

MUSICAL INSTRUMENT MAKING IN GEORGIAN LONDON, 1753–1809: EVIDENCE FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE OLD BAILEY AND THE MIDDLESEX SESSIONS OF THE PEACE

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ABSTRACT

Throughout the Georgian period London was the most significant British centre for musical instrument manufacture. Traditionally, research in this area has focused on the surviving instruments themselves, thereby emphasizing those makers in charge of flourishing workshops and those who were in the habit of signing their products. By examining archival sources, however, it is possible to glean a more complete picture of musical instrument production, through the identification of ‘hidden’ makers unrepresented by extant instruments, the establishment of patterns of settlement and the highlighting of relationships between different builders.

Two principal sources form the basis of this study: the online edition of the Proceedings of the Old Bailey and the Middlesex Sessions of the Peace Records. While these sources are an important record of crime and punishment, it is the unwitting testimony of the trials rather than the crimes, the legal procedures or the punishments that is the primary focus of this study. Indeed, since the trials enable the identification of people involved at all levels of the musical instrument trade, it is arguable that they provide one of the most significant means of establishing some of the processes characterizing the industry during the second half of the eighteenth century.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the Georgian period London was the most significant British centre for musical instrument manufacture. Traditionally, research in this area has focused on the surviving instruments themselves, a practice that has tended to emphasize makers in charge of flourishing workshops and those who were in the habit of signing their products. As recent studies of fire insurance policies, the accounts of Ferdinand Weber and the early English school of piano making have shown, however, written archival sources arguably provide a more complete picture of musical instrument manufacturing and enable us to fill some of the gaps in our understanding of the social and economic aspects of the industry.¹

It is possible to argue, too, that written documents – particularly criminal court records – provide the principal means of studying fraud, burglary and dissoluteness both suffered and perpetrated by instrument

1 Lance Whitehead and Jenny Nex, ‘Keyboard Instrument Building in London and the Sun Insurance Records, 1775–87’, *Early Music* 30/1 (2002), 4–25, and ‘A Copy of Ferdinand Weber’s Account Book’, *The Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 33 (2000), 89–150; Joan Jeffery, ‘Organ-Builder History from Fire Insurance Policies’, *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies* 26 (2002), 76–135; and Michael Cole, ‘The Twelve Apostles? An Enquiry into the Origins of the English Pianoforte’, *Early Keyboard Journal* 18 (2000), 9–52.



makers. Since criminal proceedings preserve the names of people involved at all levels of the industry (including those absent from nameboard inscriptions and insurance policy documents), this particular type of primary source offers an excellent means of establishing links between supplier and maker, as well as providing some important new evidence as to the organizational structure of the workshops themselves.

SOURCES

Two principal sources form the basis of this study: the online edition of the Proceedings of the Old Bailey,² which contains accounts of 45,000 trials held at London's central criminal court for the period 1714–1799,³ and the Middlesex Sessions of the Peace Records, preserved at the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA, formerly the Greater London Records Office). The latter source, which relates to County of Middlesex Sessions held at Hick's Hall, St John's Street, may be searched either at the Archives itself or online via the Access to Archives (A2A) website.⁴ Most of the records of the Middlesex Sessions provide only the names of the main protagonists, the date of the hearing and the type of offence; many are simply bail receipts.⁵ Those cases deemed to merit a jury trial were forwarded to the Old Bailey: the documents associated with these cases provide us with considerably more information. In addition to the confrontation between the prosecutor – usually the victim – and the defendant, these Proceedings record witness testimony, the verdict and, if the accused was found guilty, the sentence passed by the judge.⁶ In total there are thirty-six Proceedings of the Old Bailey and thirty Middlesex Sessions of the Peace Records that directly concern or contain oblique references to musical instrument makers for the period 1753–1809.

FRAUD

Despite the risks involved,⁷ some eighteenth-century musical instrument builders were willing to defraud their clients and their fellow makers by selling counterfeit instruments. For instance, although the full circumstances are not known, the spinet and harpsichord maker Thomas Hitchcock the Younger disclaimed responsibility in the *London Evening Post* (April 1729) for a harpsichord sold in his name in Oxford.⁸

2 <www.oldbaileyonline.org>, accessed October to December 2003 and 13 May 2004.

3 Since the writing of this paper the website has been expanded to include 1,000,621 trials dating from April 1674 to October 1834 (7 February 2005).

4 <www.aza.pro.gov.uk/search/index/asp>, accessed October 2003 and February 2005.

5 The individual or group of people who stood bail acted as a guarantor for the defendant, taking responsibility for his later appearance in court. This guarantee often included a sum of money (a matter of shillings, occasionally as much as a pound in the Middlesex Session records consulted) which was repaid by the court if the defendant was found guilty or kept if he absconded. For further information see <www.britannica.com>, consulted June 2005.

6 It is important to stress that sentences – notably executions – were not always carried out. In order to gain a complete picture of the trial, therefore, it is also necessary to search the records for the King's Bench, Marshalsea and Fleet Prisons (all debtors' prisons) and Newgate Gaol. All are preserved at the National Archives (NA). For the King's Bench, Marshalsea and Fleet Prisons see NA: PRO Copy PRIS 1-PRIS 11; for persons imprisoned at Newgate Gaol during this period see the 'Newgate Prison Calendar' (1782–1853), NA: PRO Copy HO 77.

7 In a high-profile case that took place in 1777, for instance, Dr William Dodd was arrested and executed for forging a bond in the name of the Fifth Earl of Chesterfield. See Paul Baines, *The House of Forgery in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 103–150.

8 See Donald H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord, 1440–1840*, ed. Charles Mould, third edition (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 91.



One person whose name is closely linked to the topic of fraud is the harpsichord builder and music publisher Robert Falkener, who was active in London during the period c1760–1780.⁹ According to a 1771 document preserved at the Royal College of Music,¹⁰ Jacob Kirkman accused Falkener of selling six harpsichords with ‘forged Mark[s], Print[s] or Impression[s]’ that falsely intimated they were his work; Kirkman demanded the sum of £500 for lost earnings and damages. While the court’s verdict is not known, Falkener’s habit of falsely attributing instruments seems to have continued unabated for a further two years. And an advertisement in *The Public Advertiser* for 9 July 1772 offering a reward of twenty guineas for information leading to the conviction of those responsible for ‘several harpsichords, with my name affixed, but not of my making’¹¹ shows that Kirkman was still being troubled by such fraudulent practices. That the culprit is likely to have been Falkener is substantiated by the harpsichord at the University of Edinburgh, which is signed and dated September 1773 by Falkener on the underside of the soundboard.¹² Since there is no evidence that Falkener was an employee or outworker of Kirkman, it seems that this instrument’s name-batten inscription – albeit a stylistically incorrect version of Kirkman’s usual signature – is a deliberate attempt to mislead potential customers.

Falkener’s other main business enterprise – that of publishing – also landed him in court. Following his purchase in 1770 of a printing works from the Swedish émigré Henric Foug, ¹³ Falkener proceeded to publish his *Instructions for playing the harpsichord* (1770, second edition 1774)¹⁴ plus nearly two hundred songs, which he generally sold at the unusually low price of ‘a PENNY a-page’. Perhaps prompted by this price war – the average price of music at this time was sixpence a page – ‘the executor of John Walsh Jr’s estate, John Pyle, took . . . Falkener to court [in May 1771] for reprinting works by Handel, Arne, Maurice Greene and Isaac Bickerstaffe’.¹⁵ Pyle argued that Falkener’s unauthorized editions of some twenty works by Handel were ‘in open defiance of a royal privilege granted to Walsh in 1760 to print Handel’s music’.¹⁶ Three years later, on

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- 9 Robert Falkener resided at No. 45 Salisbury Court and later No. 3 Peterborough Court, Fleet Street, and owned a music shop at No. 159 Strand, near Somerset House. For further information see Lance Whitehead, ‘Robert Falkener: An Eighteenth-Century Harpsichord Builder, Music Publisher and Malfeasant?’, *The Galpin Society Journal* 15 (2002), 310–331.
- 10 This document was given to the RCM Library in 1993 by Paul James, son of Philip James (one time Honorary Keeper of the RCM Museum of Instruments). It is currently preserved in the Museum of Instruments (RCM 531C).
- 11 This advertisement was first reproduced by Michael Cole in *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 311–313.
- 12 The full inscription on the namebatten of the double-manual Falkener harpsichord at the University of Edinburgh (Russell Collection No. HD8-RF1773.16) is ‘Jacobus Kirkman Londini Fecit’; the underside of the soundboard is inscribed ‘Rob^t Falkener London / Fecit 1773 / September’. The Falkener double-manual harpsichord at the University of Glasgow is inscribed ‘Jacobus Kirckman Fecit Londini 1748’ in ink on the namebatten, while the underside of the soundboard bears the pencil inscription ‘Robt. Falkener London fecit 1770.’ See Charles Mould, ‘The Development of the English Harpsichord with Particular Reference to the work of Kirkman’ (PhD dissertation, University of Oxford, 1976), 272.
- 13 See Peter Ward Jones, ‘Foug, Henric [Henry]’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), volume 9, 126–127.
- 14 The title page of the 1770 edition reads: ‘INSTRUCTIONS / For PLAYING the / HARPSICHORD. / WHEREIN IS FULLY EXPLAINED / The MYSTERY OF THOROUGH BASS; WITH / Divers other Material Things hitherto kept a Profound Secret / By the MUSICAL SOCIETY. / To WHICH IS ADDED, / Exact Rules for TUNING the Harpsichord; / With all the different-sized WIRES used in that Instrument.’ Except for the title page and thirteen additional pages (mainly of exercises), much of the text of the 1774 edition appears to have been printed using the same plates used for the 1770 edition.
- 15 For an in-depth study of this case see Ronald J. Rabin and Steven Zohn, ‘Arne, Handel, Walsh, and Music as Intellectual Property: Two Eighteenth-Century Lawsuits’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120/1 (1995), 112–145.
- 16 Rabin and Zohn, ‘Arne, Handel, Walsh’, 125.



