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Thomas Loud, Immigrant Piano Builder in America, from Clementi, London

THOMAS STRANGE

It is not uncommon that while conducting historical research on the less well-documented instrument builders, researchers may find themselves struggling with conflicting data. Like the proverbial blind men describing an elephant, each researcher will come away with a somewhat different understanding. However, few builders of note have presented such a fragmentary historical record as Thomas Loud, and for good reason. It is rarely expected that a historical figure engaged in piano manufacturing would have actively disguised himself, engaged in several professions at the same time, and left his business to the children while still active, to begin anew in other parts of the country. Yet this is exactly what Thomas Loud Sr. did. Moreover, the existence of a Thomas Loud Sr., Thomas Loud Jr. and Thomas C. Loud (grandchild), all building pianos sometimes independently, and at roughly the same time, is confusing. This article will attempt to put the life of Thomas Loud Sr. into context and lay the groundwork for further research into the Loud family as important piano makers in America during the first half of the nineteenth century. Appendix 1 to this article is a time line of notable events referred to in the following paragraphs.

Thomas Loud (16 January 1762–2 January 1833) was the single surviving son born to John and Elizabeth Pell Loud (ca. 1726–1766) in East Farleigh, Kent, England.¹ Elizabeth was the second wife of John Loud, who already had a son and two daughters by his first wife Judith: John Loud Jr. (*b* 1752), and sisters Sarah (*b* 1753), and Judith (*b* 1755). John Loud Sr. died in 1771, leaving Thomas, only nine years old, to be raised by his older half-siblings, primarily his sister Judith following her mar-

1. Ancestry.com, family sheet. John was a fruit and cider merchant. Both John's wives died young and Thomas was raised by his older half-sister Judith, who married William Evenden. East Farleigh fell within the hundred of Maidstone and within its nineteenth-century registration district and Poor Law union. Its probate jurisdiction was Shoreham to 1845, as was its Parochial Church Council from 1846 to 1857. We are indebted to Margaret Debenham for bringing this important material forward

riage.² John's will was probated August 22, 1771,³ in which he specifically listed his four surviving children and left money for each. Judith married William Evenden, also of East Farleigh, in 1774, which left Thomas the option of adopting this last name or retaining the name of Loud. His subsequent use of the name Evenden has laid the groundwork for misunderstanding over the years.⁴

While the early years of most historical instrument builders are typically obscure, Thomas Loud did provide some clarifying remarks about his youth. As brought forward by genealogist Joseph Beglan in his book *Pianos in the Attic*, covering the Loud family, Thomas Loud published his *Three Essays*, detailing his thoughts regarding the Christian faith, in 1821. In the prologue chapter, "An Account," while explaining how he came to a personal and non-mainstream line of theology, he gave a short history of his early life in England and later America. An extract of his account is given below:

Being left very young, destitute of parental restraint, and grossly neglected in my apprenticeship, I pursued the corrupt inclination of a depraved heart, and fell under the influence of wicked example, to the full extent that means and years permitted. But God, who watched over me for good, and preserved me in Christ, from destruction, while I was avowedly his enemy, was pleased to make me feel something of the fruit of my doings, by suffering me to be entangled, I will not say by the trammels of justice, but by those of injustice, I mean the Impress laws of Great Britain; through which I became an inhabitant of an English man of war, which, to say the least of, is an awful school of vice; (though I believe that the public ships of some nations are, if possible, much worse, where crimes of the worst character are almost licensed, that would be punished with death in an English or American ship of war.) But, to return: after suffering much in circumstances so dissimilar to my former habits, I became a prisoner of war, in the town of Trenton, New-Jersey, in the year 1782, where I had some very serious convictions of sin, occasioned by visits paid to two poor men in the same prison under sentence of death (who were mercifully reprieved under the gallows). I felt myself to be far more miserable than they appeared to be, and had it been possible, would gladly have stood in their place, as they appeared to cherish a lively and happy hope, that their sins

2. Joseph Beglan, *Pianos in the Attic* (Hampstead, MD: J. F. Beglan Enterprise Inc., 2012), 56.

3. <https://nationalarchives.gov.uk>, PROB 11/970.

4. Loud used the name Evenden while in America from 1811 to 1819, as discussed below.

were forgiven, and an expectation of being received into everlasting rest, while I was the subject of a fearful looking for of judgment: but, though I can hardly think that my convictions were of a spiritual nature, or such as constitute the beginnings of a good work of grace—yet I did not entirely lose them, in the midst of much wickedness, in myself and my companions in captivity; and when I was exchanged, and restored to my native country (which took place in the spring of 1783), I was induced, from what I had been led to discover of my sins, to frequent the church much more than is usual with men in such circumstances.⁵

From what Loud wrote it seems that he had either not been apprenticed or was not apprenticed in a favorable situation, and so was living the life of a free youth on the streets, which was historically fair game for impress gangs. He was then pressed into service, and subsequently captured and imprisoned in Trenton, New Jersey. The American Revolutionary War had largely wound down by 1782, and there were no important battles for him to have been in at this point, but this event is remarkable for several reasons. It signaled the start of his religious conversion, which was central to his development over the rest of life and left him a far more studious and sober individual, capable of applying himself to a task, such as would present itself in the form of piano making, his chosen career. It also introduced him to America which he is said to have admired,⁶ and which would ultimately be his final home.

Loud attended the sermons of William Romaine (1714–1795), a well-known evangelical then preaching in London at St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, whose works on the subject of the Holy Trinity and his Treatises on the *Life, Walk, and Triumph of Faith* provided the foundations of the early Baptist church. In his *Three Essays*, Loud describes his further progress towards becoming a man of God, and his conviction that he should spread his understanding to others. This religious conversion was profound for him, and for the rest of his life, Loud effectively lived under the dual occupations of piano maker and Baptist evangelical, often turning to religious doctrine to dictate decisions in his life.

On August 20, 1786, Thomas Loud married Esther (Hester) Hawkins, spinster⁷ (1768–15 November 15, 1825). Esther was from London, and it

5. Thomas Loud, *Three Essays, On Important Subjects* (Baltimore: B. Edes, 1821), accessed at <http://archive.org/details/threeessaysonimp00loud>.

6. Beglan, *Pianos in the Attic*, 98.

7. Here, the term spinster is used in the strict legal definition of an unmarried woman,

seems likely that Thomas met her when he went to work in that city. No record of an apprenticeship for Thomas has emerged, and the interruption from his impressment into the British Navy and subsequent involvement in the American Revolutionary War all but precluded his having one, but he may have spent the time from his return to England in 1783 until early in 1786 as assistant to a cabinet maker in London. From his later advertising notices, which are self-consistent and believable, he was engaged in piano making from early 1786 onwards.⁸ Based on surviving pianos with Loud's signature inside them, he was associated with building pianos to be sold under the name of the firm Longman & Broderip, where James Longman and his partner Francis Fane Broderip operated music stores at 26 Cheapside, London, from 1773, and additionally at 13 Haymarket, London, from 1782.⁹ Longman & Broderip also maintained a lumber yard and instrument factory at Tottenham Court road where both Thomas Culliford and John Geib built pianos. As the largest builder of square pianos in London in 1786, Longman's employment of Loud at an introductory level is plausible.

Loud became involved in correspondence with the Reverend William Huntington, who published a collection of Loud's and other letters in *The Mystery of Godliness; In a Letter to an Erroneous Man*, where the "erroneous man" is Thomas Loud. One of the letters, from Peter Reed to a Mr. Berry, perfumer, sheds light on Loud's perceived early character as relayed by Reed:

Walworth, Saturday Evening, May 11, 1793. / Respecting Mr. Loud; as you request me, I will be as explicit as the limits of time and paper will allow me to be. I think I have known him about seven years, and within the two last with some degree of intimacy; from which time, for reasons I shall presently give you, I have studiously avoided any intercourse with him. When I first became acquainted with him, I was led to look upon him not only as a godly man, but a man of singular abilities, gifts, and grace; and indeed have often looked upon myself as many degrees below him: but the Lord hath said, The

a "spinster of the parish." As she was then twenty-two years old, Esther was hardly beyond the age of marriage.

8. In a notice in the *Baltimore Patriot* of February 20, 1822, he claims "thirty-five years of experience"; while a notice in the same paper of April 17 claims "thirty-six years experience." His dating remained reasonably consistent throughout his life, and this suggests he began as a builder in the spring of 1786.

9. Jenny Nex, "Longman & Broderip," in Michael Kassler, ed., *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 59.

first shall be last and the last first. He had a particular turn for much reading and study, which made him pass with me for a while as a man of profound wisdom; but now I greatly fear that his reading and study were only on speculation, rather than for godly edification. . . .

The next [doctrinal defect] was respecting the moral law as a believer's rule of life and action, which he at first denied; but about two years and a half ago changed his mind, and began to dispute almost incessantly for it; and being frequently opposed, he got worse and worse upon it, abusing and speaking evil of Mr. Huntington and of all that hear him. From that time I began a little to watch him, and have continued to do so to this day. He would, for one or two Sundays together, go to Tottenham-court, and perhaps on a third to Providence; when I observed that he was, at least, nine times out of ten asleep during the whole time of worship. This I charged upon him about two years ago, when I disputed with him about the law, for, I believe, two hours; and, though in fact I stopt his mouth, yet his stubborn spirit could not bend. Soon after this he was severely afflicted with a putrid fever, as was his wife also, and I think two of his children.¹⁰

Given that this letter is dated May 1793, and Reed is largely discussing matters of two or more years previous, Reed's observation that Loud would frequently go to Tottenham Court on a Sunday (implying that he was working rather than attending Church in Providence) places him at the Longman & Broderip factory at least as early as 1791.¹¹ Loud was clearly an impressive fellow to Reed through their early acquaintance, and perhaps struck most people this way initially. One of Loud's children (Sarah, *b* 1791) died during the time referenced and is perhaps referred to in Reed's letter. Reed went on to say he saw the Loud family's illness as a punishment from God which he hoped Loud would learn from, but that this did not happen.

Loud outlined his view of theology in a subsequent letter, which was vigorously attacked by Huntington in a very long rebuttal. The letter was addressed to Loud in December of 1793 at "Mr. Longman's, Musical Instrument Maker, Tottenham-Court Road." This must have been where Loud could most readily be found, given that Loud was a member of

10. William Huntington, *The Mystery of Godliness; In a Letter to an Erroneous Man* (London: T. Bensley, 1809; first published 1794), 8–10.

11. Unless Longman & Broderip maintained regular shop hours on Sunday, which was not known to be the norm in London at that time, this would imply that Loud had a key to the shop and was attempting to get ahead "with his nose to the grindstone" or a similar display of productivity.

Huntington's congregation in Providence at this time and Huntington would have known how best to contact him. An address at 22 Brook St., where Loud resided, was given for him in a letter that same year. The critical point of disagreement over doctrine revolved around the nature of Christ, and whether he was from the seed of the Virgin Mary and that of God (the Huntington doctrine), or was entirely God alone, with no physical contribution from Mary besides having carried him (the view held by Loud). The exchange, and the belief by Huntington that Loud intended to publish his views in print, supports the understanding that Loud had progressed beyond a discovery of personal faith, and was ready to spread the gospel as he saw it. These "heretical teachings" would set Loud apart from both mainstream English religious tradition and the London Baptist teachings as well, and possibly provided additional impetus for his later leaving England for America. Among a marginal denomination in London, Loud positioned himself as a splinter of that denomination, which was not conducive to easy business relationships.

Loud was apparently asked to leave Huntington's congregation following this unresolved exchange of views. Beglan indicates that there are no christening records for the Loud children born after this time, suggesting that Loud had become independent of any other established congregation.¹² Huntington himself was a self-made man, given to frequent "visions" and direct messages from Christ; his strict Calvinist beliefs, that some were predestined to be saved and others not, clearly played into the black-and-white way that the subject was framed with Loud. Huntington's sermons, given in an evangelizing style, were very popular for a time and drew huge crowds to Providence Chapel.¹³

Pianos by Loud from the London Period

The half-dozen or so known extant London-made pianos linked to Loud are uniformly signed on the top of the FF (lowest) key lever, giving his last name and a number. This number is usually partially or completely covered by the spring-guard molding set in front of the hopper of the English double action (fig. 1). Since the key lever was signed before subsequent cutting and assembly operations, it is assumed that Loud was

12. Beglan, *Pianos in the Attic*, 68.

13. Clare Brant, "Huntington, William." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), online ed. <https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/14243>.



