker	Red Lion Street	100
Buckinger, Joseph	1774, Sep 30	11936/232/?, 344370	Musical-instrument maker	Piano maker	Little Newport Street	200
Buntebart, Gabriel	1765, Jun 24	11936/161/413, 221073	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord & piano maker	Little St Andrews Street	200
Buntebart, Gabriel	1766, Oct 14	11936/170/400, 238368	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord & piano maker	Brownlow Street	300
Buntebart, Gabriel	1771, Dec 17	11936/210/404	Piano forte maker	Harpsichord & piano maker	Princes Street	200
Buntebart, Gabriel & Christopher Seavers	1778, Oct 13	11936/268/284, 403828	Musical-instrument makers	Harpsichord & piano maker	Hanover Street	1900
Burkard, Christian	1771, Aug 29	11936/206/635, 300399	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Swallow Street	400
Byfield, John jnr	1768, Jun 1	11936/183/207, 257564	Organ builder	Organ builder	Red Lion Street	1000
Byfield, John jnr	1777, Jun 11	11936/257/588	Organ builder	Organ bulider	Red Lion Street	200
Byfield, John jnr	1779, Dec 20	11936/279/567, 422128	Organ builder	Organ builder	Chads Row	200
Carr, Benjamin	1773, Sep 1	11936/225/?, 329532	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Old Round Court	400
Carr, Benjamin	1775, Feb 25	11936/236/363, 350000	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Old Round Court	700
Chapman, William	1776, Jan 13	11936/244/338, 363906	Bell founder	Bell founder	Fieldgate	200
Coates, John	1765, May 21	11936/160/-, 219619	Organ builder	Organ builder	Hog in Armour Court	100
Collier, Thomas	1772, Mar 16	11936/214/169, 311212	Flute maker	Woodwind maker	Chandos Street	200
Collier, Thomas	1779, Jun 19	11936/274/460, 414774	Flute maker	Woodwind maker	Chandos Street	300
Cornmell, William	1769, Oct 9	11936/193/325, 275708	Organ builder	Organ builder	Windmill Street	200
Cornmell, William	1774, Sep 9	11936/233/?, 343822	Organ builder	Organ builder	Windmill Street	200
Cotton, Robert	1776, Jan 6	11936/244/287, 363567	Flute maker	Woodwind maker	Bride Lane	300

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Cox, John	1761, Apr 3	11936/136/273, 181632	Musical- instrument maker	Musical- instrument maker	Sweeting Alley	200
Crang, John	1761, Feb 6	11936/137/9, 180620	Organ builder	Organ builder	Wych Street	1000
Crang, John	1764, Aug 14	11936/155/428, 211500	Organ builder	Organ builder	Wych Street	1500
Crang, John	1769, Sep 20	11936/192/115, 274336	Organ builder	Organ builder	White Lyon	600
Crang, Thomas	1771, Oct 14	11936/209/637	Organ builder	Organ builder	Wych Street	150
Crole, Charles	1774, Apr 4	11936/231/?, 338423	Organ builder	Organ builder	Wells Street	500
Culliford, Thomas	1779, Oct 7	11936/277/638, 419266	Musical- instrument maker	Harpsichord & piano maker	Fountain Court	500
Culliford, Thomas & Wallutt, Joseph	1775, Sep 20	11936/241/582, 358460	Musical- instrument maker	Harpsichord & piano maker	Red Lion Court	300
Darvill, Edward	1777, Oct 13	11936/260/191, 389709	Silversmith, organ builder & clock maker	Organ builder	Watling Street	800
Davis, Edward	1772, Dec 26	11936/218/478, 319940	Organ builder & toy man	Organ builder	Pall Mall	700
Davis, James & Joseph Collier	1768, Jun 1	11936/183/212, 257580	Musical- instrument maker	Organ builder	Fish Street Hill	?
Davis, William	1775, Sep 13	11936/240/535, 358116	Organ builder & clock maker	Organ builder	High Holborn	200
Davy, William	1772, Dec 26	11936/219/390, 319694	Organ builder	Organ builder	Catherine Street	100
Davy, William	1774, Jun 21	11936/231/?, 340785	Organ builder	Organ builder	Crown Court	200
Dickson, John	1776, Jul 1	11936/248/429, 370972	Musical- instrument maker	Musical- instrument maker	Wells Street	300
Dodds, Thomas	1777, Oct 13	11936/216/370, 390454	Cabinet maker and organ builder	Organ builder	Stephen Street	400
Downing, George	1771, Apr 3	11936/205/418, 295987	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Shirrad Street	700
Duke, Richard jnr	1767, Oct 14	11936/178/80, 250010	Musical- instrument maker	Violin maker	Catherine Street	300
Duke, Richard jnr	1777, Oct 17	11936/260/259, 390084	Musical- instrument maker	Violin maker	Great Ormond Street	800
England, George & John	1777, Dec 31	11936/211/?, 306234	Organ builder	Organ builder	Aylesbury Street	1000
England, John	1778, Oct 15	11936/269/317, 404102	Organ builder	Organ builder	Theobalds Road	200
England, John & Hugh Russell	1773, Oct 9	11936/226/?, 331172	Organ builder	Organ builder	Theobalds Road	400
Engman, Eric	1769, Oct 16	11936/192/463, 276165	Organ builder	Organ builder	Crown Street	300

Appendix 5: Sun Fire Insurance

Evans, Peter	1775, Aug 19	11936/240/379, 357100	Musical- instrument maker	Musical- instrument maker	Tottenham Court Road	500
Evans, Peter	1775, Oct 23	11936/243/528, 361352	Musical- instrument maker	Musical- instrument maker	High Holborn	700
Flight, Benjamin & William	1764, Jul 18	11936/155/381, 211186	Cabinet makers	Organ builder	Exeter Street	400
Flight, Benjamin & William	1773, Jan 9	11936/221/98, 321674	Cabinet makers and organ builders	Organ builder	Exeter Street	1600
Flight, Benjamin & William	1776, Jan 6	11936/245/440, 364490	Organ builders & shagreen case makers	Organ builder	Exeter Street	2200
Flight, Benjamin & William	1778, Jan 5	11936/263/319, 393917	Organ builder	Organ builder	Exeter Street	2700
Flight, Benjamin & William	1768, Jul 2	11936/182/448, 258526	Case & cabinet makers	Organ builder	Exeter Change	500
Ford, Jacob	1775, May 24	11936/238/389, 353951	Musical- instrument maker	Musical- instrument maker	Berkley Street	200
Forster, William	1767, May 13	11936/168/168, 233663	Musical- instrument maker	Violin maker	New Street	100
Forster, William	1773, Jul 7	11936/224/?, 327896	Musical- instrument maker	Violin maker	Dukes Court	500
Forster, William	1776, Jul 20	11936/249/594, 371877	Musical- instrument maker	Violin maker	Dukes Court	600
Fournier, Adam	1771, Nov 6	11936/210/188, 304350	Organ builder	Organ builder	Mercer Street	300
Fournier, Adam	1777, Feb 12	11936/254/344, 380093`	Organ builder	Organ builder	High Holborn	300
Frecker, William	1779, Jan 20	11936/272/64, 409377	Piano maker	piano maker	Jermyn Street	400
Ganer, Christopher	1774, Sep 30	11936/232/?, 344371	Piano forte maker and ?	piano maker		500
Ganer, Christopher	1775, Oct 13	11936/242/369, 360650	Piano forte maker & Inlayer	Piano maker	Broad Street	1100
Garbutt, Thomas	1767, Feb 3	11936/172/552, 242463	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Russell Court	200
Garbutt, Thomas	1770, Feb 10	11936/196/20, 280855	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	King Street	200
Gates, John	1762, Apr 22	11936/141/455, 189149	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Swallow Street	200
Gedney, Caleb	1763, Oct 4	11936/151/6, 203014	Musical- instrument maker	Woodwind maker	Fleet Street	600
Gillespy, Samuel	1765, Nov 26	11936/164/407, 227670	Organ builder	Organ builder, harpsichord maker	Duke Street	200
Gillespy, Samuel	1768, Sep 17	11936/184/305, 261290	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Brownlow Street	500
Godfrey, George	1779, Apr 1	11936/275/88, 413019	Organ builder	Organ builder	Strand	600

