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# “In the Name of God Amen”: 132 Wills of the Piano Industry Workforce in England (1773–1857)

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This article examines the wills and probate records of 132 men and women who worked in the piano industry in England during the first ninety years of piano making in the capital. While the decisive launch of the industry in England may be considered to date from the success of Zumpe’s square piano c1765, the period under study is determined by two factors: first, by the collection of wills available to be searched and viewed online via The National Archives’ website (1384–1858);<sup>1</sup> and second, by the earliest and latest wills of members of the piano industry to be identified in the collection. The resulting documents are those of “relatively wealthy individuals living mainly in the south of England”<sup>2</sup> and were proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury between 1773 and 1857.

The wills record the name, address, and occupation of the testator and often those of family members and friends; they note sums of money, stocks, and shares, properties and their tenants; and they describe personal and domestic items that evoke the lives and homes of early members of the trade. Some also describe piano workshops with their stock, tools, and working practices, and give the names of colleagues and employees who were appointed as witnesses, executors, and beneficiaries. Together they expose some of the personal and professional interactions of the workforce in the period from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, and the issues that occupied those who were concerned to make a will.

## *Methodology and Study Population*

Drafting a will has never been compulsory, and in 1858 they were prepared by only one person in ten.<sup>3</sup> It follows that the wills studied for this

1. Probate copies of Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills (1384–1858) are available to download at The National Archives website: [www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentonline/wills.asp](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentonline/wills.asp).

2. See: <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/wills.htm> (accessed September 23, 2014).

3. The figure prior to this date is not known. Karen Grannum and Nigel Taylor, *Wills and Probate Records*, 2nd edn (The National Archives, 2009), 15.

article represent only a portion of the contemporary workforce, which is further under-represented by the probability that not all the wills written by the workforce have been located. Testators who described their occupation with the word “piano” or “pianoforte” (ninety-eight in total) have been readily identified in an electronic search of the catalog of wills held at The National Archives in Kew, but those who omitted to record their profession, or who described themselves simply as “gentleman,” such as John Christopher Zumpe, were not to be found unless, as in the case of Zumpe, their names are well known or feature in lists of recognized piano makers. The wills of thirty members of the workforce were located in this way (through studying lists of piano makers), and several more were identified through mention in the wills themselves. All other members of the workforce who made a will but omitted to record their profession remain, for the present, anonymous.

The wills studied for this article belonged to 130 men and two women and span almost a century, representing several generations. They include the will of a “bellyman and joiner,”<sup>4</sup> four cabinet makers, two harp makers, two organ makers, and a coal merchant who also made pianos; two harpsichord makers whose workshops later made pianos; an “inventor of mechanisms;” six music sellers; two piano key makers; four piano tuners; two piano teachers; a piano dealer; and 103 piano makers who identified themselves variously as piano maker (77) manufacturer (8), square piano maker (1), musical instrument maker (10), musical wind instrument maker (1), and gentleman, or esquire (7). The majority of the testators lived in London, but one lived in Kingston upon Hull, and one each in Worcester, Salisbury, Chichester, and Worthing. A list of all the testators (followed by a list of other members of the musical profession mentioned in the wills) is presented in Appendix I. A chronological version of the same is found in Appendix II.

### *Makers and the Making of Wills*

“Relatively wealthy individuals” were not the only members of the workforce to draft a will, though Zumpe, Broadwood (fig 1), and Clementi are certainly among those studied here. David Wainwright notes that John Broadwood left a personal fortune of £106,364 (separate from his business) when he died in 1812, and in modern terms he was a multi-millionaire,<sup>5</sup> but in 1778 Americus Backers’ posthumous debt was

4. A bellyman assembled the piano’s soundboard, ribs and bridge.

5. David Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment: A History* (London: Quiller Press, 1982), 110.

£121 10s 1½d, the equivalent of approximately £7,600 today.<sup>6</sup> The distribution of riches appears not, then, to have been the sole inducement to drafting a will and, certainly, many of the testators studied did not bequeath stocks and shares, or funds in the Bank of England, but small items of personal value such as “coats waistcoats breeches stockings and hatts [sic],”<sup>7</sup> treasured books and bibles. In the case of Backers, he asked only that his “worldly estate” be sold to settle his debts and maintain his two young children.<sup>8</sup>

The wills of other well-known piano makers in the study include those of Adam Beyer, Gabriel Buntebart, Thomas Culliford, Joseph Merlin, Christopher Sievers, and Robert Wornum. Less prominent makers include Benjamin Dobson, Augustus Leukfeld, Charles Wheatstone, and Herman Wrede. Makers such as these, who are noted by Harding and Clinkscale,<sup>9</sup> account for nearly half the testators studied. The remainder, whose names are less familiar, probably worked as employees or subcontractors. It is certain that not all were masters of their own business: Lorence Beyer worked for his brother Adam, and Alexander Finlayson and Robert Stewart were “in the employ of Messieurs Broadwood.” Other Broadwood employees feature in the wills and are discussed be-

6. Backers owed his executor, John Henwood, £33 1s 4½d for “cash lent and goods delivered” (The National Archives [NA hereafter] PROB 31/673/580), and William Woodward (his vintner) “fourteen pounds and upwards for cash lent and liquors had” (NA PROB 31/669/361). A further £65 was owed in rent, £2 8s 9d for new window lights installed in his workshop, and £7 in taxes (NA PROB 31/673/580), totalling £121 10s 1½d. His assets were valued at £168 6s 9d (Michael Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 375), equating to approximately £10,600 today. Historical currency conversions made using the National Archives Currency Converter at: [www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/).

7. Will of Charles Lukey, proved 1777 (NA PROB 11/1031).

8. Will of Americus Backers, harpsichord maker, proved 1778 (NA PROB 11/1038). Backers is known to have had three children but only two are mentioned in his will: Charles Americus Backers (born February 23, 1770) and Christina Backers (born May 7, 1771). A third child, Amelia (born November 18, 1772), appears to have died young, and also their mother, Philadelphia. For birth dates and parentage, see *Parish registers*, St Dunstan in the West, Westminster City Archives (or via Ancestry website [Ancestry hereafter] at: [www.ancestry.co.uk](http://www.ancestry.co.uk)).

9. Harding appends “A List of Piano Makers in London and its Environs from 1760 to 1851” at Appendix G in Rosamond Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History Traced to the Great Exhibition of 1851*, 2nd edn (first published by the author 1933; rev. edn, Old Woking, Surrey: Unwin Brothers Ltd, 1978), 402–26. See also, Martha Novak Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano, Vol. 1: 1700–1820* (Oxford University Press, 1993), and *Ibid.*, *Makers of the Piano, Vol. 2: 1820–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

In the Name of God Amen I John Broadwood  
of Great Pultney Street in the Parish of Saint James Westminster in the  
County of Middlesex Musical Instrument Maker being of sound mind memory  
and understanding but considering the uncertainty of this transitory life  
that it is appointed for all mortals to die do make and publish this my  
last will and testament in manner following that it to say first and  
lastly I recommend my soul into the hands of the Lord God of  
Heaven who hath bestowed me with the Graces of my Youth my  
Body I do so may be devoutly wished in the happy Region of  
Eternity I have devised the following of many of my family &  
friends have been deposited in the comfortable bosom of a Christian  
Providence to which I do at this time give my blessing And God being  
witnessed with a family of Children for whom I wish to provide  
I have employed myself in business for many years with the utmost  
Diligence and care that I have done as well as I can to make grateful  
provision for my dear friends and it being my desire to distribute  
my property I give for the use of my dear family as a faithful steward

FIGURE 1. Extract from the will of John Broadwood, musical instrument maker, proved November 16, 1812 (National Archives PROB 11/1538).

low. The remaining wills are those of piano tuners, teachers, and key makers, whose careers are possibly not recorded elsewhere.

The lengths of the wills vary from four short lines and a single sheet, perhaps “don [sic] in great haste,” to more than fifteen sheets containing a great deal of legal repetition.<sup>10</sup> Generally, a long will pertains to a wealthy testator whose solicitor perhaps strove to justify a large fee, or to protect his rights and indemnities as an executor of the will. Wills drafted by solicitors share a common formula and dry vocabulary, but those written by testators themselves use less formal prose and often divulge emotion: Alexander Gow disinherited his son by codicil “in consequence of his unkind treatment and neglect of me during my affliction” and Charles Lukey directed that his siblings “shall not receive more than one shilling from my property.”<sup>11</sup> Personal holographs such as these were sometimes dictated from a hospital or sick bed. James Longman penned his will in the Fleet prison.<sup>12</sup>

Executors to the wills were commonly wives, family members, solicitors, friends, and colleagues, though piano maker Stephen Moore appointed

10. For example, the wills of Henry Bell, piano forte maker, proved 1855 (NA PROB 11/2220); Robert Perkins, pianoforte maker, proved 1849 (NA PROB 11/1899); and Robert Stodart, proved 1831 (NA PROB 11/1784).

11. Will of Alexander Gow, piano forte maker, proved 1846 (NA PROB 11/2046), and will of Charles Lukey, proved 1777 (NA PROB 11/1031).

12. Will of James Longman, music seller, proved 1804 (NA PROB 11/1405).

“the man most intimately acquainted with all my engagements and affairs” who was also his “greatest creditor”—George Gilbert of Hackney.<sup>13</sup> Gilbert’s profession is not recorded,<sup>14</sup> but Moore’s choice of words suggests that the two men may have been friends.<sup>15</sup> Americus Backers also appointed a friend and creditor as executor to his will and perhaps both testators sought to mitigate their debt by offering their friend a seemingly secure means of reimbursement, albeit inconveniencing them in the process.<sup>16</sup> The charge of executing a will was an imposition not all executors chose to accept. Many had a business of their own to tend and settling an estate could take many years: Backers’ executor was still defending a challenge to the will two years after Backers’ death,<sup>17</sup> and seven years after the deaths of Gabriel Buntebart and Christopher Sievers, their executors were still charging for “pens, ink, and paper” spent in settling their estate.<sup>18</sup> Executors could face many months of work selling real estate, equipment, stocks, and shares and distributing legacies to beneficiaries in England and abroad. They could also be required to oversee the ongoing payment of annuities to widows and family members, and even the education and maintenance of children until they were married or reached the age of twenty-one. It is perhaps not surprising that some chose to renounce the position. One named executor to the will of Muzio Clementi forbore to be sworn,<sup>19</sup> and two to the

13. Will of Stephen Moore, piano forte maker, proved 1803 (NA PROB 11/1400).

14. Gilbert may have been a schoolmaster living in Well Street, Hackney. A partnership between one George Gilbert and Paul de la Pierre, Schoolmasters of Well Street, Hackney, was dissolved by mutual consent in June 1800. *London Gazette* [*LG* hereafter] (July 26, 1800), 863. Available to view online at: [www.thegazette.co.uk](http://www.thegazette.co.uk).

15. Gilbert is unlikely to have recovered his money as Moore was admitted to the Fleet prison in 1801. *LG* (July 7, 1801), 795. Gilbert followed a few weeks later. *LG* (August 8, 1801), 984. Gilbert was still paying off his debts after Moore had died. *LG* (June 26, 1804), 804.

16. Will of Americus Backers, harpsichord maker, proved 1778 (NA PROB 11/1038).

17. The vintner William Woodward was owed “fourteen pounds and upwards for cash lent and liquors had” by Backers, and contested Backers’ will (NA PROB 31/669/361). He eventually withdrew his suit and the case was dismissed on December 10, 1779 (NA PROB 29/204).

18. See John Henry Schrader’s Second Schedule (dated July 14, 1803) in his Answer to George Lewis Hartz’s Bill of Complaint (NA 13/28/22).

19. Frederick Fielding, gentleman of Newman Street, Marylebone, renounced his position as executor to the will of Muzio Clementi, esquire, proved 1832 (NA PROB 11/1798).

wills of Samuel Chappell,<sup>20</sup> Herman Wrede,<sup>21</sup> and the piano tuner John Marshall.<sup>22</sup> George Astor revoked the appointment of his original executors for reasons not stated,<sup>23</sup> and another testator later relieved his friend of the task, deciding “from altered circumstances I do not wish him to be troubled with the burden thereof.”<sup>24</sup>

Witnesses to the wills were frequently solicitors and junior clerks (if the document were signed in a solicitor’s office), servants, neighbors, and friends, but also members of staff and colleagues. A footman to James Shudi Broadwood was pressed into service on three occasions to witness a codicil,<sup>25</sup> and John Broadwood enjoined the help of two employees in witnessing his will which was probably signed on the premises.<sup>26</sup> Members of the Broadwood staff appear to have been particularly active in the making of wills, with two dozen identified among the documents, as shown in Appendix III. Some of the Broadwood testators may have been prompted to make a will by colleagues engaged in writing their own. Middleton, Black, and Wilkie worked together in the grand finishing department at Bridle Lane, and Richardson, Seymour, Stewart, Williams, Montice, Radford, Churchill, and Chisholme were all colleagues at Horseferry Road. If the full names of all Broadwood employees were known it might be possible to identify more of their wills,<sup>27</sup> but

20. Simon Rogers, silk mercer of 15 Sackville Street, Piccadilly, and John Freckleton Burrowes, composer and organist, 13 Nottingham Place, New Road, both renounced their role as executor to the will of Samuel Chappell, music seller, proved 1835 (NA PROB 11/1841).

21. John Miller, carpenter of Bread Street, and Robert Miller, carpenter of New Castle Court, College Hill, both renounced their role as executor to the will of Herman Wrede, musical wind instrument maker, proved 1841 (NA PROB 11/1943).

22. Samuel Bellin, artist, and James Forsyth, piano forte maker, both renounced their position as trustee and executor to the will of John Marshall, piano forte tuner, proved 1853 (NA PROB 11/2165). See *Disclaimer of bequests*, January 24, 1853 (London Metropolitan Archives [LMA hereafter] BRA/747/086).

23. The appointment of Benjamin Banks (partner to George Astor) and Thomas Dobson (pawnbroker) as executors to Astor’s will was revoked in a codicil signed one month before Astor’s death, and piano maker William Dettmer appointed in their place. Banks was probably relieved of the role as he had moved to Liverpool. Will of George Astor, musical instrument maker, proved 1813 (NA PROB 11/1550).

24. Will of William Nagle, piano forte maker, proved 1848 (NA PROB 11/2078).

25. Will of James Shudi Broadwood, esquire, proved 1851 (NA PROB 11/2138).

26. James Paine and Daniel Giles Rose witnessed the will of John Broadwood, musical instrument maker, proved 1812 (NA PROB 11/1538).

27. In their staff records of 1834 and 1840, Broadwood recorded the full name of an employee only when it was necessary to differentiate between men with the same surname (Surrey History Centre [SHC hereafter] 2185/JB/74/1).

even without further evidence it is clear that making a will was not an alien concept to members of the Broadwood workforce. Several feature repeatedly in the wills and were clearly well respected by their peers. Scotsman Alexander Russell, who rose to become one of Broadwood's senior foremen, appears three times: first as a witness for a fellow employee,<sup>28</sup> then as executor to the will of his father-in-law (another Broadwood employee),<sup>29</sup> and finally as administrator to the estate of a piano key maker whose executrix died before settling her late husband's affairs.<sup>30</sup> The execution of these three offices spanned more than a decade and would have given Russell a broad grasp of the legal processes involved in administering an estate. He was clearly a sober individual well suited to the task, and his employers recognized his worth and paid him well.<sup>31</sup>

Other witnesses, executors, and beneficiaries point to connections in the wider musical profession. Burkat Shudi counted fellow Swiss migrant and organ builder John Snetzler and English organist John Keble among his friends,<sup>32</sup> appointing Snetzler an executor, and bequeathing Keble ten guineas.<sup>33</sup> A combination harpsichord and organ conceived by Shudi and Snetzler was sold by John Broadwood from the workshop as a "clavierorgana,"<sup>34</sup> and it is likely that Keble was also involved in this project, assessing various prototypes. English organist and composer John Freckleton Burrowes was appointed executor to the will of the music seller Samuel Chappell, though he and his fellow executor renounced their positions after Chappell died, leaving Chappell's widow to administer the estate alone.<sup>35</sup> In contrast, the German composer and pianist John Samuel Charles Possin fulfilled his duties as executor when Gabriel

28. Will of Joseph Williams, pianoforte maker, proved 1849 (NA PROB 11/2097).

29. Will of James Forsyth, piano forte maker, proved 1843 (NA PROB 11/1976).

30. Will of David Black, piano forte and organ key maker, proved 1839 (NA PROB 11/1806).

31. In the 1840s Russell was paid £356 p.a., compared with between £100 and £250 p.a. paid to other foremen in the company. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 153–54.

32. John Keble was organist at St George's, Hanover Square. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 50–51.

33. Will of Burkat Shudi, harpsichord maker, proved 1777 (NA PROB 11/991).

34. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 56.

35. Burrowes' fellow executor was Simon Rogers, a silk mercer and fancy ware-houseman of Sackville Street, Piccadilly. Will of Samuel Chappell, music seller, proved 1835 (NA PROB 11/1841).



Buntebart died in 1794.<sup>36</sup> In a curiously circular arrangement that demonstrates the complexity of ties within the trade, Possin was also connected to the Ball family of piano makers and to the piano maker and organist George Augustus Kollmann. With regard to the former, he bequeathed two pianos (perhaps originally made by Ball) and a sum of money to Gabriel Ball and his two sons, Frederick and Charles.<sup>37</sup> James and Edward Ball (relationship to Gabriel, Frederick and Charles not proved) manufactured pianos at 27 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square,<sup>38</sup> which premises were later used for the sale of the “new patent piano fortes” of the composer and piano maker George Augustus Kollman<sup>39</sup>—an executor of Possin’s will. Other connections are not explained. Piano maker Adam Appelman did not clarify his relationship with the owners of the Kirkman firm of harpsichord and piano makers in his will, but was able to prevail upon Joseph and Abraham Kirkman to act as executor and witness, respectively, so it is likely that Appelman was a senior employee.<sup>40</sup> In turn, the will of Joseph Kirkman was witnessed by another likely employee—a joiner named Christian John Stiebler of 5 Marshall Street, Golden Square, whose family was also involved in piano silk-work.<sup>41</sup> Stiebler’s father was a former “peruke maker perfumer and toy seller” turned “leatherer of pianoforte hammers” who may also have been employed by the Kirkman factory.<sup>42</sup> Stiebler’s seemingly unusual move into the piano-supply industry would not have been exceptional, as toy sellers often dealt in musical instruments at this time.<sup>43</sup> Another toy manufacturer cited in the wills, John [Francis] Bell, also turned to making pianos, having shared his premises at 4 Little Russell Street,

36. Will of Gabriel Gotlieb Buntebart, large pianoforte maker, proved 1794 (NA PROB 11/1250).

37. Possin gave piano maker Gabriel Ball of Jewry Street, Hampstead Road, the sum of £250, and to each of his sons, Frederick and Charles, £60. Will of John Samuel Charles Possin, proved 1821 (NA PROB 11/1650).

38. Will of James Ball, musical instrument maker, proved 1882 (NA PROB 11/1654).

39. *Morning Post* [MP hereafter] (June 4, 1840).

40. Will of Adam Appelman, pianoforte maker, proved 1804 (NA PROB 11/1411).

41. Will of Joseph Kirkman, pianoforte maker, proved 1830 (NA PROB 11/1770).

42. For the occupations of Christian Gotthelf Sliebler [sic] see *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, September 9, 1812 (LMA Ms. 11936/459/873583); and June 13, 1792 (LMA Ms. 11936/389/601255). For more information on the Stiebler family, see Marie Kent, “Piano Silkers in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century London (1784–1911): a Genealogical Survey,” *The Galpin Society Journal* LXVI (2013): 71–98, at 78–82.

43. A toyman was “formerly, one who sold requisites for sports, trinkets and fancy goods.” *Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. XI (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933; repr. 1961), 210.

Covent Garden, with the piano maker Lewis Baragiola for at least two years prior to the latter's death in 1835.<sup>44</sup> As an executor and major beneficiary of Baragiola's will, Bell insured himself in the same property the following year as a "toy and pianoforte maker," and continued in his friend's trade.<sup>45</sup> Another miscellaneous career was that of Bernardus Serges, a German musical instrument maker who also dealt in "coals, corn, hay, and straw" in Berwick Street, Soho, between at least 1806 and 1835.<sup>46</sup> He was a witness to the will of the piano maker John Indermaur of 8 Upper Charlton Street, Fitzroy Square,<sup>47</sup> and had a long association with the piano maker Thomas Tomkison of 77 Dean Street, possibly working as Tomkison's employee.<sup>48</sup>

Other friendships are confirmed in the wills. The piano maker William Dettmer of Marylebone Street was a friend of the musical instrument maker George Astor, who appointed Dettmer an executor of his will,<sup>49</sup> revoking, as he did, the appointment of two former executors, one of whom was his former business partner, Benjamin Banks, who had relocated to Liverpool.<sup>50</sup> Zumpfe's co-successor, George Friederick Schoene, was a friend of the Strand print seller and publisher Rudolph Ackermann, and also of the tool and lathe maker John Jacob Holtzap-

44. Will of Lewis Baragiola, piano forte maker, proved 1835 (NA PROB 11/1854). An insurance policy of Lewis Baragiola at 4 Little Russell Street, Covent Garden, dated July 24, 1833, notes "other property or occupiers: Bell toyman." *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, July 24, 1833 (LMA Ms. 11936/539/1157372). On January 6, 1836, John Francis Bell, toymaker, "executor of Lewis Baragiola, late of same place, piano forte maker, deceased" was insured at the same address. *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, January 6, 1836 (LMA Ms. 11936/550/1208891).

45. On May 4, 1836, John Bell, toy and piano forte maker, was insured at 4 Little Russell Street, Covent Garden. *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, May 4, 1836 (LMA Ms. 11936/550/1208891).

46. See *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, March 25, 1806 (LMA Ms. 11936/437/787382); March 12, 1823 (Ms. 11936/498/1001906); March 27, 1823 (LMA Ms. 11936/498/1001930); and May 6, 1835 (LMA Ms. 11936/545/1196901). Serges died in 1851. See will of Bernardus Serges, gentleman, proved 1851 (NA PROB 11/2131).

47. Will of John Indermaur, piano forte maker, proved 1832 (NA PROB 11/1797).

48. The musical instrument maker Tomkison, of 77 Dean Street, appears on all Serges' Sun Fire Insurance policies under "other property or occupiers." See f.n.46 above. For more about Serges and the Indermaur family's association with Thomas Tomkison, see Norman MacSween, "No Maker to be Compared – The Early Pianos of Thomas Tomkison (c1764–1853)," *The Galpin Society Journal* LXVII (2014): 5–31, at 16.

49. Will of George Astor, musical instrument maker, proved 1813 (NA PROB 11/1550).

50. A partnership between George Astor, George Horwood and Benjamin Banks of Cornhill, musical instrument manufacturers, was dissolved on March 23, 1809. *LG* (April 8, 1809), 472.

ffel. Both were appointed executor to Schoene's will, and Ackermann received all of Schoene's workshop tools.<sup>51</sup> The friendship of this trio may have been initiated by the purchase of a piano, or by professional association (Schoene purchased a lathe from Holtzapffel in 1809)<sup>52</sup> but was no doubt strengthened by their common German heritage.

These are just some of the musical connections identified in the wills: a table showing all those established is presented in Appendix IV. Not only do they confirm the breadth of interaction among the capital's instrument makers, music publishers, and performing artists of the time, but also the strength of that interaction, in that professional introductions led to friendships and even to legacies in their wills. The careers of men like Christian Gotthelf Stiebler and Bernardus Serges show the diversity of commerce that abutted, and eventually joined, the trade (from perukes and perfume to corn and hay) and also the astuteness of tradesmen working outside the industry in recognizing the needs of the piano industry and adapting their activity to join its ranks. The fact that they were able to do so shows that the piano trade was not an introspective clique closed to the contribution of non-members, but a liberal alliance with a colorful and changing workforce.

Witnesses and testators who were not connected with the piano trade came from a variety of other backgrounds. They were members of the textile industry (hatters and hosiers; clothiers, silk mercers, and linen drapers); the publishing trade (stationers, book binders, and composers); the licensing trade (wine and brandy merchants; publicans and victuallers); laborers (builders and bricklayers); craftsmen (shoemakers, chair makers, cabinet makers, carpenters, and lathe turners); and also bankers and merchants; apothecaries and schoolmasters; bakers and tea porters; furriers and curriers; surveyors; watchmakers; locksmiths, coal merchants, and artists—a wide array of London trades people and genteel merchants who counted among the friends, neighbors, relations (and very likely also the customers) of the study population.

51. Will of George Friederick Schoene, gentleman, proved 1825 (NA PROB 11/1694). Rudolph Ackermann (1764–1834) was born in Saxony and established in the Strand 1795. J. Thorne (ed.), *Chambers Biographical Dictionary* (Edinburgh: Chambers Harrap Publishers Limited, 1984), 6. John Jacob Holtzapffel (1768–1835) was born in Strasburg, and moved to London in 1792. Holtzapffel website: <http://holtzapffel.org/biographies.htm> (accessed January 31, 2012).

52. *Holtzapffel's Register of Lathes* (LMA CLC/B/121 MS09475) records the sale of a 4" common lathe (no. 865) to Mr Schoene on October 21, 1809. Price £10. I am grateful to Mike Baldwin for alerting me to this fact.

On average, testators survived approximately two-and-a-half years after signing their will. Just over 10% died within a month, and more than half within a year, suggesting that ill-health was a catalyst for settling their affairs. Adam Beyer was minded to draft his will on the anniversary of his brother's death.<sup>53</sup> The shortest time between the execution and proving of a will (which was usually fairly promptly after death, but could be several months) was just ten days in the case of Gabriel Buntebart.<sup>54</sup> By contrast, Robert Wornum signed his will and lived another twenty-eight years.<sup>55</sup>

### *Bequests to Wives and Mistresses*

At the end of the eighteenth century, bequests to a spouse, child, parent or grandparent were exempt from the payment of death duty. In 1805, this exemption was restricted to spouse and parents only, and from 1815 applied solely to a spouse, which made it increasingly favorable for a wife to be named the major beneficiary in a will.<sup>56</sup> Half the married study population settled their estate in this way, leaving all their possessions to their wife for use in her own lifetime (or continued widowhood) and for the maintenance and support of any children, and trusting her to deal with the assets appropriately. More than half also appointed their wives as executor.

Notwithstanding a desire to avoid taxation, these arrangements demonstrate a confidence in the administrative capabilities of wives, which for some extended to the future management of their business. With the home and workshop commonly occupying the same premises, the line between domestic chores and business activities was less firmly

53. Adam's brother, Lorence, died December 25, 1789, aged 56. Michael Cole, "Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker," *The Galpin Society Journal* XLVIII (1995): 94–119, at 111. Adam Beyer signed his will on December 26, 1803. Will of Adam Beyer, gentleman, proved 1804 (NA PROB 11/1403).

54. Will of Gabriel Gotlieb Buntebart, large piano forte maker, proved 1794 (NA PROB 11/1250).

55. Will of Robert Wornum, piano forte maker, proved 1852 (NA PROB 11/2164). A timber merchant to the trade considered Robert Wornum "one of the fine old type of English gentleman—a well-built man, with a long, greyish beard which inspired paternal respect. He was the acme of courtesy, and even if he could not give you an order, that innate courtesy which he extended to you made one forget about business and to realise that social friendship is something worth winning and keeping." Louis Bamberger, "Memories of the Past" in *The Pianomaker* [*PM* hereafter] (London, September 1928): 423.

56. See Grannum and Taylor, *Wills and Probate Records*, 83–85.

drawn than it became when the two spheres separated, and the help of wives and other women was often enlisted in sundry business activities such as hiring and selling showroom instruments (the showroom then commonly being at the front of the house),<sup>57</sup> accounting, action-making, over-winding piano bass strings,<sup>58</sup> and performing piano silk-work.<sup>59</sup> Several of the wives studied here are likely to have helped in this way. For some testators, the ongoing management of the business was assigned to their wife with the help of existing staff. Elsewhere, women were prescribed the care of a business for a short term only, perhaps bridging the gap until a son grew old enough to take control of the firm. Unusually, John Rathmacher bade his mistress continue his business making square pianos until his son turned twenty-one, then sell the whole for their mutual advantage.<sup>60</sup> But requests of this nature were not always fully executed, as wives might die or remarry before fulfilling their obligations. Table 1 lists the wives and mistresses who received a legacy relating to their husband's business. They account for 15% of the widows studied.