FIGURE 1. FF key lever signed by Loud. Photo courtesy of Tim Harding.

engaged primarily in building piano actions for Longman & Broderip. In most extant L&B pianos, the spring-guard molding is an individually cut and glued-on piece, somewhat narrower than the width of the key lever to prevent their rubbing together. But all known Loud actions have a full-width guard, which means that the guard molding was attached as a single strip to the key lever blank before cutting out the individual keys. No other maker is known to have attached the guards to the key levers quite this way.

A five-and-a-half-octave grand piano sold by Longman & Broderip, serial number 103 (from the 5.5 octave “second” series, and made circa 1795), surfaced in 2016 and is now in the author’s possession, with the lowest key lever also signed by Loud (“Loud No. 156,” fig. 2). This instrument has distinctive elements in the way the nut is disposed between treble and bass, as well as the curve of the bridge. A comparison to the other two surviving L&B 5.5 octave grands does not show the same construction features, but a single surviving organized vertical grand sold by Longman, Clementi & Co, ca.1799, now at Colonial Williamsburg, also has these characteristic features. This organized piano has lost important



FIGURE 2. FF key lever of Longman & Broderip grand piano with Thomas Loud's, inscription. Sigal Music Museum collection.

parts of the action, and although it no longer bears a signature, it is possible that Thomas Loud was similarly involved with its creation as well. Regarding the two serial numbers given above, we note that both Longman & Broderip and Broadwood pianos from this time frequently show a disparity between the numbers on the action and the official serial number on the main case. This may indicate they were made independently, to be assembled as a unit later.

The surviving Longman & Broderip square pianos signed by Loud date to the company's reorganization, from 1796 to perhaps 1798. It is surmised that Loud had progressed within the company to such a position that he was a senior keyboard maker or foreman and signed his work as such. When Longman & Broderip emerged from bankruptcy, the portion owned by James Longman reorganized under John Longman, brother of James, and the composer and publisher Muzio Clementi. The remaining partners were Frederick A. Hyde, David Davis, Josiah Banger, and Frederick W. Collard. They issued the following notice extract on November 3, 1798:

Longman, Clementi, and company, as Successors to Longman and Broderip, No. 26 Cheapside, and in Tottenham-Court-Road, beg leave to announce to the Nobility and Public in general, that they have established an extensive and liberal plan for carrying on the Trade of Musical Instrument Makers, also printing, publishing, and Correspondence for importing all Foreign compositions that possess a sufficiency of merit to deserve recommendation. – Longman, Clementi and Company, beg leave to declare, that they are now employing, in the manufacture of Piano Fortes and other Musical Instruments,

workmen they have selected of the first rate genius and abilities, and are resolved to give generous encouragement to every new Invention.¹⁴

A Longman & Clementi piano (serial number 1608, dated to 1800¹⁵) exists with Loud's signature in the familiar place, indicating that he was one of the employees selected to make these pianos from the former diverse individual building firms. The Longman, Clementi & Co. pianos that survive do show a greater uniformity of building tradition, using all the improvements as introduced by William Southwell and the rights bought by Longman & Broderip.¹⁶ The instruments also bear a heightened decorative style, including elaborate floral painted name boards and the increasingly frequent inclusion of a damper pedal.

On March 9, 1802, Thomas Loud obtained a British patent¹⁷ for an upright piano that had pioneering elements. It included in the description the concept of diagonally stringing the piano to reduce height and bulk, thus producing a small upright that the player might be able to see over and be seen by listeners. The second part describes a suitable action for the upright piano, and both sections suffer for want of a drawing, which Loud did not provide. The text is given below:

A.D. 1802, March 9.-N^o 2591.

LOUD, THOMAS. Improvements in the construction and action of upright pianofortes. As portability is the leading intention and feature of the present invention, the instrument in its inside measure need be no more than 6 feet 3 inches high; 1 foot is sufficient for depth from front to back, except that part of the case that contains the keys, which project about 9 inches. One end of the wrest-pin block is fixed into the sides of the case near the top, to preserve length for bass strings; the other end of the block is fixed into the other side of the case, with its top edge 4 feet 3 inches from the bottom, leaving an angle space above it for shelves for books, &c. The instrument is rendered still more portable by fixing the strings and sound board in an angular direction, that

14. Kassler, ed., *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 128.

15. Leif Sahlqvist, *Clementi & Co 1798–1830, Pianoforte Manufacture in London* (12-7-2013 squarepianotech.com http://www.squarepianotech.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Clementi__Co_%C2%A9_Leif_Sahlqvist_20142.2.pdf). The improvements consisted of expanding the compass a half octave, wire guided dampers, and sound vents to increase volume. L&B paid Southwell one pound for each piano so made.

16. Margaret Debenham, *William Southwell (1736/7–1825): Anglo-Irish Musical Instrument Inventor and Maker—An Extraordinary Life* (self-published, 2013), 10.

17. No. 2591.

is, by fixing the first bass strings from the left-hand upper corner to near the right-hand lower corner, and the rest of the strings in a parallel direction. By this means, an instrument standing only 5 feet high and 4 feet wide in front will admit of the bass strings their full length, which is 5 feet 2 inches.

From the back end of each key rises a leader to the block of the hammer and bottom of the crank that draws back the damper. In playing, the leader goes into a mortise in the key, and is kept down by a small button screwed on the key and turned into a notch cut in the leader; or the leader may be kept from rising by a wire spring fixed in the key. The top end of the leader is rebated, that the shoulder may lift the hammer in playing, and the top of the leader lift the horizontal part of the crank; this draws back the damper, which is hung by a parchment or leather joint to the top of the perpendicular part of the crank, and passes between the hammer, and slides in a rail or socket behind the hammers. Near the top of each leader is fixed a spring, which passes through a hole in the bottom the crank, by which spring the shoulder of the leader is thrown under the block of the hammer on its return. [Printed, 4d. No Drawings.]¹⁸

Up to this point upright pianos were generally designed as “upright grands,” with the strings starting near the keyboard level and towering over eight feet tall. In America, John Isaac Hawkins had introduced an upright piano design in 1800 that was straight-strung from the floor level and incorporated iron supports, but suffered tonally due to the foreshortened bass strings, which were disposed vertically. However, it had the advantage of taking the strings to the floor, reducing the overall height. Although Hawkins did not return to England until 1802 and therefore had not exhibited the instrument in London before Loud produced his patent, it remains possible that Loud was acquainted with Hawkins’s work through newspaper accounts.

Thomas Loud was not the first to anticipate diagonal stringing.¹⁹ David Hackett has observed that the wording of the patent seems to indicate that following the diagonal placement of the bass strings, all the

18. *Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of Specifications Relating To Music and Musical Instruments, 1694–1866*, second ed. (London: Eyre and Spottswood, 1871; facs. ed. Tony Bingham, London, 1984), 44–45.

19. The Friederici pyramid piano of 1745 is strung obliquely, though in fairness this had little to do with making the bass strings longer, and all to do with producing a symmetrical shape. Rosamond E. M. Harding, *The Piano-Forte, Its History Traced to the Great Exhibition of 1851* (revised ed., London: Heckscher, 1978), 225.

subsequent strings are parallel to the longest bass strings, such that all of them are in the same plane and direction.²⁰ In fact the patent does seem to point this out:

The instrument is rendered still more portable by fixing the strings and sound board in an angular direction . . . fixing the first bass strings from the left-hand upper corner to near the right-hand lower corner, and the rest of the strings in a parallel direction.

Others, including Spillane,²¹ regarded this as describing an early example of cross stringing. If Loud was anticipating the concept of cross stringing (where the bass strings are brought over and above or below those of the tenor and treble), this predates the use of that technique by the distinguished French piano maker Jean-Henri Pape (1787–1875) by some twenty-six years. His combination of these concepts, which were later designed into an upright style piano by Pape, would be adopted universally in time.²² If “parallel” is taken to mean parallel to the sides of the case, perhaps it speaks of cross stringing after all. With no drawing we are left with only speculation.

Ultimately the upright piano was an invention whose time had arrived, but the design described in Loud’s patent was only part of the answer. When Hawkins arrived in England to claim an inheritance, he stayed to show off and market his upright piano; Loud was apparently pursuing a similar project. Clementi produced a cottage upright piano many years later that was based on Hawkins’s approach to stringing, apparently to the detriment of the bass response.²³

Sometime soon after his patent was granted, Loud apparently left Clementi to become involved in business with the violinist, impresario, and music dealer Felix Yaniewicz (later Janiewicz), who was active in both Liverpool and London. A piano nameboard inscription dating to ca. 1803 and built very much along the plan of Clementi pianos is shown in fig. 3. Loud is listed in the London City Directory in 1802 at Hoxton, Shoreditch. This is approximately two miles east of Tottenham Court in London, suggesting that Loud would have been working independently

20. Personal correspondence with David Hackett, August 2013.

21. Daniel Spillane, *History of the American Pianoforte: Its Technical Development, and the Trade* (New York: D. Spillane, 1890), 179.

22. Harding, *The Piano-Forte, Its History Traced to the Great Exhibition of 1851*, 237.

23. *Ibid.*, 225.



FIGURE 3. The nameboard reads: “New Patent / by T L / from Clementi & Co. London / sold by Yaniewicz & Co. / 25 Lord Street, Liverpool.” Photo courtesy of David Hackett.



FIGURE 4. “New Patent / Muzio Clementi & Co / Cheapside, London.” Author’s collection.

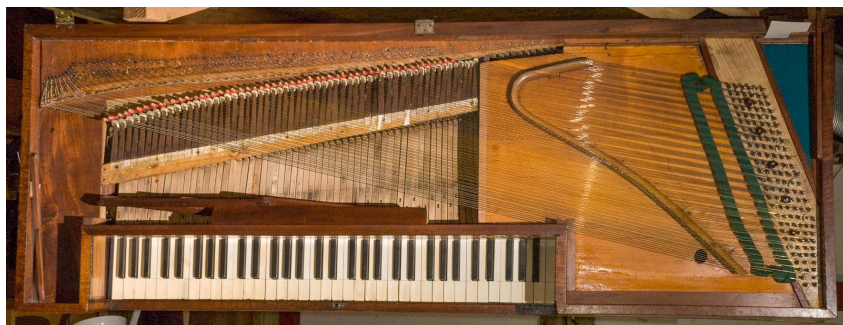


FIGURE 5. View of Thomas Loud piano from top with keys in place. Private collection; photo courtesy of John R. Watson.

of Clementi & Company by this time. His frequent use of the phrase “from Clementi” should not be interpreted as some actual business connection with Clementi but that he was leveraging his tenure at Longman & Broderip, then Clementi, as proof of his superior experience.²⁴

Yaniewicz was doing business at 25 Lord Street from 1802 to 1805, then at 29 Lord Street until 1810.²⁵ The design of this nameboard painting and those of contemporary Clementi pianos is nearly identical except for the obvious change in wording to accommodate the builder and seller. A contemporary Clementi name board, ca.1804, is shown in fig. 4.

It is clear that Loud was building on the important Clementi name and his connections. Use of only his initials plus the name Clementi in the nameboard (fig. 3) might have appeared to the uninitiated as an authentic Clementi. This piano was not a forgery in substance, however. From extant pianos, we see that Loud was using a construction plan at this point that was dissimilar to Clementi’s. The key bed in conventional Clementi pianos always consists of a solid uninterrupted bottom of thick (1¼–1½ inch) coniferous wood, glued at the edges, and laid lengthwise with the case, topped by a second set of thick wooden pieces, similarly glued and run on a diagonal to the case and parallel to the strings. The Loud-built pianos feature an “open plan” with a rather thin lower layer of solid wood and three heavy pieces placed longwise at front and rear, and one set in the diagonal direction, shown in fig. 6 and contrasted to fig. 7.