21 April 1774, Falkener was ‘restrained by injunction from printing and selling [most of the] contested works’ and was obliged to pay Pyle the profits he had amassed from their sale.¹⁷

In addition to these two cases, Falkener stood bail (together with the organ builder John Lincoln) in the trial of Anthony and Jane Whitewood, indicted for assault in December 1773,¹⁸ and was a character witness in the trial of William Frankland, charged with ‘unlawfully, wilfully, maliciously, and feloniously shooting at Thomas Miller’ at The Bell and Anchor, Hammersmith, in January 1774.¹⁹ The Frankland case provides compelling evidence as to the character of Falkener’s associates and thus to his own personality. Although Falkener was not present at the time of the shooting, he stated that he had known Frankland for about seven months and was often in his company; apparently they were drinking partners. Interestingly, in defending the actions of his colleague, who was eventually found guilty and sentenced to death, Falkener argued that he believed Frankland ‘to be an insane man, for he never went through any discourse regularly’. When asked by the court ‘if you looked upon him in the light of a man not in his senses, how came you to keep him company so often?’ Falkener replied, ‘I have done seventy pounds worth of business for him; I could not run away from him.’ Of course, Falkener cannot be held accountable for the actions of others, yet if all the various trials with which he is directly associated are taken into account, the accumulated evidence tends towards the conclusion that Falkener was a rogue trader rather than simply an artisan forced into deception through hardship and unfair competition.

ASSAULT

Many of the Middlesex Sessions of the Peace Records relate to assault charges and are frustratingly lacking in all but the barest essentials. A typical example from September 1762 records simply the name of the defendant, Benjamin Rushton, and the name of the prosecutor, John Holditch. The small slip of paper has just enough space to record the fact that John Grossman (described as a ‘Gent’ of the Parish of St Ann, Soho) and the violin maker Joseph Hill (a ‘Musical Instrument Maker’ of Pall Mall) stood bail, but that is all.²⁰ None of the proceedings of the court is recorded, and we are not provided with the occupation and address of the accused or of the prosecutor, the precise nature or date of the offence, or even the verdict.

Nevertheless, it is possible to draw some important conclusions from such documents. It is probably safe to surmise, for instance, that standing bail for a defendant indicates at least a minimal level of acquaintance between the two parties. On 5 June 1794, for example, John Betts, almost certainly the violin maker whose premises were situated at 2 North Piazza, Royal Exchange,²¹ was indicted on the prosecutions of Charles Kelly²² and Frances Gough.²³ In both cases, the violin maker and dealer Thomas Dodd (described as a musical instrument maker of 11 New Street, Covent Garden)²⁴ and James Byrne (a shoemaker of 265 High Holborn) stood bail for the total sum of £1 6s. Our conclusion is that John Betts and Thomas Dodd must have been more than simply rivals in the violin trade.

17 Rabin and Zohn, ‘Arne, Handel, Walsh’, 132.

18 London Metropolitan Archives (LMA): Middlesex Sessions of the Peace, MJ/SP/1773/12/037.

19 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of William Frankland, 12 January 1774, ref: t17740112-23.

20 LMA: Middlesex Sessions of the Peace, MJ/SP/1762/09/016.

21 For further information see entry for ‘John Betts’ in *The British Violin: The Catalogue of the 1998 Exhibition ‘400 Years of Violin & Bow Making in the British Isles’*, ed. John Milnes (Oxford: British Violin Making Association, 2000), 57–60.

22 LMA: Middlesex Sessions of the Peace, MJ/SP/1794/06/007.

23 LMA: Middlesex Sessions of the Peace, MJ/SP/1794/06/008.

24 For further information see entry for ‘Thomas Dodd I’ in *The British Violin*, 62–63.



THEFT AND BURGLARY

In the majority of cases tried at the Old Bailey that directly concern or contain oblique references to musical instrument makers, the defendant is charged with theft or burglary. One of the most striking cases concerns Lockey Hill (1756–1810), a member of the well known family of violin and bow makers,²⁵ who was charged with horse stealing.²⁶ At the trial Hill's former servant Edward Bowtell testified that they had been horse thieves together for four or five years. Bowtell stated that on the night in question:

I went down to Birmingham with the prisoner. . . . [On our return] . . . at a place called Aylesbury, the prisoner saw this gelding in a field . . . and said, that will do well, we will have that: he then mounted his horse again, and rode on till we came to an old barn, . . . we went into that barn, and put our horses into it, and went to sleep till about twelve o'clock; then we took a halter off the horses in the barn, and went back to the field where the gelding was; we lifted the gate off the hinges, and I held it while he fetched the horse out of the field; we left the gate off, we could not get it on again; we brought the gelding with us to the barn, and then we took the saddle and bridle off one of our horses, and put [it] on this gelding; we brought them all three to London; . . . we took it to the Horse-and-Groom, Hackney-road; it staid there for two days, till the prisoner at the bar sold it to Mr. Tweed . . . [who] gave me half-a-crown for riding it, and the prisoner gave me half-a-crown.

That this was not Lockey Hill's first offence is confirmed by Bowtell, who testified that he himself had been arrested for stealing two cart horses with the defendant from a field near Worcester, adding that 'there are a great many more horses in town now that he has brought up here'. In his defence Hill claimed that he had no counsel to assist him and that 'Mr. Thompson, in St Paul's church-yard, and Mr. Longman, of Cheapside, were here yesterday, to give me a character, but they are in a great way of business and they could not wait.' Almost certainly, 'Mr Thompson' refers to one of the members of the Thompson family of instrument makers and music publishers of 75 St Paul's Church Yard, and 'Mr Longman' refers to James Longman, partner in a music warehouse at 26 Cheapside, 13 Haymarket and Tottenham Court Road. 'Many of Lockey Hill's instruments bear the brand of Longman & Co. or Longman and Broderip',²⁷ so it is not surprising that Hill requested the support of James Longman. The court found Hill guilty as charged and sentenced him to death, but it seems that instead of execution he was admitted to Newgate Prison, where he remained until at least February 1796.²⁸

In several of the cases concerning theft the defendants were accused of stealing property from their employers. In the trial of Thomas Hewett, for instance, indicted for stealing 250 feet of one-inch lime boards and 380 feet of three-quarter-inch lime boards – enough timber to make keyboards for as many as thirty-one grand pianos and forty-eight square pianos respectively²⁹ – the prosecutor, John Broadwood, stated that, 'I had a large quantity of lime tree boards in a yard in Tottenham Court Road, it is a year ago; I employed the prisoner to saw it'.³⁰

25 Lockey Hill was the son of Joseph Hill I (1715–1784). For further information see the entry for 'Lockey Hill' in *The British Violin*, 85.

26 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of Lockey Hill, 2 December 1795, ref: t17951202-53.

27 See the entry for 'Lockey Hill' in *The British Violin*, 85.

28 Newgate Prison Calendar, NA: PRO Copy HO 77/3.

29 This is based on the assumption that both grand and square piano keyboards of the period required approximately eight feet of lime wood. We would like to thank Christopher Nobbs for his help in this matter.

30 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of Thomas Hewett, 28 October 1789, ref: t17891028-43.



It was, however, the firm of Longman and Broderip who seem to have suffered most from this type of crime, especially after they were declared bankrupt – on 23 May 1795³¹ – and their affairs were assigned to William Blake, William Bloxam, Josiah Banger, Muzio Clementi and John Wood.³² On 6 April 1796 the assignees brought a string of charges against three individuals, two of whom were former employees of Longman and Broderip. William Gater, who had been employed as an organ builder by the firm for sixteen years,³³ and John Bates, a musician and musical instrument seller who seems to have dealt with Longman and Broderip,³⁴ were each charged and found guilty of stealing a square piano. On the same day Richard Geast, a tuner for Longman and Broderip, was indicted for stealing two pianos, a spinet, one violin and five violin bows.³⁵

As well as highlighting the losses suffered by music shops, such trials provide unwitting testimony regarding the stolen objects themselves. The square piano stolen by John Bates,³⁶ for example, was described by David Davies, superintendent of the firm of Longman and Broderip, as ‘what we call a short two stop; a shorter instrument than we generally make, and one stop less; we only make them for orders’. Moreover, this trial sheds light upon the manner in which Longman and Broderip ran their business. In his defence, John Bates stated that:

I told [Baskerville] that I meant to apply to Mr. Longman for a few instruments, upon sale or return, which I shall prove is the habit, and has been the continual practice of that house for many years, and when those instruments are sold, they pay the money, and what are not sold, they return.³⁷

Many of the defendants were accused of stealing workshop tools and equipment. The apprentice William Barrot, for example, was indicted for stealing an iron chain belonging to the organ builder John Crang,³⁸ while Joseph Robson was accused of stealing ‘a lignum vitae tool, two gouge bits, one reed bit, a steel reed [mandrel], a burning iron, a trumpet reed and tongue, with block and socket, thirty pipe mandrels, two chisels and two mahogany mouldings’ belonging to John Avery. Just as builders today design and make some of their own tools, some of the instrument builders testified that they had made the tools themselves. John Avery stated that ‘we searched [Robson’s] bed-room, and in a tool-chest we found, of my property, a lignum vitae tool, called a knocking up tool, which was made under my particular direction, and turned under my own eye’.³⁹ Similarly, in the trial of John Darby, Valentine Fryer stated that ‘I lost the things mentioned in the indictment, and one particular screw-driver which I have in my hand now, which was made out of a sword’.⁴⁰

31 Registers of Commissions of Bankruptcy, NA: PRO Copy B4/24, 84.

32 Longman and Broderip’s assignees are named in numerous documents, including the court case brought by Longman, Broderip and their assignees against Culliford, Rolfe and Barrow in 1795, NA: PRO Copy E112/1771/5631.

