

Appendix E

Thirty-One Makers in London from Whom George Bouchier Worgan may have Purchased a Square Piano in 1780/86

On Tuesday, 30 October 1787, *The Times* of London reported: 'England, instead of importing her instruments as formerly from Holland, Germany, and Italy, is now become the greatest manufactory for musical instruments in Europe.'¹ At the time, a large concentration of keyboard instrument makers lived and worked in London. In 1780/86, there were 31 London-based makers from whom George Bouchier Worgan may have purchased a square piano. These makers are listed below.

1. George Astor (1752–1813; fl. 1779–1813). Between 1779 and 1783, George Astor and his brother John (or Johann) Jacob (1763–1848) sold pianos, initially at Holywell Street in 1779 and subsequently at at 26 Wych Street (off the northern side of the southern end of Drury Lane).² In 1783 John left London for the United States, where, in Baltimore, he first sold woodwind instruments, then, in New York, furs, pianos (in 1786, John imported pianos from London;³ from 1789, the firm of Astor & Co. exported pianos from London to America) and real estate, amassing a legendary fortune. George was not a piano maker, but sold instruments labelled with his name made by John Geib and possibly Thomas Culliford. George Astor continued to sell pianos in London at the 26 Wych Street until 1795⁴ or 1797–98,⁵ when he relocated his workshop to 79 Cornhill.⁶

1 *The Times*, 30 October 1787, No. 887, p. 3. Quoted in J. Nex, 'Culliford and Company: Keyboard Instrument Makers in Georgian London', in C. H. Bates (ed.), *Early Keyboard Journal* (Georgia: The Southeastern and Midwestern Historical Keyboard Societies, 2004), Vol. 22, p. 7.

2 See 'Wych Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 345.

3 See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 87.

4 See 'George Astor' (n.d.). Astor's addresses are listed in L. G. Langwill and W. Waterhouse (eds), *The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London: T. Bingham, 1993).

5 See N. O'Loughlin, 'Astor', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), Vol. 2, pp. 123–4.

6 See 'Cornhill', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 30. In 1819, Astor & Co. insured their stock and utensils for £8500. See Barnett, *The Structure of Industry in London 1775–1825*, p. 236.

2. James Ball (fl. ca 1787–1819). In 1790, Ball applied for British citizenship; his application reveals he was born in Germany:

It is not clear when he settled in London. Most of Ball's surviving instruments are square pianos of standard design. His earliest extant pianos date from the mid-1780s.⁷

He is best known for his square pianos, but also made cabinet pianos and grands, some of them for the Prince Regent.⁸

According to the usual inscription on the nameboard of his square pianos, Ball's workshop was located at 1 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, where he worked from 1787 until his death in 1833.⁹

3. Frederick Beck (fl. 1756 – ca 1798).
4. Adam Beyer (1729–1804; fl. 1768 – ca 1798), who was 'probably the most accomplished craftsman who ever made square pianos'.¹⁰ Many researchers describe Beyer as an immigrant to London from Germany.

Adam Beyer was one of the most prolific and successful piano makers in London during the eighteenth century. Most of his output was in the form of square pianos, instruments which he manufactured to extremely high standards and sold at premium prices to discerning clients.

During the 1750s he was resident in St Pancras parish, working as an organ builder ... when he bought a house in Pond Street, Hampstead in 1782 he must have been a British citizen—yet, unlike foreign-born instrument makers such as Jacob Kirckman, or Burkat Shudi, there is no record that Beyer ever applied for naturalization. There is, of course, no compelling reason why he should do so, because, unlike many European cities no permission or licence was needed to set up in trade. But only British citizens could legally buy or inherit land—yet this he did. On his death he left a quarter share in his house to each of his four daughters, devolving upon 'their heirs and assigns forever'. So it is beyond doubt that he owned the freehold, and therefore it appears he was then a British citizen. Yet strangely, the piano maker James Shudi Broadwood, writing in 1838, says that Beyer was a German. Searches in the archives of every city in Germany