Of the women listed in Table 1, only four are proved to have made use of their piano-related inheritance. Elizabeth Astor took control of her husband's firm with the help of George Horwood (her late husband's former business partner<sup>61</sup> and a witness to his will,<sup>62</sup> whom she later

57. For example, Elizabeth Marchant, wife of the piano forte maker, William Marchant, assisted in her husband's shop at Prospect House, Kingsland, in 1849. Old Bailey Proceedings Online [OB hereafter] at: [www.oldbaileyonline.org](http://www.oldbaileyonline.org) (ref: t18490820-1615).

58. Jenny Nex, "Women in the Music Trade in Georgian London," *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution* (Bologna Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2010), 329–59, at 333–34.

59. Kent, "Piano Silkers," 71–98.

60. Will of John George Rathmacher, square piano forte maker, proved 1831 (NA PROB 11/1785). In his will John Rathmacher described Mary Spicer as a "spinster now and for some time residing with me." Three years earlier, on October 23, 1828, Rathmacher gave evidence in court regarding the theft of one of his pianos and referred in his evidence to his "wife," who was also present and gave evidence as Mary Rathmacher. In her evidence Mary referred to her "husband" ([John] George Rathmacher) and "son" (George [Charles] Rathmacher), who also gave evidence (OB t18281023-225). Since no record has been found of the marriage of John and Mary (or the death of Mary Rathmacher) it seems probable that Mary Rathmacher and Mary Spicer were one and the same. If so, Mary Spicer continued to call herself Mary Rathmacher after her "husband's" death (1841 and 1861 census) until her own death in 1883. See *Paneras parish death register*, fourth quarter, 1883, Mary Rathmacher (97), born c1786 (Ancestry).

61. *L.G.* (April 8, 1809), 472.

62. Will of George Astor, musical instrument manufacturer, proved 1813 (NA PROB 11/1550).

TABLE 1. Wives and mistresses who received piano-related bequests. Source: Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills (1773–1857). Those known positively to have made use of their bequest are marked with an asterisk. Dates signify the years in which the wills were proved.

<b>Beneficiary</b>	<b>Bequest</b>
Astor, Elizabeth* <i>Wife of George Astor (1813)</i>	At liberty to continue her husband's business
Ball, Mary <i>Wife of James Ball (1822)</i>	All leasehold estates stock in trade books debts monies <sup>1</sup>
Dobson, Caroline <i>Wife of Benjamin Dobson (1824)</i>	All stock in trade whether manufactured or otherwise
Fairn, Priscilla <i>Wife of Robert Fairn (1843)</i>	All working implements
Franklin, Ann <i>Wife of Richard Franklin (1853)</i>	All stock in trade
Gow, Elizabeth <i>Wife of Alexander Taylor Gow (1846)</i>	Chest of working tools
Levesque, Elizabeth* <i>Wife of Josiah Levesque (1839)</i>	All stock in trade
Lukey, Mary <i>Wife of Charles Lukey (1777)</i>	Two reels or machines for silvering piano strings
Mowbray, Eliza <i>Wife of William Mowbray (1839)</i>	All stock in trade, instruments, and manufactured materials
Parker, Mary <i>Wife of Thomas Parker (1830)</i>	All working tools for ever
Rolfe, Mary Ann* <i>Wife of James Longman Rolfe (1857)</i>	At liberty to dispose of his stock of musical instruments
Spicer, Mary* <i>Wife/Mistress of John George Rathmacher (1831)</i>	To continue the business until son aged 21, then to sell for their mutual advantage
Wornum, Catherine <i>Wife of Robert Wornum (1852)</i>	All stock in trade

1. The will was signed April 13, 1810, but a codicil signed November 12, 1821 (four months before he died) bequeathed the business to his son, Edward. Will of James Ball, musical instrument maker, proved 1822 (NA PROB 11/1564).

reinstated as a partner), and throughout a sequence of changing partnerships remained involved in the firm until she retired.<sup>63</sup> Elizabeth Levesque also continued her late husband's business before taking her new husband into partnership with her son, Josiah, at which point the firm became known as Edmeades Levesque & Co., employing fourteen men.<sup>64</sup> Mary Ann Rolfe was still dealing in pianos at seventy-five, while her son worked as a tuner.<sup>65</sup> These three women may be considered to have fulfilled their husband's wishes to preserve his business, but Mary Spicer went further, failing to sell John Rathmacher's business when his son turned twenty-one, with the consequence that the young man was still making pianos at the age of thirty.<sup>66</sup> He desisted some years later (possibly with the decline of the square piano from the 1840s),<sup>67</sup> and was a piano tuner when he died.<sup>68</sup>

Of the other widows in Table 1, two more may have put their inheritance to practical use. Mary Parker, whose husband was concerned that her income was "small," received all his working tools "for ever,"<sup>69</sup> and Mary Lukey was given her husband's "two reels or machines for silvering strings,"<sup>70</sup> most probably because she was already adept in their use and they would secure her future income. A daughter of Thomas Culliford (who was a near contemporary of Mary Lukey) was also a "silverer of pianoforte strings" who would have been familiar with such equipment.<sup>71</sup>

Whether the other women who inherited their husband's working tools made practical use of them, or whether they acted merely as custodians pending their future sale or redistribution, the fate of a dead

63. Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, Vol. 2, 10.

64. See Elizabeth Levesque, born c1811, Middlesex, pianoforte maker (1841 census), and William Edmeades, born c1813, Rochester, Kent, pianoforte maker (1851 census).

65. See Mary A[nn] Rolfe (75), born c1786, Faversham, Kent, pianoforte seller, and William Keeling Rolfe (47), born c1814, Islington, pianoforte tuner (1861 census).

66. See George Rathmacher [sic] (30), born c1811, Middlesex, pianoforte maker (1841 census).

67. Michael Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos* (Cheltenham: Tatchley Books, 2005), 103.

68. See George Rathmacher [sic] (48), born c1813, London, pianoforte tuner (1861 census). He died in July 1861 (Ancestry).

69. Will of Thomas Parker, pianoforte maker, proved 1830 (NA PROB 11/1775).

70. Will of Charles Lukey, proved 1777 (NA PROB 11/1031). Early square pianos had bass strings made of a brass core over-wound with tin-coated copper which possibly gave the appearance of a silver finish. Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, Vol. 1, ix.

71. The *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers* show that Elizabeth Charlton [nee Culliford] was working as a "silverer of pianoforte strings" at 16 Silver Street, Golden Square, in 1812. *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, June 23, 1812 (LMA Ms. 11936/459/871442). I am grateful to Jenny Nex for alerting me to this fact.

man's working tools was clearly a matter that could be entrusted to his wife. In Florence, in 1729, Bartolomeo Cristofori bequeathed his working tools to his assistant "in appreciation for his help, and in compensation for the good and loyal service," but changing his will the following year he left them to the daughters of the late Giovanni del Mela "in recognition of the assistance they had provided during his illness." Stewart Pollens surmises "either that they assisted him in the workshop during his protracted illness or that they had a relative who could put the materials to good use."<sup>72</sup>

Aside from matters connected to the business, most widows were provided with a home and domestic chattels, savings, and an annuity and often proceeds from the sale or rent of real estate (including the ruins of a burned house in Devon).<sup>73</sup> These proceeds were typically reduced if she chose to remarry, but most husbands appear to have been concerned for the future comfort and security of their spouse. One granted her "absolutely all my diamonds pearls jewels trinkets and other ornaments of her person whatsoever" together with "one carriage and such two horses of mine as she shall collect with the harness and accoutrements to such horses belonging,"<sup>74</sup> and several left her all their liquors, wines and spirits.<sup>75</sup>

Prior to 1882, women were not entitled to make a will without their husband's consent,<sup>76</sup> but in 1822 piano maker Elizabeth Tomkins drafted a will<sup>77</sup> while married to her second husband, the piano maker James Tomkins.<sup>78</sup> Her independent savings amounted to at least £1,290 (approximately £55,600 today), and she owned a large quantity of household silver that she bequeathed, in part, to her then husband, suggesting

72. Stewart Pollens, "Bartolomeo Cristofori in Florence," *The Galpin Society Journal* LXVI (2013): 7–42, at 10.

73. Will of William Winget, pianoforte maker, proved 1850 (NA PROB 11/2108).

74. Will of James Shudi Broadwood, esquire, proved 1851 (NA PROB 11/2138).

75. Wills of James Rendell, musical instrument maker, proved 1844 (NA PROB 11/2005); Daniel Giles Rose, gentleman, proved 1850 (NA PROB 11/2109); and Thomas Tomkison, proved 1853 (NA PROB 11/2183).

76. The *Married Women's Property Act* of 1882. Bridget Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-century England* (London: Blackwell, 1989), 196.

77. Will of Elizabeth Tomkins, pianoforte maker, proved 1823 (NA PROB 11/1667).

78. For proof of the occupation of James Tomkins, pianoforte maker, Poland Street, see *Westminster Pollbooks* for 1818 and 1819 via London Lives website: [www.londonlives.org](http://www.londonlives.org) [LL hereafter] ref: (LL pollbook\_692-69293); and (LL pollbook\_764-76426).



that these were riches she had acquired independent of their marriage. The only other female testator in the study was the “piano forte manufacturer and dealer in musical instruments” Mary Allison of 75 Dean Street, Soho, whose late husband, the piano maker Thomas Allison, had been dead eighteen months when she signed her will in July 1856. She died shortly thereafter, leaving “all my stock in trade and the good will of my business” to her seven children equally, but as the eldest was only fifteen, the business appears to have ceased trading.<sup>79</sup>

Women played a variety of roles among the characters studied, both as wives and widows. They provided versatile labor in the workshop while married and consented to witness and execute their husband’s will; they settled his affairs once widowed and administered his estate; they accepted his posthumous stock in trade and working tools and saw to their deployment; and they assumed the temporary and permanent management of his business. Some acted as piano makers and testators in their own right. Many more, however, seem not to have been involved directly in the trade, but to have been supported by the profits of the trade as a wife, and granted independence by its profits as a widow.

### *Bequests to Children*

The existence of children was not always recorded in a will and even those acknowledged were not always identified by name. Often they were referred to obliquely as “my children born or hereafter to be born” or “my children who shall be living at my decease,” and since not all offspring survived to maturity it may have been easier to refer to them in this way, rather than add a codicil to the will after every birth or death.

Children still living at the time of their parents’ decease commonly received a share in the value of the estate in the form of stocks, dividends, property, cash, and annuities, and items of a personal or domestic nature. Thirteen testators bequeathed piano-related articles to their spouse, but eleven gave them to their children, including tools, stock, and equipment, and, for some, the on-going management of the firm (Table 2).

79. Wills of Thomas Allison, piano forte manufacturer, proved 1855 (NA PROB 11/2204), and his wife Mary Allison, piano forte manufacturer, proved 1856 (NA PROB 11/2239). For the age of their eldest son, Thomas Robertson Allison, see the record of his baptism (January 19, 1842) at Old St Pancras, Camden; parents Thomas (piano forte maker) and Mary Allison of Torrington Square (Ancestry).

TABLE 2. Testators who bequeathed their business to their offspring. Dates signify years in which the wills were proved. Occupations are those declared in the wills. Source: Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills (1773–1857).

Testator	Summary of bequest
Allison, Mary (1856) <i>Pianoforte manufacturer</i> 75 Dean Street, Soho	All stock in trade and the good will of her business as a manufacturer of and dealer in musical instruments to her seven children equally
Ball, James (1822) <i>Musical instrument maker</i> 27 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square	All trade and business to his son Edward Ball
Banks, Benjamin (1795) <i>Musical instrument maker</i> City of New Sarum [Salisbury]	Sons James and Henry Banks to jointly take to the business carried on by him and his sons in case his son Benjamin Banks shall be then settled in some other business
Bond, John (1848) <i>Piano forte maker</i> 19 Frederick Place, Hampstead Road	The good will of his business as piano forte maker, all his stock in trade and implements and utensils of trade of every description unto and equally between his daughter Elizabeth and younger son William Bond
Edwards, William (1828) <i>Musical instrument maker</i> [17] Bridge Road, Lambeth	To his son, William Henry, the whole right property interest and benefit in and to his trade and business and all his stock in trade as well manufactured as unmanufactured musical instruments and music books implements tools and utensils of trade
Stodart, William (1841) <i>Pianoforte manufacturer</i> 3 Avenue Road, Regents Park	The business of pianoforte manufacturing be carried on by my son Matthew Stodart for the benefit of himself and his sister

For the most part, bequests took the form of an outright gift provided for the child's sole use and benefit, for the term of his natural life and, in the case of a daughter, "into her own hands independent of the debts control or management" of any current or future husband. Occasionally—and notably when bequeathing a business—they were granted with qualifications prescribing the recipient's career. The eldest son of the music seller Samuel Chappell was thus "required to devote the whole of his time and attention to the [family] business" or forfeit his annuity, but as an inducement to obedience his annuity was set to treble

if he were still adhering to his father's terms at the age of twenty-eight.<sup>80</sup> The device was effective in the short term, as William was still working as a partner in the family firm beyond the age of twenty-eight (and collecting his increased annuity), but eventually he chose an independent career with a rival firm.<sup>81</sup> In a similar arrangement, Burkat Shudi's son was awarded a £40 annuity "so long as he shall not exercise or follow the trade or business of an harpsichord maker either alone or in partnership or conjunction with any other person or persons or work for any harpsichord maker save the said John Broadwood."<sup>82</sup> This stipulation may have arisen from the earlier defection of Burkat's nephew, Joshua Shudi, who left his uncle's tutelage in 1766 to establish a rival business,<sup>83</sup> and caused his uncle much vexation by claiming authorship of instruments constructed in the uncle's workshop.<sup>84</sup> Although Joshua's malpractice was widely publicized, his cousin's work is not recorded, but it is unlikely Burkat Shudi junior sought employment outside the firm when his father died.<sup>85</sup> In 1841 Matthew Stodart was bequeathed his father's "business of pianoforte manufacturing" at 1 Golden Square, St James, and accorded "twelve per cent upon the entire profits [. . .] as a remuneration for his trouble for conducting the business."<sup>86</sup> Another testator offered his nephew a £10 annuity "provided he shall continue in the service and employment of my said son but not otherwise."<sup>87</sup> The outcome is not recorded. With the workforce depleted by the death of the testator, these children were effectively shoehorned into an ongoing (and sometimes

80. Will of Samuel Chappell, music seller, proved 1834 (NA PROB 11/1841).

81. In the 1840s William Chappell entered into partnership with the Beale family in the firm of Cramer Beale and Chappell, musical instrument manufacturers, music publishers and music sellers. David Gregory, *Victorian Songhunters: 1820–1883* (Scarecrow Press, 2006), 80.

82. Will of Burkat Schudi, harpsichord maker, proved 1773 (NA PROB 11/991).

83. Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, 7.

84. See notices in the *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, January 1, 13 and 17, 1767.

85. Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, 14.

86. Will of William Stodart, pianoforte manufacturer, proved 1841 (NA PROB 11/1951). Forty-five years earlier, the music sellers, James Longman and Francis Fane Broderip were each paid "£300 per year, or one sixteenth of the annual profits, whichever was the greater." See Jenny Nex, "Longman & Broderip" in Kassler, M. (ed.), *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2011), 9–93, at 79. In other words, Longman and Broderip each received at least 6.25% of the annual profits.

87. Will of William Edwards, musical instrument maker, proved 1828 (NA PROB 11/1737).

subordinate) role in the family firm, in a bid to preserve continuity. The fact that testators felt the need to bribe the next generation to remain at their post speaks as much to their fears for the survival of their empire as to the commitment of their successors to secure it.

Some children preferred not to work at all. Robert Stodart lamented that he had “expended more money on my son James than on any of his brother or sisters and as he seems to want capacity or inclination to pursue any business whereby to gain a living and to secure against his ever coming to want I hereby direct my said trustees to purchase [. . .] for my said son James upon his life from any assurance office of credit an annuity of one hundred and seventy pounds sterling payable to himself and which provision I hereby declare to be in full satisfaction to him of all he can [. . .] claim by and through my decease and that he shall have no interest or share in the general distribution of my Real and Personal estate.”<sup>88</sup>

With an annuity to support him (albeit smaller than he might have hoped), James Stodart fared better than those who were disinherited. The son and namesake of George Astor, who was disinherited one month before his father died “as though he had never been born,”<sup>89</sup> was bankrupt ten years later.<sup>90</sup>

The prospect of inheriting the family firm was perhaps more of a yoke than an inducement for some young men at the start of their career, especially if posthumous parental control extended to the future running of the business. In a codicil to his will, James Ball stipulated the following with respect to his son’s inheritance:<sup>91</sup>

I give and bequeath unto my son Edward Ball absolutely to and for his own use and benefit all my trade and business as carried on by me at No. 27 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square together with all my work benches tools belonging thereunto. I also give unto my said son Edward Ball all my manufactured stock in trade and caravans and my horse and all my unfinished work in hand excepting organs. I also give unto my said son Edward Ball *so many of my pianofortes as are out on hire as shall not exceed forty in number*. And I direct that he shall have his choice of them excepting that *he shall not take more than twenty cabinet pianofortes* the sums receivable for hire to commence to him

88. Will of Robert Stodart, proved 1831 (NA PROB 11/1784).

89. Will of George Astor, musical instrument maker, proved 1813 (NA PROB 11/1550).

90. See George Astor, the younger, late of Cornhill, merchant, in *LG* (February 9, 1813), 321.

91. Will of James Ball, musical instrument maker, proved 1822 (NA PROB 11/1654).

from the day of my decease. It is my desire also that my executrix shall let unto my said son Edward Ball at a moderate rent as shall be agreed between them all the ground floor of my house No. 27 Duke Street Grosvenor Square with all ware rooms and buildings erected at the back part thereof and also the stable and workshops on the ground floor belonging to the said house for such terms of years not exceeding my whole term therein as my said son Edward Ball shall desire. [*Italics are the author's.*]

Why James Ball restricted to forty the number of instruments his son could retain from the rental stock (and of those not more than twenty cabinet pianos) is unclear, but he may have anticipated the declining popularity of the cabinet piano and sought to impose a policy change that he had neglected to attend to himself. Alternatively, the money to be raised by the sale of the remaining instruments may have been intended to support his second son and widow: it is a point not clarified in his will. The fate of any unfinished organs is also unexplained, although they may have been the responsibility of specialist organ builders working on the premises; Harding notes that the company was still producing organs two years after the will was proved.<sup>92</sup> Despite his father's attempts to manage the liquidity of the firm, over the next six years Edward Ball came to owe his mother "one thousand pounds on mortgage with all arrear of interest thereon"—a principal sum approaching £50,000 today.<sup>93</sup>

The enterprises listed in Table 2 do not include large firms such as Astor, Broadwood, Clementi, or Kirkman, which settled their succession by other means. On average, the businesses listed survived twenty years after the death of the testator, and one as long as thirty-six.<sup>94</sup> Their survival is in marked contrast to other businesses in the wills that were ordered to be sold when the testator died. Eleven businesses were assigned this fate, and it is a curious fact that for nearly half of them, there was a son then alive to inherit.<sup>95</sup>

92. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 403.

93. Will of Mary Ball, widow, proved 1832 (NA PROB 11/1800).

94. The longest surviving was the Banks' business. Of the three Banks brothers, James Banks was the last to die (in Liverpool) in 1831. Meredith Morris, *British Violin Makers*, 3rd edn (Pelican Publishing, 2006), 103. James Ball's business survived 14 years until Edward's death. Elizabeth and William Bond traded until 1850, after which the firm traded as John Bond & Co. until 1856. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 404. John Bond relocated to Liverpool where he was imprisoned for debt as a pianoforte manufacturer in 1861. *LG* (January 25, 1861), 342. William Edwards' son continued another twenty-two years. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 409. Matthew Stodart continued another twenty-one years. *Ibid.*, 423.

95. The following instructed the posthumous sale of their business: John Green, musical instrument maker, will proved 1851 (NA PROB 11/2137); Rice Jones, coal merchant and pianoforte maker, will proved 1811 (NA PROB 11/1523); James Kennay,

Such cases undermine the traditional premise of a trade passed from father to son and demonstrate how not all male offspring were obliged (or even encouraged) to join their father's trade. John Broadwood granted his youngest son £20,000 during his minority and "for placing him out to any business or profession he may be inclined to enter into as [his executors] shall think likely to be to his advantage."<sup>96</sup> History records that he became a "man-about-town, courtier, and politician"<sup>97</sup> who "had no part in the firm, though his extravagant life-style was a source of perpetual anxiety to his brothers."<sup>98</sup> Perhaps with the future of his empire safely entailed to his eldest sons, John Broadwood could afford to be liberal with the youngest, but it was his elder sons who paid the price. Nonetheless, Broadwood's eldest son, James Shudi, was also a liberal parent, allowing his first son to follow a career as a scholar but advising his second that while "I might possibly find some other line in trade for you [...I] am extremely doubtfull [sic] if I could find you one half so profitable or so certain," adding that "with attention you will be certain to become independent in circumstances & after a few years be entirely your own Master—but attention & a conciliating demeanour will be imperatively necessary at first."<sup>99</sup> The commitment of his young son was not to be tested, however, as he died of consumption aged nineteen.<sup>100</sup>

Other parents were more prescriptive. The ten-year-old son of Rice Jones, piano maker to the Prince of Wales, was denied a future as a piano

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piano forte maker, will proved 1856 (NA PROB 11/2234); John Kohler, musical instrument maker, will proved 1801 (NA PROB 11/1356); Leudevig August Leukfeld, musical instrument maker, will proved 1810 (NA PROB 11/1517); Joseph Merlin, inventor of mechanism, will proved 1803 (NA PROB 11/1394); Robert Perkins, pianoforte maker, will proved 1838 (NA PROB 11/1899); John George Rathmacher, square piano maker, will proved 1831 (NA PROB 11/1785); Thomas Tomkison [piano maker], will proved 1853 (NA PROB 11/2183); John Waite, pianoforte maker, will proved 1829 (NA PROB 11/1757); and Herman Wrede, musical wind instrument [and piano] maker, will proved 1841 (NA PROB 11/1943). Conversely, despite the instructions of the founder member to sell the firm, the Köhler family continued to make brass instruments until c1907. See Lance Whitehead and Arnold Myers, "The Köhler Family of Brasswind Instrument Makers," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 16 (2004): 89–123.

96. Will of John Broadwood, musical instrument maker, proved 1812 (NA PROB 11/1538).

97. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 139.

98. Henry Broadwood (1793–1878) became Member of Parliament for Bridgwater 1837–1852. *Ibid.*, 124.

99. *Ibid.*, 121.

100. *Ibid.*, 122.

maker, and bequeathed, instead, his father's business as a coal merchant. It may be that the sale of coal was deemed more profitable than that of pianos, or that Jones junior preferred the idea of the former career and was unsuited to the latter, but his father's piano business was to be "disposed of as soon as conveniently may be" after his decease and his son to receive instead his father's horizontal gold watch, book case, iron chest, and coal merchant business:<sup>101</sup> he was still selling coal at the age of fifty-two.<sup>102</sup> In the event, Jones' piano business was acquired by John Price, who had "consented to conduct or superintend" the dismantling of the firm upon the testator's decease,<sup>103</sup> and who traded from Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, as "Late Jones and Co., Upright, Cabinet and Square Piano Forte Maker to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent."<sup>104</sup>

Not all offspring inherited a going concern and a choice of finished instruments, however; often it was only the tools that came their way, and those in varying quantities. Of the five sons who inherited their fathers' working tools,<sup>105</sup> one received "as many as is useful to him in his business," and another received both his father's "working tools and chest for the same and all such things as belong to trade" as well as those of a colleague two years later.<sup>106</sup> Considering the sentimental and material value of a workman's tools—as much as a year's wages in the case of a senior workman<sup>107</sup>—first made during an apprenticeship and amassed over a lengthy career, the frequency with which they are mentioned in the wills is perhaps not surprising: eighteen times in total, and in the

101. Will of Rice Jones, coal merchant and pianoforte maker, proved 1811 (NA PROB 11/1523).

102. See Theophilus R[ice] Jones (52), born c1799, coal merchant (1851 census).

103. Will of Rice Jones, coal merchant and pianoforte maker, proved 1811 (NA PROB 11/1523).

104. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 419.

105. The following bequeathed their tools to their son: Thomas Brockly, piano forte maker, will proved 1844 (NA PROB 11/1941); William Darnton, piano maker, will proved 1839 (NA PROB 11/1917); Alexander Taylor Gow, piano forte maker, will proved 1846 (NA PROB 11/2046); George Kendall, pianoforte maker, will proved 1840 (NA PROB 11/1924); and Jeremiah Matthews, pianoforte maker, will proved 1842 (NA PROB 11/1965).

106. The son of George Kendall, piano maker, will proved 1840 (NA PROB 11/1924) received "as many [tools] as is useful to him in his business." Jeremiah Samuel Matthews received both his father's tools (will of Jeremiah Matthews, pianoforte maker, proved 1842 (NA PROB 11/1965)) and those of George Donnison, cabinet maker and piano forte maker, will proved 1844 (NA PROB 11/1996).

107. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 172.

case of Lorence Beyer they were the only personal possession to receive specific mention.<sup>108</sup>

Only one daughter (that of John Bond) received a piano-related inheritance.<sup>109</sup> More commonly daughters were gifted money, annuities, property, and domestic items. Piano maker Elizabeth Tomkins took pains to divide her many household items among five daughters, perhaps hoping to avoid any future dispute.<sup>110</sup> Other testators took specific action to curtail disagreement by revoking all legacies in the event of a challenge. One warned his daughter that to do so would render her “as if she were actually dead,”<sup>111</sup> and another ordered the immediate sale of his effects if his children could not divide them amicably.<sup>112</sup> One merely trusted “that they will avoid all squabbles and disputes in the division of the same,”<sup>113</sup> but such matters are not unique to this study.

Makers Thomas Tomkison, Americus Backers, Joseph Kirkman, James Longman, and Samuel Barber all acknowledged natural (illegitimate) children in their wills and made provision for their care.<sup>114</sup> George Buttery fathered a child with a maid from the local coffee house, but whether he made provision for the child is not known:<sup>115</sup> no will has been found in his name, and it is possible he never made one. In fact, in 1803, Muzio Clementi feared “he is out of his mind—I hope not.”<sup>116</sup>

108. Will of Lorence Beyer, pianoforte maker, proved 1790 (NA PROB 11/1187).

109. Will of John Bond, piano forte maker, proved 1848 (NA PROB 11/2077). See Table 2.

110. Will of Elizabeth Tomkins, piano forte maker, proved 1823 (NA PROB 11/1667).

111. Will of John Bruce, pianoforte maker, proved 1851 (NA PROB 11/2128).

112. Will of Samuel Seymour, pianoforte maker, proved 1856 (NA PROB 11/2231).

113. Will of John Heatly, piano maker, proved 1846 (NA PROB 11/2034).

114. Tomkison left his natural daughter, Caroline, £10 in his will. She was born four years prior to his marriage at St Anne’s, Soho, on June 28, 1800, to Mary Dolling. *Westminster parish records* (Ancestry). See also Caroline Jones (born c1796), living in Leadenhall Street with her husband, W[illia]m, a boarding house keeper (1841 census). See also, wills of Thomas Tomkison, proved 1853 (NA PROB 11/2183); Americus Backers, harpsichord maker, proved 1778 (NA PROB 11/1038); Joseph Kirkman, pianoforte maker, proved 1830 (NA PROB 11/1770); James Longman, music seller, proved 1804 (NA PROB 11/1405); and Samuel Barber, piano forte maker, proved 1851 (NA PROB 11/2140).