33 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of William Gater, 6 April 1796, ref: t17960406-84.

34 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of John Bates, 6 April 1796, ref: t17960406-85.

35 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of Richard Geast, 6 April 1796, ref: t17960406-83.

36 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of John Bates, 6 April 1796, ref: t17960406-85.

37 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of John Bates, 6 April 1796, ref: t17960406-85.

38 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of William Barrot, 2 May 1764, ref: t17640502-31.

39 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of John Avery, 20 September 1797, ref: t17970920-67.

40 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of John Darby, 11 January 1786, ref: t17860111-33.



WORKSHOP PRACTICES

One of the most interesting aspects of these lawsuits is the information they provide concerning workshop practices. For example, the Old Bailey trial of John and James Hanson (father and son) may confirm the continuing use of scrap metal in the manufacture of brass instruments. According to the proceedings, the sixteen-year old James Hanson stole two pewter plates, one brass candlestick and a copper saucepan from a public house where he worked as a servant.⁴¹ While the copper saucepan was later recovered from a pawnbroker's shop, it is perhaps significant that James confessed to having stolen the items on the order of his father, a maker of French horns and trumpets. Perhaps John Hanson planned to melt the brass candlestick down and recast it as trumpet or French horn mouthpieces and anticipated using the pewter – an alloy of tin and lead – as a solder to seal his instruments.⁴²

The Old Bailey Proceedings also provide evidence for keyboard instrument makers within the same workshop borrowing each other's tools. Indicted for stealing three planes, one iron vice and two screw plates from the harpsichord maker John Hitchcock, John Lane argued that his employer had 'agreed to find me in tools'.⁴³ Similarly, in a bid to prove his innocence, Joseph Robson testified that '[Mr Avery] allowed me to take tools home to my house, to be ready to put up an organ at Whitehall . . . and he has got some of my tools in his possession.' Moreover, in the same trial, Joseph Buck agreed that not only was it the rule in every workshop 'for the men to take home their master's tools', but also that 'the masters take the men's tools'.⁴⁴

It has long been argued that the music shops of Longman and Broderip were supplied by a number of workshops. Thomas Culliford and Company, for instance, had a contract with Longman and Broderip for £5,000 worth of finished instruments per annum.⁴⁵ The trial of Edward Johnson, indicted for stealing fifty-nine and a half yards of green Persian silk from the piano maker John Geib,⁴⁶ suggests that Longman and Broderip may also have obtained stock using the 'putting-out system'.⁴⁷ During the trial Geib accepted the court's opinion that Longman and Broderip furnished him with all the necessary materials, including silk, for making musical instruments and that he was paid only for the workmanship.

Two cases provide important new evidence concerning the supply of raw materials. In the trial of Geib versus Johnson mentioned above, Charles Drake – presumably a silk mercer – testified to being the original supplier of the stolen fabric.⁴⁸ Furthermore, in the trial of John Griffiths, charged with stealing seven pieces

41 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of James Hanson, 2 May 1753, ref: t17530502-34.

42 We would like to thank Louise Bacon for her helpful suggestions concerning the use of scrap metal in the manufacture of historical brass instruments.

43 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of John Lane, 5 April 1769, ref: t17690405-32.

44 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of John Avery, 20 September 1797, ref: t17970920-67.

45 See the court case, 'Longman, Broderip and their assignees versus Culliford, Rolfe and Barrow', filed 5 November 1795 (NA: PRO Copy E112/1771/5631), in which Longman and Broderip are suing Culliford and others for breach of contract. Our grateful thanks to Dr David Rowland for bringing this document to our attention.

46 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of Edward Johnson, 11 May 1785, ref: t17850511-14.

47 The putting-out system has been described by one historian as 'the working-up in their own homes or in small workshops by individuals or small groups, often scattered over a wide geographical area, of materials supplied to them by an entrepreneur who organized and controlled (sometimes with a good deal of difficulty) the whole productive process'. See James Anthony Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History, 1550–1760* (London: Edward Arnold, 1987), 144.

48 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of Edward Johnson, 11 May 1785, ref: t17850511-14.



of ivory weighing sixty-six pounds that belonged to Culliford, Rolfe and Bradford, a Mr Fonteloy [*sic*] of Potter's Fields testified to having 'sold [the] ivory to Mr. Culliford'.⁴⁹ The supplier was probably Thomas Fautleroy, recorded in most contemporary trades directories as a turner and dealer in hardwood, who resided in Tooley Street, Potter's Fields.⁵⁰

NEW MAKERS

As many as thirty of the protagonists in the two principal sources appear to be new makers not recorded in Boalch, Clinkscale, the New Langwill Index, *The British Violin* or any of the various online organ databases maintained by the British Institute of Organ Studies (see Appendix 2). These include the organ builders Adam Fulner⁵¹ and William Chaplin,⁵² the flute maker William Bailey⁵³ and the harpsichord makers Nicholas Beckman,⁵⁴ Charles Vercoe⁵⁵ and Thomas Young.⁵⁶ While some of these are described as workmen or journeymen, it is likely that at least some others were independent makers. Interestingly, Thomas Young had links with John Hitchcock⁵⁷ as well as with Longman and Broderip.⁵⁸

The identification of new makers has important consequences for our understanding of the size and structure of musical instrument workshops. From the trial of John Lane (1769), for instance, it is possible to conclude that shortly before the trial Hitchcock's workshop had consisted of at least three people: Hitchcock himself and two workmen. In his court statement Hitchcock testified that 'the prisoner [John Lane] worked with me about thirteen or fourteen months. The beginning of last February he absconded from his business, which gave me some suspicion of him, and I missed the things mentioned in the indictment'. Furthermore, one of the witnesses, Hannah Sherman, stated that she was 'wife to William Sherman, who works with Mr. Hitchcock'.⁵⁹ The names of Young, Lane and Sherman do not appear on surviving Hitchcock spinets, so it is arguable that these workers were in addition to the employees named 'Sam', 'Culliford' and 'Backus', whose signatures have been found.⁶⁰

A number of writers, including Evan Rigby,⁶¹ Betty Matthews⁶² and Paul Tindall,⁶³ have published studies of the organ builder John Avery, whose workshop was situated in the churchyard of St Margaret's,

49 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of John Griffiths, 14 January 1789, ref: t17890114-7.

50 See, for instance, *Kent's Directory for the Year 1786* (Guildhall Library (GL) microfilm 96917/9), 61.

51 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of Anne Goodman, 9 April 1766, ref: t17660409-4.

52 LMA: Middlesex Sessions of the Peace, MJ/SP/1778/10/005.

53 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of John Pettitt and John Ayres, 21 April 1784, ref: t17840421-23, and the trial of William Giles, 8 December 1784, ref: t17841208-14.

54 LMA: Middlesex Sessions of the Peace, MJ/SP/1775/05/029.

55 LMA: Middlesex Sessions of the Peace, MJ/SP/1775/04/037.

56 LMA: Middlesex Sessions of the Peace, MJ/SP/1775/05/017.

57 See *The Register of Apprentice Bindings of the Haberdashers Company 1755–1833*, GL Ms 15, 860/9, 17. Dated 7 October 1757, the entry in the Register reads: 'Thomas Young son of George Young late of the Parish / of Saint John Wapping shipwright [deceased] bound to John / Hitchcock . . . for seven years Fetter Lane Harpsichord maker / £5 paid by the Governors of the Xts hospital.'

58 In the trial of John Bates, Young stated that he was 'formerly in the employ of Messrs Longman and Broderip'. Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of John Bates, 6 April 1796, ref: t17960406-85.

59 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of John Lane, 5 April 1769, ref: t17690405-32.

60 See *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 394–396.

61 Evan Rigby, 'John Avery and Stroud Parish Church', *The Organ* 42 (1962–1963), 125–130.

62 Betty Matthews, 'John Avery', *The Organ* 54 (1975–1976), 114–123.

63 Paul Tindall, 'John Avery', *BIOS Reporter* 27/4 (2003), 16–20.



Westminster.⁶⁴ Most of this work has focused on Avery's surviving instruments, his contracts and his financial problems. From the trial of Joseph Robson it transpires that in addition to the accused Avery employed at least two journeymen (James White and Thomas Flewin), a labourer (Joseph Buck), Thomas Craile and a young 'German named Frederick'.⁶⁵ The name of James White appears together with that of John Avery in the tuning and maintenance contract for St Lawrence, Stroud (1798),⁶⁶ but the other workmen are previously unrecorded.⁶⁷

DISSOLUTENESS

During the eighteenth century the consumption of alcohol was commonplace. In London men, women and children all drank 'small' or weak beer, partly because there was no reliable supply of clean water,⁶⁸ while stronger drinks of 'spirituous liquors', primarily gin, were relatively cheap and easily available. Clubs, where men (and sometimes women) met on a weekly basis for debate, singing and drinking, usually in an alehouse or tavern, were a part of everyday life.⁶⁹ Public houses were also important economic centres: since workmen tended to congregate in taverns frequented by others of the same trade, masters were able to visit specific establishments to hire additional hands.