Appendix 5: Sun Fire Insurance

Godfry, George	1769, Mar 30	11936/189/274	Organ builder	Organ builder	White Hart Yard, Catherine Street	400
Goldsworth, John	1778, Feb 9	11936/262/547, 394949	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Falcons Court	200
Grassi, Florio	1778, Jan 22	11936/263/467, 394719	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind maker	Goodge Street	500
Gray, Robert	1772, Dec 17	11936/218/401, 319520	Organ builder	Organ builder	Leigh Street	500
Green, Samuel	1762, Jun 14	11936/141/628, 189977	Organ builder	Organ builder	Broad Sanctuary	200
Green, Samuel	1763, Jun 28	11936/148/100, 200041	Organ builder	Organ builder	Grays Inn Lane	400
Green, Samuel	1769, Jun 30	11936/191/215, 271381	Organ builder	Organ builder	Theobalds Row	400
Green, Samuel	1773, Jul 12	11936/225/?, 328100	Organ builder	Organ builder	Red Lion Street	1000
Green, Samuel	1778, Feb 19	11936/263/642, 395468	Organ builder	Organ builder	Queens Row	1300
Griffin, George	1771, Jun 26	11936/207/270, 298796	Organ builder	Organ builder	Bakers Buildings	300
Hale, John	1771, Oct 5	11936/209/354, 302381	Flute maker	Woodwind maker	May's Buildings, near	100
Hancock, James	1773, Dec 1	11936/226/485, 333475	Organ builder	Organ builder	Wych Street	100
Hancock, James	1775, Nov 20	11936/243/574, 351680	Organ builder	Organ builder	Wych Street	200
Hancock, John & James	1771, Oct 12	11936/209/631, 303574	Organ builder	Organ builder	Wych Street	800
Hancock, John Crang	1773, Dec 1	11936/226/486, 333476	Organ builder	Organ builder & harpsichord maker	Wych Street	200
Hancock, John Crang	1777, May 3	11936/257/357, 383853	Harpsichord maker	Organ builder & harpsichord maker	Tavistock Street	700
Hancock, John Crang & James	1774, Sep 16	11936/233/?, 343851	Organ builders	Organ builder	Wych Street	1400
Harris, Baker	1760, Apr 2	11936/131/605, 174583	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	High Street	200
Harris, Baker	1771, Jul 13	11936/206/604, 300306	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Great Russell Street	1000
Hayman, Christopher	1764, Jun 9	11936/155/72, 209588	Carpenter & organ builder	Organ builder	Eagle Court	200
Hilberg, William	1768, Sep 23	11936/185/281, 261440	Harpsichord & Piano Forte Maker	Harpsichord & piano maker	St Ann's Court	400
Hill, Joseph	1763, Jan 24	11936/144/555, 196111	Music Shop	Violin maker	Haymarket	300
Hill, Joseph	1773, Jul 22	11936/224/?, 328639	Musical-instrument maker	Violin maker	Alvery Farm Row	200
Hill, William	1772, Jul 13	11936/217/76, 314601	Musical-instrument maker	Violin maker	Poland Street	200

Appendix 5: Sun Fire Insurance

Hintz, Frederick	1764, Mar 12	11936/152/305, 207372	Musical-instrument maker	Guittar maker	Fridays Court	500
Hintz, Frederick	1765, Aug 24	11936/162/346, 223574	Musical-instrument maker	Guittar maker	Newport Street	1500
Hintz, Frederick	1769, Oct 11	11936/193/340, 275750	Musical-instrument maker	Guittar maker	Newport Street	600
Hitchcock, John	1771, Dec 31	11936/211/?, 306244	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Fetter Lane	1000
Hogg, Thomas	1773, Sep 22	11936/224/?, 330164	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Noel Street	?
Holland, Henry	1779, Sep 25	11936/277/531, 418688	Organ builder	Organ builder	Brownlow Street	700
Hornbuckle, William	1766, Mar 28	11936/167/415, 231692	Organ builder	Organ builder	Eagle Court	300
James, Thomas	1764, Mar 8	11936/153/227, 207186	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	King Street	200
Jones, James	1767, Oct 17	11936/178/56, 249949	Organ builder	Organ builder	Hyde Street	300
Jones, James	1771, Oct 25	11936/210/159, 304073	Organ builder	Organ builder	Hyde Street	1000
Jones, James	1772, Oct 16	11936/218/72, 317598	Organ builder	Organ builder	Stephen Street	1000
Jones, James	1775, Oct 13	11936/242/367, 360646	Organ builder	Organ builder	Stephen Street	700
Jones, James	1768, Feb 12	11936/181/202, 254128	Organ builder	Organ builder	Hyde Street	700
Kirkman, Abraham	1762, Apr 9	11936/140/437, 188976	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Great Poultney Street	300
Kirkman, Abraham	1778, Dec 18	11936/271/199, 406826	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Broad Street	1000
Kirkman, Jacob	1762, Mar 31	11936/140/331, 188500	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Broad Street	500
Kirkman, Jacob	1769, May 22	11936/188/635, 269960	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Broad Street	600
Kirkman, Jacob	1772, Oct 2	11936/216/519, 316577	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Broad Street	500
Kirkman, Jacob	1772, Oct 2	11936/216/519, 316578	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Broad Street	600
Kirkman, Jacob	1772, Oct 2	11936/216/519, 316579	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Broad Street	1200
Kirkman, Jacob	1777, Jun 28	11936/258/157, 386001	Gent	Harpsichord maker	Blackheath	600
Kirkman, Jacob	1777, Jun 28	11936/258/157, 386003	Gent	Harpsichord maker	Blackheath	500
Kirkman, Jacob	1778, Dec 25	11936/271/218, 406877	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Broad Sreet	500
Kirkman, Jacob	1779, Apr 8	11936/275/109, 413077	Esq	Harpsichord maker	Broad Street	400
Kirkman, Jacob & Abraham	1772, Jul 30	11936/216/171, 314859	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Broad Street	1000