115. The child’s mother, Ann Simpson, was a servant at the New Inn Coffee House in Wych Street. *Pauper Settlement, Vagrancy and Bastardy Exams*, St Clement Danes Parish records, November 13, 1789 (LL WCCDEP358280252).

116. David Rowland (ed.), *The Correspondence of Muzio Clementi* (Bologna; Ut Orpeus Edizioni, 2010), 105.



Piano maker John Rathmacher provided for his son “or reputed son,” despite his uncertain paternity.<sup>117</sup>

As with wives and mistresses, children were prescribed a variety of roles in the wills. Some were enjoined to continue the family business in a manner (and at a remuneration) dictated in their father’s will, the outcome of which could be varied. Others appear to have followed their father willingly into the trade, while some were channeled into careers that may not have been of their choosing. They were encouraged into the trade, denied entry, and allowed the freedom to choose their own career. Some propelled the family firm several decades into the future or sold it when their father died, both in keeping with, and contrary to, his wishes. They perpetuated their father’s name and disappointed him to the point of disinheritance. Many others, however, while not personally involved in the trade, enjoyed the legacy of a parent who was.

### *Bequests to Fellow Workers and Employees*

In 1832, Muzio Clementi left his two friends Frederick and William Collard £20 each for the purchase of a mourning ring in his memory.<sup>118</sup> Burkat Shudi made provision for fourteen plain gold rings to be distributed among his friends,<sup>119</sup> Rice Jones made provision for ten,<sup>120</sup> and Charles Lukey gave a one-guinea ring to each of five friends at Cheapside, including James Longman and Francis Broderip.<sup>121</sup> Mourning rings were fashionable in the Victorian era and earlier, and many feature in the wills examined, but given the number that could be accumulated over a lifetime, the receipt of a cash legacy must have been a welcome alternative. Samuel Barber bequeathed his fellow piano maker John Thomas £10 (the equivalent of approximately £600 today) when he died in 1851, “for the trouble he will have in executing the trusts of this my will.”<sup>122</sup>

Sentimental and pecuniary gifts demonstrate not only the wealth of the testator, but the esteem in which they held their fellow members of

117. Will of John George Rathmacher, square piano forte maker, proved 1831 (NA PROB 11/1785).

118. Will of Muzio Clementi, esquire, proved 1832 (NA PROB 11/1798).

119. Will of Burkat Shudi, harpsichord maker, proved 1773 (NA PROB 11/991).

120. Will of Rice Jones, coal merchant and piano forte maker, proved 1811 (NA PROB 11/1523).

121. Will of Charles Lukey, proved 1777 (NA PROB 11/1031).

122. Will of Samuel Barber, piano forte maker, proved 1851 (NA PROB 11/2140).

the trade. In 1803, Joseph Merlin left his assistant "Sylvanus Jenkins who has for many years been and is at present my assistant" the sum of £500. He also entrusted him with the sale of "all my curious and valuable instruments the making of which has closely employed me for thirty years last past."<sup>123</sup> Jenkins duly organized their sale, including "a profusion of unfinished machines," in the museum in which they were housed, in June 1804.<sup>124</sup> Eight years later John Broadwood gave the same sum to his foreman, James Forsyth, "as an acknowledgement of his diligent attention to business."<sup>125</sup> These figures equate to approximately £16,000 and £17,000 today and, in modern parlance, they may have been "life changing." It is not known how much John Forsyth earned at the time of Broadwood's death, but the sum of £17,000 would have bought him six grand pianos from the company showroom.<sup>126</sup> His continued loyalty to the firm into his eighties was rewarded with a free house and "an honorarium of £20 a year."<sup>127</sup> James Shudi Broadwood described him as "thoroughly a zealous, honest well judging friend and servant."<sup>128</sup>

Other employee legacies came with qualifications. A married shop woman working for Joseph Dale received twenty pounds a year for life (approximately £800 per year today) "provided she does not carry on the business of a music seller or be concerned or assist in carrying on the said business without leave had and obtained in writing from my executrix and trustees."<sup>129</sup> The outcome is not recorded, but Clinkscale notes that the Dale music business continued another decade under the management of Elspeth Dale, who was neither wife nor daughter of the owner.<sup>130</sup> Other provisos were more conducive to trade. In 1794, with no

123. Another assistant and a porter received £100 each (approximately £3,200 in modern terms). Will of Joseph Merlin, inventor of mechanism, proved 1803 (NA PROB 11/1394).

124. The museum was at 11 Princes Street, Hanover Square. *Morning Chronicle* [MC hereafter], June 5, 1804. The sale was held over four days, from Monday 11 to Thursday 14 June, 1804 (British Library [BL hereafter] RB.23 a.32860).

125. Will of John Broadwood, musical instrument maker, proved 1812 (NA PROB 11/1538).

126. The income of a skilled workman in the first decade of the nineteenth century was approximately £100 per year and the price of the finest Broadwood grand piano was £84, or about four-fifths of a skilled man's income. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 103.

127. *Ibid.*, 153.

128. *Ibid.*, 131.

129. Will of Joseph Dale, music seller, proved 1821 (NA PROB 11/1649).

130. Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, Vol. 1, 82.

wife or issue alive to inherit, Buntebart offered his business to his employee, John Henry Schrader, upon the following terms:

And I do also hereby give devise and bequeath to John Henry Schrader who had the management and care of my business carried on at my house in Princess [sic] Street, Hanover Square for the good services and true attention to me in my business for time past the lease of the same house and premises situate in Princess Street aforesaid. And also all my business in every respect whatsoever and wheresoever and what nature soever and the whole and sole profit and benefit arising therefrom entirely to himself. And likewise all my outstanding book debts with the securities for debts that may be due and owing to me at the time of my decease and to and for the use and benefit of him the said John Henry Schrader his heirs and assigns for ever without the interruption of any person or persons whomsoever hereafter. And I do hereby will order and direct that my stock in trade may be fairly and justly valued and appraised by a competent judge and that the said John Henry Schrader shall after my decease take the same at such fair and just appraisement and the amount of such stock to be paid by instalments [into the Bank of England for the benefit of Buntebart's nephews and nieces] as may best suit him the said John Henry Schrader.<sup>131</sup>

The continued production of pianos in Zumpe's old premises was ensured by these measures, and on 12 February 1795 Schrader ended his partnership with a timber merchant in Tottenham Court Road to concentrate on running the firm.<sup>132</sup>

These half-dozen bequests are rare examples of an employer's generosity in wills that otherwise record no widespread munificence towards the workforce. All were made in the early years of the industry (the last being the bequest to Joseph Dale's shop woman in November 1821), at a time when employers and employees worked in close daily contact, and, supposedly, mutual respect and close friendships might more readily be formed. As companies expanded into satellite premises and the workforce was divided geographically, the establishment of a new management tier shifted the responsibility for employee welfare from the proprietor to the executive as a whole, and firms (not their founders) assumed responsibility for awarding annuities (not bequests) to long-serving employees. Four Broadwood individuals received an annuity in 1840,<sup>133</sup> and

131. Will of Gabriel Gotlieb Buntebart, large piano forte maker, proved 1794 (NA PROB 11/1250).

132. The timber merchant was Joseph Parker. *LG* (February 17, 1795), 173.

133. The annuitants were Black, Coulston, Yule, and Seidler's widow (SHC 2185/JB/74/1).

other companies made similar arrangements, including Chappell.<sup>134</sup> Senior foremen at Broadwood's also received an annual bonus known as a "present," which was awarded at the partners' discretion. It could be "a substantial amount, and for special services could be more than a year's salary."<sup>135</sup> Outside the workplace, the provision of financial and social services by friendly societies from the 1830s further absolved the employer from the care of his employee's welfare (beyond paying him a weekly wage) and introduced a greater degree of financial security to the workforce.<sup>136</sup> By the late nineteenth century, Broadwood employees paid between 3% and 5% of their wages into a "shop or other clubs for sick benefit or insurance," and the majority of the Challen staff did likewise.<sup>137</sup> One such society, typical of many, was The Music Trades Benevolent Society, established in 1902 with Broadwood employee George Rose presiding.<sup>138</sup> The society granted annuities to elderly and indigent members of the trade to help them in their retirement.<sup>139</sup> Alexander Gow, whose son was disinherited "in consequence of his unkind treatment and neglect of me during my affliction," was the oldest member of the Friendly Musical Society, and "being from old age and affliction unable to follow his employment" was the object of a trade fund-raising raffle for his benefit.<sup>140</sup> His story illustrates the motivation for such societies and the camaraderie they facilitated in the piano making fraternity.

134. Of eight Chappell employees (representing 440 years of service) four were in receipt of pensions in 1929. "Long Service" in *PM* (August 1929): 318.

135. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 153–54.

136. Friendly societies grew from dissatisfaction with the *Poor Law (Amendment) Act* of 1834. John Belchem and Richard Price (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century History* (Penguin, 1994), 239.

137. *Surgical, Scientific and Electrical Instruments and Musical Instruments and Toys: Interviews, Questionnaires, Statistics and Reports*, Charles Booth Archives, London School of Economics (Booth A11), 5–8.

138. George Rose retired as President of the Music Trades Benevolent Society in 1906. He had been President since the Society's inception in 1902. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 274. A timber merchant to the trade observed that "there was an aloofness [about George Rose] which was not understood until you had gained his confidence, and then one felt there was a great deal of kindness hidden under an outward icy feeling." Bamberger in *PM* (April 1928): 1301.

139. The society was still awarding annuities in the 1920s, to wit George Percival, "for many years a stoker at J. & J. Hopkinson." "Here and There" in *PM* (February 1921): 869.

140. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 157–58.

*Bequests to Servants*

Perhaps more revealing than a lack of bequests to employees is the greater number given to their domestic equivalent: the servant. Nearly a dozen servants to piano makers received a legacy during the period under study (compared with only seven employees in the workforce), and their terms could be just as valuable. The maidservant to Christopher Sievers inherited all her master's household goods and the interest, during her lifetime, from £1,000 invested in 3% consolidated bank annuities.<sup>141</sup> Similarly, George Friederick Schoene, who was unmarried and childless when he died, bequeathed all his household effects to his maid, plus £200 and a further £30 to her daughters.<sup>142</sup> Servants continued to receive legacies throughout the study period, the last being a companion to the wife of James Longman Rolfe who, in 1857, received a life annuity of £300 "for her faithful services [...] for a long series of years."<sup>143</sup> Perhaps, given that the domestic workforce remained far smaller than its factory equivalent (usually comprising no more than a handful per household),<sup>144</sup> it continued to compare with the workforce of the early piano workshop, and attracted legacies in a similar way. That a modern employer, with increasing leisure, had an appreciation for the services of his butler and servants, may be evidenced by the wills of John Broadwood and his son, James Shudi, which are neatly juxtaposed: John Broadwood made provision for his foreman but no servants, and his son (forty years later) rewarded his servants but no employee.<sup>145</sup>

Other household staff who benefited from their master's death included domestic servants and nurses. "Over and above all wages which

141. The latter only passed to Sievers' mother (if still living) upon the maid's decease, and if not then living to his five sisters in equal parts. Will of Christopher Sievers, pianoforte maker, proved 1793 (NA PROB 11/1234).

142. Will of George Friederick Schoene, gentleman, proved 1825 (NA PROB 11/1694).

143. Will of James Longman Rolfe, piano forte seller, proved 1857 (NA PROB 11/2262).

144. A study of the members of the piano industry in the 1881 census shows that more than 80% of those households to employ a servant recruited only one, and only 15% employed two. See Chapter 6 "The 1881 Workforce" in Marie Kent, "Exposing the London Piano Industry Workforce (c1765–1914)" (PhD diss., London Metropolitan University, 2013), 208–274, at 271.

145. James Shudi gave his daughter's companion £500 (the equivalent of nearly £30,000 today), £200 to a steward, £100 to his butler, and a year's wage to each of his servants to have served him 12 months when he died. Will of James Shudi Broadwood, esquire, proved 1851 (NA PROB 11/2138).

may be due to her” Joseph Merlin gave his nurse £10, and to “each and every other women servants in my employ at my decease the sum of five guineas each.”<sup>146</sup> Piano maker Elizabeth Tomkins left £30 to pay for the mourning of her apprentices and servants, while fellow maker William Winget gave £100 to a female servant, and Buntebart gave the same to his maid, together with all his wearing apparel “both linen and woollen.”<sup>147</sup> John Köhler, meanwhile, deleted a legacy from his will following “a most violent quarrel” with his cook, after which he had “done with her for ever.”<sup>148</sup> Close domestic relationships had their disadvantages.

### *Charity*

Seemingly, the early piano-making fraternity was generous to the charity that began at home, since many provided for relations living at home and abroad, and for the extended family of their spouse. As noted above, some also left legacies to their servants, employees, and friends. Only three made a charitable donation via their will, however, helping just six organizations in the provision of educational, medical and spiritual care. In 1790, Zumpe left £200 (the equivalent of approximately £11,200 today) to a Marylebone charity for “maintaining, clothing, and educating poor children,”<sup>149</sup> and £100 to a charity school near Nuremburg.<sup>150</sup> As noted by Cole, “This latter bequest provided purchase money for a plot of land near Fürth, giving the school sufficient income from rent to buy shoes or boots for destitute pupils for the next hundred years.”<sup>151</sup> John Broadwood chose to support The Scottish Hospital in Fleet Street and The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which, in 1812, bene-

146. Will of Joseph Merlin, inventor of mechanism, proved 1803 (NA PROB 11/1394).

147. Wills of Elizabeth Tomkins, piano forte maker, proved 1823 (NA PROB 11/1667); William Winget, pianoforte maker, proved 1850 (NA PROB 11/2108); and Gabriel Gottlieb Buntebart, large piano forte maker, proved 1794 (NA PROB 11/1250).

148. Will of John Köhler, musical instrument maker, proved 1801 (NA PROB 11/1356). John Köhler was a brass instrument maker and executor to the will of Christopher Sievers; he was not, himself, a piano maker, and reference here to his will is for illustration only. For details of his relationship with his cook (who was also his mistress) see Whitehead and Myers, “The Köhler Family,” 89–123.

149. The St Marylebone Charity for Needy Children. Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, 67.

150. Will of John Christopher Zumpe, gentleman, proved 1790 (NA PROB 11/1199).

151. See “Johannes Zumpe” by Michael Cole: [www.squarepianos.com/zumpe.html](http://www.squarepianos.com/zumpe.html) (accessed February 6, 2012).

fited from £50 each (a combined legacy of approximately £3,400 today).<sup>152</sup> The piano dealer James Longman Rolfe left the London City Missionary Society and the British & Foreign Bible Society £19 19s apiece in 1857 (approximately £860 each today).<sup>153</sup> These are small amounts when it is remembered that Zumpe's personal estate included several London properties,<sup>154</sup> and that John Broadwood left £106,364 (or more than £3.5 million today).<sup>155</sup> Broadwood's eldest son, James Shudi, was worth £319,180 when he died (equating to approximately £18.5 million today),<sup>156</sup> yet he recorded no charitable bequests in his will. Seemingly, the generosity of the workforce was not to be proved at their death. Members of the Broadwood family are known to have made charitable donations extraneous to their wills and no doubt other members of the workforce did so also.<sup>157</sup> Certainly, they assisted one another during their lifetime, contributing to fundraising efforts on behalf of indigent members (as evidenced by the Friendly Musical Society and Alexander Gow) and donating money and tools to colleagues who had lost their possessions in factory fires.<sup>158</sup> Whether they supported charities unconnected with their trade is not known, but certainly the opportunities for organized philanthropy increased in the eighteenth century. Some testators may have considered they had fulfilled their moral and charitable obligations during their lifetime, while others, perhaps less prosperous, were disinclined to make posthumous donations to charities at the expense of surviving family dependents.

### *Evidence of Wealth*

The figures quoted above with regard to the personal wealth of John and James Shudi Broadwood are not drawn from their wills but from family probate records. The absolute wealth of a testator cannot be

152. Will of John Broadwood, musical instrument maker, proved 1812 (NA PROB 11/1538).

153. Will of James Longman Rolfe, pianoforte seller, proved 1857 (NA PROB 11/2262).

154. Will of John Zumpe, gentleman, proved 1790 (NA PROB 11/1199).

155. A further £20,000 was due to him in outstanding loans. *Ibid.*, 110.

156. *Ibid.*, 169.

157. With regard to the Broadwood family, see Chapter 4, "Workforce Wills (1773–1857)" in Kent, "Exposing the London Piano Industry Workforce," 82–140, at 115–116.

158. See Chapter 5, "Bankruptcy and insolvency (1756–1914)" in Kent, "Exposing the London Piano Industry Workforce," 174–78, and *Ibid.*, Appendix 16 "More about fires in the industry," 531–41.

gauged solely from his will. Some wills do mention specific investments, such as £350 in the "Navy five per cent annuities"<sup>159</sup> or "£2,100 in the four per cents in the Bank of England,"<sup>160</sup> but many use generic terms such as "all my worldly estate" or "money in the stocks or funds," making it impossible to estimate the total value of the testator's assets, and while it is possible to consult death duty registers for a valuation of the deceased's estate, these documents did not exist before 1796 (eliminating eight of the testators studied) and prior to 1805 they exist for only one-quarter of all estates (potentially eliminating many more). Moreover, death duties were not always collected for estates valued at less than £1,500, so again, the assets of many of the testators are unlikely to have been recorded.<sup>161</sup> Their wealth must be assessed by other means.

Then, as now, property was a significant meter of prosperity. More than one-third of testators claimed to own freehold, copyhold,<sup>162</sup> or leasehold premises or messuages (a dwelling house with outbuildings and land assigned to its use). Another 13% alluded to "all my real estate" or "real property which I shall leave at the day of my decease," implying possible ownership, or a hope to acquire some property before they died. Therefore, approximately half the testators owned—or hoped to own—real estate at their death.<sup>163</sup> Most were musical instrument makers, but one was a piano dealer,<sup>164</sup> one a piano teacher,<sup>165</sup> and one a bellyman and joiner.<sup>166</sup> The latter was a Broadwood employee earning £1 10s per week in 1834, who, despite being among the lowest paid of the work-

159. Will of Alexander Fraser, cabinet maker and pianoforte maker, proved 1821 (NA PROB 11/1643).

160. Will of Adam Beyer, gentleman, proved 1804 (NA PROB 11/1187).

161. Grannum and Taylor, *Wills & Probate Records*, 82.

162. Copyhold is a tenure of lands in England of ancient origin, being parcel of a manor "at the will of the Lord according to the custom of the manor," by copy of the manorial court roll. Copyhold land does not appear often in the wills as its inheritance was pre-determined and therefore it could not be given or devised in a will to any other person. *Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. II, 979.

163. It is to be assumed that all testators who owned property were British by birth or naturalisation as migrants were not legally entitled to buy or inherit land. Cole, "Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker," 113.

164. Will of James Longman Rolfe, piano forte seller, proved 1857 (NA PROB 11/2262).

165. Will of Thomas William Sumpter, former shoemaker, now teacher of the pianoforte, proved 1841 (NA PROB 11/1785).

166. Will of George Radford, grand pianoforte bellyman and joiner, proved 1840 (NA PROB 11/1931).



force,<sup>167</sup> owned the lease to 15 and 16 William Street, Regents Park, where he lived with his family at number 15.<sup>168</sup> Two dozen other testators owned multiple properties. Augustus Leukfeld, for example, owned a “good family house and about ten acres of meadow land” near the Adam and Eve pub at Mill Hill, a nearby cottage facing the King’s Head pub, and the lease of a house and factory in Tottenham Street, London,<sup>169</sup> all of which he bequeathed to his wife.<sup>170</sup> Daniel Giles Rose owned two copyhold estates in Harrow and increased the value of one by erecting several cottages within its boundaries.<sup>171</sup> George Astor owned land in America,<sup>172</sup> Burkat Shudi owned a freehold property in Schwander, in the Swiss Canton of Glarus,<sup>173</sup> and Johann Stumpff held an interest in a saw mill in the Dukedom of Saxe Coburg Gotha.<sup>174</sup> Most of the properties, however, were local to the testator, and either owner-occupied or rented to tenants, some of whom are named in the wills.

In terms of ready money, nearly half the wills describe cash legacies and some of these are large amounts—for example £5,000 (approximately one-quarter of a million pounds today) given by Robert Stodart to each of two daughters in 1831<sup>175</sup>—but others are small tokens of

167. Broadwood papers (SHC 2185/JB/74/1).

168. Will of George Radford, grand pianoforte bellyman and joiner, proved 1840 (NA PROB 11/1931). The neighbouring property (no. 16) was inhabited by piano maker William Parry in 1830. *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, April 21, 1830 (LMA Ms. 11936/527/1105940). Piano maker Edwin Bird also lived at no.16 prior to his death in 1844. Will of Edwin Bird, piano forte maker, proved 1844 (NA PROB 11/1994). Parry and Bird were acquainted as the former was a witness to the latter’s will. Parry was also witness to the will of Rice Jones in 1811 (NA PROB 11/1523) but was living in Temple at that time.

169. The property at (no.27) Tottenham Street was apparently acquired by the music seller George Astor to make pianos for his own firm and for Broderip & Wilkinson. About 1798 Broderip engaged Astor and Leukfeld to make his pianos, but c1801 Leukfeld became the sole proprietor of the premises. Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 103–04.

170. Will of Leudevig August Leukfeld, musical instrument maker, proved 1810 (NA PROB 11/1517). His wife remarried two months after his death. *Jackson’s Oxford Journal* (January 19, 1811). At her death, the Crown preferred a claim to Leukfeld’s property. *MP* (May 20, 1834).

171. Will of Daniel Giles Rose, gentleman, proved 1850 (NA PROB 11/2109).

172. Will of George Astor, musical instrument maker, proved 1813 (NA PROB 11/1550).

173. He bequeathed the property to his sister, who was already in residence. Will of Burkat Shudi, harpsichord maker, proved 1773 (NA PROB 11/991).

174. Will of Johann Andreas Stumpff, harp and piano forte maker, proved 1847 (NA PROB 11/2053).

175. Will of Robert Stodart, proved 1831 (NA PROB 11/1784).

friendship or esteem amounting to only a few pounds. Piano maker Thomas Turnham settled on the following:

Now my old friend Mr Burton I am at a loss to know what little acknowledgement to make him. I know baubles are of no use to him so I hope he will except [sic] of five pounds.<sup>176</sup>

Table 3 lists some of the testators to have specified pecuniary legacies in their will, the total sum of those legacies, and their broad equivalent in cash terms today. The testators listed are those who quoted the greatest and the smallest amounts: a full list is given in Appendix V. The given totals do not necessarily reflect the total worth of the testator, who may have had other assets (perhaps both real and personal) that were not quantified in their will.

The figures in Table 3 vary widely, from the equivalent of a few hundred pounds to several million. That James Shudi Broadwood was able to give away nearly seven times the amount bequeathed by his father, while owning less than half of the company, is indicative of the enormous growth of the Broadwood firm in the first half of the nineteenth century, even accounting for the profitability of the firm when Broadwood inherited it.<sup>177</sup> Cole estimates that Shudi's harpsichord business had brought him a personal worth of £10,000 by the time he died (more than £600,000 today),<sup>178</sup> so John Broadwood was well placed to build on his predecessor's example. The figures quoted by Shudi, John Broadwood and his son may be of no surprise, and the same may be said of Robert Stodart, whose fortune is documented elsewhere.<sup>179</sup> Others at the top of Table 3 are more revealing. The piano tuner John Marshall may have been related to a man named Marshall (first name not given) who worked as supervisor to the grand-action making department at Broadwood.<sup>180</sup> The fact that he named a prominent Broadwood

176. Will of Thomas Turnham, pianoforte maker, proved 1815 (NA PROB 11/1571).

177. At his death, James Shudi Broadwood owned 7/20 of the company. When his young son, Walter Stewart, was admitted to the partnership in 1843, shares were divided into twenty: James Shudi and his brother Thomas retained seven each, James Shudi's eldest son, Henry Fowler, received four, and Walter Stewart and his cousin Thomas received one apiece. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 147.

178. Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, 153.

179. Alastair Laurence, "The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand Piano: 1785–1998" (PhD diss., University of York, 1998), 20.

180. Laurence, "The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand," 68.

TABLE 3. Testators who noted legacies in their will (and the value of those legacies). In decreasing order, center section missing—see Appendix V for full list. Source: Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills (1773-1857).

Surname	First names	Trade	Will Proved	Total stated	Today (approx.)
Broadwood	James Shudi	Esquire	1851	£205,800	*£11.7 million
Broadwood	John	Musical instrument maker	1812	£47,577	£1.7 million
Stodart	Robert	[Piano maker]	1831	£15,470	£757,270
Shudi	Burkat	Harpsichord maker	1773	£5,895	£373,970
Marshall	John	Piano forte tuner	1853	£3,000	£170,980
Cox	Brooks	Gentleman & pianoforte maker	1847	£2,500	£135,500
Beyer	Adam	Gentleman	1804	£4,060	£133,520
Clementi	Muzio	Esquire	1832	£2,245	£108,680
McDuff	Robert	[Broadwood employee]	1827	£1,903	£89,860
Russell	Richard	Piano forte maker	1843	£1,500	£72,640
Zumpe	John C	Gentleman	1790	£1,240	£69,480
Sievers	Christopher J L	Piano forte maker	1793	£1,220	£59,620
Tomkins	Elizabeth	Piano forte maker	1823	£1,290	£57,000
Wrede	Herman	Musical wind instrument maker	1841	£1,200	£54,650
Merlin	Joseph	Inventor of mechanism	1803	£1,130	£36,960
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Rathmacher	John George	Square pianoforte maker	1831	£19	£930
Middleton	David	Piano forte maker	1845	£16	£820
Dodd	Thomas	Musical instrument maker	1837	£15	£680
Boyett	William	Organ builder & pianoforte maker	1851	£10	£570
Tomkison	Thomas	[Piano maker]	1853	£10	£540
Ormond	James Cowle	Pianoforte maker	1841	£10	£450
Banks	Benjamin	Musical instrument maker	1795	£10	£440
Backers	Americus	Harpsichord maker	1778	£5	£310

NB: Total figures do not represent the total value of the testator's personal estate. Cash equivalents "today" calculated via National Archives Currency Converter. \*This total was increased via three codicils made to the will.

employee—James Forsyth (junior) of Horseferry Road—trustee and executor to his will suggests a strong connection with the firm,<sup>181</sup> as does his apparent prosperity.<sup>182</sup> Cox Brooks, who follows Marshall in Table 3, was the father of the piano action and tool maker Henry Brooks of Cumberland Market, and a piano maker-turned-gentleman by the time he died in 1847.<sup>183</sup> As founder of the family firm making pianoforte hammer rails, his wealth was acquired as a supplier to the trade.<sup>184</sup> Of course, it cannot be known whether Cox's wealth—or that of any of the testators—was created wholly by his own labor, or whether he received a legacy in his turn, so the findings in this section of the study must be judged accordingly.

In addition to the ready money noted in Table 3 above, that spent on non-essential domestic items also reflects the testators' wealth. Family portraits were especially prized, being expensive to commission and sentimental besides, and Burkat Shudi, being wealthy, owned six. Most famous is the group portrait of himself and his first wife, Catherine, with their two sons Joshua and Burkat, but five other portraits were noted in his will; namely, one of his daughter Margaret by the same marriage; a single portrait of himself; two portraits of his second wife, Elizabeth; and one of their daughter of the same name.<sup>185</sup> The painting of the large family group (by Carl Marcus Tuscher), originally installed in the paneling above the fireplace in Shudi's front parlor in Great Pulteney Street,<sup>186</sup> now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery.<sup>187</sup> Other testators

181. In the event, Forsyth "wholly declined to act therein" and, together with a fellow executor, Samuel Bellin (one of Marshall's neighbours), renounced the position, leaving Marshall's son, William Alfred, as sole executor of his father's will. See *Disclaimer of bequests*, January 24, 1853 (LMA BRA/747/086). Given the affiliation between Marshall and the Broadwood firm, an attempt was made to establish a link between the testator and the Leicestershire piano dealer Herbert Marshall, who formed a partnership (known as "Marshall & Rose") in 1907 with Broadwood employee George Rose (Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 274), but none was found.