That instrument builders and dealers may be included amongst those who indulged and overindulged in drinking is documented in a variety of cases. During the trial of Daniel Hopkins – accused of stealing a trunk containing a large number of prints, drawings and fans – the carpenter and organ builder John Hayman, who had carried the trunk on his head over Blackfriars Bridge, stated that at the time he had been 'very much in liquor; whether it was liquor or not I tumbled down; this is the trunk they took away from me'.⁷⁰

While the spectacle of John Hayman tumbling down on Blackfriars Bridge with a trunk on his head must have been comical, intoxication sometimes led to apprentices suffering severe hardship and mistreatment. A particularly distressing case concerns John Sergeant, who was 'bound . . . apprentice by indenture for five years to a M^r Tho^s Scott a Musical Instrument maker of 17 Holborn to learn the Art and Mystery of his said Trade or calling'.⁷¹ Sergeant's father appealed to the Middlesex Sessions to intervene and cancel his son's indenture, providing the court with a particularly sorry tale of abuse:

64 Prior to St Margaret's Church Yard, Avery seems to have resided in Hanover Street (1784) and later John Street, Tottenham Court Road (1787). His Hanover Street address is recorded in the Westminster Poll Book for the Parish of St George, Hanover Square, for 2 April 1784 (LMA WR/PP1784/8). By 1787 he was residing at John Street, Tottenham Court Road, in the Parish of St Pancras. On 14 July 1787, for example, Avery witnessed the release of Thomas Saxton (of Little White Lion Street, St Giles-in-the-Fields) from the charge of assault by William Flight (a victualler of the Parish of St Pancras) at Middlesex Magistrates Court (LMA MJ/SP/1787/07/087).

65 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of Joseph Robson, 20 September 1797, ref: t17970920-67.

66 'John Avery and Stroud Parish Church', 130.

67 From apprenticeship records we have also been able to trace the name of one of Avery's apprentices, John Tollner, probably a relation of the organ builder Dodo Tollner. John Avery registered John Tollner as an apprentice on 5 May 1787 (indenture dated 4 May 1787) for the period of seven years. See Apprenticeship Registers, NA: PRO Copy IR 1/33, 110.

68 See Philippa Pullar, *Consuming Passions*, second edition (London: Penguin, 2001), 155.

69 Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (London: Vintage, 2001), 350–354 and 360–361.

70 Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004), trial of Daniel Hopkins, 16 February 1791, ref: t17910216-40.

71 Thomas Scott was a woodwind instrument maker who registered two designs with the Patent Office: No. 2995 (13 December 1806) for a double flageolet, and No. 3314 (12 March 1810) for modifications to the keywork of flutes, clarinets and oboes. See *Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of Specifications relating to Music and Musical Instruments*, second edition (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1871), 49 and 59–60.



[My] son was not properly instructed—the Master being frequently intoxicated with Liquor—never giving him any instruction—save that of a pattern to work from and shewing the worst of examples to his said Apprentice

That on such complaints being made the said Master promised things should be better managed—and brought his Brother Robert Scott with a view to teach his said Apprentice his business—

[Unfortunately] the said Robert Scott is a man of the most morose temper and about 12 Months since beat [my] Son . . . in the most barbarous way, with a fish's Gid or Weapon (which will be produced) and in consequence of being expostulated with by [me] on such conduct—since that time has with the horrid expressions of 'Ill Chalk your bloody hands or fingers—striking at them with a [?club]'—biting him, pinching him with the greatest cruelty, saying although I cannot strike you I will bite and pinch you—and only last Wednesday week—knocked him down pinch'd his ears till they bled—completely through—so that the marks are now perceptible with other Acts of Cruelty . . .

[My] son is a very industrious Lad, and his Master has declared that he could, and would earn him 3 Guineas per week—that he is perfectly sober (never having been intoxicated in his Life)—Honest—Good tempered—and always has kept the most regular hours—That four pounds was paid by [me] for binding him to his said Master—a premium of twenty pounds and a new suit of Cloaths (being a Taylor) presented at the same time for his Master

[I have] to complain that [my] Son is never sent to a place of Worship on the Lords day—the only time he was ever sent was once with a Son of his Masters—who got beat when he came home for not being at home by 12 o'Clock . . . (before Church was done) and [my] Son was by way of Punishment obliged to go and grind knives for such fault—

[I have] no wish to avail [myself] of the opportunity afforded [me], by the Indenture of depriving his Master of the talents of his Apprentice—on the Contrary it is [my] wish and that of [my] son—that his Master may be duly and truly ser[?ved] all he craves is that Robert Scott may not continue to ill use him and that his grievances may be redressed—if not that the indentures may be given up to be cancelled and such part of the premium returned as to you shall seem meet— And [I] will ever be most truly thankful.⁷²

Of course, apprentices were not always industrious or sober, and the custom of living in close proximity to their master's family sometimes led to inappropriate liaisons. Four years after accepting Edward Ryan as his apprentice, the organ builder Joseph Beloudy, for instance, petitioned the Middlesex Sessions to terminate Ryan's contract, stating that:

Your petitioner's said apprentice has conducted himself in a very idle and improper manner for these two years last past by getting intoxicated behaving insolent & otherwise and your Petitioner has several times found Gin and Spirituous liquors in measures in the apprentice's bed Room.—

That the said Apprentice is now between 17 and 18 years of age That he has got your petitioner's daughter with child who is a Girl just turned of 14 years of age and that she is supposed to be near 4 Months gone in her pregnancy That she is the only Daughter your petitioner has unmarried and at home and which is a very great detriment and disgrace to your petitioner and his family. That the said apprentice was found under the Bed of your petitioners said Daughter without his cloathes about one o'clk on Sunday Morning the 9th instant when your Petitioner's daughter was in Bed and is supposed to have got through the Window of her Bed room at different times since the connection took place as [the] s^d apprentice's Bed & where he slept was in a Back Building or Shop detached from your petitioner's dwelling house—That the said apprentice on being detected immediately absconded and in the afternoon of the s^d Sunday your petitioner's daughter

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



contrived to make her escape from your petitioner's dwelling house and was found harbored together with the said apprentice at the lodgings of his father where they had been together all night as has been acknowledged.—

That the said apprentice and his father behaved very ill and very much abused and ill treated your petitioner when he went to take his daughter away which he did and now has her at home.—That the said Apprentice said he would force your petitioner to find him another Master as did also his father. That on the said apprentice being taken before the Magistrates at Bow Street he did not deny but even acknowledged that he had had connection with your petitioner's daughter but he then offered to marry her which your petitioner is not agreeable to as he has no means of supporting a wife and family.⁷³

CONCLUSION

It is possible to draw a number of initial conclusions from this study. In particular, the Proceedings of the Old Bailey and the Middlesex Sessions of the Peace records underline the 'normality' of musical instrument makers: they suffered bankruptcy, were victims of crime and sometimes fell down drunk in the street. Furthermore, these sources not only show that some workshops had the traditional structure of master–journeyman–apprentice, but they also provide some insight into the control and behavioural expectations (fulfilled and otherwise) of apprentices and the formal terms of apprenticeship agreements. Traditional organological studies that concentrate on the instruments themselves are necessarily reliant on makers' inscriptions, which are generally those of the master in charge of the workshop. In contrast, these documents emphasize the complex relationships between suppliers, workers, makers and retailers, structures not generally discernible from surviving instruments. Besides providing us with a few names of suppliers of raw materials, these sources also document the fact that at least one music shop made use of the putting-out system and that considerably more people were involved in the manufacture of musical instruments than was previously supposed.

APPENDIX 1

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF TRIALS RELATING TO MUSICAL INSTRUMENT BUILDERS, FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE OLD BAILEY, THE GAOL DELIVERY SESSIONS AT THE OLD BAILEY AND THE MIDDLESEX SESSIONS OF THE PEACE c1750–1810

Abbreviations:

Old Bailey = Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<www.oldbaileyonline.org.uk>, consulted 13 January 2004)
LMA: MSP = London Metropolitan Archives: Middlesex Session of the Peace

2 May 1753: James Hanson indicted for stealing two pewter plates, one brass candlestick and one copper saucepan, the property of Stephen Scott; John Hanson (French horn and trumpet maker) indicted for receiving stolen goods; both found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17530502-34)

⁷³ LMA, Middlesex Sessions, MJ/SP/1800/02/007. Perhaps not surprisingly, the court ruled in Beloudy's favour, ordering that Ryan be 'absolutely discharged' from his apprenticeship (see LMA, Middlesex Sessions, MJ/SP/1800/02/019, 17 February 1800).