7 M. Cole, 'Other Makers: James Ball', in *Square Pianos* (n.d.).

8 M. Cranmer, 'Ball, James', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. 2, p. 70.

9 See 'Duke Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27.

10 See Cole, 'Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker', (n.d.).

that has been proposed as his birthplace have proved negative, as have similar searches in English church records. This mystery is still unresolved.¹¹

Between 1768 and 1800, Beyer's workshop was at 44 Compton Street, St Anne's, Soho Square.¹²

Antonio Bruni's *Inventaire* of instruments confiscated from the French aristocracy and wealthy bourgeoisie during the Reign of Terror includes two combination piano-organs made by Beyer (*Inventaire* numbers 32 and 150). Piano number 32 is listed as: '*Un forte-piano organisé, fond blanc, par Adam Berjer, Londini fecit, année 1788*'¹³ [A claviorganum, white, by Adam Berjer, made in London, year 1788], confiscated from Marie-Léopoldine-Monique, Princess Dowager of Kinski.

Piano number 150 is listed as: '*Un forte-piano organisé d'Adam Berger, Londini fecit, année 1775*'¹⁴ [A claviorganum by Adam Berger, made in London, year 1775], which was confiscated from Count Fernan-Nunez, the Spanish ambassador.

The clerk mistakenly transcribes Beyer's name as 'Berjer' and 'Berger'. This is not surprising, given that the intricate calligraphic style of the nameplates found on Beyer's pianos is sometimes difficult to decipher.

During his lifetime, the prolific Beyer manufactured in excess of 900 square pianos.

5. Lorence Beyer, the younger brother of Adam Beyer, to whom he left all his working tools. In Adam Beyer's will,¹⁵ dated September 1789, Lorence is described as 'Piano Forte Maker, of Compton Street, Soho'.¹⁶
6. Thomas Bradford (fl. 1784–89). On Wednesday, 8 September 1784,¹⁷ Bradford entered 'a fourteen-year partnership with' Thomas Culliford, William Rolfe and John Goldsworth.¹⁸

11 Cole, 'Maker's File'.

12 See 'Compton Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28.

13 '*VI Inventaire du 4 Floréal l'an IIe, rue Dominique, 1522*' in Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur*.

14 '*XLIX Inventaire du 12 Brumaire l'an IIIe, rue de l'Université*' in *ibid.*

15 Public Record Office: PROB11 1187.

16 Cole, 'Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker' (1995), p. 112. See 'Compton Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28.

17 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 82.

18 Cole, 'Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker' (1995), p. 50, fn. 17. See '9. Thomas Culliford', below.

7. John Broadwood (1732–1812)—possibly the most eminent and successful piano maker ever to have lived.¹⁹ Broadwood's workshop was at 33 Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square.²⁰ Broadwood positioned his grand pianos

at an elevated price level, [guaranteeing] ... the exclusive top end of his market while meeting demand at the lower end with a range of square [pianos] ... With their richly-veneered cases and ... sophisticated action, his grands ... were positioned in the upper sector of the market, where well-to-do people who attended exclusive concerts wanted to pay a desirably high price. He could sell to the popular market without alienating his fashionable customers. Everyone was satisfied.

John Broadwood's great skill was to supply the instrument everyone wanted while ensuring that the all-important social distinctions were maintained.²¹

8. Gabriel Gottlieb Buntebart (d. 1794; fl. 1768–94). Circumstantial evidence suggests that Buntebart was Queen Charlotte's harpsichord maker. Buntebart arrived in London from Strelitz at the same time as Queen Charlotte.²² From 1768 onwards, the names of Zumpe and Buntebart appear jointly on the nameboards of Zumpe's square pianos.²³ On 25 September 1778, the partnership of Zumpe & Buntebart was dissolved by mutual consent and quite amicably.²⁴

In his will, Buntebart describes himself as 'Grand Pianoforte Maker to Her Majesty'.²⁵

Between 1780 and 1794, Buntebart is listed in the rate books at Zumpe's address: 7 Princes Street, Hanover Square.²⁶

9. Thomas Culliford (1747–1821).

19 During the first half of the nineteenth century, 'Clementi & Co. was most probably the world's largest exporter of keyboard instruments and even rivalled Broadwood in total production for some years'. L. Sahlqvist, 'Clementi & Co 1798–1830: Piano Manufacture in London', in *The Pianos of Muzio Clementi. 'The Clementi Page.'* *Friends of Square Pianos* (2013).