182. For more details of John Marshall, see Kent, "Exposing the London Piano Industry Workforce," 122–123.

183. Will of Cox Brooks, gentleman and pianoforte maker, proved April 1847 (NA PROB 11/ 2053/363).

184. See Cox Brooks & Sons, 37 Little Albany Street North (*Post Office London Directory* [POLD hereafter], 1844). For a biography of the Brooks family see Appendix 20 "Biography of Henry Brooks, action maker (1815–1887)" in Kent, "Exposing the London Piano Industry Workforce," 563–76.

185. Will of Burkat Shudi, harpsichord maker, proved 1773 (NA PROB 11/991).

186. Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, 1–2.

187. The portrait was acquired by the Gallery in 1985 (National Portrait Gallery [NPG hereafter] 5776). Private correspondence, NPG, May 23, 2013.

also noted paintings in their will. The music seller Charles Wheatstone had a portrait of himself “hung over my drawing room chimney piece,”<sup>188</sup> and Thomas Tomkison commissioned two portraits of himself and his wife, painted by George Henry Harlow.<sup>189</sup> George Thomas Dettmer had his likeness painted too.<sup>190</sup> Less costly than an original painting, but of sufficient note to be bequeathed in the will of William Darnton, were a print of the “Golden Chain of Salvation” and two pictures entitled “A Cloud of Witnesses” which he left to his wife and son.<sup>191</sup> Other items of sentimental value were gold watches (noted by Charles Wheatstone, Rice Jones, George Gange and James Longman Rolfe, the latter bequeathing an eye glass too),<sup>192</sup> and silverware, including teapots, caddies, cutlery, candlesticks, sugar tongs, and similar domestic articles. Elizabeth Tomkins bequeathed her “buff and green bed hangings lined with yellow” and all the pillows, bolsters and blankets “belonging to the said bed.”<sup>193</sup>

These findings attest to the prosperity of the testators as assessed by several means. Their ability to furnish their homes with luxury goods and bequeath sums of money to family and friends indicates a level of wealth beyond that required for daily subsistence, and confirms that they were able to spend (and save) material sums of money. Their investment in stocks and bonds demonstrates a confidence to lock money away over a period of time yet still maintain a comfortable standard of living; as does their purchase of real estate (and in some cases multiple properties) with the ongoing cost of its maintenance and insurance, perhaps aided by rental income. In some cases, the profits generated by their business could be sufficient to fund a separate home “in the country.” All these factors demonstrate the level of wealth that could be attained by

188. Will of Charles Wheatstone, music seller, proved 1823 (NA PROB 11/1678).

189. Tomkison also commissioned a portrait of his daughter, Mary Dolling Fauche (aged 12) by the same artist. Will of Thomas Tomkison, proved 1853 (NA PROB 11/2183). George Henry Harlow (1787–1819) was a pupil of Sir Thomas Lawrence. I am grateful to Norman MacSween for alerting me to the identity of this artist.

190. Will of George Thomas Dettmer, pianoforte maker, proved 1843 (NA PROB 11/1980).

191. Will of William Darnton, pianoforte maker, proved 1839 (NA PROB 11/1917).

192. Wills of Charles Wheatstone, music seller, proved 1823 (NA PROB 11/1678); Rice Jones, coal merchant and piano forte maker, proved 1811 (NA PROB 11/1523); George Gange, piano forte maker, proved 1853 (NA PROB 11/2179); and James Longman Rolfe, piano forte seller, proved 1857 (NA PROB 11/2262).

193. Will of Elizabeth Tomkins, pianoforte maker, proved 1823 (NA PROB 11/1667).

members of the workforce, but the situation was not uniformly so, and even those who managed to achieve wealth did not always succeed in retaining it, as the following cases attest.

### *Evidence of Debt*

Although the wills proved by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury were reportedly those of “relatively wealthy individuals,” it has been shown that the levels of wealth recorded by the workforce varied considerably. It is likely that some testators never achieved great wealth, while others were brought low by circumstance and mismanagement, a germane example being the formerly successful music seller and instrument dealer James Longman, who penned a will in the Fleet prison in which his chief concerns were reduced to the care of his children and not to the distribution of his riches, such as they remained.<sup>194</sup> The wills of other testators who died in reduced circumstances are all recognizable by their brevity. They include that of the piano maker Stephen Moore,<sup>195</sup> “broke deep in debt which he will never be able to pay,”<sup>196</sup> and the instrument maker Thomas Culliford,<sup>197</sup> who died in 1821 leaving an estate valued at “under £200.”<sup>198</sup> The subject of bankruptcy and insolvency among the workforce is discussed elsewhere,<sup>199</sup> but as evidenced by Americus Backers in 1778, not every unpaid debt resulted in prosecution. Credit among family members and friends was possibly more elastic than that extended by tradesmen squeezed by creditors of their own, and while the lender could sustain the debt, litigation might be avoided. The only workforce debt recorded in the wills was that of the piano maker Thomas Butcher, of 41 Great Titchfield Street, who owed “fifty pounds more or less” to fellow piano maker Robert Southgate.<sup>200</sup> Whether the debt was settled is not recorded, but that Southgate recorded the debt in his will may have been a precondition of Butcher’s accepting the money.

194. Will of James Longman, music seller, proved 1804 (NA PROB 11/1405).

195. Will of Stephen Moore, piano forte maker, proved 1803 (NA PROB 11/1400).

196. Nex in Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 35.

197. Jenny Nex, “Culliford and Company: Keyboard Instruments Makers in Georgian London,” *Early Keyboard Journal* 22 (2004): 7–48, at 32.

198. *Ibid.*, 34.

199. See Chapter 5, “Bankruptcy and insolvency (1756–1914)” in Kent, “Exposing the London Piano Industry Workforce,” 174–78.

200. Will of Robert Southgate, piano forte maker, proved May 1843 (NA PROB 11/1980).

### *The Bequest and Sale of Instruments*

For a study of 132 testators working in the music industry, surprisingly few instruments are mentioned in the wills: only thirteen specific instruments are identified, belonging to seven individuals. At Merlin's Mechanical Museum in Princes Street, Hanover Square, were "an organised piano-forte by Merlin and Grey," "a patent piano-forte harpsichord with trumpets and kettle drums," "a patent piano-forte harpsichord by Merlin," and two "grand piano-forte[s]," one of which was also made by Merlin:<sup>201</sup> all to be sold for "the most money and best price and prices" the executors could procure.<sup>202</sup> In Clementi's house in Evesham were an unspecified number of "musical instruments and manuscripts and printed music" which the deceased bequeathed to his wife.<sup>203</sup>

Two harpsichords belonged to Burkat Shudi, whose home in "Queen Charlotte Row by the New Road in the parish of Saint Mary Le Bone" probably housed a number of instruments. To each of his daughters Shudi bequeathed "one of my double keyed harpsichord[s] of my own making,"<sup>204</sup> which suggests that Margaret and Elizabeth may have had a choice. Either there were a number of harpsichords in the house from which the girls might choose—including, possibly, at least one by another maker—or Shudi intended that his daughters should select their instruments from his former workshop in Great Pulteney Street, now owned by his son-in-law for the past two years.<sup>205</sup> A proviso of the indenture which handed the business to John Broadwood allowed Shudi to keep "a few, already-finished harpsichords in Great Pulteney Street until such time as they were sold,"<sup>206</sup> so it is possible that the girls made their choice from this selection. In either scenario, it is curious that the girls—who were twenty-seven and thirteen when their father died—had not been offered an instrument while their father lived, given the ready availability of harpsichords in and around the family home.<sup>207</sup> Perhaps Shudi had been waiting for his daughters to marry before bestowing such a gift,

201. See 1804 catalogue of the posthumous sale of Merlin's Mechanical Museum (BL RB.23 a.32860).

202. Will of Joseph Merlin, inventor of mechanism, proved 1803 (NA PROB 11/1394).

203. Will of Muzio Clementi, esquire, proved 1832 (NA PROB 11/1798).

204. Will of Burkat Shudi, harpsichord maker, proved 1777 (NA PROB 11/991).

205. Shudi signed over his business to John Broadwood in March 1771, and signed his will on July 5, 1773. See Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, 11.

206. *Ibid.*, 11.

207. For the genealogy of the Shudi family, see *Ibid.*, 161.

and such a policy might explain the harp bequeathed to Joseph Dale's daughter in 1809. Like Margaret Shudi, Anne Dale was also twenty-seven and unmarried when her father died and left her "the harp she plays upon No.1087 or any other she may choose."<sup>208</sup> The instrument was made by Erard and would have been acquired by her father for sale or hire at his showroom at 19 Cornhill or 151 New Bond Street.<sup>209</sup> The phrasing of Dale's will implies that his daughter had enjoyed only the loan of a salesroom instrument before her father died, and not a dedicated harp of her own.

The other instruments specified in the wills were all pianos. One was "an Upright Rosewood Truss Pianoforte" bequeathed by Robert Frederick Hill to a female friend in 1855, which was probably one of his own construction from his workshop on the Old Kent Road.<sup>210</sup> George Thomas Dettmer left his "pianoforte and working tools" to his wife in 1843, which, again, is likely to have been an instrument that he built;<sup>211</sup> and George Eadon bequeathed his "piano fort" [sic] to his sister-in-law in 1831: again, no doubt one of his own construction.<sup>212</sup> As noted earlier, the composer and pianist John Possin left "Gabriel Ball of Jewry Street Hampstead Road pianoforte maker my two piano fortes," which were possibly instruments originally made by Ball.<sup>213</sup>

All these were finished instruments, but the fate of unfinished instruments was also a matter that testators sought to address in their wills. Some were to be finished before they were sold, and others not. In 1811, piano maker Rice Jones directed that "all such instruments as shall be in an unfinished state at the time of my decease [...] shall be completed or finished as soon as conveniently may be after my decease and that all

208. Will of Joseph Dale, music seller, proved 1821 (NA PROB 11/1649). For Anne's age, see Ann [sic] Dale (born June 19) baptised July 13, 1794 at St Marylebone, Westminster; parents Joseph and Caroline Dale. *Westminster Parish Register* (Ancestry).

209. Dale paid Erard £80 17s (or 77 guineas) on September 15, 1808 for harp no.1087, and the same amount for a second harp, no. 1086. *Erard ledgers*, Royal College of Music.

210. Will of Robert Frederick Hill, pianoforte maker, proved 1855 (NA PROB 11/2214). A truss on an upright piano is a leg that extends from the underside of the keyboard to the piano's "toes."

211. Will of George Thomas Dettmer, pianoforte maker, proved 1843 (NA PROB 11/1980).

212. Will of George William Eadon, piano forte maker, proved 1831 (NA PROB 11/1786).

213. Will of John Samuel Charles Possin, gentleman, proved 1821 (NA PROB 11/1650).



such materials may be purchased for completing or finishing the same if any required as may be necessary.”<sup>214</sup> Herman Wrede senior gave the same instruction, stipulating, “all such goods as are now in progress [are] to be completed and thereby to sell to advantage.”<sup>215</sup> Other testators did not make this distinction. James Kennay was happy to sanction the sale of “all my stock in trade consisting of piano fortes both finished and unfinished instruments on hire tools and instruments of every description horses carts vans benches and all materials whatsoever used in my said business of piano forte maker.”<sup>216</sup> Even those who were alive when their estate was sold were not always troubled to complete their work. John Crang Hancock advertised “parts of different Kinds of Instruments unfinished” when he retired from the business in 1794,<sup>217</sup> whereas Frederick Neubauer advertised only finished articles when “leaving off business” in 1770; his “unfinished instruments, and many Articles and Materials in that Branch of Business” were sold (by the order of his administrators) only after his decease.<sup>218</sup>

The sale of an estate by public auction or private contract appears to have been an emotive issue. Some testators were in favor of a sale by public auction, while others found the prospect abhorrent. Leudevig Leukfeld specifically instructed that his executors “dispose of by public auction all my stock in trade timber and materials,”<sup>219</sup> but Adam Beyer insisted that his “estate shall not in any case whatsoever be sold by public auction.”<sup>220</sup> Thomas Tomkison was ambivalent, leaving it for his executors to decide whether his estate should be sold “entirely and altogether or in parcels by public auction or by private contract,”<sup>221</sup> and John Waite and Joseph Merlin decreed the same.<sup>222</sup> It is fortunate that some estates were put to auction, however, as their particulars were often described in

214. Will of Rice Jones, coal merchant and pianoforte maker, proved 1811 (NA PROB 11/1523).

215. Will of Herman Wrede, musical wind instrument [and piano] maker, proved 1841 (NA PROB 11/1943).

216. Will of James Kennay, piano forte maker, proved 1856 (NA PROB 11/2234).

217. *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (November 27, 1794).

218. *Daily Advertiser* (November 25, 1774).

219. Will of Leudevig Augustus Leukfeld, musical instrument maker, proved 1810 (NA PROB 11/1517).

220. Will of Adam Beyer, gentleman, proved 1804 (NA PROB 11/1403).

221. Will of Thomas Tomkison, proved 1853 (NA PROB 11/2183).

222. Wills of John Waite, piano forte maker, proved 1829 (NA PROB 11/1757); and Joseph Merlin, inventor of mechanism, proved 1803 (NA PROB 11/1394).

the press. Merlin's estate was sold over four days in the summer of 1804, the auctioneers working room-by-room through the house,<sup>223</sup> and Leukfeld's estate was divided into two separate consignments for sale to the public and trade:<sup>224</sup> first, the finished instruments on January 16, 1811, and then, with a separate appeal to the trade, his working effects were sold the following week.<sup>225</sup> The ongoing sale of Leukfeld's stock advertised "elephant's teeth, ebony work, benches, packing-cases,"<sup>226</sup> and finally "excellent Berlin wire [...] glue pots, brass and iron monger, and numerous other effects."<sup>227</sup> In all, the sale took two months to complete and indicates well the significant amount of work that could be involved in administering an estate.

### *Conclusions*

For a collection of legal documents, the wills provide a lively insight into the private and professional lives of members of the workforce prior to 1858. Although not all the testators were leaders in their field, representing a mixture of employees and entrepreneurs, all were concerned for the future security of their family, for the ambitions of their children, and for the posthumous management of their estate. The value of the wills to this study owes much to the fact that their contents reveal more than their purpose intended. A study of the characters mentioned in the wills has reconstructed a portion of the community in which the testators worked. These individuals, whose independent failings and endeavors shaped the testators' own careers, also shaped their society. Their occupations define the testators' social spheres and point to areas of interest beyond their own profession. They also give an indication of the support and responsibility under which the testators labored.

Because the wills span several generations, the fate of several family firms has been charted from father to son or from uncle to nephew. Few survived as a family business beyond two generations, and the longevity of firms like Broadwood was not typical.<sup>228</sup> For the most part, the endeavor

223. Monday 11 June to Thursday 14 June inclusive. 1804 catalogue of the posthumous sale of Merlin's Mechanical Museum (BL RB.23 a.32860).

224. The first sale took place two months after Leukfeld had "sustained such severe injuries by being thrown out of his chaise that he died soon after." *MP* (May 20, 1834).

225. *MC* (January 25, 1811).

226. *MC* (February 14, 1811).

227. *MC* (March 13, 1811).

228. For the full story of the firm, see Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*.

ors of a family firm ended with the death of the founder or his son, and even those firms that survived through the efforts of widows and children were unlikely to be passed to a third generation.<sup>229</sup> In part, the transience of these firms may be explained by the exigencies of business in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when market conditions were subverted by war and depression—the London furniture-making trade records a similar pattern of short-lived family firms during the same period<sup>230</sup>—but the extent to which the success of a firm was dependent upon the personalities involved should not be understated. Practical talent and commercial sense are not necessarily concomitant, and it was a rare family that could draw on both aptitudes over successive generations. Herman Wrede and James Ball, for example, were both practical men with acumen, but it would appear that their sons were not. Testamentary evidence of the failure of such businesses corroborates the pattern of activity in Harding’s list of makers, which suggests that the majority of firms survived for only a matter of years.<sup>231</sup> Very few achieved the growth or continuity of firms like Brinsmead, Broadwood, Clementi/Collard, or Hopkinson, for example, which survived into the following century. And workshops appropriated by former employees or rival practitioners potentially fared no better. John Henry Schrader, George Friederick Schoene, and John Price all closed the door on their predecessor’s enterprise. As acknowledged by Cole, good fortune alone saved the Broadwood firm from the same fate:<sup>232</sup> that John Broadwood had sons and grandsons with the necessary practical and administrative skills to perpetuate the firm was central to its success, and the recruitment of employees such as James Forsyth and Alexander Russell—and even Broadwood himself—was instrumental in the survival of the firm. Practitioners with no sons to continue their work (e.g., Zumpe, Sievers, the Schoene brothers, Merlin, Leukfeld, Beyer, Buntebart, and

229. This pattern continued in the late nineteenth century, when, according to a contemporary observer, “Firms come and go like mushrooms, others grow up into well-established trees until the old wood stops any further growth, and then some name once revered and honoured is but a memory of the past.” Bamberger in *PM* (September 1928): 423.

230. Pat Kirkham, *The London Furniture Trade 1700–1870* (London: Furniture History Society, 1988), 6.

231. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 402–26.

232. Cole observes that “Shudi’s posterity hung by the slenderest thread” in that James Shudi Broadwood was his only living grandson. Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, 68.

Baragiola) were vulnerable, but those with a son hardly less so. The skills required to create a successful business were also required to drive it ahead. Unless a son recognized his own failings and was able to recruit the talents he lacked, the firm would be at risk. That many testators doubted their son's abilities is evident from the wills, in that several businesses were instructed to be sold.

These wills also indicate the material success that could be achieved by the workforce. Celebrated practitioners who died bequeathing an established business, money in the funds, real estate, and luxury goods are in marked contrast to those who died leaving nothing. Yet both cemented the structure of the industry. It was not their posthumous wealth but their working life that propelled the industry forward. Backers' posthumous debt did not negate his contribution to the design of the grand piano, nor did Longman and Broderips' bankruptcy reverse their contribution to the growth of the musical community. Indeed, as reasoned by Nex, their repeated prosecution shaped the reform of the music publishing laws.<sup>233</sup> The failure—and even the demise—of members of the workforce was of equal encouragement to those who remained as the success of men like Zumpe and Broadwood. John Francis Bell did not enter the piano trade until he inherited the workshop of Lewis Baragiola, and the death of Gabriel Buntebart was a fillip to the career of John Henry Schrader. Death and bankruptcy forced the sale of many workshops whose contents enabled the careers of others: Schoene, Schrader, and Price all labeled themselves “successor to” men who had died.<sup>234</sup> It may have been easier to step into the shoes of a dead man than to emulate—or topple—the success of another who lived.

The documents studied are only a sample of the relevant wills that may be available, and they are not uniform in the information they present. They do not allow a precise calculation of the testators' worth, and they reveal only limited aspects of the testators' lives and careers. They do, however, demonstrate the variety of workers who appreciated the significance of making a will and the difficulties many of them faced in preserving the future of their business. Additionally, they reveal the trust they placed in their wives and family, the measures they took to manage their successors, and even the recognition they afforded their illegitimate children. Some indicate their choice and range of financial specu-

233. Nex in Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 92.

234. In their case John Zumpe, Gabriel Buntebart, and Rice Jones.

lation, their charitable inclinations, and the esteem and respect they held for fellow members of the trade. Others demonstrate some of the diverse fortunes that befell the workforce during the study period, and the testamentary measures they put in place to manage them. Even the shortest of the wills, which fulfill only the basic requirements of the document and reveal apparently nothing of a personal nature, suggest something of the testator's character, if only a perfunctory interest in the pursuit of making a will.

## Appendix I: Testators (and Members of the Musical Profession Mentioned in the Wills) – Alphabetical

Total testators: 132

Total members of the musical profession (from page 116): 84

1. *Square brackets provide information not stated in the wills*
2. *\* denotes individual mentioned in multiple wills*

### Testators

- Allison, Mary, piano forte manufacturer and dealer in musical instruments, 75 Dean Street, Soho, will signed July 23, 1856, proved October 23, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2239)
- Allison, Thomas, piano forte manufacturer, 75 Dean Street, Soho, will signed September 6, 1854, proved January 19, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2204)
- Appelman, Adam, piano forte maker, Great Portland Street, Marylebone, will signed April 20, 1803, proved July 9, 1804 (NA PROB 11/1411)
- Astor, George, musical instrument manufacturer [piano maker],<sup>1</sup> Cornhill, will signed January 10, 1803, proved December 6, 1813 (NA PROB 11/1550)
- Atkinson, William, piano forte tuner, Kingston upon Hull, will signed January 7, 1847, proved December 8, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2065)
- Backers, Americus, harpsichord maker [piano maker],<sup>2</sup> Jermain [sic] Street, St James, will signed January 6, 1778, proved January 21, 1778 (NA PROB 11/1038)
- Ball, Edward, piano forte maker, 27 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, will signed July 31, 1829, proved December 17, 1836 (NA PROB 11/1869)
- Ball, Gabriel, pianoforte maker, 27 Crescent Street, St Pancras, will signed March 21, 1826, proved February 19, 1834 (NA PROB 11/1827)
- Ball, James, musical instrument maker, 27 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, will signed April 13, 1810, proved March 4, 1822 (NA PROB 11/1654)
- Banks, Benjamin, musical instrument maker [violin maker and possible agent for Longman & Broderip pianos],<sup>3</sup> City of New Sarum [Salisbury], will signed December 22, 1791, proved March 19, 1795 (NA PROB 11/1257)
- Baragiola, Lewis, piano forte maker, Little Russell Street, Covent Garden, will signed November 10, 1835, proved December 7, 1835 (NA PROB 11/1854)
- Barber, Samuel, piano forte maker, Cornwall Road, Lambeth, will signed August 4, 1849, proved October 18, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2140)
- Bell, Henry, piano forte maker, 11 Pulford Street, Hanover Square, will signed February 2, 1846, proved October 3, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2220)
- Beyer, Adam, gentleman [piano maker],<sup>4</sup> Pond Street, Hampstead, will signed December 26, 1803, proved January 27, 1804 (NA PROB 11/1403)

1. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 403.

2. *Ibid.*, 403.

3. Nex in Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 52.

4. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 404.

- Beyer, Lorence, piano forte maker, Compton Street, Soho, will signed September 11, 1789, proved January 5, 1790 (NA PROB 11/1187)
- Bird, Edwin, piano forte maker, 16 William Street, Regents Park, will signed April 1, 1843, proved March 6, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1994)
- Black, David, piano forte & organ key maker, 81 John Street, Tottenham Court Road, will signed November 28, 1831, proved October 30, 1839 (NA PROB 11/1806)
- Bond, John, piano forte maker, 19 Frederick Place, Hampstead Road, will signed June 17, 1848, proved July 11, 1848 (NA PROB 11/2077)
- Boyett, William, organ builder & pianoforte maker, Chichester, will signed March 28, 1851, proved September 13, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2139)
- Broadwood, James Shudi, esquire [Broadwood partner],<sup>5</sup> Bryanstone Square, Middlesex, will signed August 29, 1848, proved September 2, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2138)
- Broadwood, John, musical instrument maker [piano maker],<sup>6</sup> Great Pulteney Street, Westminster, will signed November 7, 1811, proved November 16, 1812 (NA PROB 11/1538)
- Brockly, Andrew, piano forte maker, 17 Cirencester Place, Marylebone, will signed May 6, 1854, proved February 23, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2226)
- Brockly, Thomas, piano forte maker, 3 Norton Street, Fitzroy Square, will signed November 1, 1843, proved January 31, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1991)
- Broderip, Francis Fane, music seller, Haymarket, Westminster, will signed February 27, 1805, proved July 16, 1807 (NA PROB 11/1464)
- Brooks, Cox, gentleman [pianoforte maker in the executor's deposition], formerly of Euston Street, Euston Square, now 4 High Street, Camden Town, will signed March 22, 1847, proved April 13, 1847 (NA PROB 11/ 2053/363)
- Bruce, John, pianoforte maker, formerly 19 London Street, Fitzroy Square, afterwards 11 Frederick Street, Regent's Park, now 27 Park Place, New Peckham, Surrey, will signed August 26, 1850, proved March 21, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2128)
- Buntebart, Gabriel Gotlieb, large piano forte maker, Lisson Green, Marylebone, will signed October 7, 1794, proved October 17, 1794 (NA PROB 11/1250)
- Burley, John, piano forte maker, Tottenham Court Road, St Pancras, will signed June 30, 1808, proved October 6, 1808 (NA PROB 11/1486)
- Byer, Robert David, piano forte maker, 20 Walnut Tree Walk, Lambeth, will signed April 14, 1845, proved August 26, 1845 (NA PROB 11/2022)
- Casselman, George, piano forte maker, 9, 10 & 11 Pancras Street, Tottenham Court Road, will signed November 26, 1833, proved December 21, 1854 (NA PROB 11/2201)
- Chappell, Samuel, music seller, 50 New Bond Street, Hanover Square, will signed September 12, 1834, proved January 20, 1835 (NA PROB 11/1841)

5. John Broadwood took James Shudi into partnership in 1795, giving him a half-share in the business. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 82.

6. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 421–22.

- Cheeswright, Henry, pianoforte key maker, 97 Mary Street, Hampstead Road, St Pancras, will signed July 8, 1846, proved August 10, 1852 (NA PROB 11/2157)
- Clementi, Muzio, esquire [piano maker],<sup>7</sup> formerly Lincroft House near Lichfield, Stafford, now Elm Lodge, Evesham, Worcester, will signed January 2, 1832, proved April 24, 1832 (NA PROB 11/1798)
- Copley, George, piano forte manufacturer, Shackwell Lane, Hackney, will signed September 20, 1852, proved October 9, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2220)
- Culliford, Thomas, musical instrument maker [piano maker],<sup>8</sup> Compton, Hants, will signed April 8, 1817, proved February 19, 1821 (NA PROB 11/1639)
- Dale, Joseph, music seller [piano maker],<sup>9</sup> Cornhill, will signed August 9, 1809, proved November 19, 1821 (NA PROB 11/1649)
- Darnton, William, piano forte maker, Arlington Street, Clerkenwell, will signed September 2, 1839, proved October 19, 1839 (NA PROB 11/1917)
- Davidson, William, piano forte maker, 14 Lant Street, Southwark, will signed February 26, 1827, proved February 16, 1828 (NA PROB 11/1736)
- Davis, Joseph, piano forte manufacturer, 92 Black Friars Road, Surrey, will signed May 16, 1840, proved October 13, 1852 (NA PROB 11/2160)
- Dettmer, George Thomas, piano forte maker, 24 Barnsbury Road, Islington, will signed April 28, 1843, proved June 3, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1980)
- Dobson, Benjamin, organ builder [piano maker],<sup>10</sup> Swan Street, Minories, will signed November 6, 1823, proved January 19, 1824 (NA PROB 11/1680)
- Dodd, Thomas, musical instrument maker,<sup>11</sup> 3 Berners Street, Oxford Street, will signed August 21, 1832, proved May 22, 1837 (NA PROB 11/1878)
- Donnison, George, cabinet maker & piano forte maker, 5 Toby Court, Monkwell Street, will signed March 5, 1844, proved April 2, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1996)
- Eadon, George William, piano forte maker, Waterloo Road, Lambeth, will signed at Alfred Place, Blackfriars Road, May 22, 1831, proved June 25, 1831 (NA PROB 11/1786)
- Eberst, Henry, piano forte maker, 55 Newnham Street, Marylebone, will signed January 13, 1820, proved May 9, 1820 (NA PROB 11/1629)
- Edwards, William, musical instrument maker [piano maker],<sup>12</sup> Bridge Road, Lambeth, will signed April 21, 1823, proved March 11, 1828 (NA PROB 11/1737)
- Erard, Pierre, harp & piano manufacturer, 18 Great Marlborough Street, will signed July 20, 1850, proved November 2, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2222)

7. *Ibid.*, 406.

8. *Ibid.*, 407.

9. *Ibid.*, 408.

10. *Ibid.*, 409.