- 3 June 1756: Mary Durrant, wife of the harpsichord maker Jos. Durrant, indicted for stealing one silver spoon, the property of Richard Barnard; found not guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17560603-7)
- 3 June 1756: Mary Brangham and Elizabeth Buckhurst indicted for stealing one silver watch, the property of Edward West (organ builder of Leather Lane); both found guilty of a lesser offence (Old Bailey ref: t17560603-13)
- 26 October 1757: Sarah Cross (spinster, aged 11) indicted for stealing a purse containing a Portugal piece of gold value 36s, 1 half guinea and 13 shillings from Anthony Balendine (maker of musical instruments); found not guilty (Old Bailey, t17571026-26)
- 1760: Richard Magsome, Samuel Feltham and others indicted for riot and assault by Nathan Winanff; Charles Schuchart (musical instrument maker of Chandos Street), Henry Tonkes (peruke maker), William Frost (tailor) and Jeremiah Petitt (victualler) stand bail; verdict not known (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1760/A/048)
- January 1761: Adolph Hummell (gentleman) and Jacob Trippells (musical instrument maker), both of St Ann, Westminster, are released from a prosecution by Rudolphe Straube (musician of St Martin-in-the-Fields) (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1761/01/028)
- 1762: William Oakman (musical instrument maker of Ayre Street, Cold Bath Fields) indicted on the prosecution of Elizabeth Brown for an assault; Samuel Price (peruke maker) and John Thorp (glazier), also of Cold Bath Fields, stand bail; verdict not known (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1762/10/015)
- September 1762: Benjamin Rushton prosecuted by John Holditch; John Grosman (gentleman of St Ann, Soho) and Joseph Hill (musical instrument maker of Pall Mall) stand bail (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1762/09/016)
- April 1763: Valentine Morgan prosecuted by John Pescott [*sic*] and his wife, Mary; George England (organ builder of Woods Close, St James Clerkenwell) and William Davies (dealer and chapman of the same address) stand bail; verdict not known (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1763/04/017)
- May 1764: William Barrot (apprentice to John Crang) indicted for the theft of an iron chain, the property of John Crang (organ builder); found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17640502-31)
- 9 April 1766: Anne Goodman indicted for stealing a silver watch, the property of John Irvior (organ builder of Little Wyld Street); the court heard witness statements from John Irvior and Adam Fulner (organ builder) only; found not guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17660409-4)
- 26 November 1766: John Raby (musical instrument maker of Burleigh Street, Strand) makes a statement in the case against James Poynton, accused of stealing money from Henry Leatherby's house in Denmark Street (LMA: Gaol Delivery Sessions at the Old Bailey, OB/SP/1766/12/013)
- 1 September 1767: John McDonald, William Smith and William White (all of Benjamin Street, Cow Cross) are released from prosecution by Robert Hallett (wind instrument maker of White Horse Alley, Cow Cross) (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1767/09/045)
- 5 April 1769: John Lane (employee of John Hitchcock) indicted for stealing three planes, one iron vice and two screw plates, the property of John Hitchcock (spinet and harpsichord maker of Fetter Lane); Hannah Sherman, testifies to being the wife of William Sherman, 'who works with Mr. Hitchcock'; found part guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17690405-32)
- 21 February 1770: Matthew Martin indicted for the theft of various items of silverware (including 5 teaspoons, a pint mug, a marrow spoon and a pair of tea tongs), the property of Richard Potter (musical instrument maker of Pemberton Row, Gough Square); witnesses include Mary Hudson (servant to Richard Potter); convicted of a lesser offence (Old Bailey ref: t17700221-37)
- 15 May 1771: Nathaniel Bailey, otherwise Bailiss, John Murphy and Charles Ibbert (incorrectly transcribed as Charles Robert in the heading and several times in the main text at <www.oldbaileyonline.org>) indicted for the theft of various amounts of cloth, the property of Thomas Stevenson; Ibbert is described as 'apprentice to a harpsichord maker'; found part guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17710515-9)
- 23 October 1771: Frederick Wilkie indicted for the murder of John Snoakes; one of the witnesses for the defence was Adam Byer (organ builder of Compton Street, Soho); found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17711023-41)



- April 1772: Lewis Rossi and William Bully indicted on the prosecution of William Farrelle for assault; Charles Bruce (carver of Great James Street, St George the Martyr) and William Baxter (organ builder of Peter Street, St Ann, Soho) stand bail; verdict not known (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1772/04/004)
- December 1773: Anthony and Jane Whitewood indicted for assaulting Joseph Hughes; Robert Falkener (harpsichord maker of Salisbury Court, Fleet Street) and John Lincoln (organ maker of Fisher Street, St George the Martyr) stand bail; verdict not known (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1773/12/037)
- 9 December 1773: Robert Falkener (harpsichord maker of Salisbury Court, Fleet Street) states that William Frankland, who is charged with shooting Thomas Miller of Hammersmith, is insane and unfit for trial (LMA: Gaol Delivery Sessions at the Old Bailey, OB/SP/1773/12/022)
- 12 January 1774: William Frankland indicted for breaking the peace and assault; witnesses include Robert Falkener (harpsichord maker of Salisbury Court, Fleet Street); found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17740112-23)
- 12 January 1774: John Norton indicted for the theft of seven German flutes, the property of James Longman and Charles Lukey; witnesses include James Wheeler (flute shop keeper of High Holborn) and Robert Worland (instrument maker); found part guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17740112-54)
- 15 September 1774: Jane and Anthony Whitewood indicted on the prosecution of Peter King and Joseph Hughes for two assaults; Robert Falkener (harpsichord maker of Salisbury Court, London) testifies that he stood bail for the defendants but now cannot find them (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1774/09/040)
- 27 April 1775: James Ball, apprentice to Charles Vercoe (harpsichord maker), petitions to be released from his apprenticeship; notice is given for the hearing (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1775/04/037)
- May 1775: John Clayton and Elizabeth Dickinson indicted for assault by Benjamin Evans; Nicholas Beckman (harpsichord maker of Little Russell Court) and Timothy Essex (scrivener of Little Bridge Street, Covent Garden) stand bail; verdict not known (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1775/05/029)
- 31 May 1775: Joseph Johnson indicted for assault by Edward Dillon; James Taylor (victualler of West Smithfield, St Sepulchre) and Thomas Young (harpsichord maker of Hosier Lane, St Sepulchre) stand bail; verdict not known (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1775/05/017)
- May 1776: John Glaister indicted for assault by Edward Price; William Stevenson (peruke maker of St Ann, Soho) and Dodo Tollner (organ builder of Church Street, St Ann, Soho) stand bail; verdict not known (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1776/05/018)
- October 1778: John Dodsworth, Francis Venixel and Arnold Morton prosecuted for a conspiracy by Bartholomew Dominiceli; Robert Gray (organ builder of Leigh Street, Red Lion Square) and William Chaplin (organ builder of St Johns Lane, Clerkenwell) stand bail; verdict not known (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1778/10/005)
- 18 January 1779: Edward Baugh (glazier of King Street, Drury Lane, St Giles in the Fields) releases John Dickson (musical instrument maker of Well Street, St Marylebone); George Napper (of Benjamin Street, St Sepulchre) witnesses the release (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1779/02/026)
- 15 September 1779: John Barker indicted for the murder of William Conway; witnesses include Peter Gauden (harpsichord maker) and William Sherman (probably employee of the harpsichord maker John Hitchcock – see trial on 5 April 1769); found not guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17790915-68)
- 10 May 1780: William Lessingham (tambour maker of Field Lane) and Peter Brown (in the second regiment, of Princes Street, Westminster) indicted for theft with violence; witnesses include Robert Harris (flute maker of Turnmill Street, Clerkenwell); both found not guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17800510-40)
- December 1782: John Pierce (labourer of Pulteney Street, St James, Westminster) and Margaret (his wife) release George Phillips (peruke maker of Great Pulteney Court) after an assault; John Schultz (organ builder of Monmouth Street) witnesses the release (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1782/12/012)
- 21 April 1784: Patrick Birmingham and Samuel Hall indicted for burglary by Robert Gray (organ builder of Dean Street, Red Lion Square); witnesses include Mary Harrow (Gray's servant); both found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17840421-14)



- 21 April 1784: John Pettitt and John Ayres indicted for burglary by William Bailey (flute maker of 42 St Martin-le-Grand); witnesses include James Amplin (?apprentice to William Bailey); both convicted of a lesser offence (Old Bailey ref: t17840421-23)
- 7 July 1784: Mary Hawkins indicted for theft by Thomas Bradford (professor of music, probably the same person who was in partnership with Culliford & Rolfe from 1784 to 1789); found not guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17840707-57)
- 8 December 1784: William Giles indicted for theft with violence by William Bailey (musical instrument maker); found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17841208-14)
- 11 May 1785: Edward Johnson (employee of John Geib) indicted for the theft of fifty-nine and a half yards of green silk, the property of John Geib (described as a 'mathematical instrument maker' but generally regarded as a piano maker); witnesses include Charles Drake (testifies to having originally supplied the silk to Longman and Broderip); convicted of a lesser offence (Old Bailey ref: t17850511-14)
- 19 October 1785: Thomas Band (workman employed by Edward and John Pistor) indicted for the theft of ten pounds of 'old brass', value 5s, the property of the organ builders Edward and John Pistor; found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17851019-39)
- 11 January 1786: John Darby indicted for breaking and entering the house of William Gosling and stealing various items (including one wooden stock with twelve iron bits, an iron screw driver and twelve brass handles for 'hand organs'), the property of the organ builders John and Edward Pistor, plus a number of tools (including three iron saws and a screw driver), the property of Valentine Fryer (an employee of John and Edward Pistor); found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17860111-33)
- 14 January 1786: John Randall, Henry Abrahams and Fanney (his wife), Philip Davis and Phebe (his wife) indicted by John and Edward Pistor (organ builders of Leadenhall Street) and Valentine Fryer for receiving stolen goods from John Darby; notice of trial (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1786/01/058)
- 16 January 1786: William Pool (gent of 3 Castle Street, Oxford Market) is bound over to keep the peace; Edward Pistor (organ builder of Leadenhall Street) and Daniel Quere (carver and guilder of Houndsditch) stand bail for £20 each (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1786/01/045)
- July 1786: [—] Clauss (musical instrument maker of Gerrard Street, Soho), [—] Brawns (tailor of Broad Street, Carnaby Market) and Henry Walter (bookbinder of Castle Court, Chandois Street) are bound over to keep the peace towards Joseph Levy (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1786/07/032)
- 14 July 1787: Thomas Saxton (Little White Lion Street, St Giles in the Fields) is released from a charge of assault by William Flight (victualler of St Pancras); John Avery (organ builder of John Street, Tottenham Court Road) witnesses the release (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1787/07/087)
- 12 December 1787: William Martin and Benjamin Williams indicted for theft; witnesses include Samuel Allen (servant to the harpsichord maker Thomas Culliford); Martin found guilty, Williams found not guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17871212-21)
- 27 February 1788: James Jones, otherwise James Sandy, indicted for the theft of a guinea, the property of James Longman and Francis Broderip; witnesses include Francis Broderip (musical instrument maker of the Haymarket) and Joseph Serle (employee in Broderip's shop in the Haymarket); found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17880227-1)
- 14 January 1789: John Griffiths (porter to the harpsichord makers Culliford, Rolfe and Bradford) indicted for the theft of seven pieces of ivory, the property of Thomas Culliford, William Rolfe and Thomas Bradford; witnesses include Culliford and Rolfe, James Stevenson (carpenter and foreman to the prosecutor) and [Thomas] Fonteloy [Fautleroy] (ivory supplier of [Tooley Street], Potter's Fields); found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17890114-7)
- 8 July 1789: Mary Flannighan indicted for the theft of a violin, value £3 6s, the property of Henrietta Morrison (musical instrument dealer of Church Lane, Whitechapel); found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17890708-43)
- 28 October 1789: Thomas Hewett [sawyer] indicted for stealing 250 feet of one-inch thick lime boards value 31s and 380 feet of three-quarter-inch thick lime boards value 65s, the property of John Broadwood