Appendix 5: Sun Fire Insurance

Kuster, Henry	1769, Jun 12	11936/189/647, 270199	Flute maker	Woodwind maker	Stanhope Street	200
Langshaw, John	1767, Dec 14	11936/179/388, 251726	Organ builder	Organ builder	Angel Court	400
Langshaw, William	1771, Jan 11	11936/202/518, 293218	Organ builder	Organ builder	Angel Court	1200
Lark, George	1761, Mar 4	11936/137/78, 180796	Organ builder	Organ builder	Great May's Buildings	300
Leffley, Adam	1774, Sep 27	11936/232/?, 344453	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Leicester Fields	?
Lewer, James	1764, Jul 11	11936/155/233, 210619	Musical-instrument maker and dealer in toys	Musical-instrument maker	Little Moorgate	1000
Lincoln, John jnr	1776, May 6	11936/246/621, 368726	Organ builder	Organ builder	Church Lane	200
Luther John Christian	1776, Oct 28	11936/252/147, 375958	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Welbeck Street	700
Lyneham, James	1762, Jul 5	11936/143/100, 190752	Organ builder	Organ builder	Berwick Street	200
Lyneham, James	1770, Jun 18	11936/199/225, 285806	Organ builder	Organ builder	Berwick Street	400
Mahoon, Joseph	1771, Feb 16	11936/205/95, 294550	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Barlow Street	500
Marshall, John	1766, Aug 20	11936/170//48, 236534	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Windmill Street	300
Martin, Adam	1775, Nov 8	11936/243/449, 360936	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Lower East Smithfield	300
Meyer, Peter	1774, Nov 14	11936/235/200, 346071	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Silver Street	100
Meyers, Christian Henry	1778, Sep 21	11936/269/43, 402812	Cabinet & musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Wardour Street	100
Miller, George	1765, Aug 20	11936/162/339, 223554	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind maker	Princes Street	300
Miller, George	1776, Oct 15	11936/252/53, 375525	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind	Princes Street	600
Muraeus, Henry John	1760, Jan 12	11936/131/238, 173162	Flute maker	Woodwind maker	Brown Street	500
Muraeus, Henry John	1764, Mar 26	11936/152/385, 207761	Flute maker	Woodwind maker	Warwick Street	500
Nash, David	1770, May 3	11936/196/568, 283879	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Monmouth Street	200
Neubauer, Frederick	1767, Dec 12	11936/179/386, 251720	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Church Street	400
Newton, Thomas	1764, Jun 1	11936/154/66, 209375	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Southampton Street	600
Norborn, John	1774, Dec 27	11936/235/566, 347771	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Fox Court	100

Appendix 5: Sun Fire Insurance

Northam, Isaac	1769, Oct 19	11936/193/388, 275988	Clock and watch maker and organ builder	Organ builder	See Street	600
Oakman, William	1764, Feb 21	11936/153/170, 207039	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Hare Street	200
Oehme, John Philip	1765, Oct 14	11936/163/639, 225372	Organ builder	Organ builder	Litchfield Street	200
Oelschlager, Christopher	1773, Nov 1	11936/226/?, 332321	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Fetter Lane	200
Pack, Thomas	1767, Oct 24	11936/179/116, 250403	Bell founder	Bell founder	Fieldgate	200
Pfaff, George	1766, Oct 24	11936/171/433	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Leicester Street	200
Pfaff, George	1776, Oct 18	11936/252/69, 375570	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Margaret Street	200
Pinto, Charles	1778, Apr 8	11936/264/312, 397154	Musical-instrument maker	Guittar maker	Johnsons Court	500
Pistor, Edward snr	1761, Feb 17	11936/137/68, 180771	Organ clock and watchmaker	Organ builder	Leadenhall Street	500
Pistor, Edward snr	1769, Dec 15	11936/195/209, 278568	Watch & clockmaker & organ builder	Organ builder	Strand	600
Pistor, Edward snr	1770, Apr 7	11936/197/417, 283278	Clock and watch maker and organ builder	Organ builder	Leadenhall Street	600
Pistor, Edward snr	1770, Dec 6	11936/203/169, 291902	Organ builder	Organ builder	Leadenhall Street	300
Plenius, John	1765, Mar 5	11936/158/361, 217291	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Catherine Street	300
Pockley, James	1765, Jan 28	11936/159/153, 216375	Harpsichord maker & printer	Harpsichord maker	Berwick Street	100
Pockley, James	1765, Mar 25	11936/158/504, 218061	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Berwick Street	100
Pockley, James	1766, Apr 8	11936/167/553, 232379	Harpsichord maker & printer	Harpsichord maker	Berwick Street	200
Pohlman, John	1768, Mar 3	11936/180/325, 254642	Harpsichord & Piano Forte Maker	Harpsichord & piano maker	Compton Street	200
Pohlman, John	1769, Nov 1	11936/193/535, 276789	Harpsichord & Piano Forte Maker	Harpsichord & piano maker	Frith Street	500
Pohlman, John	1777, Feb 13	11936/255/375, 380504	Piano forte maker	Piano maker	Great Russell Street	600
Pohlman, John	1777, Mar 24	11936/254/634, 381646	Harpsichord & Piano Forte Maker	Piano maker	Great Russell Street	700
Potter, Richard	1762, Jan 18	11936/140/105, 187309	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind maker	Pemberton Row	300
Preston, John	1761, May 4	11936/137/386, 182380	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind maker	Banbury Court	200
Preston, John	1766, Apr 9	11936/167/558, 232393	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind maker	Banbury Court	400