11. Father and former partner of Edward Dodd, harp and piano maker at the same address; probably also involved in piano making. See Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 409. Partnership between Thomas and Edward Dodd, 3 Berners Street, dissolved June 20, 1828. *LG* (June 24, 1828), 1216.

12. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 409.



- Fairn, Robert, piano forte maker, Frederick Place, Hampstead Road, will signed April 25, 1835, proved July 5, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1982)
- Finlayson, Alexander [piano tuner],<sup>13</sup> Bridle Lane, Golden Square, will signed July 25, 1849, proved October 27, 1854 (NA PROB 11/2198)
- Forsyth, James [senior], piano forte maker, Bridle Lane, Golden Square, will signed at Holywell Street, Westminster, January 31, 1843, proved March 9, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1976)
- Franklin, Richard, pianoforte maker, Old Hoxton Town, Shoreditch, will signed September 17, 1850, proved April 23, 1853 (NA PROB 11/2170)
- Fraser, Alexander, cabinet maker & pianoforte maker, 22 Wardour Street, Westminster, will signed April 30, 1821, proved July 30, 1821 (NA PROB 11/1643)
- Fullalove, Martin, pianoforte maker, 69 Judd Street, St Pancras, will signed December 13, 1844, proved January 8, 1845 (NA PROB 11/2010)
- Gange, George, piano forte maker, Lower Belgrave Place, Pimlico, will signed April 19, 1852, proved October 15, 1853 (NA PROB 11/2179)
- Gow, Alexander Taylor, piano forte maker, 30 Crosier Street, Lambeth, will signed January 11, 1844, proved December 10, 1846 (NA PROB 11/2046)
- Graves, James, piano forte maker, Queen Street, Camden Town, will signed August 9, 1838, proved July 11, 1849 (NA PROB 11/2096)
- Green, John, musical instrument maker [Clementi & Co employee and agent for Logier's patent "Chiroplast"],<sup>14</sup> Soho Square, Middlesex, will signed October 20, 1846, proved August 15, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2137)
- Gunther, Johan Heinrich Anton, piano forte manufacturer, 7 High Street, Camden Town, will signed February 18, 1847, proved November 10, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2064)
- Halley, John, pianoforte maker, Great Cambridge Street, Hackney Road, Middlesex, will signed June 30, 1836, proved August 22, 1836 (NA PROB 11/1865)
- Heatly, John, pianoforte maker, 30 Wells Street, Oxford Street, will signed February 25, 1846, proved April 9, 1846 (NA PROB 11/2034)
- Hill, Robert Frederick, piano forte maker, 8 Oakley Terrace, Old Kent Road, will signed January 30, 1855, proved June 20, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2214)
- Hills, John, pianoforte maker, London Road, Southwark, will signed November 27, 1829, proved April 19, 1831 (NA PROB 11/1784)
- Hunt, James Henry, piano forte maker, 35 Frederick Place, Hampstead Road, will signed May 18, 1831, proved August 29, 1831 (NA PROB 11/1789)
- Indermaur, John, piano forte maker, 8 Upper Charlton Street, Fitzroy Square, Middlesex, will signed July 1, 1828, proved March 20, 1832 (NA PROB 11/1797)
- Jones, Rice, coal merchant & piano forte maker, Golden Square, Middlesex, will signed March 12, 1811, proved June 6, 1811 (NA PROB 11/1523)

13. Laurence, "The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand," 166.

14. For employment with Clementi & Co., see Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 142. For "Chiroplast," see Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 411.

- Jones, William, piano forte tuner, 186 Great College Street, Camden Town, Middlesex, will signed October 13, 1855, proved November 30, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2222)
- Kendall, George, pianoforte maker, 97 Mary Street, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed February 12, 1836, proved March 19, 1840 (NA PROB 11/1924)
- Kennay, James, piano forte maker, 1 Crescent, Hackney Road, will signed April 28, 1856, proved June 24, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2234)
- Kiddle, John, piano forte maker, 20 Buckingham Place, Marylebone, Middlesex, will signed April 8, 1833, proved September 10, 1833 (NA PROB 11/1821)
- Kirkman, Joseph, pianoforte maker, Broad Street, Westminster, Middlesex, will signed February 23, 1830, proved April 27, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1770)
- Klein, Johann Christian Alexander, piano forte maker, Henry Street, Hampstead Road, will signed October 27, 1815, proved November 22, 1815 (NA PROB 11/1574)
- Leukfeld, Leudevig August, musical instrument maker [piano maker],<sup>15</sup> Tottenham Street, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed January 26, 1810, proved December 1, 1810 (NA PROB 11/1517)
- Levesque, Josiah [piano maker],<sup>16</sup> Haberdasher's Walk, Pitfield Street, Hoxton, Middlesex, will signed March 28, 1839, proved October 15, 1839 (NA PROB 11/1917)
- Lewontish, Charles, piano forte teacher, 67 Woodland Street, Dalston, Hackney, will signed October 5, 1841, proved January 23, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2048)
- Longman, James, music seller, Cheapside, will signed in the Fleet prison, November 11, 1803, proved February 20, 1804 (NA PROB 11/1405)
- Lukey, Charles [music seller],<sup>17</sup> Cheapside, will signed February [blank], 1774, proved May 10, 1777 (NA PROB 11/1031)
- Marshall, John, piano forte tuner, 22 High Street, Camden Town, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed February 22, 1850, proved January 27, 1853 (NA PROB 11/2165)
- Matthews, Jeremiah, piano forte maker, 38 Dowgate Hill, Walbrook, will signed February 17, 1832, proved July 4, 1842 (NA PROB 11/1965)
- McDuff, Robert [piano maker and Broadwood employee],<sup>18</sup> Winchester Row, Marylebone, will signed June 28, 1827, proved July 10, 1827 (NA PROB 11/1728)
- Merlin, Joseph, inventor of mechanism [piano maker],<sup>19</sup> Princes Street, Hanover Square, will signed March 21, 1803, proved June 20, 1803 (NA PROB 11/1394)
- Middleton, David, piano forte maker, 25 Old Compton Street, Westminster, will signed January 4, 1845, proved April 1, 1845 (NA PROB 11/2016)

15. *Ibid.*, 415.

16. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 415.

17. Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 546.

18. Mentioned as a Broadwood employee in correspondence dated September 4, 1809. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 108.

19. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 416.

- Moore, Stephen, piano forte maker, Upper James Street, Golden Square, will signed November 20, 1802, proved October 27, 1803 (NA PROB 11/1400)
- Mowbray, William, piano forte maker, 7 High Street, Newington Butts, will signed October 8, 1839, proved November 13, 1839 (NA PROB 11/1918)
- Nagle, William, piano forte maker, 41 Chalton Street, Clarendon Square, Middlesex, will signed February 21, 1848, proved July 8, 1848 (NA PROB 11/2078)
- Oakey, Joseph, piano forte maker, 6 Manor Place, Walworth, will signed October 29, 1828, proved June 23, 1829 (NA PROB 11/1757)
- Ormond, James Cowle, pianoforte maker, Charles Street, Chelsea, will signed May 23, 1841, proved August 12, 1841 (NA PROB 11/1950)
- Packer, Charles, pianoforte manufacturer, Finchley House, St John's Wood, Middlesex, and 20 Oxford Street, Middlesex, will signed December 17, 1850, proved August 19, 1854 (NA PROB 11/2196)
- Parker, Thomas, pianoforte maker, Hanover Street, Walworth, Surrey, will signed April 29 1830, proved August 5, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1775)
- Parnell, John, cabinet maker & pianoforte maker, [Illegible] Edgware Road, will signed September 7, 1821, proved October 4, 1821 (NA PROB 11/1649)
- Pattison, George, piano forte manufacturer, Regent Street, Middlesex, will signed June 15, 1832, proved November 5, 1832 (NA PROB 11/1808)
- Perkins, Robert, pianoforte maker, 1 The Crescent, Hackney Road, will signed September 23, 1837, proved August 29, 1838 (NA PROB 11/1899)
- Powell, Thomas Samuel, piano forte maker, Poland Street, Oxford Street, Middlesex, will signed April 23, 1834, proved May 12, 1834 (NA PROB 11/1831)
- Price, Edward, pianoforte maker, St James' Walk, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, will signed June 23, 1820, proved May 7, 1822 (NA PROB 11/1657)
- Price, John, pianoforte maker, 6 Norfolk Street, Strand, London, will signed July 8, 1841, proved October 10, 1844 (NA PROB 11/2006)
- Purr, Turner, cabinet maker & piano forte manufacturer, 13 Drummond Crescent, Euston Square, Middlesex, will signed February 16, 1841, proved February 14, 1850 (NA PROB 11/2107)
- Radford, George, grand pianoforte bellyman & joiner, 15 & 16 William Street, Regents Park, Middlesex, will signed March 21, 1838, proved July 13, 1840 (NA PROB 11/1931)
- Rathmacher, John George, square piano forte maker, 6 Charles Street, Soho, will signed June 14, 1830, proved May 7, 1831 (NA PROB 11/1785)
- Rendell, James, musical instrument maker [piano maker],<sup>20</sup> London Street, Tottenham Court Road, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed August 23, 1837, proved September 6, 1844 (NA PROB 11/2005)
- Rogers, William, pianoforte maker, 5 & 6 Melton Place, Euston Square, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed November 21, 1843, proved September 16, 1848 (NA PROB 11/2081)

20. *Ibid.*, 420.

- Rolfe, James Longman, piano forte seller, 4 High Street, Worthing, Sussex, will signed July 28 1856, proved December 31, 1857 (NA PROB 11/2262)
- Rolfe, Thomas Hall, piano forte maker, 61 Cheapside, London, will signed December 30, 1846, proved May 19, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2056)
- Rolfe, William, piano forte manufacturer, Cheapside, London and Stoke Newington, Middlesex, will signed April 15, 1826, proved January 22, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1765)
- Rose, Daniel Giles, gentleman [Broadwood clerk],<sup>21</sup> 8 Old Church Street, Paddington, will signed August 17, 1846, proved February 16, 1850 (NA PROB 11/2109)
- Russell, Richard, piano forte maker, Broad Street, Golden Square, Middlesex, will signed December 25, 1842, proved January 17, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1974)
- Schoene, Christian, piano forte maker, Princes Street, Cavendish Square, Middlesex, will signed January 28, 1794, proved September 24, 1794 (NA PROB 11/1250)
- Schoene, George Friederick [sic], gentleman, Lawrence Street, Chelsea, will signed June 13, 1822, proved January 14, 1825 (NA PROB 11/1694)
- Seymour, Samuel, pianoforte maker, 119 Tachbrook Street, Pimlico, Middlesex, will signed March 19, 1853, proved April 25, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2231)
- Shepherd, Aaron, piano forte maker, 30 Sloane Square, St Lukes, Middlesex, will signed December 22, 1855, proved July 16, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2226)
- Shudi, Burkat, harpsichord maker, 10 Charlotte Street, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed July 5, 1773, proved September 3, 1773 (NA PROB 11/991)
- Sievers, Christopher Julius Ludewig, piano forte maker, Princes Street, Hanover Square, Middlesex, will signed May 15, 1793, proved June 12, 1793 (NA PROB 11/1234)
- Soames, Jonathan, pianoforte maker, 27 Alfred Street, Bedford Square, Middlesex, will signed October 20, 1855, proved February 16, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2228)
- Southgate, Robert, piano forte maker, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed November 20, 1830, proved May 12, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1980)
- Staveley, Miles, piano forte maker, 13 William Street, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed January 10, 1841, proved September 23, 1850 (NA PROB 11/2120)
- Stephens, James, pianoforte maker, 5 Sussex Street, London University, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed February 10, 1831, proved March 22, 1834 (NA PROB 11/1829)
- Stewart, Robert, employee of Messrs Broadwood, 7 Mann's Cottages, Vauxhall Bridge Road, Middlesex, will signed March 25, 1853, proved September 19, 1853 (NA PROB 11/2178)
- Stodart, Robert [piano maker],<sup>22</sup> Queen Street, Edinburgh, will signed September 6, 1822, proved April 22, 1831 (NA PROB 11/1784)
- Stodart, William, piano manufacturer, 3 Avenue Road, Regent's Park, will signed July 7, 1841, proved September 8, 1841 (NA PROB 11/1951)

21. Laurence, "The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand," 182.

22. *Ibid.*, 9.

- Stumpff, Johann Andreas, harp & pianoforte maker, 44 Great Portland Street, Marylebone, London, will signed May 22, 1846, proved March 19, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2053)
- Sugden, Lewis, pianoforte maker, 20 Crawford Street, Marylebone, Middlesex, will signed June 27, 1835, proved May 16, 1849 (NA PROB 11/2093)
- Sumpter, Thomas William, former shoemaker, now teacher of the pianoforte, 1 Eccleston Street, Pimlico, will signed April 14, 1831, proved May 5, 1831 (NA PROB 11/1785)
- Tomkins, Elizabeth, piano forte maker, Poland Street, Westminster, Middlesex, will signed November 21, 1822, proved February 22, 1823 (NA PROB 11/1667)
- Tomkison, Thomas [piano maker],<sup>23</sup> Dean Street, Soho, Westminster, Middlesex, will signed September 8, 1847, proved December 23, 1853 (NA PROB 11/2183)
- Tuck, John, pianoforte maker, 19 Peel Street, Kensington Gravel Pits, Middlesex, will signed April 20, 1845, proved July 10, 1845 (NA PROB 11/2022)
- Turnham, Thomas, piano forte maker, 52 Wells Street, Marylebone, Middlesex, will signed April 17, 1815, proved July 28, 1815 (NA PROB 11/1571)
- Waite, John, piano forte manufacturer, late 110 Crawford Street, now 29 New Church Street, Marylebone, Middlesex, will signed April 28, 1829, proved June 20, 1829 (NA PROB 11/1757)
- Wales, Robert, piano forte maker, Charles Street, Hampstead Road, Middlesex, will signed October 26, 1832, proved September 20, 1834 (NA PROB 11/1836)
- Wheatstone, Charles, music seller [uncle of Charles & William Wheatstone, piano & concertina makers],<sup>24</sup> 436 Strand, Middlesex, will signed January 2, 1823, proved November 3, 1823 (NA PROB 11/1678)
- Williams, Joseph, piano forte maker, 7 Romney Terrace, Horseferry Road, Westminster, Middlesex, will signed June 20, 1849, proved July 12, 1849 (NA PROB 11/2097)
- Winget, William, pianoforte maker, 63 John Street, Tottenham Court Road, will signed March 12, 1845, proved January 28, 1850 (NA PROB 11/2108)
- Wornum, Robert, pianoforte maker, Camden Street, Camden Town, Middlesex, will signed August 5, 1824, proved September 2, 1852 (NA PROB 11/2164)
- Wrede, Herman, musical wind instrument [and piano] maker,<sup>25</sup> Whitcross Street [sic], Cripplegate, London, will signed January 18, 1841, proved March 6, 1841 (NA PROB 11/1943)
- Zumpe, John Christopher, gentleman [piano maker],<sup>26</sup> Queen Charlotte Row, Marylebone, Middlesex, will signed May 22, 1784, proved December 24, 1790 (NA PROB 11/1199)

23. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 423.

24. Nephews Charles and William were named by Charles Wheatstone in his will. See also, *Ibid.*, 424.

25. *Ibid.*, 425.

26. *Ibid.*, 426.

**Members of the Musical Profession Mentioned in the Wills**

- Atkinson, George, music seller, Kingston-upon-Hull, brother, beneficiary and executor, will of William Atkinson, signed January 7, 1847, proved December 8, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2065)
- Ball, Edward [piano maker],<sup>27</sup> son and beneficiary, codicil to the will of James Ball, musical instrument maker, signed November 12, 1821, proved March 4, 1822 (NA PROB 11/1654)
- Banks, Benjamin [violin maker and partner of George Astor],<sup>28</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of Benjamin Banks, musical instrument maker, signed December 22, 1791, proved March 19, 1795 (NA PROB 11/1257)
- Banks, Henry [piano tuner],<sup>29</sup> son and beneficiary, will of Benjamin Banks, musical instrument maker, signed December 22, 1791, proved March 19, 1795 (NA PROB 11/1257)
- Banks, James [violin maker],<sup>30</sup> son and beneficiary, will of Benjamin Banks, musical instrument maker, signed December 22, 1791, proved March 19, 1795 (NA PROB 11/1257)
- Bates, Mr [probably Theodore Charles Bates],<sup>31</sup> piano forte maker, mentioned as housing the testator's "laythe bench and tools," will of George William Eadon, piano forte maker, signed May 22, 1831, proved June 25, 1831 (NA PROB 11/1786)
- Bell, John Francis, toy [& piano forte]<sup>32</sup> maker, 4 Little Russell Street, Covent Garden, beneficiary and executor, will of Lewis Baragiola, piano forte maker, signed November 10, 1835, proved December 7, 1835 (NA PROB 11/1854)
- Beyer, Adam, gentleman [piano maker],<sup>33</sup> brother and beneficiary, will of Lorence Beyer, piano forte maker, signed September 11, 1789, proved January 5, 1790 (NA PROB 11/1187)
- Bride, Richard, musician, St Bartholomew the Less, deponent, will of Charles Lukey, signed February [blank], 1774, proved May 10, 1777 (NA PROB 11/1031)
- Broadwood, Henry Fowler [Broadwood partner],<sup>34</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of James Shudi Broadwood, esquire, signed August 29, 1848, proved September 2, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2138)

27. *Ibid.*, 403.

28. Morris, *British Violin Makers*, 103. For partnerships with Astor, see *LG* (April 8, 1809), 472.

29. Nex in Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 40.

30. Morris, *British Violin Makers*, 103

31. In 1823, Giles Longman and Theodore Charles Bates formed the piano making partnership Longman & Bates. In 1829 they were joined by the music seller, Samuel Chappell, and became Chappell, Longman & Bates. Nex in Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 89. The 1830 *POLD* notes Longman & Bates [sic] at 6 Ludgate Hill.

32. John Bell, 4 Little Russell Street, Covent Garden, toy and piano forte maker. *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, May 4, 1836 (LMA Ms. 11936/553/1222837).

33. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 404.

34. Henry Fowler Broadwood was taken into partnership with his father, James Shudi, and uncle, Thomas, on May 10, 1836. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 132.

- \*Broadwood, Thomas [Broadwood partner & accountant],<sup>35</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of John Broadwood, signed November 7, 1811, proved November 16, 1812 (NA PROB 11/1538). Also, brother and beneficiary, will of James Shudi Broadwood, esquire, signed August 29, 1848, proved September 2, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2138)
- Broadwood, Walter Stewart [Broadwood partner],<sup>36</sup> son and beneficiary, will of James Shudi Broadwood, esquire, signed August 29, 1848, proved September 2, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2138)
- Brockly, Andrew [piano maker],<sup>37</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of Thomas Brockly, pianoforte maker, signed November 1, 1843, proved January 31, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1991)
- \*Brockly, George [piano maker],<sup>38</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of Thomas Brockly, pianoforte maker, signed November 1, 1843, proved January 31, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1991). Also, brother and executor, will of Andrew Brockly, pianoforte maker, signed May 6, 1854, proved February 23, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2226)
- Brockly, Thomas [piano maker],<sup>39</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of Thomas Brockly, pianoforte maker, signed November 1, 1843, proved January 31, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1991)
- Broderip, Frances [music seller],<sup>40</sup> Cheapside, beneficiary, will of Charles Lukey, signed February [blank], 1774, proved May 10, 1777 (NA PROB 11/1031)
- Brooks, Henry [pianoforte maker, then pianoforte action maker, then piano tools action manufacturer],<sup>41</sup> son and beneficiary, will of Cox Brooks, gentleman and pianoforte maker, signed March 22, 1847, proved April 13, 1847 (NA PROB 11/ 2053/363)
- Brooks, James [pianoforte maker],<sup>42</sup> son and beneficiary, will of Cox Brooks, gentleman and pianoforte maker, signed March 22, 1847, proved April 13, 1847 (NA PROB 11/ 2053/363)
- Brooks, Thomas [pianoforte maker],<sup>43</sup> son and beneficiary, will of Cox Brooks, gentleman and pianoforte maker, signed March 22, 1847, proved April 13, 1847 (NA PROB 11/ 2053/363)

35. *Ibid.*, 103.

36. In 1843, James Shudi introduced his younger son, Walter Stewart Broadwood, as a partner. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 146.

37. Will of Andrew Brockly, piano forte maker, proved 1856 (NA PROB 11/2226).

38. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 405.

39. *Ibid.*, 405.

40. Kessler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 529.

41. See Henry Brooks (26), born c1815, Middlesex (1841 census); Henry Brooks (56), born c1815, St Pancras (1871 census); and Henry Brooks (66), born c1815, St Pancras (1881 census).

42. See James Brooks (40), born c1811, St Pancras (1851 census).

43. See marriage of Thomas Brooks (pianoforte maker) of St Pancras, and Susannah Griffin (minor, aged 20, spinster), at St John, Hampstead, September 3, 1837 (Ancestry).

- Bruce, John [piano maker],<sup>44</sup> London Street, Fitzroy Square, brother-in-law, beneficiary and executor, will of John Waite, piano forte manufacturer, signed April 28, 1829, proved June 20, 1829 (NA PROB 11/1757)
- Brunton, Walter [piano maker],<sup>45</sup> 7 Kennington Street, Walworth, witness, will of Robert Fairn, pianoforte maker, signed April 25, 1835, proved July 5, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1982)
- Bruzaud, George John, gentleman [Erard employee],<sup>46</sup> 18 Great Marlborough Street, deponent, will of Pierre Erard, harp & pianoforte manufacturer, signed July 20, 1850, proved November 2, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2222)
- Burrowes, John Freckleton [composer and organist at St James's Church, Piccadilly],<sup>47</sup> 13 Nottingham Place, New Road, executor, will of Samuel Chappell, music seller, signed September 12, 1834, proved January 20, 1835 (NA PROB 11/1841)
- Butcher, T[homas] [piano maker],<sup>48</sup> 41 Great Titchfield Street, debtor, will of Robert Southgate, pianoforte maker, signed November 20, 1830, proved May 12, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1980)
- Cahusac, Thomas [music publisher and musical instrument maker],<sup>49</sup> son-in-law, named in the will of Benjamin Banks, musical instrument maker, signed December 22, 1791, proved March 19, 1795 (NA PROB 11/1234)
- Chisholme, James [piano maker],<sup>50</sup> Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square, beneficiary and executor, will of Robert McDuff, signed June 28, 1827, proved July 10, 1827 (NA PROB 11/1728)
- Collard, Frederick William [piano maker],<sup>51</sup> beneficiary, will of Muzio Clementi, signed January 2, 1832, proved April 24, 1832 (NA PROB 11/1798)
- Collard, William Frederick [piano maker],<sup>52</sup> beneficiary, will of Muzio Clementi, signed January 2, 1832, proved April 24, 1832 (NA PROB 11/1798)

44. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 405.

45. See Walter Brunton (54), born c1797, Middlesex, pianoforte maker, living in Chandon Street, Lambeth (1841 census).

46. George John Bruzaud was the head of the London branch of Erard and his brother, Charles James, who lived at 37 Pembroke Road, was the manager of its Kensington factory. Hermione Hobhouse (ed.), "The Edwardes estate: Pembroke Square, Pembroke Gardens and Pembroke Road area," *Survey of London: volume 42: Kensington Square to Earl's Court* (London, 1986), 268–82. Online at: [www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=50325](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=50325), consulted January 8, 2012.

47. See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\\_Freckleton\\_Burrowes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Freckleton_Burrowes), consulted January 8, 2012.

48. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 405.

49. Maurice Byrne, "The Cahusacs and Hallet," *The Galpin Society Journal* XLI (1988): 24–31, at 26.

50. Chisholm [sic] senior was a Broadwood employee making square nameboards in 1834 (SHC 2185/JB/74/1).

51. Nex in Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 46–47.

52. *Ibid.*, 46–47.



- Cons, Frederick [piano then piano key maker],<sup>53</sup> 81 John Street, Tottenham Court Road, witness, will of David Black, piano forte & organ key maker, signed November 28, 1831, proved October 30, 1839 (NA PROB 11/1806)
- Darnton, William, junior [piano maker & dealer],<sup>54</sup> 118, Upper Street, Islington, son, beneficiary and executor, will of William Darnton, pianoforte maker, signed September 2, 1839, proved October 19, 1839 (NA PROB 11/1917)
- Dettmer, William, piano maker, Marylebone Street, executor, will of George Astor, musical instrument manufacturer, signed January 10, 1803, proved December 6, 1813 (NA PROB 11/1550)
- Dodd, Edward [harp & piano maker],<sup>55</sup> 62 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, son, beneficiary and executor, will of Thomas Dodd, musical instrument maker, signed August 21, 1832, proved May 22, 1837 (NA PROB 11/1878)
- Edwards, William [piano maker], nephew and beneficiary, will of William Edwards, musical instrument maker, signed April 21, 1823, proved March 11, 1828 (NA PROB 11/1737)
- Edwards, William Henry [piano maker], son, beneficiary and executor, will of William Edwards, musical instrument maker, signed April 21, 1823, proved March 11, 1828 (NA PROB 11/1737)
- Fairn, Robert, pianoforte maker, 15 Frederick Place, Hampstead Road, witness, will of George Kendall, pianoforte maker, signed February 12, 1836, proved March 19, 1840 (NA PROB 11/1924)
- Finlayson, Alexander, piano maker, 26 Newland Street, Edward Road, witness, will of Thomas Samuel Powell, piano forte maker, signed April 23, 1834, proved May 12, 1834 (NA PROB 11/1831)
- Forsyth, Charles [piano maker],<sup>56</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of James Forsyth [senior], pianoforte maker, signed January 31, 1843, proved March 9, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1976)
- Forsyth, James [senior], foreman to James Shudi Broadwood and Thomas Broadwood, beneficiary, will of John Broadwood, musical instrument maker, signed November 7, 1811, proved November 16, 1812 (NA PROB 11/1538)
- \*Forsyth, James [junior, piano maker],<sup>57</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of James Forsyth [senior], pianoforte maker, signed January 31, 1843, proved March 9, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1976). Also, piano forte maker, Horseferry Road, executor (renounced), will of John Marshall, piano forte tuner, signed February 22, 1850, proved January 27, 1853 (NA PROB 11/2165)

53. See Frederick Cons (30), born c1811, Middlesex, piano forte maker, living at Rosebery Ct, St John Hampstead (1841 census). Then, Frederick Cons (40), born c1811, St Pancras, piano forte maker employing one man & 2 apprentices, living at 81 John Street, St Pancras (1851 census). Frederick's widow, Esther, continued as a key maker at 47 Whitfield Street, Fitzroy Square from 1871–1875 (*POLD*).

54. *I.G.* (April 16, 1858), 1939.

55. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 409.

56. See Charles Forsyth (43), born c1808, Clerkenwell, piano forte maker, living at 40 Great Tufton Street, Westminster (1851 census).

57. See Jas [sic] Forsyth (58), born c1793, Westminster, pianoforte maker, living at 71 Grosvenor Terrace, Westminster (1851 census).