This open plan tended to save weight and material, therefore reducing cost, though often at the expense of developing a twist in the case. Broadwood experimented with it in a limited way about 1804 from a surviving example, and it is known that William Rolfe (112 Cheapside, London) used a similar construction along with Benjamin Crehore in Milton, Mass. That Clementi never did would seem to indicate that Loud was adopting building techniques from several houses rather than focusing on the shop practices of Longman & Broderip or Clementi and Co.

Loud advertised as the low-price seller, giving prices for each piano style he made, which was not the usual practice among dealers; he intended to market and sell his pianos based on having a quality product at an advantageous price point. An advertisement from 1809 displays this clearly.

24. Beglan, *Pianos in the Attic*, 33.

25. Philip Highfill Jr., Kalman Burnim, and Edward Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, vol. 8 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), 135; 136.



FIGURE 6. Thomas Loud piano key bed with discrete wooden pieces. Private collection; photo courtesy of John R. Watson.

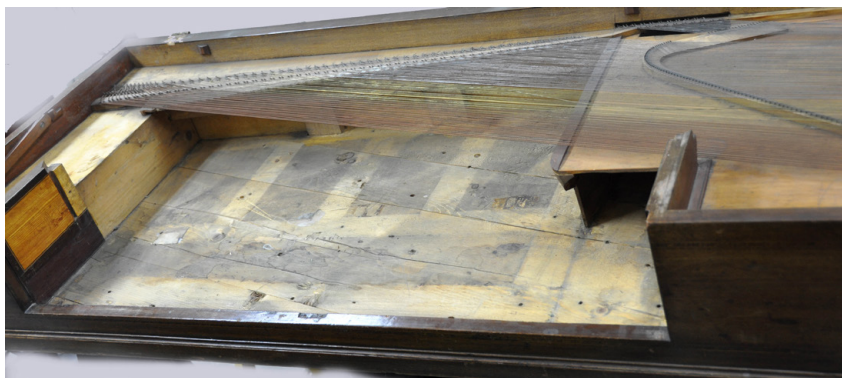


FIGURE 7. Clementi square piano, 1810, with solid key bed. Author's collection.

T Loud, Piano-forte maker, begs respectfully to recommend to general notice the following descriptions and prices of PIANO-FORTES, manufactured by him, at 22 Devonshire-street, Queen-square, Bloomsbury, which will appear on inspection to be well worth the attention of those to whom the saving of five to thirty guineas is an object. To [sic] very excellent solid square Pianos, with additional keys, pedal &c. 26 guineas, usually sold at 31. Ditto with three drawers, very handsome and useful, 30 guineas, usual price 35. Superbly elegant with drawers, 35 guineas, usually sold at 43. Elegant grands with three pedals, 60 guineas, usual price 80. Upright grands, very elegant, 65 and 70 guineas, usual price 95 and 100 guineas. Portable uprights, 45 guineas. The above instruments combine everything that can make them good and handsome. Several second-hand squares and an upright, all with the additional keys, good and cheap—liberal discount for ready money.²⁶

Loud's business arrangement with Yaniewicz evolved, as seen in several pianos from between 1803 and 1809. Now styled as Yaniewicz, Loud & Co., the firm was selling in two locations in London and one in Liverpool.²⁷ The London City Directory gives Loud's address at 22 Devonshire Street beginning in 1807.

Despite whatever success the firm enjoyed, the partnership frayed by early 1809 and was dissolved in March of that year.²⁸ Yaniewicz was the collecting partner for any debts owed, which was often the case for the controlling partner.²⁹

Yaniewicz continued to sell under his name pianos that appear to have been made by Augustus Leukfeld, as well as other makers after Leukfeld's death, for years to come.³⁰ Loud began selling under his own name, as indicated by the advertisement referenced above. Several pianos are ex-

26. *Morning Post*, London, November 29, 1809.

27. 22 Devonshire Street, Queen Square, and 49 Leicester Square in London, and a shop on Lord Street, Liverpool.

28. *London Gazette*, March 14, 1809.

29. "Notice is hereby given, that the Partnership lately subsisting between Thomas Loud, of Devonshire-Street, Queen's-Square, and Felix Yaniewicz, of Leicester-Square, in the County of Middlesex, Piano-Forte-makers, under the Firm of Yaniewicz, Loud, and Co. was this Day dissolved by mutual Consent. All the Debts owing by or to the said Partnership will be paid and received by the said Felix Yaniewicz, in such Manner as agreed between them. Dated the 11th Day of March 1809. / Thos. Loud. / Felix Yaniewicz." *London Gazette*, March 14, 1809.

30. This identification is based on surviving pianos with a distinctive Greek frieze inlay on the name board and broadly rounded corners, visually identical to those being made by Leukfeld at the time and bearing the name of Yaniewicz as maker.



FIGURE 8. Yaniewicz, Loud & Co. nameboard. Author's photograph.



FIGURE 9. Alternate label for Yaniewicz, Loud and Co., in the tradition of Clementi. Photo courtesy of David Hackett.



FIGURE 10. Thomas Loud nameboard from square piano of 1810. The label of the surviving grand piano is identical. Clementi labels of the period are also similar. Photo courtesy of Tim Harding.

tant from this short period, including a grand piano in the Russell Collection, Edinburgh, and a square piano whose inscription is shown in fig. 10, now styled after the updated Clementi piano design. Regarding the extant grand at the Russell Collection, Clinkscale gives “(John) Barnes (1990): in playing condition, original instrument seems to have been made in an amateurish fashion.”³¹ Jenny Nex, curator of Musical Instrument Museums Edinburgh, related to the author that the exact wording of John Barnes’s report is not entirely negative, and that he was discussing the construction approach of early English pianos in general.³²

The piano has been returned to playing condition with a series of restorations and repairs and is now in use.

Beglan discovered what was purported by the Loud family to be an undated document in Thomas Loud’s own hand, which gave the wording for a sign that supposedly stood in Loud’s shop window.³³ It is more likely an advertisement run by Loud, having similarities to doggerel Loud published later in America:

Say Noble Gentle Trading Man / Do you a good Piano want
 I’ll serve you well I’m sure I can / And you’ll confess I do not want
 If Uprights is your choice, they’re good / And truly Elegant & Cheap
 Tom Loud, they have their trial stood / And well in tune they’re known to keep

31. Martha Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1: 1700–1820* (Oxford University Press, 1993), 192.

32. Private correspondence with Jenny Nex, December 3, 2013.

33. Beglan, *Pianos in the Attic*, 332.

Full 40 Guineas they're reduced / And much beside as they resound
 Justly by none are they traduced / By many they are much approved
 If Square Pianos you want to have / I have them good & make them such
 In this you'll full ten Guineas save / Their tone is bold with pleasant touch
 My number Sir is twenty two / Our Sovereigns Arms above my Door
 My name is Loud my sayings true / No matter whether Rich or Poor.

The use of doggerel poetry in advertising is unusual for the period, but Loud persisted in using it for several decades. Despite his enthusiasm to keep his business going, all was not well, and it seems Loud had overextended himself given the market pressures. The ongoing war with France and trade disputes with America, combined with his loss of a distribution channel in Liverpool, sent Loud into bankruptcy by September of 1810.³⁴ Steps were taken almost immediately to liquidate cash so that Loud might avoid prison, beginning with selling his house on Suffolk Street in early October.³⁵

As of December 4, 1810, sufficient capital had been produced to release Loud with a certificate of dismissal of bankruptcy.³⁶ However,

34. *London Gazette*, September 18, 1810. "Whereas a Commission of Bankrupt is awarded and issued forth against Thomas Loud, of Devonshire-Street, Queen-Square, in the County of Middlesex, Piano-Forte-Maker, Dealer and Chapman, and he being declared a Bankrupt is hereby required to surrender himself to the Commissioners in the said Commission named, or the major Part of them, on the 25th and 29th Days of September instant, and on the 3d of November next, at Twelve of the Clock at Noon on each of the said Days, at Guildhall, London, and make a full Discovery and Disclosure of his Estate and Effects"

35. *Morning Chronicle* London (October 6, 1810) "To Coachmakers, Upholsterers, Cabinet Makers and any Manufacturer, requiring shew and room—capital and extensive premises, Suffolk-street, Marylebone. By Mr FLETCHER at the Auction Mart near the Bank, on Wednesday 17th instant at Twelve, by order of the assignees of Mr Thomas Loud, piano-forte maker, a bankrupt, and the consent of the mortgagee (unless an acceptable offer is made previous to the sale).

"A valuable LEASEHOLD ESTATE, comprising a commodious brick-built dwelling-house, eligibly situated No 19 Suffolk-street, near Middlesex Hospital, containing six bed-chambers, with closets, two drawing-rooms and a large capital shop on the ground floor, excellent kitchen, pantry, wine, coal, and beer cellars. Attached are three capital roomy workshops and a feather loft, opening into Union Mews. The whole held on an unexpired lease of 52 years, at low rent. May be viewed six days preceding the sale and particulars had on the premises, of Messrs Collins and Walter, Solicitors to the Commissioners, Spital-square, of Mr Fletcher, 126 Fenchurch -street, and at the Mart."

36. *London Gazette* (December 6, 1810) "Whereas the acting Commissioners in the Commission of Bankrupt awarded and issued forth against Thomas Loud, of Devonshire-Street, Queen Square, in the County of Middlesex, Piano Forte-Maker, Dealer and Chapman, have certified to the Right Honourable John Lord Eldon, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, that the said Thomas Loud hath in all Things conformed himself according to the directions Of the several Acts of Parliament made concerning Bankrupts. . . ."

financial pressures were still apparent, and later in December 1810 Loud's house, containing his principal shop and manufactory, was up for sale.

To Musical Instrument-Makers, Cabinet-Maker Carpenters, and others—Lease of Extensive Premises, Devonshire Street, Queen-Square. To be sold by Auction, by Adamson and Field, on Saturday, December 29, 1810, at Twelve at Noon, at Guildhall, in the City of London, by Order of and before the major Part of the Commissioners named in a Commission of Bankrupt awarded and issued forth against Thomas Loud, Piano-Forte-Maker, The Lease of a substantial well-built House, containing Seven Bed-Chambers, Two Drawing-Rooms, Two Parlours, Study, and every Domestic Convenience, a large Yard, and New erected Workshops; held for an unexpired Term of 25 Years, at 90£ per Annum. To be viewed till the Sale; and Particulars had on the Premises; of Messrs. Collins and Waller, Solicitors, Spital-Square; of “Mr. Turner, Solicitor, George-Street, Tottenham-Court-Road; and of Adamson and Field, No. 58, Fenchurch-Street.”³⁷

By May of 1811, the Commissioners met to declare a dividend and distributed to Loud and others the remains of his former holdings, ending the bankruptcy.³⁸

In March of 1811, Thomas Loud Sr. stood witness for Thomas Loud Jr., age eighteen, in his marriage to Elizabeth Deighton, age sixteen (1795–1822). The early marriage, while the Loud family was under duress, suggests financial independence on the part of Thomas Jr.³⁹ He is known to have been a proficient organist and pianist, perhaps already earning his living by teaching and working for his father.

The bankruptcy was devastating to Thomas Sr. He had lost his home and business, and his ability to continue in business in London was either seriously compromised or impossible. His strong religious views, publicly stated as they were, would have distanced him from many in London, and may have played into his circumstances. Loud had ten children with Esther, seven who survived to adulthood (Elizabeth, 1789–1849; Thomas

37. *London Gazette*, December 18, 1810.

38. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1811. “The Commissioners in a Commission of Bankrupt, bearing the Date the 17th Day of September 1810, awarded and issued forth against Thomas Loud, of Devonshire-Street, Queen-Square, in the County of Middlesex, Piano-Forte-Maker, Dealer and Chapman, intend to meet on the 18th Day of May next, at Twelve at Noon, at Guildhall, London, in order to make a Dividend of the Estate and Effects of the said Bankrupt”

39. Correspondence with Joseph Beglan referencing private research, December 2013.

Jr., 1793–1867; John, 1795–1860; Sarah, 1797–1859; Philologus, 1800–1888; Esther, 1802–1887; and Joseph, 1805–1889) and in 1811 at least three of these were children still at home. Subsequent activities in America would show that Thomas Loud initially had a vision of doing business in a large way, perhaps as he had seen at Clementi's and at Longman & Broderip before that. If doors were closed to him in London, then the obvious choice was to immigrate to America and begin anew.

Loud in Philadelphia

Thomas Loud Sr. left for America with a destination of Philadelphia in mind in early September 1811, arrived at port in New York on October 9 or 10, 1811,⁴⁰ and made his way immediately to Philadelphia.⁴¹ On arrival in America, Loud adopted the last name of Evenden, the name of his brother-in-law who had raised him, now styling himself as Thomas Loud Evenden. This may have been an attempt to put his past disgrace and any possible remaining creditors behind him.

Soon after arriving in Philadelphia, he formed a very short-lived partnership with Joshua Baker, who had worked for Charles Albrecht in Philadelphia making pianos at 95 Vine Street, several of which are extant. Albrecht announced through the newspapers that he made pianos and harpsichords in Philadelphia from at least the early 1790s and, based on the number of surviving examples, was among the largest builders of pianos in the city when Loud arrived in 1811. By 1810, Baker appeared in the Philadelphia directory on his own, making pianos at 130 Vine Street. However, by March 23, 1812, Baker and Loud announced the dissolution of the partnership, and that the business would be carried on by Baker alone. The partnership had lasted less than five months, and Loud may not have completed even one instrument before moving on. Loud quickly settled at 88 North Fifth Street, between Race and Arch, advertising a "specimen for inspection by ladies, gentlemen, professors, and amateurs of Philadelphia" in early May.⁴²

The U. S. Congress passed an act on July 12, 1812, requiring all Brit-

40. Loud records the date of arrival as October 9 for his naturalization papers, and October 10 for his British Alien Registration.

41. Record of Naturalization, Philadelphia County, Thomas Loud Evenden, 17 April 1813.

42. *Poulson's Daily American Advertiser*, Philadelphia, May 12, 1812, 1.

ish citizens to register as aliens, and to show that they were pursuing naturalization, so that would not be considered as enemy agents. Loud readily conformed and registered on July 24, 1812.⁴³ On the document he gave his name as Thomas Loud Evenden, listed his wife as being with him, and stated that part of his family was still in Europe, meaning London. Loud did not list any children as living with him.⁴⁴

On September 1, 1812, Thomas Jr., his wife Elizabeth, and their first daughter, along with John Loud, arrived in Philadelphia from Liverpool.⁴⁵ It is likely that the rest of the children also came over at this time. Elizabeth appears in the 1813 directory as Miss Evenden, dressmaker, 156 Pine, and in 1814 as Eliza Evenden, milliner, living with Harriet Evenden on South Sixth between High and Chestnut. Esther arrived in Philadelphia on September 28, 1812, by the ship *Ellington*.⁴⁶ The ship's log references Esther Evendon (sic), not Loud, and clearly, she was going by that last name after leaving London.

Thomas Loud Jr. and his brother John also adopted the last name Evenden on arriving. Beglan gives evidence that perhaps due to building tensions over the war, Thomas Jr. was expelled from Philadelphia before April 1813 and he was then briefly in Lancaster, roughly sixty miles outside of Philadelphia, giving notice in March 1813:⁴⁷

To the Amateurs of Music. / Mr. Evenden, late from / London, / Teacher of the / PIANO-FORTE, / Respectfully offers his service to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Lancaster and its vicinity, to teach the Piano-Forte on the best principal [sic] and superior stile; also to TUNE and repair musical instruments, by whom orders will be thankfully received for piano-fortes made in the latest most approved London construction, by his father in Philadelphia. Apply at Mr. Michael's inn, North Queen-street, Lancaster. / March 25⁴⁸

43. "British Aliens Registered in Philadelphia," Marshals' Returns of Enemy Aliens and Prisoners of War, 1812–15. National Archives of the United States, Microcopy 588, no. 2.

44. This has caused some mystery regarding the marital state of Loud and his wife (who might have reasonably been expected to remain with the youngest three children and did not arrive in America until September 28, 1812); this question is treated separately in appendix 2

45. Record of Naturalization, Philadelphia County, Thomas Loud, 12 May 1817; John Loud, 13 May 1817.

46. Philadelphia Passenger Lists 1800–1945 for Esther Evendon, Ancestry.com.

47. Beglan, *Pianos in the Attic*, 431.

48. *Lancaster Journal*, April 8, 1813; vol. XIX, issue 59, 1.

Although Beglan was familiar with this advertisement, he cites two letters written to President James Madison as evidence that both father and son were expelled. The first, dated April 2, 1813, from the Reverend William Staughton, et. al., recommends Thomas Evenden (no junior or senior given) be allowed to return to Philadelphia. The second, dated April 3, 1813, from John Smith, recommends that Thomas Evenden Jr., a British subject, be allowed back.⁴⁹ Since Thomas Jr. references his father as still in Philadelphia, both of these letters would seem to be on behalf of the son. Thomas Jr. was not in Lancaster long enough to keep him out of the Philadelphia city directories. What Thomas Jr. did to arouse suspicions is not known; he may have been the victim of a business competitor, taking advantage of unsettled times to make a charge of acting for the enemy.

Whatever the reason, it appears that everyone in the family agreed to use the last name Evenden in America. Nearly a year and a half after he had arrived in America, Thomas Loud Sr. applied for naturalization as Thomas Loud Evenden on April 13, 1813, probably as a response to his son's recent expulsion. There is some question whether this met the test for timeliness in the application process as prescribed by law. Whether for that reason or others, Thomas Sr. was required to reapply later. Thomas Jr. applied separately from his father in July 1815 and again with his brother John in May 1817.

For piano builders, the War of 1812 and its embargo on goods from overseas, and particularly England, created business opportunity for those cities that were not huddled under the threat of attack, and Philadelphia was a prosperous city where Loud could get a foothold. By November 1812, Loud had set himself up on Walnut Street, in a more prestigious part of town.

Superior Piano Fortes. / T. L. Evenden, / From Clementi's London / Removed to 216 Walnut street, between Eighth & Ninth, Where he continues to Manufacture Piano Fortes on the best London principles very superior in durability of construction and richness of tone to any made here and fully equal to those imported on terms comparatively low. From many years experience in London, and a thorough acquaintance with the best makers and best methods T. E. has no hesitation in thus challenging comparison with the best London makers, either as it applies to skill in his art or real excellence in

49. Beglan, *Pianos in the Attic*, 474. Staughton was a leading Baptist minister in Philadelphia at the Sansom Street Baptist Church.

his instruments. A few of the best Pianos in Philadelphia and the unqualified encomiums of some of the best Masters, are urged in proof. An exceeding fine one now on sale, and also an old one good for its kind at a low price. Old ones taken in part payment and Piano Fortes tuned and repaired in the best manner. / Nov. 30⁵⁰

In this early notice, Loud established many of the themes that would figure in his notices to come, including his connection to Clementi and London, the claimed superiority of his pianos to any made locally, at least equal to those imported from London. To make ends meet, he was dealing in secondhand pianos and offering a tuning service, while continuing to build and sell his newly made instruments. His boast of high quality was something of a business requirement since the largest merchant in town, builder-turned-dealer Charles Taws, was constantly supplied with fine pianos from London, as seen below:

Forte Pianos, & c. / For Sale / The subscriber has for sale, at his musical store, No 61 South Third street a select assortment of Grand and Square FORTE PIANOS highly finished, newest fashion, patent and plain, by those eminent makers, Clemente [sic], Broadwood, Astor, and others equally famous, of London.

Note – There will be no advance on the prices of the above instruments, they will be sold on as reasonable terms now as they have been several years ago.⁵¹

Here, Taws refers obliquely to a possible suspension of shipments due to hostilities with Great Britain, which might cause the price of pianos to rise, while vowing not to raise prices himself. Loud at this point was still a minor builder and no business threat to Taws. This condition would change by September 1813, and the conflict escalated following the end of the war in December 1814, when British pianos could again flow back into the American market.

Through 1813, Thomas Sr. kept up a steady series of notices to the public along the lines of:

Superior Piano Fortes / The Subscriber begs respectfully to observe, that the

50. *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, December 2, 1812), 1.

51. *Ibid.*, Philadelphia (June 8, 1812, 2. Taws' supply was subsequently interrupted by the War of 1812 after about October of that year.

Piano Fortes made and sold by him, not only challenge competition with, but decided superiority (in *durability* of construction and *grandeur* of *tone*) over all others, a few of the very best only excepted, and with those they will be found fully equal, though from 50 to 100 dollars cheaper. *N.B. Any challenge to the contrary, from any maker, or dealer, will be accepted.* . . . Good paper at 60 days taken. Instruments tuned.⁵²

This competitive attitude would be kept up in every notice published by Loud, constantly claiming his instruments' superiority or equality, and challenging anyone to doubt him. This notice of August 27 was answered by Charles Taws in a September rebuttal:

Certain Instrument Makers (calling themselves such) in this city, vainly pretend they can make Forte Pianos from 50 to 200 dollars cheaper than those of Clementi and Company; but such an assertion is as [an] error and a silly pretension – for their HOME MADE Instruments will by no means, bear a comparison with Clementi and Company's, but will on a fair and impartial examination, be found from 50 to 200 dollars dearer than those of the said celebrated Instrument makers. From the original cost of Clementi and Company, I can afford no bribe to Musical men for false praise, which is one principal reason for inclining several persons to give an unmerited preference, to the inferior instruments made here. / Charles Taws / Sept 24⁵³

Taws was clearly targeting Loud, who consistently sold on price and value. Accusing him of bribing people to praise his pianos, Taws also described Loud's instruments as "Home Made," a particularly stinging epithet. This was an ironic comment from Taws, who had been a piano maker himself in Philadelphia from 1789 to 1794 and advertised pianos of his own manufacture until early 1795, after which he carried Longman & Broderip or other London-made instruments.⁵⁴ Taws was listed as a "Piano Forte Maker" in all the city directories until his retirement.

Loud announced on December 7, 1813, that he had moved to what he claimed to be a "more eligible situation, No 38, South Eighth street, second door south of Chestnut."⁵⁵ A name board inscription from a T.L. Evenden piano built between late 1813 and late 1814 is shown in fig. 11.

52. *Democratic Press*, Philadelphia, August 27, 1813, 3.

53. *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, September 27, 1813, 1.

54. *Historical Keyboard Society of North America Newsletter*, Fall 2016: 14–16.

55. *Democratic Press* Philadelphia (December 7, 1813, vol. VII, issue 1952), 3.



FIGURE 11. Inscription of Thomas Loud Evenden piano. Winterthur Museum Collections; used by permission.



FIGURE 12. Inscription of piano by Charles Albrecht, 1813. John R. Watson, Colonial Williamsburg; used by permission.

The inscription is painted in the same “lozenge” style as those used by Charles Albrecht at the time (fig. 12), though the lettering and spacing are less well-rendered than those of Albrecht, who employed a skilled calligrapher. Such details may have occasioned Taws’s comments regarding “home-made” instruments.

From his new address, Loud kept up the steady series of advertisements. In August of 1814, he had sent a piano “of an entire new fashion in which unusual elegance and novelty are happily combined with real excellence and utility” on consignment to Baltimore, to be seen at Messrs. Neal, Willis, & Cole, 174 Market Street, “where he intended to keep a supply.”⁵⁶ By December 1814, Loud had moved again, “to the South

56. *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, Baltimore, August 20, 1814, 1.