- (harpsichord and piano maker); according to the testimony of Broadwood, Hewett had been employed to saw the wood; found not guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17891028-43)
- 8 December 1790: John Tull indicted for theft of various seals, total value 12s, and a violin (described as having a 'grinning head' and 'a bit of brass on the back'), value 14s, the property of John Wilde (second hand music shop keeper of Saville Passage, Saville Row); found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17901208-46)
- 15 January 1791: William Stephenson, defendant; John Goldsworth (musical instrument maker of Francis Street, Tottenham Court Road) and John Grub (coach carver of 12 Francis Street) stand bail; verdict not known (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1791/01/019)
- 16 February 1791: Daniel Hopkins indicted for theft; witnesses include John Hayman (carpenter and organ builder of 25 Leman Pond) who carried the trunk of stolen property while 'very much in liquor'; found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17910216-40)
- 18 July 1791: Thomas Barker (vintner of Islington) releases John King (organ builder of Collier Street, St James, Clerkenwell); George Brown witnesses the release (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1791/07/060)
- September 1793: Benjamin Hart indicted for receiving a stolen French pedal harp, the property of James Longman and Francis Broderip; the recognizances should have been sent to Westminster Sessions, not to Middlesex; Hart eventually acquitted (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1793/09/047)
- 5 June 1794: John Betts indicted on the prosecution of Charles Kelly; Thomas Dodd (musical instrument maker of 11 New Street, Covent Garden) and James Byrne (shoemaker of 265 High Holborn) stand bail; verdict not known (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1794/06/007)
- 5 June 1794: John Betts indicted on the prosecution of Frances Gough; Thomas Dodd (musical instrument maker of 11 New Street, Covent Garden) and James Byrne (shoemaker of 265 High Holborn) stand bail; verdict not known (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1794/06/008)
- 1 July 1795: Sarah Pine indicted for shoplifting; witnesses include James Amber, who testifies that he lives in Whitecross Street, opposite Mr Lewis (organ builder and turner); convicted of a lesser offence (Old Bailey ref: t17950701-62)
- 2 December 1795: Lockey Hill (musical instrument maker) indicted for horse stealing; found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17951202-53)
- 6 April 1796: Richard Geast (tuner employed by James Longman and Francis Broderip) indicted for the theft of two pianos (value £10 and £8), a spinet (value £3), a violin (value 16s) and five violin bows (value 18s), the property of Longman and Broderip; since Longman and Broderip were declared bankrupt on 25 May 1795, the prosecution was brought by the assignees: William Blake, William Bloxam, Josiah Banger, Muzio Clementi and John Wood; witnesses include David Davies (superintendent of the works of Longman and Broderip and manager of the affairs of the assignees), Samuel Allen (employee of Messrs Ellison and Oakley, who made instruments for Longman and Broderip, and probably the servant to Thomas Culliford), William Phillips (music seller of Manor Row, Tower Hill), William Figgs (?employee of Longman and Broderip, who worked in Mr Longman's wareroom), Thomas Baskerville (porter and packer at Longman's warehouse, Fountain Court, Cheapside) and Henry Holland (organ builder employed by Longman and Broderip); found guilty of stealing the piano (value £8) only (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-83)
- 6 April 1796: William Gater (organ builder employed by James Longman and Francis Broderip) indicted for the theft of a piano, value £12, the property of Longman and Broderip; since Longman and Broderip were declared bankrupt on 25 May 1795 the prosecution was brought by the assignees: William Blake, William Bloxam, Josiah Banger, Muzio Clementi and John Wood; witnesses include David Davies (superintendent of the works of Longman and Broderip and manager of the affairs of the assignees) and Henry Holland (organ builder employed by Longman and Broderip); found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-84)
- 6 April 1796: John Bates (musician and musical instrument seller) indicted for the theft of a piano, value £10, the property of James Longman and Francis Broderip; since Longman and Broderip were declared bankrupt on 25 May 1795 the prosecution was brought by the assignees: William Blake, William Bloxam,



- Josiah Banger, Muzio Clementi and John Wood; the witnesses include David Davies (superintendent of the works of Longman and Broderip and manager of the affairs of the assignees), Henry Holland (organ builder employed by Longman and Broderip), Thomas Baskerville (porter and packer at Longman's warehouse, Fountain Court, Cheapside) and Thomas Young (harpsichord and piano maker of Old Street Road, former employee of Longman and Broderip); found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-85)
- 12 July 1797: Henry Gray indicted for pickpocketing by John Avery (organ builder); found not guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17970712-15)
- 12 July 1797: Henry Gray indicted for pickpocketing by John Avery (organ builder of 'St Martin's Church Yard, Westminster'⁷⁴); found guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17970712-70)
- 20 September 1797: Joseph Robson (organ builder) indicted for the theft of various tools and two mahogany mouldings, the property of John Avery (organ builder); witnesses include James White and Thomas Flewin (two of Avery's journeymen), Joseph Buck and Thomas Craile (two former employees of John Avery), as well as the organ builders John Preson [*sic*], John Wright and Thomas Gibson (who proved the custom of lending tools to the journeymen to take home with them); found not guilty (Old Bailey ref: t17970920-67)
- 23 February 1799: for John [?Manby], defendant; [—ends in ?cel] (violin maker [of ?17 ?—well Street]) and He[nr]y Rowland (Gent of 4 Peters Street, Clerkenwell) stand bail; verdict not known; document badly torn with sections missing (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1799/02/016)
- 8 April 1799: Rebecca, wife of James Stewart, accused of assault by Eleanor, wife of John Callanan; John Husbands (musical instrument maker of 19 Virginia Street, Ratcliff Highway) and John Mills (broker of 34 New Gravel Lane, Shadwell) stand bail; verdict not known (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1799/04/019)
- February 1800: Joseph Beloudy (organ builder of Pentonville) appeals to have his apprentice, Edward Ryan, son of William Ryan (St George, Bloomsbury) discharged (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1800/02/007)
- 17 February 1800: Joseph Beloudy (organ builder of Pentonville) orders that his apprentice, Edward Ryan, son of William Ryan (St George, Bloomsbury) be discharged (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1800/02/019)
- June 1809: John Sergeant, senior, petitions against Thomas Scott (musical instrument maker of 17 Holborn) and Robert Scott his brother (a ship's carpenter), apprentice masters to John Sergeant, junior (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1809/06/002)

APPENDIX 2

MUSICAL INSTRUMENT PERSONALIA

* indicates musical instrument makers not recorded in the standard published texts
For further detail of the cases in question, see Appendix 1.

- Allen, Samuel (servant to the harpsichord maker Thomas Culliford, soldier in the Somerset Militia and one-time employee of the musical instrument makers Ellison and Oakley): witness in the trial of William Martin, 12 December 1787 (Old Bailey ref: t17871212-21); witness in the trial of Richard Geast, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-83)
- Amplin, James* (? apprentice to the flute maker William Bailey): witness in the trial of John Pettitt and John Ayres, 21 April 1784 (Old Bailey ref: t17840421-23)
- Avery, John (organ builder of John Street, Tottenham Court Road): witnesses the release of Thomas Saxton, 14 July 1787 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1787/07/087); prosecutor in the trial of Henry Gray, 12 July 1797 (Old Bailey ref: t17970712-15 and t17970712-70); prosecutor in the trial of one of his workmen, Joseph Robson, 20 September 1797 (Old Bailey ref: t17970920-67)