- Gow, Henry [piano maker, York Road, Lambeth],<sup>58</sup> son and beneficiary (disinherited), will of Alexander Taylor Gow, piano forte maker, signed January 11, 1844, proved December 10, 1846 (NA PROB 11/2046)
- Griffin, Sophia, shopwoman, employee and beneficiary to the will of Joseph Dale, music seller, will signed August 9, 1809, proved November 19, 1821 (NA PROB 11/1649)
- Hartz, Henry, snuffman [later partner to John Henry Schrader],<sup>59</sup> Portland Street, Soho, executor, will of Christopher Sievers, piano forte maker, signed May 15, 1793, proved June 12, 1793 (NA PROB 11/1234)
- Holderness, John Francis, gentleman [father of piano makers John Francis Holderness,<sup>60</sup> George William Holderness and Charles Holderness],<sup>61</sup> Peckham Grove, Camberwell, executor, will of James Rendell, musical instrument maker, signed August 23, 1837, proved September 6, 1844 (NA PROB 11/2005)
- \*Indermaur, Herman [piano maker],<sup>62</sup> 25 Carbuton Street, Fitzroy Square, witness, will of George Kendall, pianoforte maker, signed February 12, 1836, proved March 19, 1840 (NA PROB 11/1924). Also, Upper Grafton Street, Fitzroy Square, witness, will of Robert Fairn, pianoforte maker, signed April 25, 1835, proved July 5, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1982)
- Ivory, John,<sup>63</sup> pianoforte maker, Drummond Street, Euston Square, beneficiary and executor, will of Cox Brooks, gentleman and pianoforte maker, signed March 22, 1847, proved April 13, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2053/363)
- Jenkins, Sylvanus, assistant, beneficiary and executor, will of Joseph Merlin, inventor of mechanism, signed March 21, 1803, proved June 20, 1803 (NA PROB 11/1394)
- Keble, John [organist at St George's Church, Hanover Square],<sup>64</sup> friend and beneficiary, will of John Christopher Zumpe, gentleman, signed May 22, 1784, proved December 24, 1790 (NA PROB 11/1199)
- \*Kendall, James [piano maker],<sup>65</sup> son and beneficiary, will of George Kendall, pianoforte maker, signed February 12, 1836, proved March 19, 1840 (NA PROB

58. See Aley [sic] Gow [Alexander Taylor Gow] (60), born c1871, Scotland, pianoforte maker, living in Lambeth (1841 census).

59. See *Bill of complaint*, George Lewis Hartz, March 4, 1803 (NA C13/28/22).

60. John Holderness [sic] (25), born c1816, Middlesex, piano forte maker, living in Charlotte Street, St Pancras (1841 census) was the son of Sarah and John Francis Holderness [sic], baptised May 23, 1816 in St Pancras (Ancestry) and buried September 30, 1844, Islington St Mary, aged 28 (Ancestry). His father died the following year. Will of John Francis Holderness, gentleman, proved 1845 (NA PROB 11/2024).

61. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 413.

62. See Herman Indermaur, 1 Upper Grafton Street, Fitzroy Square, piano forte maker. *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, July 22, 1831 (LMA Ms. 11936/533/1125803).

63. Father of piano maker Henry Allsop Ivory. See baptism of Henry Allsop [sic] Ivory (February 20, 1825) at St Pancras, Camden; parents John (piano forte maker) and Sophia Allsop of Drummond Street (Ancestry).

64. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 50–51.

65. His father bequeathed him as many tools as were useful to him in his business.

- 11/1924). Also, 97 Mary Street, Hampstead Road, witness, will of Robert Fairn, pianoforte maker, signed April 25, 1835, proved July 5, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1982)
- \*Kirkman, Abraham [harpichord/piano maker?], Fen Court, London, witness, will of Adam Appelman, piano forte maker, signed April 20, 1803, proved July 9, 1804 (NA PROB 11/1411). Also, brother/nephew, beneficiary and executor, will of Joseph Kirkman, pianoforte maker, signed February 23, 1830, proved April 27, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1770)<sup>66</sup>
- Kirkman, Joseph, piano forte maker, Broad Street, St James, Westminster, executor, will of Adam Appelman, signed April 20, 1803, proved July 9, 1804 (NA PROB 11/1411)
- Lawson [Dawson?], Lewis, piano maker, 5 Granby Street, Hampstead Road, executor, will of William Nagle, pianoforte maker, signed February 21, 1848, proved July 8, 1848 (NA PROB 11/2078)
- Longman, James [music seller],<sup>67</sup> Cheapside, beneficiary, will of Charles Lukey, signed February [blank], 1774, proved May 10, 1777 (NA PROB 11/1031)
- Marshall, William Alfred [pianoforte selector & tunist] [sic],<sup>68</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of John Marshall, pianoforte tuner, signed February 22, 1850, proved January 27, 1853 (NA PROB 11/2165)
- Martin, Thomas, pianoforte maker, London Street, Tottenham Court Road, executor, will of Johann Andreas Stumpff, harp & pianoforte maker, signed May 22, 1846, proved March 19, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2053)
- \*Matthews, Samuel Jeremiah [piano maker],<sup>69</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of Jeremiah Matthews, pianoforte maker, signed February 17, 1832, proved July 4, 1842 (NA PROB 11/1965). Also, piano forte maker, 38 Dowgate Hill, beneficiary and executor, will of George Donnison, cabinet maker & pianoforte maker, signed March 8, 1844, proved April 2, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1996)
- [McIsaac, Duncan, pianoforte maker and Broadwood employee, 19 Bridle Lane],<sup>70</sup> wife(?) Ann McIsaac witness to the will of Alexander Finlayson, signed July 25, 1849, proved October 27, 1854 (NA PROB 11/2198)
- Mulling, George, piano maker, 74 Great Titchfield Street, executor, will of George Donnison, cabinet maker & pianoforte maker, signed March 8, 1844, proved April 2, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1996)
- Paine, James [Broadwood employee],<sup>71</sup> 33 Great Pulteney Street, witness, will of John Broadwood, musical instrument maker, signed November 7, 1811, proved November 16, 1812 (NA PROB 11/1538)

66. The testator and piano maker Joseph Kirkman (c1763–1830) noted in his will a brother, Abraham Kirkman the elder, and a nephew, Abraham Kirkman the younger, but it has not been established which of the two witnessed the will of Adam Appelman.

67. Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 545.

68. See William Marshall (29), born c1829, St Pancras, living with his father at 22 High Street, St Pancras (1851 census).

69. Both his father and George Donnison bequeathed him their working tools.

70. Employee in 1840. Broadwood papers (SHC 2185/JB/74/1).

71. Laurence notes a foreman named Pain [sic] working at the Broadwood factory in 1807. Laurence, "The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand," 264.

- \*Parry, William [piano maker],<sup>72</sup> Temple, beneficiary and witness, will of Rice Jones, coal merchant & piano forte maker, signed March 12, 1811, proved June 6, 1811 (NA PROB 11/1523). Also [16, William Street, Regents Park], witness, will of Edwin Bird, piano forte maker, signed April 1, 1843, proved March 6, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1994)
- Possin, John Samuel Charles, [composer and pianist],<sup>73</sup> beneficiary and executor, will of Gabriel Buntebart, large piano forte maker, signed October 7, 1794, proved October 17, 1794 (NA PROB 11/1234)
- Potter, Thomas, music seller, Soho Square, executor, will of Charles Wheatstone, music seller, signed January 2, 1823, proved November 3, 1823 (NA PROB 11/1678)
- Price, John [employee?, eventual successor],<sup>74</sup> appointed to supervise the completion of unfinished pianos prior to sale of Rice Jones' business,<sup>75</sup> will of Rice Jones, coal merchant and pianoforte maker, signed March 12, 1811, proved June 6, 1811 (NA PROB 11/1523)
- \*Rolfe, James Longman [pianoforte seller],<sup>76</sup> son and beneficiary, will of William Rolfe, piano forte manufacturer, signed April 15, 1826, proved January 22, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1765). Also, brother and beneficiary, will of Thomas Hall Rolfe, pianoforte maker, signed December 30, 1846, proved May 19, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2056)
- \*Rolfe, Nicholas [piano maker],<sup>77</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of William Rolfe, piano forte manufacturer, signed April 15, 1826, proved January 22, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1765). Also, brother and executor, will of Thomas Hall Rolfe, pianoforte maker, signed December 30, 1846, proved May 19, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2056)
- Rolfe, Thomas Hall [piano maker],<sup>78</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of William Rolfe, piano forte manufacturer, signed April 15, 1826, proved January 22, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1765)
- Rose, Daniel Giles, [Broadwood employee],<sup>79</sup> 33 Great Pulteney Street, witness, will of John Broadwood, musical instrument maker, signed November 7, 1811, proved November 16, 1812 (NA PROB 11/1538)

72. William Parry was a piano maker insured at 16 William Street, Regents Park, in 1830. *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, April 21, 1820 (LMA Ms. 11936/527/1105940).

73. Michael Kassler and Augustus F. C. Kollmann, *A. F. C. Kollmann's Quarterly musical register (1812): an annotated edition with an introduction to his life and works* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2008), 132.

74. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 419.

75. Price later acquired the firm. *Ibid.*, 419.

76. Will of James Longman Rolfe, piano forte seller, proved 1857 (NA PROB 11/2262).

77. See Nicholas Rolfe (55), born c1786, Middlesex, piano forte maker, living at Charterhouse Square, Finsbury (1841 census).

78. Will of Thomas Hall Rolfe, piano forte maker, proved 1847 (NA PROB 11/2056).

79. Laurence, "The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand," 182.

- Rose, Frederick [Broadwood partner and factory manager],<sup>80</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of Daniel Giles Rose, gentleman, signed August 17, 1846, proved February 16, 1850 (NA PROB 11/2109)
- Rose, George Thomas [Broadwood partner and accountant],<sup>81</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of Daniel Giles Rose, gentleman, signed August 17, 1846, proved February 16, 1850 (NA PROB 11/2109)
- Rumbelow, Robert, pianoforte maker, Upper Cleveland Street, Fitzroy Square, wife's nephew and beneficiary, will of William Winget, pianoforte maker, signed March 12, 1845, proved January 28, 1850 (NA PROB 11/2108)
- \*Russell, Alexander [Broadwood senior factory foreman],<sup>82</sup> administrator, will of David Black, pianoforte & organ key maker, signed November 28, 1831, proved October 30, 1839 (NA PROB 11/1806). Also, Holywell Street, son-in-law and executor, will of James Forsyth [senior], pianoforte maker, signed January 31, 1843, proved March 9, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1976). Also, 3 Holywell Street, Westminster, witness, will of Joseph Williams, pianoforte maker, signed June 20, 1849, proved July 12, 1849 (NA PROB 11/2097)
- Schrader, John Henry, successor to Buntebart & Sievers, beneficiary and executor, will of Gabriel Buntebart, large piano forte maker, signed October 7, 1794, proved October 17, 1794 (NA PROB 11/1234)
- Serges, Bernardus [musical instrument maker & dealer in coals corn hay & straw],<sup>83</sup> [36] Berwick Street [Soho], witness, will of John Indermaur, piano forte maker, signed July 1, 1828, proved March 20, 1832 (NA PROB 11/1797)
- Seymour, Roger, piano key maker, 27 Brook Street, St Pancras, witness and executor, will of George Radford, grand pianoforte bellyman & joiner, signed March 21, 1838, proved July 13, 1840 (NA PROB 11/1931)
- Shepherd, John [piano maker],<sup>84</sup> son and beneficiary, will of Aaron Shepherd, pianoforte maker, signed December 22, 1855, proved July 16, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2226)
- Snetzler, John, organ builder, Marylebone, executor, will of Burkat Shudi, harpsichord maker, signed July 5, 1773, proved September 3, 1773 (NA PROB 11/991)
- Steibler, Christian John [actually Christian Gotthelf Steibler, leatherer of pianoforte hammers],<sup>85</sup> 5 Marshall Street, Golden Square, witness, will of Joseph Kirkman, pianoforte maker, signed February 23, 1830, proved April 27, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1770)

80. *Ibid.*, 182. Frederick Rose and his brother, George, were made Broadwood partners in March 1857 "in acknowledgement of their past services and as an inducement to increase their interest in the success of the said trade or business." Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 178.

81. Laurence, "The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand," 182.

82. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 153.

83. *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, March 25, 1806 (LMA Ms. 11936/437/787382).

84. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 421.

85. *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, September 9, 1812 (LMA Ms. 11936/459/873583).

- Thomas, John, piano forte maker, Guildford Street East of Grays Inn Road, beneficiary and executor, will of Samuel Barber, piano forte maker, signed August 4, 1849, proved October 18, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2140)
- Tomkins, James [piano maker],<sup>86</sup> husband, beneficiary and executor, will of Elizabeth Tomkins, piano forte maker, [47] Poland Street, Oxford Street, signed November 21, 1822, proved February 22, 1823 (NA PROB 11/1667)
- Trail, Charles, piano maker, 5 Southampton Place, Bessborough Gardens, witness, will of Henry Bell, pianoforte maker, signed February 2, 1846, proved October 3, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2220)
- Wheatstone, Charles [concertina & piano maker],<sup>87</sup> nephew and beneficiary, will of Charles Wheatstone senior, music seller, signed January 2, 1823, proved November 3, 1823 (NA PROB 11/1678)
- Wheatstone, William senior [music business & piano patent],<sup>88</sup> brother and beneficiary, will of Charles Wheatstone senior, music seller, signed January 2, 1823, proved November 3, 1823 (NA PROB 11/1678)
- Wheatstone, William junior [concertina & piano maker],<sup>89</sup> nephew and beneficiary, will of Charles Wheatstone senior, music seller, signed January 2, 1823, proved November 3, 1823 (NA PROB 11/1678)
- Winter, George, pianoforte maker, 21 George Street, Euston Square, witness, will of Martin Fullalove, pianoforte maker, signed December 13, 1844, proved January 8, 1845 (NA PROB 11/2010)
- Wrede, Herman [piano forte and musical instrument maker, music seller and stationer],<sup>90</sup> 10 Kingsland Place, Kingsland Road, son and beneficiary, will of Herman Wrede, musical wind instrument maker, signed January 18, 1841, proved March 6, 1841 (NA PROB 11/1943)

86. James Tomkins was a piano maker in Poland Street in 1818 (LL pollbook\_692-69293).

87. Harding (*The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 424) lists Charles Wheatstone as a piano maker. He and brother William claimed to be "piano makers" in their 1839 trade directory entry, but were most famed for their work as concertina makers. Neil Wayne, "The Wheatstone English Concertina," *The Galpin Society Journal* XLIV (1991): 117-149, at 124.

88. William Wheatstone (senior) amalgamated his music business with that of his sons c1826. Wayne, "The Wheatstone English Concertina," 120. For his piano patent, see Stuart Eydmann, "The Life and Times of the Concertina: the adoption and usage of a novel musical instrument with particular reference to Scotland" (PhD diss., The Open University, 1995), 32.

89. Brothers William and Charles claimed to be "piano makers" in their 1839 trade directory entry, but were most famed for their work as concertina makers. Wayne, "The Wheatstone English Concertina," 124.

90. *LG* (December 25, 1849), 3930.

## Appendix II: Testators (and Members of the Musical Profession Mentioned in the Wills) – Chronological

Total testators: 132

Total members of the musical profession (from page 134): 84

1. *Leading date denotes year in which the will was proved (which was not necessarily the year of death)*
2. *Square brackets provide information not stated in the wills*
3. *\* denotes individual mentioned in multiple wills*

### Testators

- 1773 Shudi, Burkat, harpsichord maker, 10 Charlotte Street, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed July 5, 1773, proved September 3, 1773 (NA PROB 11/991)
- 1777 Lukey, Charles [music seller],<sup>1</sup> Cheapside, will signed February [blank], 1774, proved May 10, 1777 (NA PROB 11/1031)
- 1778 Backers, Americus, harpsichord maker [piano maker],<sup>2</sup> Jermain [sic] Street, St James, will signed January 6, 1778, proved January 21, 1778 (NA PROB 11/1038)
- 1790 Beyer, Lorence, piano forte maker, Compton Street, Soho, will signed September 11, 1789, proved January 5, 1790 (NA PROB 11/1187)  
Zumpe, John Christopher, gentleman [piano maker],<sup>3</sup> Queen Charlotte Row, Marylebone, Middlesex, will signed May 22, 1784, proved December 24, 1790 (NA PROB 11/1199)
- 1793 Sievers, Christopher Julius Ludewig, piano forte maker, Princes Street, Hanover Square, Middlesex, will signed May 15, 1793, proved June 12, 1793 (NA PROB 11/1234)
- 1794 Schoene, Christian, piano forte maker, Princes Street, Cavendish Square, Middlesex, will signed January 28, 1794, proved September 24, 1794 (NA PROB 11/1250)  
Buntebart, Gabriel Gottlieb, large piano forte maker, Lisson Green, Marylebone, will signed October 7, 1794, proved October 17, 1794 (NA PROB 11/1250)
- 1795 Banks, Benjamin, musical instrument maker [violin maker and possible agent for Longman & Broderip pianos],<sup>4</sup> City of New Sarum [Salisbury], will signed December 22, 1791, proved March 19, 1795 (NA PROB 11/1257)

1. Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 546.

2. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 403.

3. *Ibid.*, 426.

4. Nex in Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 52.

- 1803 Merlin, Joseph, inventor of mechanism [piano maker],<sup>5</sup> Princes Street, Hanover Square, will signed March 21, 1803, proved June 20, 1803 (NA PROB 11/1394)  
 Moore, Stephen, piano forte maker, Upper James Street, Golden Square, will signed November 20, 1802, proved October 27, 1803 (NA PROB 11/1400)
- 1804 Beyer, Adam, gentleman [piano maker],<sup>6</sup> Pond Street, Hampstead, will signed December 26, 1803, proved January 27, 1804 (NA PROB 11/1403)  
 Longman, James, music seller, Cheapside, will signed in the Fleet prison, November 11, 1803, proved February 20, 1804 (NA PROB 11/1405)  
 Appelman, Adam, piano forte maker, Great Portland Street, Marylebone, will signed April 20, 1803, proved July 9, 1804 (NA PROB 11/1411)
- 1807 Broderip, Francis Fane, music seller, Haymarket, Westminster, will signed February 27, 1805, proved July 16, 1807 (NA PROB 11/1464)
- 1808 Burley, John, piano forte maker, Tottenham Court Road, St Pancras, will signed June 30, 1808, proved October 6, 1808 (NA PROB 11/1486)
- 1810 Leukfeld, Leudevig August, musical instrument maker [piano maker],<sup>7</sup> Tottenham Street, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed January 26, 1810, proved December 1, 1810 (NA PROB 11/1517)
- 1811 Jones, Rice, coal merchant & piano forte maker, Golden Square, Middlesex, will signed March 12, 1811, proved June 6, 1811 (NA PROB 11/1523)  
 Broadwood, John, musical instrument maker [piano maker],<sup>8</sup> Great Pulteney Street, Westminster, will signed November 7, 1811, proved November 16, 1812 (NA PROB 11/1538)
- 1813 Astor, George, musical instrument manufacturer [piano maker],<sup>9</sup> Cornhill, will signed January 10, 1803, proved December 6, 1813 (NA PROB 11/1550)
- 1815 Turnham, Thomas, piano forte maker, 52 Wells Street, Marylebone, Middlesex, will signed April 17, 1815, proved July 28, 1815 (NA PROB 11/1571)  
 Klein, Johann Christian Alexander, piano forte maker, Henry Street, Hampstead Road, will signed October 27, 1815, proved November 22, 1815 (NA PROB 11/1574)
- 1820 Eberst, Henry, piano forte maker, 55 Newnham Street, Marylebone, will signed January 13, 1820, proved May 9, 1820 (NA PROB 11/1629)

5. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 416.

6. *Ibid.*, 404.

7. *Ibid.*, 415.

8. *Ibid.*, 421–22.

9. *Ibid.*, 403.



- 1821 Culliford, Thomas, musical instrument maker [piano maker],<sup>10</sup> Compton, Hants, will signed April 8, 1817, proved February 19, 1821 (NA PROB 11/1639)  
 Fraser, Alexander, cabinet maker & pianoforte maker, 22 Wardour Street, Westminster, will signed April 30, 1821, proved July 30, 1821 (NA PROB 11/1643)  
 Parnell, John, cabinet maker & pianoforte maker, [Illegible] Edgware Road, will signed September 7, 1821, proved October 4, 1821 (NA PROB 11/1649)  
 Dale, Joseph, music seller [piano maker],<sup>11</sup> Cornhill, will signed August 9, 1809, proved November 19, 1821 (NA PROB 11/1649)
- 1822 Ball, James, musical instrument maker, 27 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, will signed April 13, 1810, proved March 4, 1822 (NA PROB 11/1654)  
 Price, Edward, pianoforte maker, St James' Walk, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, will signed June 23, 1820, proved May 7, 1822 (NA PROB 11/1657)
- 1823 Tomkins, Elizabeth, piano forte maker, Poland Street, Westminster, Middlesex, will signed November 21, 1822, proved February 22, 1823 (NA PROB 11/1667)  
 Wheatstone, Charles, music seller [uncle of Charles & William Wheatstone, piano & concertina makers],<sup>12</sup> 436 Strand, Middlesex, will signed January 2, 1823, proved November 3, 1823 (NA PROB 11/1678)
- 1824 Dobson, Benjamin, organ builder [piano maker],<sup>13</sup> Swan Street, Minories, will signed November 6, 1823, proved January 19, 1824 (NA PROB 11/1680)
- 1825 Schoene, George Frederick [sic], gentleman, Lawrence Street, Chelsea, will signed June 13, 1822, proved January 14, 1825 (NA PROB 11/1694)
- 1827 McDuff, Robert [piano maker and Broadwood employee],<sup>14</sup> Winchester Row, Marylebone, will signed June 28, 1827, proved July 10, 1827 (NA PROB 11/1728)
- 1828 Davidson, William, piano forte maker, 14 Lant Street, Southwark, will signed February 26, 1827, proved February 16, 1828 (NA PROB 11/1736)

10. *Ibid.*, 407.

11. *Ibid.*, 408.

12. Nephews Charles and William were named by Charles Wheatstone in his will. See also, *Ibid.*, 424.

13. *Ibid.*, 409.

14. Mentioned as a Broadwood employee in correspondence dated September 4, 1809. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 108.

- Edwards, William, musical instrument maker [piano maker],<sup>15</sup> Bridge Road, Lambeth, will signed April 21, 1823, proved March 11, 1828 (NA PROB 11/1737)
- 1829 Waite, John, piano forte manufacturer, late 110 Crawford Street, now 29 New Church Street, Marylebone, Middlesex, will signed April 28, 1829, proved June 20, 1829 (NA PROB 11/1757)
- Oakey, Joseph, piano forte maker, 6 Manor Place, Walworth, will signed October 29, 1828, proved June 23, 1829 (NA PROB 11/1757)
- 1830 Rolfe, William, piano forte manufacturer, Cheapside, London and Stoke Newington, Middlesex, will signed April 15, 1826, proved January 22, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1765)
- Kirkman, Joseph, pianoforte maker, Broad Street, Westminster, Middlesex, will signed February 23, 1830, proved April 27, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1770)
- 1830 Parker, Thomas, pianoforte maker, Hanover Street, Walworth, Surrey, will signed April 29, 1830, proved August 5, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1775)
- 1831 Hills, John, pianoforte maker, London Road, Southwark, will signed November 27, 1829, proved April 19, 1831 (NA PROB 11/1784)
- Stodart, Robert [piano maker],<sup>16</sup> Queen Street, Edinburgh, will signed September 6, 1822, proved April 22, 1831 (NA PROB 11/1784)
- Sumpter, Thomas William, former shoemaker, now teacher of the pianoforte, 1 Eccleston Street, Pimlico, will signed April 14, 1831, proved May 5, 1831 (NA PROB 11/1785)
- Rathmacher, John George, square piano forte maker, 6 Charles Street, Soho, will signed June 14, 1830, proved May 7, 1831 (NA PROB 11/1785)
- Eadon, George William, piano forte maker, Waterloo Road, Lambeth, will signed at Alfred Place, Blackfriars Road, May 22, 1831, proved June 25, 1831 (NA PROB 11/1786)
- Hunt, James Henry, piano forte maker, 35 Frederick Place, Hampstead Road, will signed May 18, 1831, proved August 29, 1831 (NA PROB 11/1789)
- 1832 Indermaur, John, piano forte maker, 8 Upper Charlton Street, Fitzroy Square, Middlesex, will signed July 1, 1828, proved March 20, 1832 (NA PROB 11/1797)
- Clementi, Muzio, esquire [piano maker],<sup>17</sup> formerly Lincroft House near Lichfield, Stafford, now Elm Lodge, Evesham, Worcester, will signed January 2, 1832, proved April 24, 1832 (NA PROB 11/1798)

15. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 409.

16. Laurence, "The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand," 9.

17. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 406.

- Pattison, George, piano forte manufacturer, Regent Street, Middlesex, will signed June 15, 1832, proved November 5, 1832 (NA PROB 11/1808)
- 1833 Kiddle, John, piano forte maker, 20 Buckingham Place, Marylebone, Middlesex, will signed April 8, 1833, proved September 10, 1833 (NA PROB 11/1821)
- 1834 Ball, Gabriel, pianoforte maker, 27 Crescent Street, St Pancras, will signed March 21, 1826, proved February 19, 1834 (NA PROB 11/1827)  
Stephens, James, pianoforte maker, 5 Sussex Street, London University, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed February 10, 1931, proved March 22, 1834 (NA PROB 11/1829)
- Powell, Thomas Samuel, piano forte maker, Poland Street, Oxford Street, Middlesex, will signed April 23, 1834, proved May 12, 1834 (NA PROB 11/1831)
- Wales, Robert, piano forte maker, Charles Street, Hampstead Road, Middlesex, will signed October 26, 1832, proved September 20, 1834 (NA PROB 11/1836)
- 1835 Chappell, Samuel, music seller, 50 New Bond Street, Hanover Square, will signed September 12, 1834, proved January 20, 1835 (NA PROB 11/1841)  
Baragiola, Lewis, piano forte maker, Little Russell Street, Covent Garden, will signed November 10, 1835, proved December 7, 1835 (NA PROB 11/1854)
- 1836 Halley, John, pianoforte maker, Great Cambridge Street, Hackney Road, Middlesex, will signed June 30, 1836, proved August 22, 1836 (NA PROB 11/1865)  
Ball, Edward, piano forte maker, 27 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, will signed July 31, 1829, proved December 17, 1836 (NA PROB 11/1869)
- 1837 Dodd, Thomas, musical instrument maker,<sup>18</sup> 3 Berners Street, Oxford Street, will signed August 21, 1832, proved May 22, 1837 (NA PROB 11/1878)
- 1838 Perkins, Robert, pianoforte maker, 1 The Crescent, Hackney Road, will signed September 23, 1837, proved August 29, 1838 (NA PROB 11/1899)
- 1839 Levesque, Josiah [piano maker],<sup>19</sup> Haberdasher's Walk, Pitfield Street, Hoxton, Middlesex, will signed March 28, 1839, proved October 15, 1839 (NA PROB 11/1917)

18. Father and former partner of Edward Dodd, harp and piano maker at the same address; probably also involved in piano making. See Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 409. Partnership between Thomas and Edward Dodd, 3 Berners Street, dissolved June 20, 1828. *L.G.* (June 24, 1828), 1216.

19. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 415.

- Darnton, William, piano forte maker, Arlington Street, Clerkenwell, will signed September 2, 1839, proved October 19, 1839 (NA PROB 11/1917)
- Black, David, piano forte & organ key maker, 81 John Street, Tottenham Court Road, will signed November 28, 1831, proved October 30, 1839 (NA PROB 11/1806)
- Mowbray, William, piano forte maker, 7 High Street, Newington Butts, will signed October 8, 1839, proved November 13, 1839 (NA PROB 11/1918)
- 1840 Kendall, George, pianoforte maker, 97 Mary Street, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed February 12, 1836, proved March 19, 1840 (NA PROB 11/1924)
- Radford, George, grand pianoforte bellyman & joiner, 15 & 16 William Street, Regents Park, Middlesex, will signed March 21, 1838, proved July 13, 1840 (NA PROB 11/1931)
- 1841 Wrede, Herman, musical wind instrument [and piano] maker,<sup>20</sup> Whitcross Street [sic], Cripplegate, London, will signed January 18, 1841, proved March 6, 1841 (NA PROB 11/1943)
- Ormond, James Cowle, pianoforte maker, Charles Street, Chelsea, will signed May 23, 1841, proved August 12, 1841 (NA PROB 11/1950)
- Stodart, William, piano manufacturer, 3 Avenue Road, Regent's Park, will signed July 7, 1841, proved September 8, 1841 (NA PROB 11/1951)
- 1842 Matthews, Jeremiah, piano forte maker, 38 Dowgate Hill, Walbrook, will signed February 17, 1832, proved July 4, 1842 (NA PROB 11/1965)
- 1843 Russell, Richard, piano forte maker, Broad Street, Golden Square, Middlesex, will signed December 25, 1842, proved January 17, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1974)
- Forsyth, James [senior], piano forte maker, Bridle Lane, Golden Square, will signed at Holywell Street, Westminster, January 31, 1843, proved March 9, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1976)
- Southgate, Robert, piano forte maker, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed November 20, 1830, proved May 12, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1980)
- Dettmer, George Thomas, piano forte maker, 24 Barnsbury Road, Islington, will signed April 28, 1843, proved June 3, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1980)
- Fairn, Robert, piano forte maker, Frederick Place, Hampstead Road, will signed April 25, 1835, proved July 5, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1982)
- 1844 Brockly, Thomas, piano forte maker, 3 Norton Street, Fitzroy Square, will signed November 1, 1843, proved January 31, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1991)

20. *Ibid.*, 425.