West Corner of Chestnut and Eighth Street.”⁵⁷ This is the last notice from Loud for an entire year; he is absent from the local papers during 1815. During this hiatus he moved again, to the more permanent address at Fifth and Prune (formerly Locust) Street where the Louds would remain for several years. Also at this time, Loud added a grocery store onto the business, selling coffee, sugar, molasses, and other grocery items.⁵⁸ Robinson’s directory for 1816 lists the Evenden family:

Evenden, Harriet & Eliza, milliners 113 S. Fifth
 Evenden, Thos. L. grocer N. W. corner 5th & Prune
 Evenden, Thomas L. piano forte manufacturer
 N. W. corner Fifth and Prune
 Evenden, Thomas L. Jr. teacher of the piano forte, 113 south Fifth
 Evenden, H. & L. storekeepers 71 south Third

The last entry, for H. & L. Evenden, creates a mystery. There were no children by Loud whose first name began with H or L, though the entry may refer to Thomas’s wife Hester (Esther), or a misprint for Harriet and Eliza Evenden.

Loud reemerged in January 1816 with the company now styled as T. L. Evenden & Son, indicating that Thomas Jr. had joined him in the business. An extant piano from the Evenden & Son period is currently in the Collection of Musical Instruments, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Though it has been much modified in an attempted updating of the style, with replaced legs and modified case, it initially presents as a rather conventional English square piano of 5.5 octaves with the Geib-style escapement and Southwell-style wire-guided dampers.

The mechanical plan for the instrument however is not that of the conventional English square. The bass strings cross a separate bass bridge (divided bridge), which is innovative and would not become a practice of Broadwood, for instance, until about 1821. Loud’s plan required the placement of the hammer strike points such that the angle of the key bed had to be strongly cranked to the right-hand side. This separate bass bridge may have been what he was referring to when he signaled a “new fashion” in his earlier notice. It would be adopted by most American makers after about 1825, and the concept is certainly based on sound engineering principles, as grand pianos had utilized this division since

57. *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, December 22, 1814, 3.

58. *Robinson’s Original Annual Directory For 1815*, Philadelphia.

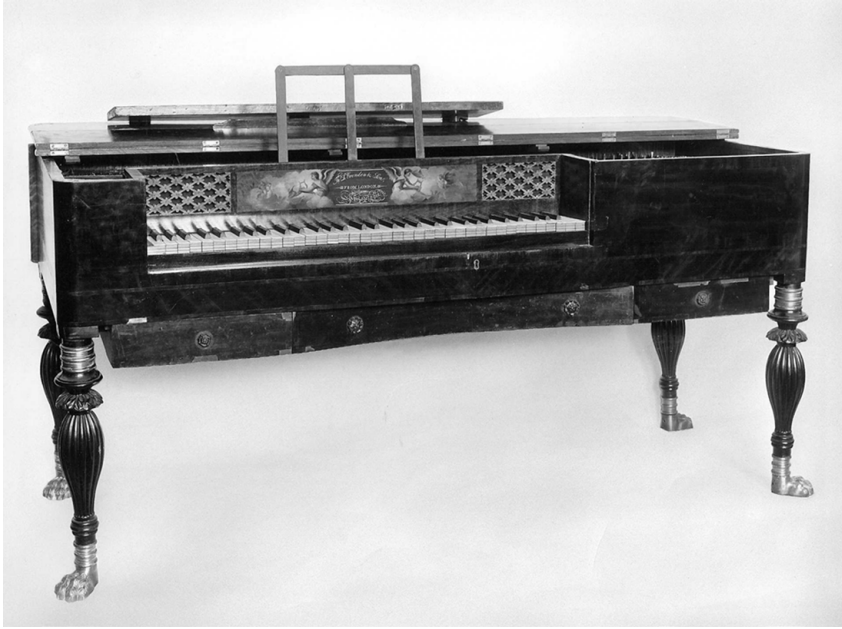


FIGURE 13. Piano by Thomas L. Evenden & Son, Philadelphia. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Musical Instrument Collection; used by permission.



FIGURE 14. Nameboard of piano by Thomas L. Evenden & Son. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Musical Instrument Collection; used by permission.

1789, when it was introduced by Broadwood.

Regarding the Evenden & Son instrument, Laurence Libin wrote: “The lid is hinged across the middle, with panels opening toward the front and rear. The rear panel replaces a structure that was tenoned into the sides and stood above the case, perhaps to imitate a cabinet piano’s form.”⁵⁹ The name board is distinctive as well, with modest draftsmanship of the flanking angels and offset placement of the beginning of “Philadelphia,” suggesting the work of an amateur craftsman. However, the design conveys a certain spirit of the new America in its break from standard English models, and Loud was no longer copying designs by established

59. Laurence Libin, *American Musical Instruments in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), 178.



FIGURE 15. Detail of Evenden inscription. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Musical Instrument Collection; used by permission.

local builders. The flanking sound vents are large, and if original, precede the larger vents that would shortly become popular in English makes.

In a notice published in January 1816, Loud once again asserted his pianos' equality with London-made pianos, and thereby escalated the simmering feud between himself and Charles Taws.

Piano Fortes, / T. L. Evenden and Son, / Piano Forte Manufacturers – from London, / N.W. corner of Fifth and Prune streets, / Respectfully assures the public, that their pianos are fully *equal* to imported ones in *goodness*, *superior* to them in *beauty*, and much more moderate in *price*. An assortment on hand of various prices, handsome, elegant, and superb. / N.B. Every Piano bought of T. L. E. & Son, will be kept in tune gratis six months, and the purchaser at liberty to exchange within that period without loss. Every order executed with fidelity and dispatch. Old pianos taken at their fair value, in part payment. Several second hand Pianos for sale cheap. / Jan 13⁶⁰

60. *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, January 13, 1816, 3.

On its own, this is no more aggressive than many of Loud's previous notices. But for Taws, it may have been the final straw. To Loud, who had previously invited a challenge, Taws responded with a notice that included a personal and brutal attack:

Charles Taws & Sons, / Organ Builders, / And Dealers in Forte Pianos, / (Which they import from the first manufactories in the Metropolis, of England,) / Grateful for past favours from a generous and discerning public, with great deference inform that they continue to manufacture CHURCH and CHAMBER ORGANS, of a superior kind. They have now, on sale, some London Pianos of the finest tones, handsome finish, and durable workmanship; and expect a large, select and elegant assortment by the first arrivals from Europe, which they will sell considerably cheaper than the slight and new fangled instruments attempted here by superficial manufacturers, who may fairly say, with Barrington, the polished pickpocket, in his address to the light fingered Gentry of Botany Bay, at the opening of a New Theatre, in that rising Colony, a few years since –

“Ye Patriots all – now be it understood,
“We left our Country, for our Country's good”

With unparalleled effrontery several of those adventurers, who made Pianos in this city, always boasted of their *moderate terms* and *superb style* of work, as they call it – but this is mere *rodomontade*, for the few instruments manufactured here can bear no manner of comparison, in point of *cheapness*, *elegance*, or *quality*, with those imported from the great European Mart, where mechanics at this branch of business are so *eminent*, and at the same time so numerous, that *good hands* can always be procured at reasonable wages.

Tho' Tom loudly trumpets his workmanship –
From
The style and the polish so fine,
His work once compared to the London – would
Tom
To the deepest oblivion – consign.

His trade, tho' success for awhile may betide,
His instruments ne'er can succeed;
For let them – by judges impartial be tried –
Lo! Scorn and neglect are his meed!

“Beside my Pianos, so cheap, and so neat,
 (Cries Tommy – for fame all agog,
 “I deal in Green Coffee – in Sugar so sweet,
 “In ‘Tatoes, in Brooms, and in Grog”

A dealer so double, thro’ life’s chequer’d vale
 Is artful and cunning we know,
 And fearful – that one occupation may fail,
 Attaches two strings to his bow.

Should Fiddlers* corrupt – still the public delude,
 By puffing bad work for the fees,
 Then Tom on the public as long will intrude,
 As Tweedledum’s fist he can grease.

Charles Taws, / No. 61 south Third street /

*It has long been a custom with wretched Forte Piano makers in this city, to bribe needy or sordid musicians, for the purpose of recommending their bad instruments to the incautious buyer. As an unprovoked attack was made on the Subscriber, he is fully determined to *rebut* any future insolence.⁶¹

Taws was no longer making veiled accusations. With his reference to a popular prolog by the notorious pickpocket George Barrington, Taws suggested that Loud had left England because he was compelled to do so, and equated Loud to a thief, effectively transported for his crimes.⁶² Essentially giving Loud’s full name (“Tom loudly trumpets”) and quickly shifting to derision regarding the selling of both groceries and pianos, Taws took direct aim at his competition’s competence and sophistication, using doggerel to mock Loud’s own use of that form. He again accused Loud of bribing individuals to work in Loud’s favor. The irony was rich here, as Taws himself was an immigrant from London who made pianos that he proclaimed as good as those of London makers,⁶³ and who by the

61. *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*. Philadelphia, February 21, 1816, 3.

62. George Barrington, *The History of New South Wales* (London: M. Jones, 1802), 152.

63. Walter Edward Mann, “Piano Making in Philadelphia before 1825” (PhD diss: University of Iowa, 1977), 174. “In 1793, his advertisement in the *Philadelphia General Advertiser* announced ‘a few fine toned FORTE PIANOS, which he will warrant superior to any imported.’”

beginning of 1818 was also selling coffee.⁶⁴

Loud responded in early March, announcing “T. L. Evenden and Son presume to hope that as their pianos have stood the trial of near five years in this city and have maintained and increased their reputation to this day, their merit cannot be sullied by the foul and libelous aspersions of any unprincipled slanderer.”⁶⁵ Loud followed up in June, with the challenge to repute his claimed equality from “any Huckster in the city (who has the arrogance to call himself an Importer).”⁶⁶ This was a barely veiled reference to Taws. Then again on August 2 he renewed his charges with the contention that his competitor (still unnamed but meaning Taws),” had in fact bought his imported wares from other dealers in this country and was not actually engaged in trade with the firms whose instruments he sold.”⁶⁷ Charles Albrecht was the largest competition to Taws, and in his somewhat infrequent notices at the time also claimed parity with London pianos, though Taws is not known to have quarreled with Albrecht. The Taws-Loud dispute went beyond professional jealousy.

The feud might have carried on like this for some time, but something in Loud’s domestic life or business relationships caught up with him, forcing him to leave the city, and this is the last notice from T. L. Evenden in Philadelphia.

Loud in Lexington, Kentucky

Thomas Loud had petitioned for ordination to become a Baptist minister in Philadelphia, according to Beglan. This petition was denied by William Staughton, the prominent Baptist minister and educator in Philadelphia, on the basis of Loud’s lack of formal divinity training, Beglan writes, and the denial, coupled with a disagreement over the appropriateness of infant baptism, caused hard feelings and a rift between the two.⁶⁸ Given Thomas Sr.’s established argumentative nature and previous desire to spread the gospel as he saw it, the account is plausible. It is not difficult

64. *Poulson’s American Dailey Advertiser*, Philadelphia, March 31, 1818, 3. In December 1817 Taws was identified as having received fourteen bags of coffee from the brig Nancy. *Grotjan’s Philadelphia Public Sale Report*, Philadelphia, December 15, 1817, 264.

65. *Democratic Press*, Philadelphia, March 20, 1816, 3.

66. *Aurora*, Philadelphia, June 27, 1816.