74 This is probably a scribal error, since Avery's premises were at this time situated in St Margaret's Church Yard.



- Bailey, William* (musical instrument maker / flute maker of St Martin's le Grand): prosecutor in the trial of John Pettitt and John Ayres, 21 April 1784 (Old Bailey ref: t17840421-23); prosecutor in the trial of William Giles, 8 December 1784 (Old Bailey ref: t17841208-14)
- Balentine, Anthony* (maker of instruments of music): prosecutor in the trial of Sarah Cross, 26 October 1757 (Old Bailey ref: t17571026-26)
- Ball, James (apprentice to the harpsichord maker Charles Vercoe): petitions to be released from his apprenticeship, 27 April 1775 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1775/04/037)
- Band, Thomas* (workman to the organ builders Edward and John Pistor): indicted for theft, 19 October 1785 (Old Bailey ref: t17851019-39)
- Barrot, William* (apprentice to the organ builder John Crang): indicted for theft, 2 May 1764 (Old Bailey ref: t17640502-31)
- Baskerville, Thomas (porter and packer to Longman and Broderip): witness in the trial of John Bates, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-85); witness in the trial of Richard Geast, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-83)
- Bates, John* (musician and musical instrument seller): indicted for theft, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-85)
- Baxter, William (organ builder of Peter Street, St Ann, Soho): stood bail in the trial of Lewis Rossi and William Bully, April 1772 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1772/04/004)
- Beckman, Nicholas* (harpsichord maker of Little Russell Court): stood bail in the trial of John Clayton and Elizabeth Dickinson, May 1775 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1775/05/029)
- Beloudy, Joseph (organ builder of Pentonville): appeal to have his apprentice Edward Ryan discharged, February 1800 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1800/02/007); order for his apprentice Edward Ryan to be discharged, 17 February 1800 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1800/02/019)
- Betts, John: indicted on the prosecutions of Charles Kelly and Frances Gough, 5 June 1794 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1794/06/007 and LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1794/06/008)
- Bradford, Thomas (harpsichord maker): prosecutor in the trial of Mary Hawkins, 7 July 1784 (Old Bailey ref: t17840707-57); prosecutor (does not testify, probably because he was living in Jamaica) with Thomas Culliford and William Rolfe in the trial of John Griffiths, 14 January 1789 (Old Bailey ref: t17890114-7)
- Broadwood, John (harpsichord and piano maker): prosecutor in the trial of one of his workmen, Thomas Hewett, 28 October 1789 (Old Bailey ref: t17891028-43)
- Broderip, Francis Fane (musical instrument maker, declared bankrupt 25 May 1795): cited incidentally with James Longman in the trial of William Martin and Benjamin Williams, 12 December 1787 (Old Bailey ref: t17871212-21); prosecutor with James Longman in the trial of James Jones, otherwise James Sandy, 27 February 1788 (Old Bailey ref: t17880227-1); prosecutor with James Longman in the trial of Benjamin Hart, September 1793 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1793/09/047); prosecutor (does not testify) with James Longman and assignees in the trial of William Gater, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-84); prosecutor (does not testify) with James Longman and assignees in the trial of one of his workmen, John Bates, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-85); prosecutor (does not testify) with James Longman and assignees in the trial of one of his workmen, Richard Geast, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-83)
- Buck, Joseph* (labourer to the organ builder Henry Holland): witness in the trial of Joseph Robson, 20 September 1797 (Old Bailey ref: t17970920-67)
- Byer, Adam (organ builder): witness for the defence in the trial of Frederick Wilkie, 23 October 1771 (Old Bailey ref: t17711023-41)
- Chaplin, William* (organ builder of St Johns Lane, Clerkenwell): stood bail with Robert Gray in the trial of John Dodsworth, Francis Venixel and Arnold Morton, October 1778 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1778/10/005)
- Clauss, [—] (musical instrument maker of Gerrard Street, Soho): bound over to keep the peace towards Joseph Levy, July 1786 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1786/07/032)
- Clementi, Muzio (musician and assignee of Longman and Broderip): prosecutor (does not testify) with James Longman and Francis Broderip, together with the other assignees in the trial of William Gater,



- 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-84); prosecutor (does not testify) with James Longman and Francis Broderip, together with the other assignees in the trial of John Bates, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-85); prosecutor (does not testify) with James Longman and Francis Broderip, together with the other assignees in the trial of Richard Geast, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-83)
- Craile, Thomas* (workman to the organ builder John Avery): witness in the trial of Joseph Robson, 20 September 1797 (Old Bailey ref: t17970920-67)
- Crang, John (organ builder): prosecutor in the trial of his apprentice, William Barrot, 2 May 1764 (Old Bailey ref: t17640502-31)
- Culliford, Thomas (harpsichord maker): cited incidentally in the trial of William Martin and Benjamin Williams, 12 December 1787 (Old Bailey ref: t17871212-21); prosecutor with William Rolfe and Thomas Bradford in the trial of his porter, John Griffiths, 14 January 1789 (Old Bailey ref: t17890114-7)
- Davies, David (manager or superintendent for Longman and Broderip and their assignees): witness in the trial of William Gater, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-84); witness in the trial of John Bates, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-85); witness in the trial of Richard Geast, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-83)
- Dickson, John* (musical instrument maker of Well Street, St Marylebone): released from prosecution by Edward Baugh, 18 January 1779 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1779/02/026)
- Dodd, Thomas (musical instrument maker of 11 New Street, Covent Garden): stood bail in the trial of John Betts, 5 June 1794 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1794/06/007 and LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1794/06/008)
- Drake, Charles (supplier of silk to Longman and Broderip): witness in the trial of Edward Johnson, 11 May 1785 (Old Bailey ref: t17850511-14)
- Dur(r)ant, Jos[eph] or Jos[iah]* (harpsichord maker): cited incidentally in the trial of his wife, Mary Dur(r)ant, 3 June 1756 (Old Bailey ref: t17560603-7)
- Ellison, Mr* (musical instrument maker and supplier to Longman and Broderip of Fountain Court): cited incidentally with (his partner) Oakley in the trial of Richard Geast, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-83)
- England, George (organ builder of Woods Close, St James, Clerkenwell): stood bail in the trial of Valentine Morgan, April 1763 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1763/04/017)
- Falkener, Robert (harpsichord maker and music printer of Salisbury Court, Fleet Street): stood bail, with the organ builder John Lincoln, in the trial of Anthony and Jane Whitewood, December 1773 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1773/12/037); states that William Frankland is insane and unfit for trial, 9 December 1773 (LMA: Gaol Delivery Sessions at the Old Bailey, OB/SP/1773/12/022); witness in the trial of William Frankland, 12 January 1774 (Old Bailey ref: t17740112-23); testifies in the trial of Jane and Anthony Whitewood, 15 September 1774 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1774/09/040)
- Figgs, William (?employee of Longman and Broderip): witness in the trial of Richard Geast, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-83)
- Flewin, Thomas* (journeyman to the organ builder John Avery): witness in the trial of Joseph Robson, 20 September 1797 (Old Bailey ref: t17970920-67)
- Flight, [Benjamin or William] (organ builder): cited incidentally in the trial of Edward Johnson, 11 May 1785 (Old Bailey ref: t17850511-14)
- Fauntleroy, Mr (dealer in hardwood and ivory; supplier to the harpsichord maker Thomas Culliford): witness in the trial of John Griffiths, 14 January 1789 (Old Bailey ref: t17890114-7)
- Fryer, Valentine* (workman to the organ builders John and Edward Pistor): witness in the trial of John Darby, 11 January 1786 (Old Bailey ref: t17860111-33)
- Fulner, Adam* (organ builder): witness in the trial of Anne Goodman, 9 April 1766 (Old Bailey ref: t17660409-4)
- Gater, William* (one-time organ builder to Longman and Broderip): indicted for the theft of a piano, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-84)



- Gauden, Peter* (harpsichord maker): witness in the trial of John Barker, 15 September 1779 (Old Bailey ref: t17790915-68)
- Geast, Richard (tuner for Longman and Broderip): indicted for theft, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-83)
- Geib, John (mathematical instrument maker, generally considered a piano maker, employee of Mr Longman & Co): prosecutor in the trial of an employee, Edward Johnson, 11 May 1785 (Old Bailey ref: t17850511-14); may be the maker of the piano stolen in t17960406-85, referred to as 'Gib' (see John Bates case, 6 April 1796)
- Gibson, Thomas* (organ builder): proved the custom of lending tools to journeymen in the trial of Joseph Robson, indicted for theft, 20 September 1797 (Old Bailey ref: t17970920-67)
- Goldsworth, John (musical instrument maker of Francis Street, Tottenham Court Road): stood bail in the trial of William Stephenson, 15 January 1791 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1791/01/019)
- Gray, Robert (organ builder of Leigh Street, Red Lion Square): stood bail with William Chaplin in the trial of John Dodsworth, Francis Venixel and Arnold Morton, October 1778 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1778/10/005); prosecutor in the trial of Patrick Birmingham and Samuel Hall, 21 April 1784 (Old Bailey ref: t17840421-14)
- Griffiths, John (porter to the harpsichord makers Culliford, Rolfe and Bradford): indicted for theft, 14 January 1789 (Old Bailey ref: t17890114-7)
- Hallett, Robert* (wind instrument maker of White Horse Alley, Cow Cross)⁷⁵: releases John McDonald, William Smith and William White from prosecution, 1 September 1767 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1767/09/045)
- Hanson, John (French horn and trumpet maker): indicted for receiving stolen goods, 2 May 1753 (Old Bailey ref: t17530502-34)
- Harrow, Mary (servant to the organ builder Robert Gray): witness in the trial of Patrick Birmingham and Samuel Hall, 21 April 1784 (Old Bailey ref: t17840421-14)
- Harris, Robert (flute maker of Turnmill Street, Clerkenwell): witness in the trial of William Lessingham and Peter Brown, 10 May 1780 (Old Bailey ref: t17800510-40)
- Hayman, John* (carpenter and organ builder of 25 Leman Pond): witness in the trial of Daniel Hopkins, 16 February 1791 (Old Bailey ref: t17910216-40)
- Hewett, Thomas (one-time sawyer to the harpsichord and piano maker John Broadwood): indicted for theft, 28 October 1789 (Old Bailey ref: t17891028-43)
- Hill, Joseph (musical instrument maker of Pall Mall): stood bail for Benjamin Rushton, September 1762 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1762/09/016)
- Hill, Lockey (musical instrument maker): indicted for horse stealing, 2 December 1795 (Old Bailey ref: t17951202-53)
- Hitchcock, John (harpsichord and spinet maker of Fetter Lane): prosecutor in the trial of one of his workmen, John Lane, 5 April 1769 (Old Bailey ref: t17690405-32)
- Holland, Henry (organ builder to Longman and Broderip): witness in the trials of William Gater and John Bates, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-84 and t17960406-85); cited incidentally in the trial of Joseph Robson, 20 September 1797 (Old Bailey ref: t17970920-67); witness in the trial of Richard Geast, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-83)
- Hudson, Mary (servant to the musical instrument maker Richard Potter): witness in the trial of Matthew Martin, 21 February 1770 (Old Bailey ref: t17700221-37)
- Husbands, John* (musical instrument maker of 19 Virginia Street, Ratcliff Highway): stood bail in the trial of Rebecca, wife of James Stewart, 08 April 1799 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1799/04/019)
- Ibbert, Charles* (apprentice to a harpsichord maker): indicted for theft, 15 May 1771 (Old Bailey ref: t17710515-9)
- Irvior, John* (organ builder of Little Wyld Street): prosecutor in the trial of Anne Goodman, 9 April 1766 (Old Bailey ref: t17660409-4)

75 probably related to Benjamin Hallett; see William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 158.