- Bird, Edwin, piano forte maker, 16 William Street, Regents Park, will signed April 1, 1843, proved March 6, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1994)
- Donnison, George, cabinet maker & piano forte maker, 5 Toby Court, Monkwell Street, will signed March 5, 1844, proved April 2, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1996)
- Rendell, James, musical instrument maker [piano maker],<sup>21</sup> London Street, Tottenham Court Road, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed August 23, 1837, proved September 6, 1844 (NA PROB 11/2005)
- Price, John, pianoforte maker, 6 Norfolk Street, Strand, London, will signed July 8, 1841, proved October 10, 1844 (NA PROB 11/2006)
- 1845 Fullalove, Martin, pianoforte maker, 69 Judd Street, St Pancras, will signed December 13, 1844, proved January 8, 1845 (NA PROB 11/2010)
- Middleton, David, piano forte maker, 25 Old Compton Street, Westminster, will signed January 4, 1845, proved April 1, 1845 (NA PROB 11/2016)
- Tuck, John, pianoforte maker, 19 Peel Street, Kensington Gravel Pits, Middlesex, will signed April 20, 1845, proved July 10, 1845 (NA PROB 11/2022)
- Byer, Robert David, piano forte maker, 20 Walnut Tree Walk, Lambeth, will signed April 14, 1845, proved August 26, 1845 (NA PROB 11/2022)
- 1846 Heatly, John, pianoforte maker, 30 Wells Street, Oxford Street, will signed February 25, 1846, proved April 9, 1846 (NA PROB 11/2034)
- Gow, Alexander Taylor, piano forte maker, 30 Crosier Street, Lambeth, will signed January 11, 1844, proved December 10, 1846 (NA PROB 11/2046)
- 1847 Lewontish, Charles, piano forte teacher, 67 Woodland Street, Dalston, Hackney, will signed October 5, 1841, proved January 23, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2048)
- Stumpff, Johann Andreas, harp & pianoforte maker, 44 Great Portland Street, Marylebone, London, will signed May 22, 1846, proved March 19, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2053)
- Brooks, Cox, gentleman [pianoforte maker in the executor's deposition], formerly of Euston Street, Euston Square, now 4 High Street, Camden Town, will signed March 22, 1847, proved April 13, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2053/363)
- Rolfe, Thomas Hall, piano forte maker, 61 Cheapside, London, will signed December 30, 1846, proved May 19, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2056)
- Gunther, Johan Heinrich Anton, piano forte manufacturer, 7 High Street, Camden Town, will signed February 18, 1847, proved November 10, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2064)

21. *Ibid.*, 420.

- Atkinson, William, piano forte tuner, Kingston upon Hull, will signed January 7, 1847, proved December 8, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2065)
- 1848 Nagle, William, piano forte maker, 41 Chalton Street, Clarendon Square, Middlesex, will signed February 21, 1848, proved July 8, 1848 (NA PROB 11/2078)
- Bond, John, piano forte maker, 19 Frederick Place, Hampstead Road, will signed June 17, 1848, proved July 11, 1848 (NA PROB 11/2077)
- Rogers, William, pianoforte maker, 5 & 6 Melton Place, Euston Square, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed November 21, 1843, proved September 16, 1848 (NA PROB 11/2081)
- 1849 Sugden, Lewis, pianoforte maker, 20 Crawford Street, Marylebone, Middlesex, will signed June 27, 1835, proved May 16, 1849 (NA PROB 11/2093)
- Graves, James, piano forte maker, Queen Street, Camden Town, will signed August 9, 1838, proved July 11, 1849 (NA PROB 11/2096)
- Williams, Joseph, piano forte maker, 7 Romney Terrace, Horseferry Road, Westminster, Middlesex, will signed June 20, 1849, proved July 12, 1849 (NA PROB 11/2097)
- 1850 Winget, William, pianoforte maker, 63 John Street, Tottenham Court Road, will signed March 12, 1845, proved January 28, 1850 (NA PROB 11/2108)
- Purr, Turner, cabinet maker & piano forte manufacturer, 13 Drummond Crescent, Euston Square, Middlesex, will signed February 16, 1841, proved February 14, 1850 (NA PROB 11/2107)
- Rose, Daniel Giles, gentleman [Broadwood clerk],<sup>22</sup> 8 Old Church Street, Paddington, will signed August 17, 1846, proved February 16, 1850 (NA PROB 11/2109)
- Staveley, Miles, piano forte maker, 13 William Street, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed January 10, 1841, proved September 23, 1850 (NA PROB 11/2120)
- 1851 Bruce, John, pianoforte maker, formerly 19 London Street, Fitzroy Square, afterwards 11 Frederick Street, Regent's Park, now 27 Park Place, New Peckham, Surrey, will signed August 26, 1850, proved March 21, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2128)
- Green, John, musical instrument maker [Clementi & Co employee and agent for Logier's patent "Chiroplast"],<sup>23</sup> Soho Square, Middlesex, will signed October 20, 1846, proved August 15, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2137)

22. Laurence, "The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand," 182.

23. For employment with Clementi & Co., see Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 142. For "Chiroplast," see Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 411.

- Broadwood, James Shudi, esquire [Broadwood partner],<sup>24</sup> Bryanstone Square, Middlesex, will signed August 29, 1848, proved September 2, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2138)
- Boyett, William, organ builder & pianoforte maker, Chichester, will signed March 28, 1851, proved September 13, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2139)
- Barber, Samuel, piano forte maker, Cornwall Road, Lambeth, will signed August 4, 1849, proved October 18, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2140)
- 1852 Cheesewright, Henry, pianoforte key maker, 97 Mary Street, Hampstead Road, St Pancras, will signed July 8, 1846, proved August 10, 1852 (NA PROB 11/2157)
- Wornum, Robert, pianoforte maker, Camden Street, Camden Town, Middlesex, will signed August 5, 1824, proved September 2, 1852 (NA PROB 11/2164)
- Davis, Joseph, piano forte manufacturer, 92 Black Friars Road, Surrey, will signed May 16, 1840, proved October 13, 1852 (NA PROB 11/2160)
- 1853 Marshall, John, piano forte tuner, 22 High Street, Camden Town, St Pancras, Middlesex, will signed February 22, 1850, proved January 27, 1853 (NA PROB 11/2165)
- Franklin, Richard, pianoforte maker, Old Hoxton Town, Shoreditch, will signed September 17, 1850, proved April 23, 1853 (NA PROB 11/2170)
- Stewart, Robert, employee of Messrs Broadwood, 7 Mann's Cottages, Vauxhall Bridge Road, Middlesex, will signed March 25, 1853, proved September 19, 1853 (NA PROB 11/2178)
- Gange, George, piano forte maker, Lower Belgrave Place, Pimlico, will signed April 19, 1852, proved October 15, 1853 (NA PROB 11/2179)
- Tomkison, Thomas [piano maker],<sup>25</sup> Dean Street, Soho, Westminster, Middlesex, will signed September 8, 1847, proved December 23, 1853 (NA PROB 11/2183)
- 1854 Packer, Charles, pianoforte manufacturer, Finchley House, St John's Wood, Middlesex, and 20 Oxford Street, Middlesex, will signed December 17, 1850, proved August 19, 1854 (NA PROB 11/2196)
- Finlayson, Alexander [piano tuner],<sup>26</sup> Bridle Lane, Golden Square, will signed July 25, 1849, proved October 27, 1854 (NA PROB 11/2198)
- Casselmann, George, piano forte maker, 9, 10 & 11 Pancras Street, Tottenham Court Road, will signed November 26, 1833, proved December 21, 1854 (NA PROB 11/2201)

24. John Broadwood took James Shudi into partnership in 1795, giving him a half-share in the business. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 82.

25. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 423.

26. Laurence, "The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand," 166.

- 1855 Allison, Thomas, piano forte manufacturer, 75 Dean Street, Soho, will signed September 6, 1854, proved January 19, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2204)  
Hill, Robert Frederick, piano forte maker, 8 Oakley Terrace, Old Kent Road, will signed January 30, 1855, proved June 20, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2214)  
Bell, Henry, piano forte maker, 11 Pulford Street, Hanover Square, will signed February 2, 1846, proved October 3, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2220)  
Copley, George, piano forte manufacturer, Shacklewell Lane, Hackney, will signed September 20, 1852, proved October 9, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2220)  
Erard, Pierre, harp & piano manufacturer, 18 Great Marlborough Street, will signed July 20, 1850, proved November 2, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2222)  
Jones, William, piano forte tuner, 186 Great College Street, Camden Town, Middlesex, will signed October 13, 1855, proved November 30, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2222)
- 1856 Soames, Jonathan, pianoforte maker, 27 Alfred Street, Bedford Square, Middlesex, will signed October 20, 1855, proved February 16, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2228)  
Brockly, Andrew, piano forte maker, 17 Cirencester Place, Marylebone, will signed May 6, 1854, proved February 23, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2226)  
Seymour, Samuel, pianoforte maker, 119 Tachbrook Street, Pimlico, Middlesex, will signed March 19, 1853, proved April 25, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2231)  
Kennay, James, piano forte maker, 1 Crescent, Hackney Road, will signed April 28, 1856, proved June 24, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2234)  
Shepherd, Aaron, piano forte maker, 30 Sloane Square, St Lukes, Middlesex, will signed December 22, 1855, proved July 16, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2226)  
Allison, Mary, piano forte manufacturer and dealer in musical instruments, 75 Dean Street, Soho, will signed July 23, 1856, proved October 23, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2239)
- 1857 Rolfe, James Longman, piano forte seller, 4 High Street, Worthing, Sussex, will signed July 28, 1856, proved December 31, 1857 (NA PROB 11/2262)

#### **Members of the Musical Profession Mentioned in the Wills**

- 1773 Snetzler, John, organ builder, Marylebone, executor, will of Burkat Shudi, harpsichord maker, signed July 5, 1773, proved September 3, 1773 (NA PROB 11/991)
- 1777 Bride, Richard, musician, St Bartholomew the Less, deponent, will of Charles Lukey, signed February [blank], 1774, proved May 10, 1777 (NA PROB 11/1031)



- Broderip, Frances [music seller],<sup>27</sup> Cheapside, beneficiary, will of Charles Lukey, signed February [blank], 1774, proved May 10, 1777 (NA PROB 11/1031)
- Longman, James [music seller],<sup>28</sup> Cheapside, beneficiary, will of Charles Lukey, signed February [blank], 1774, proved May 10, 1777 (NA PROB 11/1031)
- 1790 Beyer, Adam, gentleman [piano maker],<sup>29</sup> brother and beneficiary, will of Lorence Beyer, piano forte maker, signed September 11, 1789, proved January 5, 1790 (NA PROB 11/1187)
- Keble, John [organist at St George's Church, Hanover Square],<sup>30</sup> friend and beneficiary, will of John Christopher Zumpe, gentleman, signed May 22, 1784, proved December 24, 1790 (NA PROB 11/1199)
- 1793 Hartz, Henry, snuffman [later partner to John Henry Schrader],<sup>31</sup> Portland Street, Soho, executor, will of Christopher Sievers, piano forte maker, signed May 15, 1793, proved June 12, 1793 (NA PROB 11/1234)
- 1794 Possin, John Samuel Charles, [composer and pianist],<sup>32</sup> beneficiary and executor, will of Gabriel Buntebart, large piano forte maker, signed October 7, 1794, proved October 17, 1794 (NA PROB 11/1234)
- Schrader, John Henry, successor to Buntebart & Sievers, beneficiary and executor, will of Gabriel Buntebart, large piano forte maker, signed October 7, 1794, proved October 17, 1794 (NA PROB 11/1234)
- 1795 Banks, Benjamin [violin maker and partner of George Astor],<sup>33</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of Benjamin Banks, musical instrument maker, signed December 22 1791, proved March 19, 1795 (NA PROB 11/1257)
- Banks, Henry [piano tuner],<sup>34</sup> son and beneficiary, will of Benjamin Banks, musical instrument maker, signed December 22, 1791, proved March 19, 1795 (NA PROB 11/1257)
- Banks, James [violin maker],<sup>35</sup> son and beneficiary, will of Benjamin Banks, musical instrument maker, signed December 22, 1791, proved March 19, 1795 (NA PROB 11/1257)

27. Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 529.

28. *Ibid.*, 545.

29. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 404.

30. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 50–51.

31. See *Bill of complaint*, George Lewis Hartz, March 4, 1803 (NA C13/28/22).

32. Kassler and Kollmann, *A. F. C. Kollmann's Quarterly musical register*, 132.

33. Morris, *British Violin Makers*, 103. For partnerships with Astor, see *LG* (April 8, 1809), 472.

34. Nex in Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 40.

35. Morris, *British Violin Makers*, 103

- Cahusac, Thomas [music publisher and musical instrument maker],<sup>36</sup> son-in-law, named in the will of Benjamin Banks, musical instrument maker, signed December 22, 1791, proved March 19, 1795 (NA PROB 11/1234)
- 1803 Jenkins, Sylvanus, assistant, beneficiary and executor, will of Joseph Merlin, inventor of mechanism, signed March 21, 1803, proved June 20, 1803 (NA PROB 11/1394)
- 1804 \*Kirkman, Abraham [harpsichord/piano maker?], Fen Court, London, witness, will of Adam Appelman, piano forte maker, signed April 20, 1803, proved July 9, 1804 (NA PROB 11/1411). Also, brother/nephew, beneficiary and executor, will of Joseph Kirkman, pianoforte maker, signed February 23, 1830, proved April 27, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1770)<sup>37</sup>  
Kirkman, Joseph, piano forte maker, Broad Street, St James, Westminster, executor, will of Adam Appelman, signed April 20, 1803, proved July 9, 1804 (NA PROB 11/1411)
- 1811 \*Parry, William [piano maker],<sup>38</sup> Temple, beneficiary and witness, will of Rice Jones, coal merchant & piano forte maker, signed March 12, 1811, proved June 6, 1811 (NA PROB 11/1523). Also [16, William Street, Regents Park], witness, will of Edwin Bird, piano forte maker, signed April 1, 1843, proved March 6, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1994)  
Price, John [employee?, eventual successor],<sup>39</sup> appointed to supervise the completion of unfinished pianos prior to sale of Rice Jones' business,<sup>40</sup> will of Rice Jones, coal merchant and pianoforte maker, signed March 12, 1811, proved June 6, 1811 (NA PROB 11/1523)
- 1812 \*Broadwood, Thomas [Broadwood partner & accountant],<sup>41</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of John Broadwood, signed November 7, 1811, proved November 16, 1812 (NA PROB 11/1538). Also, brother and beneficiary, will of James Shudi Broadwood, esquire, signed August 29, 1848, proved September 2, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2138)  
Forsyth, James [senior], foreman to James Shudi Broadwood and Thomas Broadwood, beneficiary, will of John Broadwood, musical instrument maker, signed November 7, 1811, proved November 16, 1812 (NA PROB 11/1538)

36. Byrne, "The Cahusacs and Hallet," 26.

37. The testator and piano maker Joseph Kirkman (c1763–1830) noted in his will a brother, Abraham Kirkman the elder, and a nephew, Abraham Kirkman the younger, but it has not been established which of the two was witness to the will of Adam Appelman.

38. William Parry was a piano maker insured at 16 William Street, Regents Park, in 1830. *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, April 21, 1820 (LMA Ms. 11936/527/1105940).

39. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 419.

40. Price later acquired the firm. *Ibid.*, 419.

41. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 103.

- Paine, James [Broadwood employee],<sup>42</sup> 33 Great Pulteney Street, witness, will of John Broadwood, musical instrument maker, signed November 7, 1811, proved November 16, 1812 (NA PROB 11/1538)
- Rose, Daniel Giles, [Broadwood employee],<sup>43</sup> 33 Great Pulteney Street, witness, will of John Broadwood, musical instrument maker, signed November 7, 1811, proved November 16, 1812 (NA PROB 11/1538)
- 1813 Dettmer, William, piano maker, Marylebone Street, executor, will of George Astor, musical instrument manufacturer, signed January 10, 1803, proved December 6, 1813 (NA PROB 11/1550)
- 1821 Griffin, Sophia, shopwoman, employee and beneficiary to the will of Joseph Dale, music seller, will signed August 9, 1809, proved November 19, 1821 (NA PROB 11/1649)
- 1822 Ball, Edward [piano maker],<sup>44</sup> son and beneficiary, codicil to the will of James Ball, musical instrument maker, signed November 12, 1821, proved March 4, 1822 (NA PROB 11/1654)
- 1823 Tomkins, James [piano maker],<sup>45</sup> husband, beneficiary and executor, will of Elizabeth Tomkins, piano forte maker, [47] Poland Street, Oxford Street, signed November 21, 1822, proved February 22, 1823 (NA PROB 11/1667)
- Potter, Thomas, music seller, Soho Square, executor, will of Charles Wheatstone, music seller, signed January 2, 1823, proved November 3, 1823 (NA PROB 11/1678)
- Wheatstone, Charles [concertina & piano maker],<sup>46</sup> nephew and beneficiary, will of Charles Wheatstone senior, music seller, signed January 2, 1823, proved November 3, 1823 (NA PROB 11/1678)
- Wheatstone, William senior [music business & piano patent],<sup>47</sup> brother and beneficiary, will of Charles Wheatstone senior, music seller, signed January 2, 1823, proved November 3, 1823 (NA PROB 11/1678)

42. Laurence notes a foreman named Pain [sic] working at the Broadwood factory in 1807. Laurence, "The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand," 264.

43. *Ibid.*, 182.

44. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 403.

45. James Tomkins was a piano maker in Poland Street in 1818 (LL pollbook\_692-69293).

46. Harding (*The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 424) lists Charles Wheatstone as a piano maker. He and his brother William claimed to be "piano makers" in their 1839 trade directory entry, but were most famed for their work as concertina makers. Wayne, "The Wheatstone English Concertina," 124.

47. William Wheatstone (senior) amalgamated his music business with that of his sons c1826. Wayne, "The Wheatstone English Concertina," 120. For his piano patent, see Eydmann, "The Life and Times of the Concertina," 32.

- Wheatstone, William junior [concertina & piano maker],<sup>48</sup> nephew and beneficiary, will of Charles Wheatstone senior, music seller, signed January 2, 1823, proved November 3, 1823 (NA PROB 11/1678)
- 1827 Chisholme, James [piano maker],<sup>49</sup> Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square, beneficiary and executor, will of Robert McDuff, signed June 28, 1827, proved July 10, 1827 (NA PROB 11/1728)
- 1828 Edwards, William [piano maker], nephew and beneficiary, will of William Edwards, musical instrument maker, signed April 21, 1823, proved March 11, 1828 (NA PROB 11/1737)
- Edwards, William Henry [piano maker], son, beneficiary and executor, will of William Edwards, musical instrument maker, signed April 21, 1823, proved March 11, 1828 (NA PROB 11/1737)
- 1829 Bruce, John [piano maker],<sup>50</sup> London Street, Fitzroy Square, brother-in-law, beneficiary and executor, will of John Waite, piano forte manufacturer, signed April 28, 1829, proved June 20, 1829 (NA PROB 11/1757)
- 1830 \*Rolfe, James Longman [pianoforte seller],<sup>51</sup> son and beneficiary, will of William Rolfe, piano forte manufacturer, signed April 15, 1826, proved January 22, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1765). Also, brother and beneficiary, will of Thomas Hall Rolfe, pianoforte maker, signed December 30, 1846, proved May 19, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2056)
- \*Rolfe, Nicholas [piano maker],<sup>52</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of William Rolfe, piano forte manufacturer, signed April 15, 1826, proved January 22, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1765). Also, brother and executor, will of Thomas Hall Rolfe, pianoforte maker, signed December 30, 1846, proved May 19, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2056)
- Rolfe, Thomas Hall [piano maker],<sup>53</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of William Rolfe, piano forte manufacturer, signed April 15, 1826, proved January 22, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1765)
- 1830 Steibler, Christian John [actually Christian Gotthelf Sleibler, leatherer of pianoforte hammers],<sup>54</sup> 5 Marshall Street, Golden Square, witness, will

48. Brothers William and Charles claimed to be "piano makers" in their 1839 trade directory entry, but were most famed for their work as concertina makers. Wayne, "The Wheatstone English Concertina," 124.

49. Chisholm [sic] senior was a Broadwood employee making square nameboards in 1834 (SHC 2185/JB/74/1).

50. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 405.

51. Will of James Longman Rolfe, piano forte seller, proved 1857 (NA PROB 11/2262).

52. See Nicholas Rolfe (55), born c1786, Middlesex, piano forte maker, living at Charterhouse Square, Finsbury (1841 census).

53. Will of Thomas Hall Rolfe, piano forte maker, proved 1847 (NA PROB 11/2056).

54. *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, September 9, 1812 (LMA Ms.11936/459/873583).

- of Joseph Kirkman, pianoforte maker, signed February 23, 1830, proved April 27, 1830 (NA PROB 11/1770)
- 1831 Bates, Mr [probably Theodore Charles Bates],<sup>55</sup> piano forte maker, mentioned as housing the testator's "laythe bench and tools," will of George William Eadon, piano forte maker, signed May 22, 1831, proved June 25, 1831 (NA PROB 11/1786)
- 1832 Serges, Bernardus [musical instrument maker & dealer in coals corn hay & straw],<sup>56</sup> [36] Berwick Street [Soho], witness, will of John Indermaur, piano forte maker, signed July 1, 1828, proved March 20, 1832 (NA PROB 11/1797)
- 1832 Collard, Frederick William [piano maker],<sup>57</sup> beneficiary, will of Muzio Clementi, signed January 2, 1832, proved April 24, 1832 (NA PROB 11/1798)
- Collard, William Frederick [piano maker],<sup>58</sup> beneficiary, will of Muzio Clementi, signed January 2, 1832, proved April 24, 1832 (NA PROB 11/1798)
- 1834 Finlayson, Alexander, piano maker, 26 Newland Street, Edward Road, witness, will of Thomas Samuel Powell, piano forte maker, signed April 23, 1834, proved May 12, 1834 (NA PROB 11/1831)
- 1835 Burrowes, John Freckleton [composer and organist at St James's Church, Piccadilly],<sup>59</sup> 13 Nottingham Place, New Road, executor, will of Samuel Chappell, music seller, signed September 12, 1834, proved January 20, 1835 (NA PROB 11/1841)
- Bell, John Francis, toy [& piano forte]<sup>60</sup> maker, 4 Little Russell Street, Covent Garden, beneficiary and executor, will of Lewis Baragiola, piano forte maker, signed November 10, 1835, proved December 7, 1835 (NA PROB 11/1854)
- 1837 Dodd, Edward [harp & piano maker],<sup>61</sup> 62 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, son, beneficiary and executor, will of Thomas Dodd, musical instrument maker, signed August 21, 1832, proved May 22, 1837 (NA PROB 11/1878)

55. In 1823, Giles Longman and Theodore Charles Bates formed the piano making partnership Longman & Bates. In 1829 they were joined by the music seller, Samuel Chappell and became Chappell, Longman & Bates. Nex in Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 89. The 1830 *POLD* notes Longman & Bates [sic] at 6 Ludgate Hill.

56. *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, March 25, 1806 (LMA Ms. 11936/437/787382).

57. Nex in Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 46–47.

58. *Ibid.*, 46–47.

59. See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\\_Freckleton\\_Burrowes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Freckleton_Burrowes), (accessed January 8, 2012).

60. John Bell, 4 Little Russell Street, Covent Garden, toy and piano forte maker. *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, May 4, 1836 (LMA Ms. 11936/553/1222837).

61. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 409.

1839 Darnton, William, junior [piano maker & dealer],<sup>62</sup> 118, Upper Street, Islington, son, beneficiary and executor, will of William Darnton, pianoforte maker, signed September 2, 1839, proved October 19, 1839 (NA PROB 11/1917)

Cons, Frederick [piano then piano key maker],<sup>63</sup> 81 John Street, Tottenham Court Road, witness, will of David Black, piano forte & organ key maker, signed November 28, 1831, proved October 30, 1839 (NA PROB 11/1806)

\*Russell, Alexander [Broadwood senior factory foreman],<sup>64</sup> administrator, will of David Black, pianoforte & organ key maker, signed November 28, 1831, proved October 30, 1839 (NA PROB 11/1806). Also, Holywell Street, son-in-law and executor, will of James Forsyth [senior], pianoforte maker, signed January 31, 1843, proved March 9, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1976). Also, 3 Holywell Street, Westminster, witness, will of Joseph Williams, pianoforte maker, signed June 20, 1849, proved July 12, 1849 (NA PROB 11/2097)

1840 Fairn, Robert, pianoforte maker, 15 Frederick Place, Hampstead Road, witness, will of George Kendall, pianoforte maker, signed February 12, 1836, proved March 19, 1840 (NA PROB 11/1924)

\*Indermaur, Herman [piano maker],<sup>65</sup> 25 Carbuton Street, Fitzroy Square, witness, will of George Kendall, pianoforte maker, signed February 12, 1836, proved March 19, 1840 (NA PROB 11/1924). Also, Upper Grafton Street, Fitzroy Square, witness, will of Robert Fairn, pianoforte maker, signed April 25, 1835, proved July 5, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1982)

\*Kendall, James [piano maker],<sup>66</sup> son and beneficiary, will of George Kendall, pianoforte maker, signed February 12, 1836, proved March 19, 1840 (NA PROB 11/1924). Also, 97 Mary Street, Hampstead Road, witness, will of Robert Fairn, pianoforte maker, signed April 25, 1835, proved July 5, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1982)

Seymour, Roger, piano key maker, 27 Brook Street, St Pancras, witness and executor, will of George Radford, grand pianoforte bellyman & joiner, signed March 21, 1838, proved July 13, 1840 (NA PROB 11/1931)

62. *LG* (April 16, 1858), 1939.

63. See Frederick Cons (30), born c1811, Middlesex, piano forte maker, living at Rosebery Ct, St John Hampstead (1841 census). Then, Frederick Cons (40), born c1811, St Pancras, piano forte maker employing one man and two apprentices, living at 81 John Street, St Pancras (1851 census). Frederick's widow, Esther, continued as a key maker at 47 Whitfield Street, Fitzroy Square from 1871–1875 (*POLD*).

64. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 153.

65. See Herman Indermaur, 1 Upper Grafton Street, Fitzroy Square, piano forte maker. *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, July 22, 1831 (LMA Ms. 11936/533/1125803).