67. Mann, “Piano Making in Philadelphia Before 1825,” 174.

68. Beglan, *Pianos in the Attic*, 475.

to imagine a conflict between Thomas Sr. and his sons over their participation in the Episcopal church; Thomas Jr. later became organist at St. Andrew's Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. Whether rifts opened with Thomas Jr. over religious doctrine, or around John's future role in the business is not known. But no relevant notice is to be seen in the local newspapers, such as the father "thanking a generous public and acknowledging his sons' succession to the business" or the sons thanking their father and announcing the new name of the firm." The absence is striking, because the Louds were never shy about using the press. In March of 1817, Thomas Loud Jr., now joined by his brother John, gave notice:

Thos.& John Loud, / PIANO FORTE MANUFACTURERS, / (FROM LONDON.) / N.W. Corner of Fifth and Prune-streets, / PHILADELPHIA. / Respectfully inform the Southern, Western, and Country Merchants, as well as the Public in general that they have manufactured and for sale, some very elegant fine toned Piano Fortes, which they will sell on the most reasonable terms. Piano Fortes, manufactured by T. & J. L. will be found on trial to keep their tone, equal to any and superior to the generality of Piano fortes yet known. Some second hand Piano Fortes for sale. Piano Fortes tuned and repaired. / March 6⁶⁹

The new business was signaling a change, beginning of course with the name, by dropping Evenden completely in favor of Loud, and with an emphasis on selling into inland regions of the U.S. and not just Philadelphia, without most of the aggressive hype formerly seen in Thomas Sr.'s ads. Robinson's City Directory for 1817 contains only two entries:

Evenden Thos. L. piano fort manufacturer inquire, N. W. corner 5th and Prune

Loud, T. piano forte maker corner Prune and 5th.⁷⁰

The signal to inquire about him at the old store suggests that Thomas Sr. had departed the city, but that messages would be relayed by the family. Esther (Hester) is not yet listed, indicating that her status was still indeterminate until late in 1816, after the directory had gone to press.

69. *Democratic Press*, Philadelphia, March 27, 1817, 3.

70. *Robinson's Original Annual Directory for 1817*, Philadelphia.

The same directory for 1818 lists the Louds:

Loud, Hester, grocer N. W. corner Prune and 5th

Loud, John, piano forte maker N. W: cor. Prune & 5th

Loud, T, piano forte maker corner Prune and 5th

Loud, Thomas & John, piano forte manf. N. W. cor. of 5th and Prune⁷¹

The name of Evenden is totally absent in the directories from 1818 onward. Everyone in the family who remained in Philadelphia was now called Loud. H. & L. Evenden are not listed at 71 South Third, nor are there any Louds at that address. Even after Esther's death in 1825, and while experiencing his own difficulties with starting over, Thomas Sr. did not return to Philadelphia to live. He traveled back to England with the third son, Philologus, but had no further documented contact with Thomas Jr. or John. Hester assumed control of the grocery store, and the two oldest sons set about recreating the piano business.

Thomas Sr. is next spotted in Lexington Kentucky, in a notice of December 2, 1816:

Piano-Forte Manufactory. / T. L. Evenden, / Manufacturer of Piano-Fortes (many years in London, and five years in Philadelphia) respectfully informs professors of Music, and Ladies and Gentlemen of this place, and the western country generally, that he has commenced Manufacturing Piano-Fortes, on the best London principles, In Mulberry street, second door east of the Lion and Eagle Inn, which he intends selling on such terms as shall at least be a saving the expense of and risk of transportation, and as it can be well attested by gentlemen of this, as well as other sections of the union, that they are fully equal in goodness and superior in beauty to imported ones, and will be sold on much more reasonable terms. T. L. E. hopes it will not be considered presumption to solicit a share of public patronage, and cherish an expectation, that many will be disposed to honor him with their commands, preferring the encouragement of Domestic manufactory to the mere vending of a foreign article, NO BETTER – NOT SO HANDSOME – and MUCH DEARER, which beside drawing so much wealth from the country, often come to hand much injured. T. L. E. begs to assure those who may oblige him with their favors, that every order shall be executed with as much promptitude as possible, and in a manner fully satisfactory to the purchasers and reputable to himself. Dec 2 / Any person having a Piano they would be willing to lend or hire for a

71. *Robinson's Original Annual Directory for 1818*, Philadelphia.

few months, may hear of a person who will give a liberal price by applying as above, or at Mt Ayres' Tavern, Cross Keys, Main street.⁷²

The language is now familiar, and although Loud makes no specific cost reduction promises, he acknowledges the difficulty of transporting pianos from New York and Philadelphia for instance, to Lexington. Given that the trip from Philadelphia to Lexington was one of several weeks, and he is setting up for business, he must have left Philadelphia by at least October or early November. He does not mention any samples for inspection, so it is unlikely that any traveled with him during his hasty exit from Philadelphia. Thomas Loud Sr. was starting over again.

He appears again in late December with the company under a new name; "The Western / Piano-Forte Manufactory. / Jordan's Row, next door to the Reporter Printing Office. T. L. Evendon [sic] . . . Dec 27," where he then gave essentially the text included in his December 2 notice.⁷³ This notice ran constantly in the *Kentucky Gazette* through July, when Loud reworded his direct appeal to regionalism.⁷⁴ Loud's reference to thirty years' experience is useful, for he remained consistent on dating his start in piano manufacturing at around 1786. His reference to pianos built on the Viennese principle of Prellmechanik hammers mounted on the keys and the Viennese damper system alludes to the dealer John C. Wenzel, who carried pianos from Philadelphia made by Charles Pommer on the Viennese style, as well as English style pianos from London and New York. Wenzel had a fairly large music store in Lexington at this time,

72. *Kentucky Gazette*, December 9, 1816, 1.

73. *Ibid.*, July 12, 1817, 1.

74. *Ibid.*, August 30, 1817, 1. "Lexington Piano Fortes, / FOR SALE. / T.L. Evenden, Piano-Forte Maker, / (From London,) / Respectfully informs the public, that he continues to manufacture Piano-Fortes, on the best known principles to ensure present and durable goodness. (N.B. Not on the Vienna or German principle, which is notoriously defective in durability.) T. L. E. begs leave to observe, while he does his best, (after thirty years experience) to make Piano-Fortes of "superior tone and workmanship," and on permanent principles, he is determined to sell them at least 20 per cent below what the agents of London, can sell; some of which, are superbly handsome, and of an unique appearance, uniting elegance with utility. It is true they were not made in London, but in Lexington: does this disparage them? Their proceeds will not be sent to London, (as the proceeds of imported ones must be;) but for the most part spent in Lexington! Will that be injurious? The judicious will judge, and not lend a credulous ear to those, interested in opposing domestic articles, which, on all occasions, have a claim for preference, where quality and terms are equal; much more so, when the advantage is greatly in favor of domestic – in confidence of which, in the present instance, the public are most respectfully invited to inspect and judge. Jordon's Row, Aug.23"

and also carried wood veneering and tools.⁷⁵ It would seem that by this time Loud had at least one piano for inspection and was appealing to provincial loyalty for customers.

His notices continued to run in the *Kentucky Gazette*, though less frequently, and by August 1818 he was letting the auction and sales firm of Shreve & Combs sell pianos for him; they advertised a selection of pianos by Evenden, as well a second-hand piano by Longman & Broderip, by then at least twenty years old.⁷⁶ By October 1818, Loud was contemplating an exit from the city, giving notice:

PIANO FORTES FOR SALE / exceedingly Cheap. / T. L. EVENDEN / Piano Forte Maker from London / Respectfully informs the public he has several Piano Fortes on hand, of superb quality, that will bear a comparison with the best in the country, which he will sell very low, at least \$100 cheaper than imported, (as he is anxious to go the Eastward immediately.) They can be seen at the Cabinet Shop, next door to Mr. Bean's Tavern, Upper St. Some good Mahogany Veneers for Sale.⁷⁷

Lexington was a rapidly growing large town, called the “Athens of the West” at the time, but music stores would struggle for a permanent foothold for some years to come.⁷⁸ Between 1813 and 1815, George Geib had attempted to sell there pianos made by his father and brothers in New York, with some success, but not enough for a permanent stay. John Wenzel was able to do business in Lexington until 1826, when he left for Louisville. But for the small manufacturer, there was simply not enough demand among the 5,000 or so inhabitants to claim attention amid the stream of pianos imported from major American cities, London, and later Europe. Loud needed a larger city and his next destination was Baltimore—an urban center with a long tradition of sustainable music stores and growing manufacturing. His activities as an evangelical may have also played a role in the decision, as he produced his publication “*Three Essays*” early in his stay there. It must have seemed a propitious time to relocate as the economy was at an all-time high. But the panic of 1819 would soon settle on the country, brought on by European debt following

75. *Kentucky Gazette*, August 30, 1817, 1.

76. *Ibid.*, August 21, 1818, 4.

77. *Kentucky Reporter*, October 7, 1818, 4.

78. Joy Carden, *Music in Lexington before 1840* (Lexington-Fayette County Historic Commission, 1980), v.

the Napoleonic Wars and American debt from the Louisiana Purchase, coupled with archaic banking principles. America was about to enter its first real depression as Loud attempted to find new footing.

Loud in Baltimore

Thomas Loud Sr. surfaced again with this January 31, 1819, notice for cabinet makers:

Cabinet Makers. / WANTED. One or more good Workmen to make Piano Forte Cases at the Factory of Thomas Loud, No. 88 North Howard street. It is requested that none will apply but good workmen and who have the necessary tools to work with. / Jan 31⁷⁹

Significantly, Loud had dropped the use of Evenden from this point onward, and began building under the name Thos. Loud again. Loud had not advertised for workers while in Lexington; doing so when he arrived in Baltimore perhaps marked an attempt by him to establish a larger presence than previously. His call for workmen with tools was not unusual at the time, for journeymen workers were expected to have their own, but his mention perhaps indicated that he had none to spare. The notice ran at least until July of 1819, and it is not clear how much success he ultimately had with recruiting talent. There were no notices advertising pianos for inspection during the first nine months of 1819, and he had presumably sold all he made in Lexington. By October, Loud had relocated to South Eutaw St.⁸⁰

The principal competition in Baltimore at this time was Thomas Carr,

79. *Federal Gazette*, Baltimore, July 2, 1819, 4.

80. *American and Commercial Advertiser*, Baltimore, October 22, 1819, 4. "Piano Forte Manufactory, / S. Eutaw St. one door N. of Lombard. / THOs. LOUD / Piano Forte Maker (from London,) respectfully informs the public that more than 30 years experience enables him to make Pianos, which for strength of tone and goodness of touch, cannot be excelled by any man or from any country, and but rarely equaled; and all he asks of a discerning public it that the preference that the goodness, beauty and price may be thought to deserve, when compared to others, Ladies and gentlemen are solicited to examine for themselves. All instruments warranted, with liberty to exchange for six months. Pianos substantially repaired, and old ones taken in exchange. / N.B. T. L. contemplates in a few weeks to bring out a new invented Cabinet or Harmonic Piano, on a durable principle, and very cheap, from \$300 to \$350, warranted equal to those sold in this city for 500 and \$600, and in some respects very superior, any puff to the contrary notwithstanding. Oct 20."

who had just moved to 78 Market Street, selling six-octave pianos from London and Europe “made entirely on a new principle (combining more durability in the mechanism and strength of tone than those formerly imported) and lately introduced by Beethoven and Moshelles [sic] in the principle cities of Europe.”⁸¹ Also active was A. Clifton, 4 S. Gay Street, selling pianos by James Stewart, who had recently departed the city.⁸²

Loud continued to publish periodic notices along the lines of the one above throughout 1819 and 1820. At the end of 1820, he released a notice in doggerel verse, laying out his situation in a humorous but insistent plea for customers:

Pro bono meo, et Publico.

My motto, good neighbors, you all understand, / (Tho’ not in the language of this favored land)

Is meant to develop, what others conceal, / That for my *dear self* in the *first* place I feel;

And then, next in order, I wish you to know / I write for the *good* of the great Publico;

‘Tis only to tell then, if truth I *must* tell / I’ve got some PIANOS, I *much* wish to sell!

(For an old-fashioned purpose. Almost out of date, / To pay my just debts – ‘tis the truth I relate:)

I aver they are *Good*, and *Handsome* and *Cheap*; / I’ll sell if I *can*, if I can’t I must keep.

If you will not believe, I pray come and try / They’ll please both your *fingers*, your *ear*, and your *eye*.