Appendix 5: Sun Fire Insurance

Preston, John	1772, Jul 20	11936/217/92, 314649	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind maker	Banbury Court	600
Preston, John	1775, Apr 6	11936/238/312, 353337	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind maker	Strand	1000
Preston, John	1776, Sep 2	11936/250/?, 372932	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind maker	Strand	400
Preston, John	1779, Jun 24	11936/274/554-5, 415316	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind maker	Strand	1000
Pybus, John & Jacob Kikrman	1772, Oct 2	11936/216/520	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	York Sreet & Queen Ann Street & Broad Street	300
Pyke, George	1760, Dec 31	11936/135/463, 179595	Organ builder & clock maker	Organ builder	Vauxhall	1500
Pyke, George	1762, Oct 1	11936/143/434, 192834	Watchmaker & organ builder	Organ builder	Bedford Row	2000
Pyke, George	1767, Jan 21	11936/173/448, 241981	Watchmaker & organ builder	Organ builder	Bedford Row	1800
Rauche, Michael	1763, Sep 24	11936/149/523, 202292	Music warehouse man	Guittar maker	Chandos Street	500
Reiter, James	1768, Mar 16	11936/180/396, 255020	Organ builder	Organ builder	Wells Street	400
Reiter, James	1771, Mar 23	11936/204/385, 295695	Organ builder	Organ builder	Castle Street	700
Repuke, Henry	1769, Dec 8	11936/194/184, 278199	Organ builder	Organ builder	Coachmakers Yard	200
Rock, William	1765, Apr 1	11936/159/494, 218256	Victualler & harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Bridge Street	500
Rock, William	1769, Oct 17	11936/192/465, 276170	Toyman & harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Parliament Street	900
Rodenbostel, George Henry	1764, Sep 15	11936/154/565, 212059	French horn maker	Brasswind maker	Piccadilly	400
Rodenbostel, George Henry	1768, Mar 2	11936//180/322, 254636	French horn maker	Brasswind maker	Piccadilly	600
Rodenbostel, George Henry	1770, May 24	11936/199/79, 285012	Toyman & french horn maker	Brasswind maker	Piccadilly	1000
Rostrand, Edward	1764, Mar 10	11936/152/302, 207365	Organ builder	Organ builder	Orange Street	300
Rutherford, David	1760, Mar 19	11936//130/601, 174287	Musical-instrument maker & music seller	Musical-instrument maker	St Martin's Court	800
Rutherford, David	1766, Mar 17	11936/167/390, 231626	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	St Martin's Court	1200
Rutherford, John	1771, Jul 5	11936/206/529, 299938	Musical-instrument maker & music seller	Musical-instrument maker	St Martin's Court	900
Saderbloom, Peter & William Hilberg	1773, Sep 29	11936/224/?, 330637	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	St Ann's Court	1300

Appendix 5: Sun Fire Insurance

Scouler, James	1760, Jun 30	11936/132/403, 176479	Musical-instrument maker	Harpsichord maker	Dukes Court	500
Scouler, James snr	1771, Nov 19	11936/210/265, 304740	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Great Newport Street	300
Seavers, Christopher	1778, Jan 6	11936/263/326, 393935	Musical-instrument maker	Piano maker	Silver Street	100
Shaw, Robert	1772, Dec 18	11936/219/365, 319624	Musician & Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Strand	300
Shaw, William	1775, Oct 11	11936/242/362, 360629	Brazier & French horn maker	Brasswind maker	Chapel Street	600
Shudi, Joshua	1766, Jun 6	11936/169/190, 233948	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Silver Street	500
Shudi, Mary	1779, Nov 2	11936/278/336, 420744	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Berwick Street	600
Simpson, James Crutcher	1764, Dec 7	11936/157/457, 214790	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Swithins Alley	500
Simpson, James Crutcher	1766, Jan 6	11936/167/167, 229470	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Swithins Alley	1000
Simpson, James Crutcher & John	1769, Aug 26	11936/167/191, 273496	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Swithins Alley	1000
Simpson, James Crutcher & John Simpson	1776, Nov 28	11936/252/360, 376897	Musical-instrument makers	Stringed +	Swithins Alley	1000
Smart, George	1774, May 17	11936/231/?, 339857	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind maker	Mill Street	200
Smart, George	1774, Sep 30	11936/232/?, 344361	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind maker	Oxford Street	?
Smith, John Philip	1775, Oct 23	11936/243/532, 361364	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Silver Street	300
Smith, John Philip	1778, Dec 8	11936/270/135, 406275	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Great Pulteney Street	700
Smith, Thomas	1763, Mar 28	11936/146/?, 197672	Musical-instrument maker	Violin maker	Piccadilly	200
Smith, Thomas	1764, Feb 28	11936/152/241, 207000	Musical-instrument maker	Violin maker	Piccadilly	600
Smith, Thomas	1773, Jul 22	11936/224/?, 327871	Musical-instrument maker	Violin maker	Piccadilly	500
Smith, Thomas	1773, Oct 15	11936/227/?, 332232	Musical-instrument maker	Violin maker	Piccadilly	300
Smith, Thomas	1774, Jul 21	11936/233/?, 342585	Musical-instrument maker	Violin maker	Piccadilly	200
Smith, Thomas	1776, Jun 26	11936/249/?, 370293	Musical-instrument maker	Violin maker	Piccadilly	300
Smith, Thomas	1778, Sep 23	11936/268/86, 402727	Musical-instrument maker	Violin maker	High Street	400

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Smith, Thomas	1779, Sep 30	11936/277/495, 418491	Musical-instrument maker	Violin maker	High Street	300
Smith, Thomas & Sir Richard Sutton	1775, Dec 12	11936/244/54, 362255	Musical-instrument maker	Violin maker	Piccadilly	700
Snetzler, John	1763, Oct 27	11936/150/189, 203688	Organ builder	Organ builder	Hanover Yard	800
Spiegelberg, Jacob	1771, Mar 28	11936/204/400, 295936	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	St Ann's Court	300
Spiegelberg, Jacob	1772, Oct 2	11936/216/517, 316574	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Oxford Street	600
Stahlberg, Ephraim	1770, Aug 10	11936/198/609, 287494	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Chandos Street	200
Stahlberg, Ephraim	1774, Oct 4	11936/232/?, 344398	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Dufored Court	300
Stoddart, Robert	1774, Sep 16	11936/232/?, 343277	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord & piano maker	Wardour Street	?
Straube, Rudolf	1765, Mar 25	11936/158/502, 218054	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Cecil Court	200
Thickbrown, William	1773, Mar 23	11936/221/413, 323288	Cabinet maker & organ builder	Organ builder	Danzel Street	100
Thompson, Robert	1773, Jun 30	11936/223/609, 327603	Musical-instrument maker	Violin maker	Lombard Street	600
Thorowgood, Henry & Robert Horne	1763, Jul 13	11936/149/?, 200733	Musical-instrument makers	Woodwind maker	Cheapside	800
Tilley, Thomas	1772, Aug 21	11936/216/276, 315341	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Market Lane	200
Tilley, Thomas	1775, Jun 1	11936/238/397, 353973	Musical-instrument maker		Charing Cross	200
Turk, John	1765, Jul 8	11936/161/645, 221968	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Wardour Street	200
Turpin, Oliver	1763, Aug 11	11936/148/474, 201779	Organ builder	Organ builder	Dyot Street	200
Victor, Herman Bernhard	1765, Apr 5	11936/159/511, 218300	Organist & musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Cranbourn Street	500
Victor, Herman Bernhard	1767, Apr 3	11936/175/182, 243942	Organist & musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Porter Street	700
Vogler, John & Gerard	1774, Oct 3	11936/232/?, 344387	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Glass House Street	500
Vogler, John & Gerard	1775, Sep 15	11936/240/539, 358128	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Glass House Street	1000
Watson, Henry	1766, Jun 16	11936/168/285, 234413	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Jermyn Street	400
Welcker, John	1775, Jul 27	11936/241/248, 356778	Music printer & musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Haymarket	1000