66. His father bequeathed him as many tools as were useful to him in his business.

- 1841 Wrede, Herman [piano forte and musical instrument maker, music seller and stationer],<sup>67</sup> 10 Kingsland Place, Kingsland Road, son and beneficiary, will of Herman Wrede, musical wind instrument maker, signed January 18, 1841, proved March 6, 1841 (NA PROB 11/1943)
- 1842 \*Matthews, Samuel Jeremiah [piano maker],<sup>68</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of Jeremiah Matthews, pianoforte maker, signed February 17, 1832, proved July 4, 1842 (NA PROB 11/1965). Also, piano forte maker, 38 Dowgate Hill, beneficiary and executor, will of George Donnison, cabinet maker & pianoforte maker, signed March 8, 1844, proved April 2, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1996)
- 1843 Forsyth, Charles [piano maker],<sup>69</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of James Forsyth [senior], pianoforte maker, signed January 31, 1843, proved March 9, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1976)
- \*Forsyth, James [junior, piano maker],<sup>70</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of James Forsyth [senior], pianoforte maker, signed January 31, 1843, proved March 9, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1976). Also, piano forte maker, Horseferry Road, executor (renounced), will of John Marshall, piano forte tuner, signed February 22, 1850, proved January 27, 1853 (NA PROB 11/2165)
- Butcher, T[homas] [piano maker],<sup>71</sup> 41 Great Titchfield Street, debtor, will of Robert Southgate, pianoforte maker, signed November 20, 1830, proved May 12, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1980)
- Brunton, Walter [piano maker],<sup>72</sup> 7 Kennington Street, Walworth, witness, will of Robert Fairn, pianoforte maker, signed April 25, 1835, proved July 5, 1843 (NA PROB 11/1982)
- 1844 Brockly, Andrew [piano maker],<sup>73</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of Thomas Brockly, pianoforte maker, signed November 1, 1843, proved January 31, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1991)
- \*Brockly, George [piano maker],<sup>74</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of Thomas Brockly, pianoforte maker, signed November 1, 1843, proved January 31, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1991). Also, brother and executor, will of Andrew Brockly, pianoforte maker, signed May 6, 1854, proved February 23, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2226)

67. *LG* (December 25, 1849), 3930.

68. Both his father and George Donnison bequeathed him their working tools.

69. See Charles Forsyth (43), born c1808, Clerkenwell, piano forte maker, living at 40 Great Tufton Street, Westminster (1851 census).

70. See Jas [sic] Forsyth (58), born c1793, Westminster, pianoforte maker, living at 71 Grosvenor Terrace, Westminster (1851 census).

71. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 405.

72. See Walter Brunton (54), born c1797, Middlesex, pianoforte maker, living in Chandon Street, Lambeth (1841 census).

73. Will of Andrew Brockly, piano forte maker, proved 1856 (NA PROB 11/2226).

74. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 405.

- Brockly, Thomas [piano maker],<sup>75</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of Thomas Brockly, pianoforte maker, signed November 1, 1843, proved January 31, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1991)
- 1844 Mulling, George, piano maker, 74 Great Titchfield Street, executor, will of George Donnison, cabinet maker & pianoforte maker, signed March 8, 1844, proved April 2, 1844 (NA PROB 11/1996)
- Holderness, John Francis, gentleman [father of piano makers John Francis Holderness,<sup>76</sup> George William Holderness and Charles Holderness],<sup>77</sup> Peckham Grove, Camberwell, executor, will of James Rendell, musical instrument maker, signed August 23, 1837, proved September 6, 1844 (NA PROB 11/2005)
- 1845 Winter, George, pianoforte maker, 21 George Street, Euston Square, witness, will of Martin Fullalove, pianoforte maker, signed December 13, 1844, proved January 8, 1845 (NA PROB 11/2010)
- 1846 Gow, Henry [piano maker, York Road, Lambeth],<sup>78</sup> son and beneficiary (disinherited), will of Alexander Taylor Gow, piano forte maker, signed January 11, 1844, proved December 10, 1846 (NA PROB 11/2046)
- 1847 Martin, Thomas, pianoforte maker, London Street, Tottenham Court Road, executor, will of Johann Andreas Stumpff, harp & pianoforte maker, signed May 22, 1846, proved March 19, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2053)
- Brooks, Henry [pianoforte maker, then pianoforte action maker, then piano tools action manufacturer],<sup>79</sup> son and beneficiary, will of Cox Brooks, gentleman and pianoforte maker, signed March 22, 1847, proved April 13, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2053/363)
- Brooks, James [pianoforte maker],<sup>80</sup> son and beneficiary, will of Cox Brooks, gentleman and pianoforte maker, signed March 22, 1847, proved April 13, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2053/363)

75. *Ibid.*, 405.

76. John Holderness [sic] (25), born c1816, Middlesex, piano forte maker, living in Charlotte Street, St Pancras (1841 census) was the son of Sarah and John Francis Holderness [sic], baptised May 23, 1816 in St Pancras (Ancestry) and buried September 30, 1844, Islington St Mary aged 28 (Ancestry). His father died the following year. Will of John Francis Holderness, gentleman, proved 1845 (NA PROB 11/2024).

77. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 413.

78. See Aley [sic] Gow [Alexander Taylor Gow] (60), born c1871, Scotland, pianoforte maker, living in Lambeth (1841 census).

79. See Henry Brooks (26), born c1815, Middlesex (1841 census); Henry Brooks (56), born c1815, St Pancras (1871 census); and Henry Brooks (66), born c1815, St Pancras (1881 census).

80. See James Brooks (40), born c1811, St Pancras (1851 census).



- Brooks, Thomas [pianoforte maker],<sup>81</sup> son and beneficiary, will of Cox Brooks, gentleman and pianoforte maker, signed March 22, 1847, proved April 13, 1847 (NA PROB 11/ 2053/363)
- Ivory, John,<sup>82</sup> pianoforte maker, Drummond Street, Euston Square, beneficiary and executor, will of Cox Brooks, gentleman and pianoforte maker, signed March 22, 1847, proved April 13, 1847 (NA PROB 11/ 2053/363)
- Atkinson, George, music seller, Kingston-upon-Hull, brother, beneficiary and executor, will of William Atkinson, signed January 7, 1847, proved December 8, 1847 (NA PROB 11/2065)
- 1848 Lawson [Dawson?], Lewis, piano maker, 5 Granby Street, Hampstead Road, executor, will of William Nagle, pianoforte maker, signed February 21, 1848, proved July 8, 1848 (NA PROB 11/2078)
- 1850 Rumbelow, Robert, pianoforte maker, Upper Cleveland Street, Fitzroy Square, wife's nephew and beneficiary, will of William Winget, pianoforte maker, signed March 12, 1845, proved January 28, 1850 (NA PROB 11/2108)
- Rose, Frederick [Broadwood partner and factory manager],<sup>83</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of Daniel Giles Rose, gentleman, signed August 17, 1846, proved February 16, 1850 (NA PROB 11/2109)
- Rose, George Thomas [Broadwood partner and accountant],<sup>84</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of Daniel Giles Rose, gentleman, signed August 17, 1846, proved February 16, 1850 (NA PROB 11/2109)
- 1851 Broadwood, Henry Fowler [Broadwood partner],<sup>85</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of James Shudi Broadwood, esquire, signed August 29, 1848, proved September 2, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2138)
- Broadwood, Walter Stewart [Broadwood partner],<sup>86</sup> son and beneficiary, will of James Shudi Broadwood, esquire, signed August 29, 1848, proved September 2, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2138)

81. See marriage of Thomas Brooks (pianoforte maker) of St Pancras, and Susannah Griffin (minor, aged 20, spinster), at St John, Hampstead, September 3, 1837 (Ancestry).

82. Father of piano maker Henry Allsop Ivory. See baptism of Henry Alsop [sic] Ivory (February 20, 1825) at St Pancras, Camden; parents John (piano forte maker) and Sophia Alsop of Drummond Street (Ancestry).

83. Laurence, "The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand," 182. Frederick Rose and his brother, George, were made Broadwood partners in March 1857 "in acknowledgement of their past services and as an inducement to increase their interest in the success of the said trade or business." Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 178.

84. Laurence, "The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand," 182.

85. Henry Fowler Broadwood was taken into partnership with his father, James Shudi, and uncle, Thomas, on May 10, 1836. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 132.

86. In 1843, James Shudi introduced his younger son, Walter Stewart Broadwood, as a partner. *Ibid.*, 146.

- Thomas, John, piano forte maker, Guildford Street East of Grays Inn Road, beneficiary and executor, will of Samuel Barber, piano forte maker, signed August 4, 1849, proved October 18, 1851 (NA PROB 11/2140)
- 1853 Marshall, William Alfred [pianoforte selector & tunist] [sic],<sup>87</sup> son, beneficiary and executor, will of John Marshall, pianoforte tuner, signed February 22, 1850, proved January 27, 1853 (NA PROB 11/2165)
- 1854 [McIsaac, Duncan, pianoforte maker and Broadwood employee, 19 Bridle Lane],<sup>88</sup> wife(?) Ann McIsaac witness to the will of Alexander Finlayson, signed July 25, 1849, proved October 27, 1854 (NA PROB 11/2198)
- 1855 Trail, Charles, piano maker, 5 Southampton Place, Bessborough Gardens, witness, will of Henry Bell, pianoforte maker, signed February 2, 1846, proved October 3, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2220)
- Bruzaud, George John, gentleman [Erard employee],<sup>89</sup> 18 Great Marlborough Street, deponent, will of Pierre Erard, harp & pianoforte manufacturer, signed July 20, 1850, proved November 2, 1855 (NA PROB 11/2222)
- 1856 Shepherd, John [piano maker],<sup>90</sup> son and beneficiary, will of Aaron Shepherd, pianoforte maker, signed December 22, 1855, proved July 16, 1856 (NA PROB 11/2226)

87. See William Marshall (22), born c1829, St Pancras, living with his father at 22 High Street, St Pancras (1851 census).

88. Employee in 1840. Broadwood papers (SHC 2185/JB/74/1).

89. George John Bruzaud was the head of the London branch of Erard, and his brother, Charles James, who lived at 37 Pembroke Road, was the manager of its Kensington factory. Hobhouse, "The Edwardes estate," 268–82. Online at: [www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=50325](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=50325), (accessed January 8, 2012).

90. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 421.

### Appendix III: Proven (or Highly Probable) Broadwood Employees Identified in the Wills

Various sources. Unconfirmed (but almost certain) employees are marked with an asterisk.

Name	Status
Black, John*	Executor to the will of colleague David Middleton and probable grand regulator <sup>1</sup>
Broadwood, James Shudi	Partner, testator and executor to the will of John Broadwood
Broadwood, John	Founder and testator
Brockly, Thomas	Testator and foreman <sup>2</sup>
Butcher, T[homas]	Broadwood employee and debtor in the will of Robert Southgate <sup>3</sup>
Churchill, William*	Witness to the will of colleague Robert Stewart and probable grand bracing worker <sup>4</sup>
Chisholme, James	Witness to the will of Robert McDuff and probable employee <sup>5</sup>

1. John Black lived at Romney Terrace [Horseferry Road] Westminster. Will of David Middleton, piano forte maker, proved 1845 (NA PROB 11/2016). A John Black worked as a grand regulator in the Bridle Lane factory in 1834 (SHC 2185/JB/74/1). Many members of the Black family worked for Broadwood, including James Black who (around 1803) was contracted by Broadwoods to make upright grands at his factory in Percy Street. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 105.

2. Lance Whitehead identifies Thomas Brockley [sic] among the Broadwood foremen noted in the baptism records of the Wells Street Scottish Secession Church. Lance Whitehead, "Wells Street Scottish Secession Church: A Congregation of Piano Makers," paper presented at a joint conference of The Galpin Society and the Historic Brass Society (Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, July 10, 2009). I am grateful to Dr Whitehead for sharing with me his unpublished research.

3. Piano maker T[homas] Butcher advertised at 41 Great Titchfield Street as "from Messrs Broadwoods." *MP*, April 27, 1815. See also the will of Robert Southgate, pianoforte maker, proved 1843 (NA PROB 11/1980).

4. Will of Robert Stewart, Broadwood employee, proved 1853 (NA PROB 11/2178). A man named Churchill worked as a grand bracer in the Horseferry Road factory in 1834 and 1840 (SHC 2185/JB/74/1).

5. A James Chisholme lived in Pulteney Street in 1818. *Property Value of Westminster Electors* (LL ratebook\_485-48508). Two men named Chisholm [sic] worked at Horseferry Road in 1834, one as a cabinet and cottage finisher and Chisholm (senior) as a square nameboard maker. In 1841 the latter worked as a grand finisher (SHC 2185/JB/74/1). Harding notes James Chisholme or Chishsolme at 15 Great Pulteney Street from 1841–1847. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History*, 406.

Name	Status
Finlayson, Alexander	Piano forte maker, tuner and testator <sup>6</sup>
Forsyth, Charles (jnr)*	Piano maker and executor to the will of James Forsyth (snr) <sup>7</sup>
Forsyth, James (jnr)*	Piano maker and executor to the will of James Forsyth (snr) <sup>8</sup>
Forsyth, James (snr)	Testator and foreman and beneficiary in the will of John Broadwood
McDuff, Robert	Testator and employee <sup>9</sup>
McIsaac, Duncan*	Employee and piano maker. Daughter Ann McIsaac witness to the will of Alexander Finlayson <sup>10</sup>
Middleton, David*	Testator and probable grand finisher <sup>11</sup>
Montice, Henry Alfred*	Witness to the will of colleague Robert Stewart and probable key maker <sup>12</sup>
Paine, John*	Witness to the will of John Broadwood and probable foreman <sup>13</sup>

6. See marriage of Alexander Finlayson to Julia McIsaac, daughter of Duncan and Ann McIsaac of 19 Bridle Lane, Golden Square, at St Marylebone, Westminster, July 6, 1839 (Ancestry). Both Finlayson and McIsaac noted their occupation in the register as "piano forte maker" (Ancestry). Laurence notes that Finlayson was a Broadwood tuner. See Laurence, "The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand Piano," 166.

7. A man named Forsyth worked for Broadwood as a cottage, cabinet and square hammer maker in the Horseferry Road factory in 1834 and 1840 (SHC 2185/JB/74/1). Since James Forsyth (snr) was the company's foreman at this time it is likely the hammer maker was one of his sons, James or Charles, both piano makers according to the 1851 census (available via Ancestry).

8. As note 7 above.

9. Mentioned as a Broadwood employee in correspondence dated September 4, 1809. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 108.

10. Duncan McIsaac, pianoforte maker, lived at 19 Bridle Lane in 1824 and 1833. See *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, February 4, 1824 (LMA Ms. 11936/499/1012668); and January 30, 1833 (LMA Ms. 11936/538/1150324). A man named McIsaac (occupation not recorded) worked at Bridle Lane in 1840 (SHC 2185/JB/74/1). Duncan McIsaac's daughter, Jane, married Alexander Finlayson in 1839. See f.n.6 above.

11. A David Middleton worked as a grand finisher at the Bridle Lane factory in 1834 and 1840 (SHC 2185/JB/74/1).

12. A man named Montice worked as a key maker in the Horseferry Road factory in 1834 and 1840 (SHC 2185/JB/74/1).

13. Laurence notes that a man named Pain [sic] worked as foreman to the firm in 1807. Laurence, "The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand," 264. John Paine of 33 Great Pulteney Street was a witness to the will of John Broadwood, musical instrument maker, proved 1812 (PROB 11/1538).

Name	Status
Radford, George*	Testator and probable grand bellyman <sup>14</sup>
Richardson, John*	Executor to the will of colleague Robert Stewart and possible square case maker, then key maker <sup>15</sup>
Rose, Daniel Giles	Testator, junior clerk and witness to the will of John Broadwood <sup>16</sup>
Rose, Frederick	Broadwood partner & factory manager, <sup>17</sup> son and executor to the will of Daniel Giles Rose <sup>18</sup>
Rose, George Thomas	Broadwood partner & accountant, <sup>19</sup> son and executor to the will of Daniel Giles Rose
Russell, Alexander	Factory foreman, son-in-law and executor to the will of James Forsyth <sup>20</sup>
Seymour, Roger*	Piano key maker, executor and witness to the will of colleague George Radford <sup>21</sup>
Stewart, Robert	Testator “in the employ of Messieurs Broadwood” and probable square bridge maker <sup>22</sup>
Trail, Charles	Piano maker, <sup>23</sup> witness to the will of Henry Bell, piano maker of 11 Pulford Street, Hanover Square <sup>24</sup>

14. Will of George Radford, grand pianoforte bellyman and joiner, proved 1840 (NA PROB 11/1931). A man named Radford worked as a grand belly maker in the Horseferry Road factory in 1834 (SHC 2185/JB/74/1).

15. A man named Richardson worked in the Horseferry Road factory as a square case maker in 1834 and a key maker in 1840 (SHC 2185/JB/74/1).

16. Daniel Rose was working for the firm as a junior clerk on February 4, 1807. Laurence, “The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand,” 68.

17. *Ibid.*, 182. Frederick Rose and his brother George were appointed Broadwood partners in March 1857 “in acknowledgement of their past services and as an inducement to increase their interest in the success of the said trade or business.” Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 178.

18. Will of Daniel Giles Rose, gentleman, proved 1850 (NA PROB 11/2109).

19. Laurence, “The Evolution of the Broadwood Grand,” 182.

20. Laurence notes that Alexander Russell was a Broadwood factory foreman earning £356 p.a. between 1846 and 1849. *Ibid.*, 87.

21. R. Seymour worked for Broadwood as piano key maker in the Horseferry Road factory in 1840 (SHC 2185/JB/74/1).

22. A man named Stewart worked as a square bridge maker in the Horseferry Road factory in 1834 and 1840 (SHC 2185/JB/74/1).

23. Charles Trail worked for Broadwood and introduced his cousin, Robert Moir, in 1845. Wainwright, *Broadwood, By Appointment*, 158.

24. Will of Henry Bell, pianoforte maker, proved 1855 (NA PROB 11/2220).

Name	Status
Wilkie, [James?]*	Witness to the will of Daniel Giles Rose and probable grand hammer regulator <sup>25</sup>
Williams, Joseph	Testator and possible square case maker <sup>26</sup>

25. A man named James Wilkie was a “dealer in pianofortes and pianoforte string spinner” at 57 Warren Street, Fitzroy Square, in 1831. See *Sun Fire Insurance Policy Registers*, November 2, 1831 (LMA Ms. 11936/533/1130357). A man named Wilkie worked as a grand hammer regulator in the Bridle Lane factory in 1840 (SHC 2185/JB/74/1).

26. It is likely Joseph Williams was a Broadwood employee as he lived at 7 Romney Terrace, Horseferry Road, when he signed his will in 1849, and a man named Williams worked as a square case maker in the Horseferry Road factory in 1840 (SHC 2185/JB/74/1).

## Appendix IV: Trade Connections Proved by the Wills (Excluding Siblings and Offspring)

Testator	Will Proved	Executor/s	Witness/es	Beneficiaries
Appelman, Adam (pm)	1084	Joseph Kirkman	Abraham Kirkman	
Astor, George (mim)	1813	Benjamin Banks (rvkd) William Dettmer (pm)	George Horwood	
Baragiola, Lewis (pm)	1835	John Francis Bell (t&pm)		John Francis Bell (t&pm)
Barber, Samuel (pm)	1851	John Thomas (pm)		John Thomas (pm)
Bell, Henry (pm)	1855		Charles Trail (pm)	
Bird, Edwin (pm)	1844		William Parry [pm]	
Black, David (pkm)	1839	Alexander Russell (pm & admin)	Frederick Cons [pkm]	
Broadwood, John (pm)	1812		James Paine (emp) Daniel Giles Rose (emp)	James Forsyth (fm)
Brooks, Cox (pm)	1847	John Ivory (pm)		John Ivory (pm)
Buntebart, Gabriel (pm)	1794	John Schrader (emp) John Samuel Charles Possin		John Schrader (emp)
Clementi, Muzio (esq)	1832			Frederick William Collard [pm] William Frederick Collard [pm]
Dale, Joseph [ms?]	1821			Sophia Griffin* (shpwm)
Dodd, Thomas (mim)	1837	Edward Dodd (harp & pm)		Edward Dodd (harp & pm)
Donnison, George (pm)	1844	Samuel Jeremiah Matthews (pm) George Mulling (pm)		Samuel Jeremiah Matthews (pm) George Mulling (pm)
Fairn, Robert (pm)	1843		Herman Indermaur (pm) James Kendall (pm) Walter Brunton [pm]	
Finlayson, Alexander (pm&t)	1849	Jane Finlayson (nee McIsaac)	Ann McIsaac (sister-in-law)	
Forsyth, James (pm)	1843	Alexander Russell (son-in-law & pm)		
Fullalove, Martin (pm)	1854		George Winter (pm)	
Indermaur, John (pm)	1832		Bernardus Serges [mim] §	

Testator	Will Proved	Executor/s	Witness/es	Beneficiaries
Jones, Rice (pm & cm)	1811		William Parry [pm]	John Price [pm & successor] William Parry [pm]
Kendall, George (pm)	1840	Robert Fairn (pm)	Herman Indermaur [pm]	
Kirkman, Joseph (pm)	1830		Christian John Stiebler [ph]	
Lukey, Charles	1777			James Longman (friend) Francis Broderip (friend)
Marshall, John (pt)	1853	James Forsyth [Jnr] (pm) (r)		
McDuff [pm]	1827	James Chisholme [pm]		James Chisholme [pm]
Merlin, Joseph (im)	1803	Sylvanus Jenkins (asst)		Sylvanus Jenkins (asst)
Nagle, William (pm)	1848	Lewis Lawson (pm) (rlsd)		
Powell, Thos Samuel (pm)	1834		Alexander Finlayson (pt)	
Radford, George (gpbj)	1840	Roger Seymour (pkm)		
Rendell, James (pm)	1844	John Francis Holderness#		
Shudi, Burkat (hm)	1773	John Snetzler (ob)		John Snetzler (ob) John Broadwood (emp) John Kebble (organist)
Sievers, Christopher (pm)	1793	John Kohler [mim?] Henry Hartz (snuffman then pm)		
Southgate, Robert (pm)	1843			T Butcher (debtor) (pm)
Stewart, Robert (pm)	1853	John Richardson [pkm?]	William Churchill [gsbm?] Henry Alfred Montice [pkm?]	
Stumpff, Johann Andreas (pm)	1847	Thomas Martin (pm)		
Waite, John (pm)	1829	John Bruce (son-in-law & pm)		
Williams, Joseph (pm)	1849		Alexander Russell (pm)	
Winget, William (pm)	1850			Robert Rumbelow (wife's nephew & pm)



**Key**

(admin) administrator	(mim) musical instrument maker
(asst) assistant	(ob) organ builder
(cm) coal merchant	(phl) piano hammer leatherer
(emp) employee	(pkm) piano key maker
(esq) esquire	(pm) piano maker
(fm) foreman	(pt) piano tuner
(gpbj) grand piano bellyman & joiner	(r) renounced
(gsbm) grand & semi bracing maker	(rvkd) revoked
(hm) harpsichord maker	(rlsd) released
(im) inventor of mechanism	(shpwm) shopwoman
(ms) music seller	(t&pm) toy and piano maker

\* 'provided she does not carry on the business of a music seller or be concerned or assist in carrying on the said business without leave had and obtained in writing from my executrix and trustees'

# Father of piano makers John Francis, George William and Charles Holdernesse

§ Also 'dealer in coals corn hay & straw'

Trades in parentheses ( ) are those quoted in the documents

Trades in brackets [ ] denote information gleaned elsewhere

## Appendix V: Testators to Have Named Pecuniary Legacies in Their Will

Pecuniary legacies include savings in the bank, annuities, bonds, consols, stocks and shares, life insurance, cash, and charitable gifts. Approximate values "today" have been calculated via the NA Currency Converter, taking the calculation for the decade preceding and succeeding the year in which the will was proved, and adjusting it proportionately to equate to the year in which the will was proved.

Name	Occupation	Will proved	Total legacy	Total legacy today (approx.)	
Broadwood	James Shudi	Esquire	1851	£205,800	£11.7 million
Broadwood	John	Musical instrument maker	1812	£47,577	£1.7 million
Stodart	Robert	[piano maker]	1831	£15,470	£757,270
Shudi	Burkat	Harpsichord maker	1773	£5,895	£373,970
Marshall	John	Piano forte tuner	1853	£3,000	£170,980
Cox	Brooks	Gentleman & pianoforte maker	1847	£2,500	£135,500
Beyer	Adam	Gentleman	1804	£5,620	£133,520
Clementi	Muzio	Esquire	1832	£2,245	£108,680
McDuff	Robert	[piano maker]	1827	£1,903	£89,860
Russell	Richard	Piano forte maker	1843	£1,500	£72,640
Zumpe	John Christopher	Gentleman	1790	£1,240	£69,480
Sievers	Christopher Julius Ludewig	Piano forte maker	1793	£1,220	£59,620
Tomkins	Elizabeth	Piano forte maker	1823	£1,290	£57,000
Wrede	Herman	Musical wind instrument maker	1841	£1,200	£54,650
Merlin	Joseph	Inventor of mechanism	1803	£1,130	£36,960
Parker	Thomas	Pianoforte maker	1830	£700	£34,640
Leukfeld	Leudevig August	Musical instrument maker	1810	£1,000	£33,960
Winget	William	Pianoforte maker	1850	£550	£32,190
Waite	John	Piano forte maker	1829	£670	£29,900
Rolfe	James Longman	Piano forte seller	1857	£620	£29,620
Heatly	John	Pianoforte maker	1846	£470	£24,800
Rose	Daniel Giles	Gentleman	1850	£420	£24,580
Edwards	William	Musical instrument maker	1828	£510	£24,470
Schoene	George Friederick	Gentleman	1825	£515	£23,540

Rolfe	Thomas Hall	Piano forte maker	1847	£300	£16,260
Fraser	Alexander	Cabinet maker & pianoforte maker	1821	£350	£14,940
Atkinson	William	Piano forte tuner	1847	£250	£13,550
Rolfe	William	Piano forte manufacturer	1830	£250	£12,370
Chappell	Samuel	Music seller	1835	£250	£11,700
Buntebart	Gabriel Gotlieb	Large piano forte maker	1794	£200	£9,300
Southgate	Robert	Piano forte maker	1843	£175	£8,470
Nagle	William	Piano forte maker	1848	£150	£8,350
Ball	James	Musical instrument maker	1822	£180	£7,820
Parnell	John	Cabinet maker & pianoforte maker	1821	£180	£7,680
Kirkman	Joseph	Pianoforte maker	1830	£145	£7,180
Donnison	George	Cabinet maker & piano forte maker	1844	£140	£6,980
Cheesewright	Henry	Pianoforte key maker	1852	£120	£6,650
Barber	Samuel	Piano forte maker	1851	£110	£6,270
Beyer	Lorence	Piano forte maker	1790	£100	£5,600
Astor	George	Musical Instrument Maker	1813	£150	£5,450
Dale	Joseph	[piano maker]	1821	£120	£5,120
Oakey	Joseph	Piano forte maker	1829	£105	£5,120
Dettmer	George Thomas	Piano forte maker	1843	£100	£4,840
Ball	Gabriel	Piano forte maker	1834	£100	£4,730
Green	John	Musical instrument maker	1851	£80	£4,560
Stodart	William	Pianoforte manufacturer	1841	£100	£4,550
Wheatstone	Charles	Music seller	1823	£94	£4,150
Baragiola	Lewis	Piano forte maker	1835	£85	£3,980
Broderip	Francis Fane	Music seller	1807	£100	£3,340
Copley	George	Piano forte manufacturer	1855	£60	£3,050
Brockly	Thomas	Piano forte maker	1844	£50	£2,490
Lukey	Charles	[music seller]	1777	£35	£2,210
Kennay	James	Piano forte maker	1856	£40	£1,970
Jones	Rice	Coal merchant & piano forte maker	1811	£50	£1,740
Bruce	John	Pianoforte maker	1851	£30	£1,710
Turnham	Thomas	Piano forte maker	1815	£36	£1,360

Name	Occupation	Will proved	Total legacy	Total legacy today (approx.)	
Graves	James	Piano forte maker	1849	£20	£1,140
Casselman	George	Piano forte maker	1854	£20	£1,050
Eadon	George William	Piano forte maker	1831	£20	£980
Kiddle	John	Piano maker	1833	£20	£960
Rathmacher	John George	Square pianoforte maker	1831	£19	£930
Middleton	David	Piano forte maker	1845	£16	£820
Dodd	Thomas	Musical instrument maker	1837	£15	£680
Boyett	William	Organ builder & pianoforte maker	1851	£10	£570
Tomkison	Thomas	[piano maker]	1853	£10	£540
Ormond	James Cowle	Pianoforte maker	1841	£10	£450
Banks	Benjamin	Musical instrument maker	1795	£10	£440
Backers	Americus	Harpsichord maker	1778	£5	£310