If with *candor* & *skill* their merits you’ll try. / Not T. C’s or A. C’s nor any in town,

Will suit you so *well* – for a truth set that down! / Since blotters of paper their discords prolong,

And snarl at each other, about a poor song; / Why should not *my* doggrels, this paper now strain,

81. *American and Commercial Advertiser*, Baltimore, December 15, 1819, 4.

82. James Stewart had been active in Baltimore as a piano maker for eight years. Spillane gave his exit as 1820, owing to business failure. Stewart would go on to Boston and create a partnership with Jonas Chickering that lasted until 1826, helping launch Chickering’s career. Stewart’s next stop was London, with Clementi & Company, where he introduced his concept and obtained a patent for looping the wire around a hitch pin and returning it to the next wrest pin. This, coupled with a full-length soundboard and improvements to the action, created Clementi’s Grand Square Piano Forte, as detailed in Leif Sahlqvist, “Clementi & Co 1798–1830. Pianoforte Manufacture in London, http://www.squarepianotech.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Clementi__Co_%C2%A9_Leif_Sahlqvist_Nov-7-20131.2.pdf

If, for their poor Author, they bring in some gain? / In a street called CHATHAM, not far from a Bank,
 And facing a wall, that's almost a blank, / The Maker and Seller may easily be found,
 Who, if you should buy, in thanks will abound, / If you ask for his name – 'tis *like*, (it's allow'd)
 Good Forte Pianos – his name sir is LOUD.
 Dec 13⁸³

Loud was clearly having fun with the readers, refreshingly absent the usual course of extolling his instruments' virtues while lamenting his competitors' misleading claims; given the mood of the country at this time it must have provided a welcome relief. He did reference his competitors T. Carr and A. Clifton in a glancing fashion, but without a detailed rant. This notice was quickly followed up by a more conventional one describing "Grand Upright Piano Fortes . . . on an entire new principle . . . they have six octaves, three unisons . . . and five or more pedals. Square or Octagon Pianos with six octaves and three pedals."⁸⁴ By the end of the decade, Baltimore would become a center for German immigrants building Viennese-style square pianos, including Joseph Hisky, Joseph Newman (a native American who apprenticed under Hisky), and George Huppmann, all building multi-pedal pianos. It is plausible that Loud was beginning to answer customer demand with English-style pianos, now sporting various Viennese sound effects.

In 1821, Loud published his longest single religious writing, "*Three Essays; On Important Subjects.*" These 140 pages comprised an introduction describing the author's conversion to Christianity and essays on "The True Divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ," "The Unalterable Love of God," and "The Gospel Ordinance of Believers' Baptism." The volume is strictly religious in nature, apart from his brief history of himself as a youth. He mentions Esther, not by name but as "the woman" he was keeping company with in 1786. (A longer treatment of this topic appears below, in appendix 2.) Loud left no doubt that religious themes

83. *Baltimore Patriot*, December 13, 1820, 2.

84. *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, Baltimore, December 27, 1820, 4. The pedals always include a damper lift and a moderator to produce a quieter sound, followed perhaps by a harp or lute stop, to give a strumming sound, or more usually at this time the bassoon stop, a loop of stiff paper held against the bass strings, and Janissary stops, where pedals would beat a drum (often just the bottom of the soundboard), ring a bell/triangle/cymbal, and similar noises.

were dominating his thoughts now, and the probable audience for such a book might have been a small congregation that he was tending, formally or informally. While no primary evidence shows that Loud had his own church, he clearly had some sort of following. The book is rare today, and distribution was local and limited.

In April 1821 Loud announced he had moved. His doggerel of 1820 may have been well received, for he again addressed readers in verse.⁸⁵ A barb at the end was directed at one of his competitors, though which one is not spelled out. In the mind of Thomas Loud Sr., it would seem, rivals who extolled the virtues of their pianos were puffs. In March 1822 he was warning again to “beware of ignorant and unprincipled pretenders of the art, and also of such (whether makers or dealers) who charge enormous, unnecessary, and unfair prices, to induce a belief of a superior worth, and impose on the unwary.”⁸⁶ Loud was always the discount seller, and throughout the last half of 1822 he advertised basic square pianos “handsome, six octaves, and two pedals, exceeding good, \$200,” as well as finer square pianos “superbly elegant, and completely novel, and not to be equaled in the city” at \$250. These prices were perhaps \$50 less than those advertised by Carr and Clifton.⁸⁷ Loud’s pianos then fit the category of his cabinet upright, which had settled on three unisons and five pedals, and two styles of square piano, one probably featuring square front corners and little inlay or attached decoration, and one somewhat more highly decorated, with rounded front corners. He also made money, as always, tuning and repairing pianos, or dealing in second-hand ones, which he seemed to always have in the shop.

In April 1823 Loud announced that he had removed to the corner of

85. *Baltimore Patriot*, April 23, 1821, 3. “Removal. / THOMAS LOUD, Piano Forte Maker, / Has Removed from Chatham-street, to German-street, between Liberty and Sharp-street, where he respectfully solicits a share of public patronage.

Some few weeks ago, at the expense of my wits, / I put forth some rhymes, to amuse the good cits,

And urge them to buy, my Pianos so good, / To pay some just debts, and procure me some food,

So they bought what I had, and paid for them too, / For which I feel thankful – Indeed, Sirs, I do,

I have now got others, I wish you to buy, / They are handsome, and good – but pray come and try,

Perhaps I should puff, but I can’t do it well, / So I’ll leave that to him, who all can excel, And only say one thing, with which I will close, / All puffs are not true, as He very well knows.”

Apr 23.

86. *Ibid.*, March 18, 1822, 1.

87. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1822, 1.

Charles and Chatham streets, “the late residence of Dr. Hayden,” where he stated that he continued to manufacture and sell. These frequent moves indicated that his operation was very portable, and not founded on any appreciable volume. No surviving pianos by Loud from Lexington, Baltimore, or later New York have been recorded to date (apart from possibly one described by Spillane which is now lost), and it should be expected that production was limited to that of the small craftsman. Notices from Loud, which had appeared nearly constantly, ceased after May of 1823. In November 1824, a notice from the auctioneers Stewart and Usher announced the sale of his entire household furnishings, on the stated precept that Loud was preparing to go to Europe.⁸⁸ Among the usual household goods are listed work benches, music wire, brass ornaments, set of tools, etc. It seemed that Loud was leaving behind his piano making past, but to what end is not known.

Loud in New York

Loud did make the trip back to England. When he appeared again, he was returning to New York from London June 18, 1825, aboard the ship *Hudson*. He was accompanied by his third son, Philologus, and twelve-year-old James Bridgeland, no occupation, a citizen of the United Kingdom who stated he would return there.⁸⁹ This appearance on the lists has misled some historians to conclude this was the initial immigration of Thomas Loud of London to America.⁹⁰ That Philologus, by then a partner in the Philadelphia firm of Loud & Brother, traveled with his father suggests some sort of family business. If there had been reconciliation within the family, this might have been an auspicious time for Thomas Sr. to rejoin them in Philadelphia, but that did not happen. After Esther Loud died in Philadelphia on November 15, 1825, there was no mention of Thomas Sr. In the funeral arrangements, James Bridgeland would appear again as a piano maker immediately after Thomas Loud’s death and is mentioned below.

Loud settled at 88 Canal Street, near Broadway, in New York City and on August 16 gave notice that he had “on sale at moderate prices

88. *Baltimore Patriot*, November 19, 1824, 3.

89. National Archives, New York Passenger and Immigration Lists, 1820-1850, list no. 354, microfilm series M237.

90. Beglan, *Pianos in the Attic*, 230.

an elegant assortment of piano fortes of superior quality . . . fully equal to the best imported . . . and in workmanship very superior.”⁹¹ It is not clear how in two short months he had managed to have pianos of his own manufacture for sale, and not impossible that these were “stencil pianos” by makers in the city, but sold by Loud under his name. In this notice, he mentioned none of the extras he had advertised in Baltimore, such as additional pedals; these were popular among buyers of German descent who had settled in Baltimore, but not among buyers in New York City at the time. His stay at 88 Canal Street was short; in September 1825 he was selling from 102 Canal Street⁹² until at least March 1828, when the store was put up for lease again.⁹³ Notices between this time and 1827 remind the reader that Loud was not a mere vendor, but a real maker of many years’ experience who could fully warrant all pianos he sold.

Spillane recounts that “Mr. Henry Hazelton remembers Loud’s place on Broadway perfectly well. In order to emphasize his national origin as a piano-maker, the latter had over his store the sign, “Thomas Loud, piano-forte-maker from London.” Other old pioneer piano-makers of New York remember Loud distinctly on this account, but he was never known to any of them as a maker of significance.”⁹⁴

In March of 1828 Loud announced he was moving to 280 Broadway, next door south of Washington Hall, and that the lease of the residence and store at 102 Canal was available for its duration.⁹⁵ This move put Loud in the general area of several other larger firms, including William Geib at 219 and later 170 Broadway. His notices extolled the virtues of his then being in a more accessible location and touting his forty years’ experience. Spillane writes:

. . . I have discovered that Loud made piccolo uprights on Walker Street, probably between 1828 and 1830, in which an overstrung scale was used. One of these peculiar old uprights stood in a piano wareroom on East Fourteenth Street several years ago, having been taken in exchange as part payment for a new instrument, and the sketch presented in these pages was made at the time. The importance of the discovery has been found out since that period. Loud, moreover, used a peculiar form of upright action that has some interest

91. *New York Evening Post*, August 16, 1825, 3.

92. *Ibid.*, September 21, 1825, 3.

93. *Ibid.*, March 3, 1828, 3.

94. Spillane, *History of the American Pianoforte*, 178.

95. *New York Evening Post*, March 6, 1828, 4.

to the technical reader. Thomas Loud's application of the stringing principle referred to may have been purely experimental, but this cannot detract from the historical significance of the circumstance.⁹⁶

However, as of the first of May 1829, Loud had moved to 453 Broadway, apparently needing a smaller and more affordable site to operate from, as this was rather removed from the center of activity in old New York.⁹⁷ His notices indicated that he was continuing to make new pianos, and these are what he chiefly featured in his notices through 1830. The New York City directory lists him at 201 Mott for 1830, returning to 453 Broadway in 1831. By 1831 he was also listing "good piano fortes for hire, and sheet music, selling at 3–4 cents/page."⁹⁸

The New York dealers Smith & Bell began advertising "Loud & Brothers, of Philadelphia" pianos for private sale, initially starting with six pianos that "will be sold low to close the invoice," but as time went on, others from Loud & Brothers were added.⁹⁹ Smith & Bell were now selling pianos in New York City under the Loud name, of an advanced type and quality that Thomas Sr. would have struggled to match. Robert and William Nunns and William Geib¹⁰⁰ were producing between them nearly 300 new pianos annually out of New York City, while the tariff of 1828 had made importation of London-made pianos economically unfavorable. Loud Sr. had suffered from some difficulty with cash flow in the last half of 1831, judging by a notice he published in March 1832. He related that:

. . . having replenished his stock since the fall trade . . . he has on hand a handsome assortment of piano fortes . . . and as he has suffered considerably from credits, T. Loud proposes now to sell at *very* low prices for cash only. The terms are invariably cash, but the price will be according, as he is closing his business."¹⁰¹

96. Spillane, *History of the American Pianoforte*, 179–80.

97. *New York Evening Post*, April 23, 1829, 2.

98. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1831, 1.

99. *Commercial Advertiser*, New York, September 8, 1831, 3.

100. Thomas Strange, *A Respectable Inhabitant of This City; John Geib and Sons, Organ Builders & Piano Forte Manufacturers* (Greenville, SC: Sigal Music Museum Press, 2019), 184.

101. *New York Evening Post*, March 5, 1832, 1.

Loud was now seventy years old, in poor health, and had decided at last to give up the trade. His next notice announced that on April 4, his “entire stock of superior and splendid piano Fortes” would be up for auction, or private sale beforehand at considerably reduced prices.¹⁰² James Bleecker and Sons handled the auction. The sale apparently went off as planned, for Loud disappeared after April 4, 1832.