Appendix 5: Sun Fire Insurance

Welcker, John	1777, Jul 10	11936/258/345, 386769	Music printer & musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Haymarket	2000
West, Marchant	1768, 5 Apr	11936/180/525, 255564	Cabinet maker & organ builder	Organ builder	Castle Street	100
Wightman, George	1776, Jun 11	11936/248/166, 369736	Musical-instrument maker & chandler	Musical-instrument maker	Coleman Street	200
Willemot, Leonard	1778, Mar 7	11936/265/16, 395742	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	Little Poulteney Street	300
Woodham, Richard	1775, Jul 19	11936/241/232/356733	Musical-instrument maker	Brasswind maker	Exeter Court	200
Wray, Hilton	1772, Dec 21	11936/219/413, 319745	Watchmaker & organ builder	Organ builder	Gracechurch Street	400
Yungkurt, Henry	1774, Nov 16	11936/235/228, 346095	Harpsichord maker	Harpsichord maker	Silver Street	100
Zumpe, John & Gabriel Buntebart	1768, Dec 10	11936/186/240, 264312	Musical-instrument maker	Piano maker		1500
Zumpe, John & Gabriel Buntebart	1773, Jan 8	11936/221/88, 3216447	Musical-instrument makers	Piano maker	Princes Street	2200
Zumpe, John Christopher	1763, Jan 24	11936/144/561, 196130	Musical-instrument maker	Piano maker	Princes Street	300
Zumpe, John Christopher	1768, Jan 9	11936/179/598, 252788	Musical-instrument maker	Piano maker	Princes Street	800
Zumpe, John Christopher	1769, May 30	11936/189/618, 27130	Musical-instrument maker	Piano maker	Princes Street	800
Zumpe, John Christopher	1775, Aug 5	11936/240/356, 357036	Gent	Piano maker	Charlotte Row	2300
Zumpe, John Christopher	1779, Jun 28	11936/274/572-3, 415360	Musical-instrument maker	Piano maker	Princes Street	2300

Appendix 6: List of PCC Wills signed 1760–1819, TNA: PRO PROB11

PROB11	Name	Occupation	Address	Date of will	Date proved
1546	Allison, Thomas	Musical-instrument maker	Haberdashers Walk, Saint Leonard, Shoreditch	1812, Oct 24	1813, Jul 9
1411	Appelman, Adam	Piano forte maker	Great Portland Street, Saint Marylebone, Middlesex	1803, Apr 20	1804, Jul 9
1550	Astor, George	Musical instrument manufacturer	Cornhill, London & Mathews Place, Hackney Road	1803, Jan 10	1813, Dec 6
1354	Aylward, Theodore	Doctor of music	Windsor Castle, Berkshire	1798, Feb 13	1801, Mar 4
1038	Backers, Americus	Harpsichord maker	Jermain Street, Saint James, Middlesex	1778, Jan 6	1778, Jan 21
1654	Ball, James	Musical-instrument maker	Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex	1810, Apr 13, codicil 1820	1822, Mar 4
1420	Beloudy, Joseph	Organ builder	Collier Street, Pentonville, Middlesex	1805, Jan 21	1805, Feb 18
1670	Betts, John	Musical-instrument maker	Royal Exchange, City of London	1823, Mar 20	1823, May 3
1187	Beyer, Lorence	Piano forte maker	Compton Street, Saint Anns Soho, Middlesex	1789, Sep 11	1790, Jan 5
1937	Blyth, Benjamin	Organ builder	Isleworth, Middlesex	1838, May 25	1840, Dec 28 & 1855, Feb 2
1538	Broadwood, John	Musical-instrument maker	Saint James, Westminster, Middlesex	1811, Nov 17	1812, Nov 16
1464	Broderip, Francis Fane	Music Seller	Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex	1805, Feb 27	1807, Jul 16
1250	Buntebart, Gabriel Got[t]leib	Piano forte (Large) maker to Her Majesty	Lisson Green, Saint Marylebone, Middlesex	1794, Oct 7	1794, Oct 17
1486	Burley, John	Piano forte maker	Tottenham Court Road, Saint Pancras, Middlesex	1808, Jun 30	1808, Oct 6
1333	Byfield, John	Organ builder	Constitution Row Grays Inn Lane Road, Middlesex	1799, Jul 25	1799, Dec 4
1307	Cahusac, Thomas	Musical-instrument maker	Saint Clement Danes, Middlesex	1798, Jan 29	1798, Jun 7
1674	Collier, Joseph	Musical-instrument maker	Thames Ditton, Surrey	1823, May 3	1823, Aug 2

Appendix 6: PCC Wills

1446	Cotton, Robert	Musician and musical-instrument maker	Mile End Old Town, Saint Dunstan, Stepney, Middlesex	1802, Jan 22	1806, Jul 16
1008	Crang, John	Organ builder	Saint Clement Danes, Middlesex; heretofore of Bishops Nymton, Devon	1770, Dec 10	1775, Jun 19
1377	Crawshaw, John	Organ builder	Little Bell Alley Coleman Street, City of London	1801, Aug 17	1802, Jul 1
PROB 10/453 6	Culliford, Thomas	Musical-instrument maker	Compton, Hampshire (ex London)	1817, Apr 8	1821, Feb 19
1736	Davidson, William	Piano forte maker	14 Lant Street, Saint George the Martyr, Middlesex	1827, Feb 26	1828, Feb 16
1680	Dobson, Benjamin	Organ builder	Swan Street Minories, City of London	1823, Nov 6	1824, Jan 19
1100	Duke, Richard	Musical-instrument maker	Saint Andrew, Holborn	1781, Apr 10	1783, Feb 21
1629	Eberst, Henry	Piano forte maker	55 Newman Street, Saint Marylebone, Middlesex	1820, Jan 13	1820, May 9
1737	Edwards, William	Musical-instrument maker	Bridge Road, Lambeth, Surrey	1823, Apr 21	1828, Mar 11
1267	Ellis, John	Musical-instrument maker & shopkeeper	Saint James Clerkenwell, Middlesex	1794, Nov 26	1795, Nov 26
1566	England, George Pyke	Organ builder	Stephen Street, Saint Pancras, Middlesex	1812, Oct 20	1815, Mar 4
1640	Erat, Jacob	Harp maker	Berners Street, Saint Marylebone, Middlesex, late of Wardour Street, St James Westminster	1821, Feb 14	1821 Mar 3
1643	Fraser, Alexander	Cabinet maker & pianoforte maker	22 Wardour Street, Saint Anns Westminster, Middlesex	1821, Apr 30	1821, May 30
1747	Gilkes, Samuel	Musical-instrument maker	Great James Street, Westminster, Middlesex	1827, Feb 10	1828, Nov 13
1762	Glessing, John Balthasar	Violin & harp string maker	18 Bell Lane, Christchurch Spitalfields, Middlesex	1829, Aug 25	1829, Nov 11