20 See 'Pultney Str' in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 86.

21 Goold, *Mr. Langshaw's Square Piano*, pp. 117–18.

22 See Cole, 'John Zumpe'.

23 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 62.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 61–2. See also Cole, 'John Zumpe'.

25 See Cole, 'John Zumpe'.

26 See 'Princes St.', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 92.

Although the name of Longman & Broderip appeared on the pianos sold by their firm, most of the instruments were actually built by Thomas Culliford and his associates. Culliford began work, at least from 1779, at 16 Fountain Court, in a warehouse behind Longman & Broderip's premises at 26 Cheapside.²⁷

Longman & Broderip owned the premises in Fountain Court and charged Culliford ... £70 per annum in rent ... [In 1782] Culliford opened timber yards on Jewin Street (which comes off the east side of Aldergate Street).²⁸ On Wednesday 8 September 1784,²⁹ Culliford established a fourteen-year partnership with William Rolfe, John Goldsworth, and Thomas Bradford³⁰ ... [In the same year, while still renting part of the Fountain Court property, Culliford] established workshops, offices, a sawpit, and a smith's shop in Pelican Court, Little Britain, [off the west side of] Aldersgate Street [two blocks south of Jewin Street].³¹

On 2 January 1786, Culliford signed an exclusive contract with Longman & Broderip, who were to purchase at least £5000 worth of instruments annually, that is, somewhere between 200 and 300 keyboard instruments—harpsichords and pianos—per year.³²

[Culliford] soon outgrew the [Fountain Court] space and expanded to other locations³³ ... [including] a warehouse in Red Lion Court, Watling Street.³⁴

In [January] 1787 Goldsworth left the company. [In 1789] ... Thomas Bradford was replaced by Culliford's son-in-law, Charles Barrow. In September 1797 Culliford and Barrow set up the firm Culliford & Co., while William Rolfe established his own company.³⁵

27 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 50. See 'Cheapside', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 29.

28 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 50, fn. 18. See also 'Jewin Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 29.

29 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 82.

30 See *ibid.*, p. 50, fn. 17.

31 See *ibid.*, p. 50, fn. 18. See also 'Little Britain' and 'Aldersgate Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 29.

32 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', pp. 50–1.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

34 See *ibid.*, p. 50, fn. 18. See also 'Watling Street' in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 29.

35 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 50, fn. 17. See also M. Cranmer, 'Rolfe', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), Vol. 21, p. 528.

[In April 1795,] Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow ceased to make instruments for Longman & Broderip, and when Longman & Broderip filed for bankruptcy [on Saturday, 23 May 1795]³⁶ ... Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow opened their own shop at 112 Cheapside ... announced in *The Times* on 13 June 1795.³⁷

In September 1797, Culliford and Barrow separated from William Rolfe (who established his own company), and set up the firm Culliford & Co. Subsequently, Culliford & Barrow announced in *The London Gazette* of Saturday, 14 October 1797 that they had relocated their workshop to 'No. 172, corner of Surry-Street, Strand'.³⁸

On Tuesday, 30 October 1798, Culliford & Barrow filed for bankruptcy. Proceedings for bankruptcy were concluded on Tuesday, 9 June 1801, whereupon Culliford appears to have left London to live at Compton near Southampton. It is possible that Culliford used Compton as a base from which to 'travel around the south of England to tune and maintain instruments, as he had done previously for Longman & Broderip'.³⁹