During his last few years, Loud wrote several poems on religious themes, apparently with autobiographical elements. He appears to describe himself in the opening lines of his poem “Plague of the Heart” with:

My present theme, with grief and shame I sing,
 The mournful truth to tell, yet dare not hide.
 That man is guilty, and throughout defil'd,
 I feel too sad a proof, alas! within.
 Through all my powers a vile contagion runs,
 That taints each thought, and every action spoils,
 My head is wholly sick, my heart is feint,
 No part in me is sound – unclean I cry,
 And view with shame my leprous spots deep stain'd.
 With a disease that loathsome is, my loins
 Are fill'd, and in the night my sore doth run,
 Nor doth it cease by day, oozing corruption out.
 Thus from my reins, instruction I receive,
 And learn that in my flesh there dwells no good,
 The fountains foul! The streams are all impure!¹⁰³

Beglan assumes, probably correctly, that Loud was suffering from a venereal disease, possibly syphilis. On January 2, 1833, Loud died in New York:

Died / on Wednesday Evening, after a short but severe illness, Mr. Thomas Loud, in the 71st year of his age. His friends and acquaintances are invited to attend the funeral Friday, at 3 o'clock, P.M. from his late residence, No 61 Vandam St.¹⁰⁴

102. *American*, New York, March 15, 1832, 3.

103. Beglan, *Pianos in the Attic*, 478. Reins denotes the kidneys or loins as seats of emotions.

104. *Evening Post*, New York, January 3, 1833, 2.

He left behind his widow, Harriet Loud, who is listed in the 1833 directory at 228 Varick Street, and she must have moved the four blocks from Vandam Street almost immediately after the funeral to appear in the 1833 City Directory edition at that address.

Beglan writes: "Thomas Sr. died as a practicing member of the Baptist faith. Some years later, a granddaughter wrote that Thomas Sr. had 'become a Baptist minister and had charge of a Baptist church in New York City at time of his death.'" City records also show that Thomas Loud Sr. was buried in the Oliver St[reet] Baptist Churchyard."¹⁰⁵

A city directory lists James Bridgeland, who had traveled with Loud in 1825, at the 451 Broadway address in 1833,¹⁰⁶ one door down from 453 Broadway; his house was at 62 Vandew [meaning Vandam], close to Loud at 61 Vandam. He went into partnership with John Jardine in 1833, forming Bridgeland and Jardine, which carried on until 1837, when Jardine left the city and Bridgeland returned to London.¹⁰⁷

With only two extant pianos recorded for Thomas Sr. during his twenty-two years in America, and these from his early Philadelphia years, it can be concluded that Loud was never more than a craftsman builder, producing perhaps five to ten instruments a year during his most active period. His personal history leaves us with the complex portrait of an argumentative and contentious man, who moved frequently in a vain search for the next opportunity. Thomas Loud Sr. had been involved in piano making for over forty-five years, but his legacy would be eclipsed by his enterprising sons, whose story will be told in future efforts to flesh out the activities of this family of piano makers.

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105. Beglan, *Pianos in the Attic*, 259.

106. Nancy Groce, *Musical Instrument Makers of New York* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 1991), 20; 83.

107. *London Gazette*, March 20, 1849, announcing the completion of bankruptcy proceedings against James Moses Bridgeland, piano maker.

terial and correcting genealogical dates. Their collaboration was critical. John Watson was instrumental in relaying archival data on Loud's work in America, and along with Louis Dolive provided the impetus and encouragement to begin the effort. Final thanks to the larger community of historical researchers who have identified sources used here and provided family information.

APPENDIX 1

Timeline for Thomas Loud Sr.

16 Jan 1762	Born in East Farleigh, Kent, England
12 Aug 1774	Acquires stepfather William Evenden through sister's marriage
~1782–1783	Impressed into British military; prisoner in American Revolutionary War
~1786	Return to London, begins his association with piano manufacture
20 Aug 1786	Marriage to Hester Hawkins
Dec 1793	Address: 22 Brook St.; quarrel with William Huntington over doctrine
~1796	Pianos begin to appear with signature of Loud on FF key lever
~1802	Address: Hoxton Shoreditch
9 Mar 1802	Patent 2591 granted for over-stringing and improvements to upright pianos; begins partnership with Yaniewicz and leaves Clementi
~1807	Address: 22 Devonshire St.
11 Mar 1809	Partnership with Yaniewicz is dissolved
18 Sep 1810	Bankruptcy proceedings in London are initiated
May 1811	Bankruptcy resolved

- 10 Oct 1811 Arrives in America, settles in Philadelphia.
Addresses:
130 Vine Street
88 North Fifth Street
38 South Eighth Street
Fifth and Prune Street
- Jan 1816 “Loud and Sons” as new business name
- Nov 1816 Arrives in Lexington, KY. Addresses:
Mt Ayres’ Tavern, Cross Keys, Main Street
Jordan’s Row, next door to the Reporter Printing Office
- Early 1819 Arrives in Baltimore.
- 1821 Publishes *Three Essays; On Important Matters*.
Addresses:
88 North Howard Street
South Eutaw St.
German-street
Charles and Chatham streets (corner)
- Jun 1825 Arrives in New York. Addresses:
88 Canal Street
102 Canal
280 Broadway
453 Broadway
201 Mott
453 Broadway
- ~1830–32 Composes the sacred poem “Joseph”
- 2Jan 1833 Dies in New York, his address **61 Vandam St.**

APPENDIX 2

The Matter of Mrs. Loud

The sole reason for exploring the role of Loud's wife must be to understand what part, if any, she played in the motives of Thomas Sr. and his sons. Since other research into Loud has surfaced certain theories, those are contrasted with this possibly more complete body of evidence. That Esther Hawkins Loud was the wife of Thomas Loud and mother of his seven surviving children is established. The remaining data points are rather sparse. Following the immigration to America of what was probably the entire family by September 1812, the following is considered:

- Thomas Sr. registered as an alien on July 24, 1812, listing a wife with him but no children. If the wife was Esther, then the younger children had been left in London with Thomas Jr. and his pregnant wife Elizabeth, who had delivered their first baby in December 1811, or with other relations unknown. However, Esther Evenden clearly arrived by the ship Ellington on September 28, 1812, and could not have made the trip to London and back in sixty-six days.
- No one by the name of Evenden was listed in the Philadelphia City Directory until Thomas Sr. arrives, and the extant directories skip the year 1812.
- Following his arrival, Thomas Sr. and family appeared in the Philadelphia City Directories as:
 - 1813. Evenden, Miss, dress maker, 156 Pine / Evenden Thos. L. piano forte manuf. 218 Walnut / Evenden Thos. L. jun. teacher of the piano forte 218 Walnut
 - 1814. Evenden, Harriet and Eliza, milliners, South 6th between High and Chestnut / Thos. L., piano forte manufac. 38 S. 8th / Thos. L., jun. teacher of the piano forte. Chestnut above 12th and 38 S. 8th
 - 1816. Evenden, Harriet & Eliza, milliners 113 S. Fifth / Evenden, Thos. L. grocer N. W. corner 5th & Prune / Evenden, Thomas L. piano forte manufacturer N. W. corner Fifth and Prune / Evenden, Thomas L. Jr. teacher of the piano forte, 113 south Fifth / Evenden, H. & L. store-keepers 71 south Third
 - 1817. Evenden Thos. L. piano fort manufacturer, inquire

N. W. corner 5th and Prune

- Following his departure in late 1816, the name of Evenden disappeared, apart from the notice to inquire after him at the Loud's piano shop. Esther was listed as running the grocery business from 1818 through 1822, by which time the piano business would appear to be flourishing and the grocery store was dissolved.
- Esther died in Philadelphia November 15, 1825, with no mention of Thomas Sr.
- Immediately following Thomas Sr.'s death in early January 1833, "Loud, Harriet, widow of Thomas," appeared in the NYC directory for 1833, which would have been in time to make the listings. The address given is 228 Varick, four blocks from the last known address of Thomas Sr.

The simplest scenario is that Thomas Sr. arrived in October 1811; Esther and the children followed in September 1812, perhaps with one or more additional relatives, one of which was the Harriet (now giving the last name of Evenden) listed, who then married and so was taken out of notice (the oldest daughter Elizabeth married in 1815), or vanished for other similar reasons; that Esther and Thomas Sr. separated when he left Philadelphia; and that Thomas Sr. met and married another woman also named Harriet following the death of Esther.

The difficulty is that Thomas Sr. listed a wife as being with him in July 1812, and Esther arrived in late September, too soon to have made a round trip back to London by boat. Was he merely anticipating her arrival, or had he in fact taken a different wife, possibly named Harriet? According to the theory proposed by Lamb, Thomas Sr. was living with another woman named Harriet up to the point that Esther arrived from London in 1816, at which time Loud made a precipitous exit from Philadelphia, never to return.¹⁰⁸ This theory suffers from Lamb's not being aware of Esther's arrival in September of 1812, which essentially nullifies it.

It is not known who she was or where she came from, but Robinson's directory for 1811 lists a Harriet Roe, seamstress, living in the vicinity of where Loud was then in Philadelphia, and this Harriet Roe disappears in 1813. The more common spelling at the time appears to be Harriot,

108. Glen W. Lamb, *Notes on Thomas Loud Evenden and The Loud Family, Piano Makers of Philadelphia* (Historical Society of Pennsylvania Family, History Room Holdings, details from Family History Room, call number Fa 929.2 L8863L 1998 1998): 9.

which occurs multiple times in the directories, and Harriet Roe/Evenden is the only Harriet with an “e” in either the 1811 or 1813 directory, but the connection is circumstantial. The argument that she was connected to Thomas Sr. is speculative.

In his 1821 volume “Three Essays,” Loud gives an account of a dream that contributed to his religious conversion that bears some examination regarding his relationship with Esther. He wrote:

I dreamed that I was sitting with the woman I kept company with, close by a long lake of water that extended beyond view along the foot of a very steep hill, rising from the horizon at least at the angle of forty-five degrees, on the top of this hill stood a man inviting me up, and his invitation excited in me an ardent desire to ascend; but I greatly feared the attempt, for if I should slip destruction appeared inevitable, as I must of necessity roll into and perish in the lake at the bottom, and I much wished that I had long spikes in my shoes, to prevent the much dreaded accident; . . . After I had been some time with my guide, and the other two, surveying the promised land, the woman, who I had left at the bottom of the hill, on the verge of the lake, appeared on the summit and chided me for my stay . . . but (I) was again stopped by my attentive guide, who said he would give me something to keep in remembrance of the place: so saying, he fetched me a large bough of evergreen, myrtle, or box, apparently, which he called isthmus. I asked him if it was the isthmus recorded in scripture—he replied it was. I then again attempted, and was permitted to come out; and I gave the bough of evergreen into the hand of the woman who was waiting for me, and immediately about half of the bough drooped exceedingly.

Here Loud gives us a picture of his future wife who is reproachful and somehow deficient in her spiritual quality. The myrtle is an ancient symbol for love. In Christian symbolism, it represents the Gentiles converted to Christ.¹⁰⁹ That half of it immediately wilted on handing it to “the woman” reflects Loud’s poor esteem either for women in general or Esther in particular. While this was hardly outside of the normal view of women at the time, it is striking that Loud summons it up as a mental image when describing the core of his important life event. Beglan argues that no second marriage record exists for Thomas Sr., but Loud seems to have already moved beyond the formality of organized religion. On his leaving Baltimore, Loud was disposing of a good deal of furniture and household

109. <http://www.planetgast.net/symbols/plants/plants.html>.

goods, such as what a man might have if he had a partner or family with him. It is unknown when Harriet became associated with Thomas Sr., but there is nothing in the historical record that precludes such an association, even as early as before Loud left London. Such a complexity would have added another note of tension in the family dynamic of the Louds that ultimately led to Thomas Sr. walking away from the business in Philadelphia and starting again, where his work as a piano builder, tuner, repairman, and part time preacher afforded him a subsistence living.