Appendix 6: PCC Wills

1277	Gray, Robert	Organ builder	New Road, Fitzroy Square, Saint Pancras, Middlesex	1796, Jul 4	1796, Jul 19
1647	Gray, William	Organ builder	New Road near Fitzroy Square, Middlesex	1816, Dec 17	1821, Aug 11
1280	Green, Samuel	Organ builder	Queens Row, Islington in 1780; Isleworth, Surrey in 1796	1780, Jun 6	1796, Oct 1
1590	Green, Sarah	Widow (organ builder)	Fitchets Court, Noble Street	1817, Jan 11	1817, Mar 1
1464	Handley, Robert	Musical-instrument maker	Leather Lane, Middlesex	1807, Apr 11	1807, Jul 21
1095	Harris, William	Harpsichord maker	Fetter Lane, City of London	1782, Sep 3	1782, Sep 25
998	Higgins, Herbert	Drum maker	Minorities, London	1773, Mar 24	1774, May 31
1523	Jones, Rice	Coal merchant & piano forte maker	Golden Square, Middlesex	1811, Mar 12	1811, Jun 6
1237	Jones, Thomas	Organist	Highgate, Middlesex	1793, Jun 23	1793, Oct 11
895	Jordan, Lucy	Widow (organ builder)	Lime Street, London	1761, Dec 24	1764, Jan 14
1768	Keat, Samuel	Musical-instrument maker, widower	Fisher Street Red Lion Square, Middlesex	1827, Jun 1	1830, Mar 11
1244	Kirkman, Abraham	Esquire	Hammersmith, Fulham, Middlesex	1792, Nov 2	1794, Apr 24
1220	Kirkman, Jacob	Esquire	Crumshill, Greenwich, Kent	1792, Mar 31	1792, Jun 13
1770	Kirkman, Joseph	Piano forte maker	Broad Street, Saint James Westminster, Middlesex	1830, Feb 25	1830, Apr 27
1574	Klein, Johann Christian Alexander	Piano forte maker	Henry Street, Hampstead Road, Saint Pancras, Middlesex	1815, Oct 27	1815, Nov 22
1356	Kohler, John	Musical-instrument maker	Whitcombe Street, Charing Cross, Middlesex	1792, Sep 12	1801, Apr 29
1424	Kohler, John	Musical-instrument maker	Saint James Street, Middlesex	1805, Feb 6	1805, Apr 5
853	Leissem, Reinerus	Musical-instrument maker	Saint Ann Soho, Westminster, Middlesex	1759, Dec 24	1760, Feb 16
1517	Leukfeld, Leudevig August	Instrument maker	Tottenham Street, Saint Pancras, Middlesex	1810, Jan 26	1810, Dec 1

Appendix 6: PCC Wills

1590	Lincoln, John	Organ builder	Holloway, Middlesex, late of Holborn	1814, Nov 8	1817, Mar 17
1405	Longman, James	Music seller, late	Cheapside, City of London	1803, Nov 11	1804, Feb 20
1563	Lowe, John	Organ builder	White Cross Street, City of London	1801, Aug 7	1814, Dec 14
1031 & PROB 10/272 1	Lukey, Charles	Musical-instrument maker	Cheapside, City of London	1774, Feb ?	1777, May 10
1394	Merlin, Joseph	Inventor of mechanism	Princes Street, Hanover Square, Middlesex	1803, Mar 21	1803, Jun 20
1400	Moore, Stephen	Pianoforte maker	Upper James Street, Golden Square, Saint James, Westminster, Middlesex	1802, Dec 20	1803, Oct 27
1066	Newton, John	Musical-instrument maker	Tower Hill, Saint Botolph without Aldgate, Middlesex	1780, May 7	1780, Jun 30
1757	Oakey, Joseph	Piano forte maker	6 Manor Place, Walworth, Surrey	1828, Feb 19	1829, Jun 23
1399	Ohrman, Jonathan	Organ builder	Saint Pancras, Middlesex	1803, Jun 13	1803, Sep 6
978	Parker, Thomas	Organ builder	Saint Andrew, Holborn	1771, Mar 8	1772, May 11
1775	Parker, Thomas	Pianoforte maker	Hanover St, Walworth, Newington, Surrey	1830, Apr 29	1830, Aug 8
1649	Parnell, John	Cabinet maker & pianoforte maker	Cottage 9, Haystack Lane, Edgware Road, Paddington, Middlesex	1821, Sep 17	1821, Oct 4
1764	Periam, John	Musical-instrument maker	29 Clarendon Street, Somers Town, Middlesex	1823, Jul 5	1829, Dec 22
1077	Pether, William	Organ builder	Brownlow Street, Saint Giles in the Fields, Middlesex	1780, Sep 11	1781, Apr 6
1024	Pistor, Edward	Musical clock maker	Saint Andrew Undershaft, City of London	1776, Aug 3	1776, Oct 9
1368	Pistor, Edward	Organ builder	Leadenhall Street, City of London	1802, Jan 14	1802, Jan 26
1453	Potter, Richard	Musical-instrument maker	Pemberton Row, Fleet Street, City of London	1804, Sep 28	1806, Dec 29
1657	Price, Edward	Pianoforte maker	Saint James's Walk, Saint James's Clerkenwell, Middlesex	1820, Jun 23	1822, May 7

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1031	Pyke, George	Organ builder & clock maker	Saint Andrew Holborn, Middlesex	1777, Feb 12	1777, May 30
1145	Rawlins, Henry	Musical- instrument maker	Saint Marylebone, Middlesex	1786, Aug 3	1786, Aug 29
1225	Rokes, Richard	Harpsichord maker	Clerkenwell Close, Middlesex	1791, May 19	1792, Nov 28
1711	Rolfe, Robert	Tuner	Cheapside, City of London & Russell Place, Kent	1815, Oct 11	1826, Apr 26
1765	Rolfe, William	Piano forte manufacturer	Cheapside, City of London	1826, Apr 15	1830, Jan 22
1705	Russell, Hugh	Organ builder	Theobald's Road, Saint Andrew, Holborn, Middlesex	1824, Feb 6	1825, Nov 12
961	Rutherford, David	Musical- instrument maker	St Martin's Court, Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex	1770, Jan 23	1770, Nov 3
1250	Schoene, Christian	Piano forte maker	Princes Street, Cavendish Square, Middlesex	1794, Jan 28	1794, Sep 24
991	Shudi, Burkat	Harpsichord maker	Saint Pancras, Middlesex	1773, Jul 5	1773, Sep 3
998	Shudi, Joshua	Harpsichord maker	Saint James, Westminster, Middlesex	1774, May 21	1774, May 30
1234	Sievers, Christopher Julius Ludewig	Piano forte maker	Princes Street, Hanover Square, Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex	1793, May 15	1793, Jun 12
1135	Snetzler, John	Organ builder	Bentinnck Street, Saint James Westminster, Middlesex	1784, Oct 18	1785, Oct 20
1177	Stahlberg, Ephraim	Harpsichord maker	Saint James, Middlesex		1789, Mar 6
1029	Thompson, Charles	Musical- instrument maker	Saint Pauls Church Yard, City of London	1765, Dec 20	1777, Mar 26
1266	Thompson, Samuel	Musical- instrument maker	Saint Pauls Church Yard, City of London	1785, Oct 13	1795, Sep 7
1667	Tomkins, Elizabeth	Piano forte maker	Saint James, Westminster, Middlesex		1823, Feb 22
1571	Turnham, Thomas	Piano forte maker	Wells Street, Saint Marylebone, Middlesex	1815, Apr 17	1815, Jul 28
1757	Waite, John	Piano forte maker	New Church Street, Saint Marylebone, Middlesex	1829, Apr 28	1829, Jun 20