- Johnson, Edward* (one-time workman to the organ builder [Benjamin or William] Flight and later the piano maker John Geib): indicted for theft, 11 May 1785 (Old Bailey ref: t17850511-14)
- King, John (organ builder of Collier Street, St James, Clerkenwell): released from prosecution by Thomas Barker, 18 July 1791 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1791/07/060)
- Lane, John* (one-time workman to the harpsichord maker John Hitchcock and soldier in the third regiment of guards): indicted for theft, 5 April 1769 (Old Bailey ref: t17690405-32)
- Lewis, Mr (organ builder and turner): cited incidentally in the trial of Sarah Pine, 1 July 1795 (Old Bailey ref: t17950701-62)
- Lessingham, William (tambour maker of Field Lane): indicted with Peter Brown for theft with violence, 10 May 1780 (Old Bailey ref: t17800510-40)
- Lincoln, John (organ builder of Fisher Street, St George the Martyr): stood bail in the trial of Anthony and Jane Whitewood, December 1773 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1773/12/037)
- Longman, James (music shopkeeper and musical instrument seller, declared bankrupt 25 May 1795): prosecutor with Charles Lukey in the trial of John Norton, 12 January 1774 (Old Bailey ref: t17740112-54); cited incidentally with Francis Broderip in the trial of William Martin, 12 December 1787 (Old Bailey ref: t17871212-21); prosecutor (does not testify) with Francis Broderip in the trial of James Jones, otherwise James Sandy, 27 February 1788 (Old Bailey ref: t17880227-1); prosecutor with Francis Broderip in the trial of Benjamin Hart, September 1793 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1793/09/047); cited incidentally in the trial of Lockey Hill (musical instrument maker), 2 December 1795 (The Proceedings of the Old Bailey ref: t17951202-53); prosecutor (does not testify) with Francis Broderip and assignees in the trials of William Gater and John Bates, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-84 and ref: t17960406-85); prosecutor (does not testify) with Francis Broderip and assignees in the trial of Richard Geast, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-83)
- Lukey, Charles (music shopkeeper and musical instrument seller): prosecutor (does not testify) with James Longman in the trial of John Norton, 12 January 1774 (Old Bailey ref: t17740112-54)
- Morrison, Henrietta (dealer in musical instruments): prosecutor in the trial of Mary Flannighan, 8 July 1789 (Old Bailey ref: t17890708-43)
- Oakley, Mr* (musical instrument maker and supplier to Longman and Broderip): cited incidentally with (his partner) Ellison in the trial of Richard Geast, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-83)
- Oakman, William* (musical instrument maker of Ayre Street, Cold Bath Fields): indicted for assault by Elizabeth Brown, 1762 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1762/10/015)
- Phillips, William (music seller): witness in the trial of Richard Geast, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-83)
- Pistor, Edward (organ builder of Leadenhall Street): prosecutor with John Pistor in the trial of one of their workmen, Thomas Band, 19 October 1785 (Old Bailey ref: t17851019-39); prosecutor (does not testify) with John Pistor in the trial of John Darby, 11 January 1786 (Old Bailey ref: t17860111-33); prosecutor with John Pistor in the trial of John Randall, Henry Abrahams and Fanny (his wife), Philip Davis and Phebe (his wife), 14 January 1786 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1786/01/058); stood bail in the trial of William Pool, 16 January 1786 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1786/01/045)
- Pistor, John (organ builder of Leadenhall Street): prosecutor (does not testify) with Edward Pistor in the trial of one of their workmen, Thomas Band, 19 October 1785 (Old Bailey ref: t17851019-39); prosecutor with Edward Pistor in the trial of John Darby, 11 January 1786 (Old Bailey ref: t17860111-33); prosecutor with Edward Pistor in the trial of John Randall, Henry Abrahams and Fanny (his wife), Philip Davis and Phebe (his wife), 14 January 1786 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1786/01/058)
- Potter, Richard (musical instrument maker of Pemberton Row, Gough Square): prosecutor in the trial of Matthew Martin, 21 February 1770 (Old Bailey ref: t17700221-37)
- Preson [*sic*], John (organ builder): proved the custom of lending tools to journeymen in the trial of Joseph Robson, 20 September 1797 (Old Bailey ref: t17970920-67)



- Raby, John* (musical instrument maker of Burleigh Street, Strand): makes statement in trial of James Poynton, 26 November 1766 (LMA: Gaol Delivery Sessions at the Old Bailey, OB/SP/1766/12/013)
- Robson, Joseph (organ builder): indicted for theft, 20 September 1797 (Old Bailey ref: t17970920-67)
- Rolfe, William (harpsichord maker): prosecutor with Thomas Culliford and Thomas Bradford in the trial of John Griffiths, 14 January 1789 (Old Bailey ref: t17890114-7)
- Ryan, Edward (apprentice to the organ builder Joseph Beloudy): appeal by Joseph Beloudy for him to be discharged, February 1800 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1800/02/007); order for him to be discharged as an apprentice of Joseph Beloudy, 17 February 1800 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1800/02/019)
- Schuchart, Charles (musical instrument maker of Chandos Street): stood bail in the trial of Richard Magsome, Samuel Feltham and others, 1760 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1760/A/048)
- Schultz, John (organ builder of Monmouth Street): witnesses the release of George Philips, December 1782 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1782/12/012)
- Scott, Thomas (musical instrument maker of 17 Holborn): petition against him and his brother Robert, June 1809 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1809/06/002)
- Sergeant, John, junior (apprentice to the musical instrument maker Thomas Scott of 17 Holborn): petition against his apprentice masters by John Sergeant senior, June 1809 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1809/06/002)
- Serle, Joseph (shop assistant to the musical instrument maker Francis Broderip): witness in the trial of James Jones, otherwise James Sandy, 27 February 1788 (Old Bailey ref: t17880227-1)
- Sherman, William* (workman to the harpsichord and spinet maker John Hitchcock): cited incidentally in the trial of John Lane, 5 April 1769 (Old Bailey ref: t17690405-32); probably a witness in the trial of John Barker, 15 September 1779 (Old Bailey ref: t17790915-68)
- Stevenson, James* (carpenter and foreman to the harpsichord makers Thomas Culliford, William Rolfe and Thomas Bradford): witness in the trial of John Griffiths, 14 January 1789 (Old Bailey ref: t17890114-7)
- Thompson, Mr (presumably one of the family from St Paul's Church Yard?): cited incidentally in the trial of Lockey Hill, 2 December 1795 (Old Bailey ref: t17951202-53)
- Tollner, Dodo (organ builder of Church Street, St Ann, Soho): stood bail in the trial of John Glaister, May 1776 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1776/05/018)
- Trippells, Jacob* (musical instrument maker of St Ann, Westminster): released from a prosecution by Rudolphe Straube, January 1761 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1761/01/028)
- Vercoe, Charles* (harpsichord maker): his apprentice James Ball petitions to be released, 27 April 1775 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1775/04/037)
- West, Edward (organ builder of Leather Lane): prosecutor in the trial of Mary Brangham and Elizabeth Buckhurst, 3 June 1756 (Old Bailey ref: t17560603-13)
- Wheeler, James (flute shopkeeper of High Holborn): witness in the trial of John Norton, 12 January 1774 (Old Bailey ref: t17740112-54)
- White, James (journeyman to the organ builder John Avery): witness in the trial of Joseph Robson, 20 September 1797 (Old Bailey ref: t17970920-67)
- Wilde, John (second-hand music shop keeper in Saville Passage, Saville Row): prosecutor in the trial of John Tull, 8 December 1790 (Old Bailey ref: t17901208-46)
- Williams, Benjamin (servant to Mr Longman): indicted for receiving stolen property, 12 December 1787 (Old Bailey ref: t17871212-21)
- Worland, Robert* (instrument maker): witness in the trial of John Norton, 12 January 1774 (Old Bailey ref: t17740112-54)
- Wright, John, (organ builder): proved the custom of lending tools to journeymen in the trial of Joseph Robson, 20 September 1797 (Old Bailey ref: t17970920-67)
- Young, Thomas* (harpsichord and piano maker and one-time employee of Longman and Broderip): stood bail in the trial of Joseph Johnson, 31 May 1775 (LMA: MSP, MJ/SP/1775/05/017); witness in the trial of John Bates, 6 April 1796 (Old Bailey ref: t17960406-85)