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1739	Warr, John	Organ builder, now Hackney coach owner	Black Horse Yard, Union Buildings, Leather Lane, Saint Andrews Holborn, Middlesex	1824, Apr 17	1828, Apr 30
1501	Webley, Alexander	Musical- instrument maker	Welbeck Street, Saint Marylebone, Middlesex	1809, May 2	1809, Jul 27
1600	Weisbart, Samuel	Violin & harp string maker	Thomas Street,	1817, Oct 25	1818, Jan 17
1000	Welcker, Peter	Musical- instrument maker	Saint Ann, Soho, Middlesex	not legible	1774, Jul 18
1678	Wheatstone, Charles	Music seller	436 Strand, Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex	1823, Jan 2	1823, Nov 3
1670	Willis, John	Musical wind instrument maker	3 Angel Court, Strand, Saint Mary le Strand, Middlesex	1818, Oct 28	1823, Apr 17
1716	Wood, James	Musical- instrument maker	Ekins Row, Bayswater, Paddington & Compton St, St Giles in the Fields, Middlesex	1825, Nov 18	1826, Aug 14
1626	Wood, John	Musical- instrument maker	Red Lion Passage, Saint George the Martyr, Middlesex	1819, Dec 28	1820, Feb 17
1004	Woolfs, Jonathan	Musician & Toyman	Saint Mary le Strand, Middlesex	1770, Jul 25	1775, Jan 24
1424	Zumpe, Elizabeth	Widow	Saint Marylebone, Middlesex	1805, Jan 4	1805, Apr 13
1199	Zumpe, John Christopher	Gentleman	Queen Charlotte Row by the New Road, Saint Marylebone, Middlesex	1784, May 22	1790, Dec 24

Appendix 7: Tables of Wills Information

Appendix 7.1: Investments listed in PCC wills signed 1760–1819 (highest to lowest).
For full references to these wills, see Appendix 6.

Amount	Fund	Year signed	Name	Occupation
£21,000	in funds	1792	Abraham Kirkman	harpsichord & piano maker
£7,000	trusts & annuities	1773	Burkat Shudi	harpsichord maker
£5,000	reduced 3%	1785	Samuel Thompson	musical-instrument maker
£4,177 6s 11d	3% annuities	1811	John Broadwood	harpsichord & piano maker
£3,500	£1,000 in 3% annuities; the rest in 4%:	1804	Richard Potter	musical-instrument maker (woodwind)
£1,500	4% annuities	1792	Jacob Kirkman	harpsichord & piano maker
£1,300	4% annuities	1770	David Rutherford	musical-instrument maker
£500	4% long annuities	1788	Ephraim Stahlberg	harpsichord maker
£400	3% annuities	1791	Richard Rokes	harpsichord maker
£400	old South Sea annuities	1761	Lucy Jordan	widow (organ builder)
£250	3% annuities	1792	John Kohler	musical-instrument maker (brasswind)
£200	reduced 3% annuities	1784	John Snetzler	organ builder
?	public funds & annuities	1781	Richard Duke	musical-instrument maker (stringed)
?	funds of the Bank of England	1817	Samuel Weisbart	violin & harp string maker

Appendix 7.2: Property listed in PCC wills signed 1760–1819 (alphabetical).
For full references to these wills, see Appendix 6.

Name	Year signed	Occupation	Property
Adam Appelman	1803	piano maker	inherited land from his father Henry in 1796, which had been sold
George Astor	1803	piano maker	purchased share in the freehold messuage in Cornhill 'wherein my business is carried on' & certain lands in America near Norfolk.
John Broadwood	1811	harpsichord & piano maker	house at Kensington Gore freehold & copyhold estates called Reeves Hall on the Island of East Mersea, Essex
John Crang	1770	organ builder	property in Bishops Nympton, Devon
Richard Duke	1781	stringed instrument maker	property in Kentish Town, St Pancras, Middlesex

Appendix 7: PCC Wills Information

Lucy Jordan	1761	widow (organ builder)	4 Messuages or Tenements Warehouse in Southwark
Abraham Kirkman	1792	harpsichord & piano maker	houses & property at Hammersmith near the Thames; 2 others near, Leaseholds at Croomes Hill, Blackheath, Upper Brook Street near Grosvenor Square, Compton Street near Soho Square, premises at Wardour Street, Soho Square & John Street, Tottenham Court Road, premises in Vauxhall & Kings Row near Grosvenor Square, premises at Peter Street near Bentinck Street, Freehold estate in Wales
Jacob Kirkman	1792	harpsichord & piano maker	numerous messuages, in Spitalfields, Billingsgate Wharf Greenwich, Blackheath, Northumberland Street Strand, Neals Yard nr Queen Street St Giles in the Fields, Rose Street & Greek Street St Ann Westminster, King Street St Giles in the Fields, Green Street Leicester Fields, Walkers Court St James Westminster, Great Russell Street, & the Strand
August Leudevig Leukfeld	1810	piano maker	Copyhold estate at Mill Hill, Hendon, purchased on 28 May 1805, and 'a good family house & 10 acres of meadow land near the public house the Adam & Eve; & cottage facing the Kings Head at Mill Hill'
Burkat Shudi	1773	harpsichord maker	property in Shwanden, Glaris where his sister lives
John Christopher Zumpe	1784	piano maker	Lease of house in Charlotte Row and 2 properties in Edgware Row, St Mary le Bow

Appendix 7.3: Cash listed in PCC wills signed 1760–1819 (£ only, highest to lowest). For full references to these wills, see Appendix 6.

Name	Reference occupation	Year signed	Cash total
John Broadwood	Piano maker	1811	£39,300
Abraham Kirkman	Harpsichord & piano maker	1792	£9,100
Jacob Kirkman	Harpsichord & piano maker	1792	£8,394 plus small amounts to people's children, numbers unknown
David Rutherford	Musical-instrument maker	1770	£1,300
John Christopher Zumpe	Piano maker	1784	£1,240
Joseph Merlin	Musical-instrument maker	1803	£1,115
Leudevig August Leukfeld	Piano maker	1810	£1,000
Burkat Shudi	Harpsichord maker	1773	£860
Thomas Cahusac	Woodwind maker	1798	£670
Robert Cotton	Woodwind maker	1802	£580

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Edward Pistor	Organ builder	1776	£558
Lucy Jordan	Organ builder	1761	£295
Christopher Julius Ludewig Sievers	Piano maker	1793	£220
Gabriel Got[t]leib Buntebart	Piano maker	1794	£200
Alexander Webley	Musical-instrument maker	1809	£200
Ephraim Stahlberg	Harpsichord maker	1788	£160
George Astor	Piano maker	1803	£150
Samuel Thompson	Musical-instrument maker	1785	£120
John Kohler	Brasswind maker	1805	£110
James Ball	Piano maker	1810	£100
Francis Fane Broderip	Musical-instrument maker	1805	£100
Richard Potter	Woodwind maker	1804	£100
John Crang	Organ builder	1770	£63
Edward Pistor	Organ builder	1802	£63
Thomas Turnham	Piano maker	1815	£56
Samuel Weisbart	String maker	1817	£55
Charles Lukey	Musical-instrument maker	1774	£50
Charles Thompson	Musical-instrument maker	1765	£42
Richard Rokes	Harpsichord maker	1791	£40
Robert Gray	Organ builder	1796	£20
John Newton	Musical-instrument maker	1780	£20
John Snetzler	Organ builder	1784	£20
George Pyke England	Organ builder	1812	£15 plus 2gn for each worker who has been there 4 years
Jonathan Ohrman	Organ builder	1803	£15
William Gray	Organ builder	1816	£10
Henry Rawlins	Stringed instrument maker	1786	£3

Appendix 8: Bankrupts and Insolvent Debtors, 1760–1819, from *The London Gazette*

name	date of first entry	gazette number	occupation given	known/reference occupation	event
Anderson, Joanna	1808, 4 Jun	16151	Piano-forte-maker	Piano maker	bankrupt
Avery, John	1775, 18 Nov	11615	Organ-builder	Organ builder	bankrupt
Avery, John	1790, 14 Dec	13265	Musical Instrument-maker	Organ builder	bankrupt
Avery, John	1801, 8 Dec	15434	Organ-builder	Organ builder	bankrupt
Baxter, William	1778, 2 Jun	11880	Organ-builder	Organ builder	prison
Black, James	1812, 10 Nov	16667	Piano-forte-maker	Piano maker	bankrupt
Bradberry, Robert	1792, 17 Jan	13380	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	bankrupt
Bradley, John	1794, 4 Feb	13621	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	bankrupt
Byfield, John	1774, 25 Jun	11469	Organ-builder	Organ builder	prison
Byfield, John	1801, 30 Jun	15381	Organ-builder	Organ builder	prison
Cahusac, William Maurice	1816, 28 Sep	17177	Musical-instrument Maker	Woodwind Maker	bankrupt
Claggett, Charles	1793, 26 Mar	13514	Musical Instrument-maker	Musical-instrument maker & inventor	bankrupt
Clauss, Christian & Co	1787, 31 Jul	12908	Musical Instrument-maker	Guittar maker	bankrupt
Corri, Dominico	1800, 15 Apr	15248	Musical Instrument-Maker, Music-Printer & Music-Seller	Piano maker	bankrupt
Cramer, John	1803, 3 Dec	15652	Victualler and Musical Instrument-Maker	Woodwind Maker	bankrupt
Culliford, Thomas	1798, 30 Oct	15076	Musical-instrument maker	Stringed keyboard instrument maker	bankrupt
Drouet, Louis	1818, 24 Nov	17423	Flute Manufacturer	Flute maker	bankrupt
Ganer, Christopher	1813, 2 Mar	16708	Piano-Forte-Manufacturer	Piano maker	bankrupt, superseded
Garka, George	1787, 15 Dec	12947	Musical Instrument-maker	Piano maker	bankrupt
Goldsworth, John	1793, 23 April	13522	Musical-instrument maker	Stringed keyboard instrument maker	bankrupt
Hayman, Christopher	1794, 17 Jun	13674	Organ-builder	Organ builder	prison
Hindrick, John Muraus	1776, 1 Jun	11671	Musical-Instrument-maker	Musical-instrument maker	prison
Hobart, John	1802, 6 Mar	15459	Harp and Musical-Instrument-Maker	Harp maker	bankrupt
Holland, Henry	1793, 29 Oct	13587	Organ Builder	Organ builder	bankrupt
Holt, Joseph	1810, 12 Jun	16378	Patent Musical Instrument-Makers	Musical-instrument maker	bankrupt
Houston, James Henry	1796 16 Aug	13922	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	bankrupt
Houston, James Henry	1799, 26 Jan	15102	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	bankrupt
Hyde, John	1797, 4 Nov	14061	Musical Instrument-Maker	Brasswind maker	bankrupt
Keen, William	1778, 30 May	11876	Violin-maker	Violin maker	prison
Kennedy, John	1778, 2 Jun	11880	Violin-maker	Violin maker	prison

Bibliography

Lawson, Henry	1797, 7 Jan	13969	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind maker	bankrupt
Longhurst, James	1809, 4 Jul	16272	Organ Builder	Organ Builder	prison
Longman, James	1795, 23 May	13781	Musical-instrument makers	Musical-instrument maker	bankrupt
Longman, Richard	1804, 31 Jul	15724	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	prison
Loud, Thomas	1810, 18 Sep	16406	Piano-Forte-Maker	Piano maker	bankrupt
Martin, Adam	1793, 28 May	13533	Musical-instrument maker	Woodwind maker	bankrupt
Moore, Stephen	1801, 7 Jul	15383	Musical-instrument maker	Musical-instrument maker	prison
Napier, William	1788, 1 Jul	13004	Musical Instrument-maker	Brasswind maker	bankrupt
Napier, William	1791, 5 Apr	13297	Musical Instrument-maker	Brasswind maker	bankrupt
Oakman, William	1772, 25 Apr	11243	Musical Instrument-maker	Musical Instrument-maker	prison
Plenius, Rutgerus	1761, 24 Mar	10090	Harpsichord-maker	Harpsichord maker	prison
Rauche, Michael	1778, 9 Jun	11882	Musical Instrument-maker	Guittar maker	prison
Reyh, John Lorenz	1808, 7 Jun	16152	Musical Instrument-Maker	Musical Instrument-maker	bankrupt
Rigter, John	1761, 24 Mar	10090	Harpsichord-maker	Harpsichord maker	prison
Rutherford, David	1790, 24 Apr	13195	Musical Instrument-maker	Musical Instrument-maker	bankrupt
Schrader, John	1806, 26 Jul	15940	Musical-instrument maker	Musical Instrument-maker	prison
Scouler, James the elder	1765, 28 May	10526	Harpsichord-maker	Harpsichord maker	prison
Simpson, John	1801, 30 Jun	15381	Musical Instrument-Maker and Music Printer	Stringed instruments?	prison
Watkins, Thomas (aka John)	1820, 21 Nov	17653	Journeyman Cabinet-Maker and Piano-Forte-Maker	Piano maker	insolvent debtor
Whitaker, Richard	1775, 16 Sep	11597	Victualler and Musical Instrument-Maker	Woodwind Maker?	prison