10. Sébastien Érard. Érard worked intermittently in London from 1786 to 1815, when he left his English shop in the charge of his nephew Pierre ('the inventive genius of the Érard family petered out in Pierre', whose 'real genius' was marketing).⁴⁰ 'In 1792, Sébastien Érard founded the London branch of the firm, concentrating on the production of harps.'⁴¹ Érard's workshop was at 18 Great Marlborough Street.⁴²
11. George Froeschle (Fröschle) (fl. ca 1774 – ca 1800) was an 'innovative maker of some importance'.⁴³ According to Cole, in ca 1780, Froeschle's workshop was located at Great Pulteney Street (East).⁴⁴ In 1788, Froeschle 'was working in a partnership known as Satchell & Fröschle advertising combined

36 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', pp. 49, 59.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 83.

38 *The London Gazette*, 14 October 1797, p. 2. See 'Strand', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 36.

39 See Nex, 'Culliford and Company', pp. 33–4.

40 M. Demarest, 'Pierre Erard Thomas Welsh', in *Chasing Down Emma: Resolving the Contradictions of, and Filling in the Gaps in, the Life and Work of Emma Hardinge Britten* (2009).

41 Latham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties', p. 371.

42 See 'Gr. Marlboro Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27.

43 Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 70.

44 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 38. This address is recorded in the rate books for St James's Parish. See 'Pultney Str', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27.

harpsichord-pianofortes ... [at 2] Mark Lane',⁴⁵ two blocks north-east of the Tower of London.⁴⁶

12. Christopher Ganer (fl. 1774–1806) was born in Leipzig ca 1750. Many of Ganer's square pianos have exquisite inlay and reveal the use of exotic timbers. Ganer may be the only maker of square pianos who included double stringing inlay *inside* the lids of his instruments.

From the winter of 1774 until ca 1805, Ganer's workshop was on the north side of Broad Street, between Carnaby Market and Golden Square (Soho), at number 22, and then at 47–48.⁴⁷

Ganer may also have been known as 'Gauer'. A listing held by the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland gives '1792 Feb 11. Christopher Gauer (?Ganer) formerly of Leipzig, in Saxony, but now of Broad Street, Carnaby Market, in the parish of St. James's, Westminster, co. Midd., grand pianoforte maker.'⁴⁸

Antonio Bruni's *Inventaire* includes a name that is slightly similar to 'Ganer': '*Un forte-piano, par Christopher Qanter, Londini fecit, année 1784, estimé 720 francs*'⁴⁹ [A piano, by Christopher Qanter, made in London, year 1784, estimated 720 francs], confiscated from Françoise-Emmanuel Guinard, Count of Saint-Priest.

There is no information concerning the existence of any London-based piano maker with the name Christopher Qanter. The nameboards of extant Ganer square pianos are not difficult to read. Perhaps the details on the nameboard of the (now lost) instrument that Bruni inspected were written in a particularly elaborate calligraphic style, resulting in the clerk mistakenly transcribing Ganer's name as 'Qanter'.

As 'Ganer described himself in one of his insurance policies as a 'piano forte maker and inlayer', he might have been a specialist whose focus was on the decorative [aspects of] ... instruments'.⁵⁰ Many of Ganer's cross-banded and inlaid square pianos are objects of elegant beauty.

45 *Morning Post*, 17 March 1788. See Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 99. See also Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 111.

46 See 'Mark Lane', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 38.

47 See 'Broad Street', in *ibid.*, Map Reference 27. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 151. See also Doane, *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794*.

48 G. S. Gadd, 'Famous Early Piano Maker Christopher Ganer (Gauer???)', in *Ancestry.com: Message Boards* (2006).

49 '*LI Inventaire du 8 Brumaire, faubourg du Roule*' in Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur*.

50 Sun Fire Office Policy 463403, dated 8 August 1782, LMA, formerly Guildhall ms 11936/303, pp. 561–2. See Nex, 'Longman & Broderip', p. 46, fn. 169.

For unknown reasons, Ganer's output of square pianos declined in the late 1790s. Between 1808 and 1818, Ganer sub-let his premises at 47 and 48 Broad Street.

The novelist Jane Austen (1775–1817) owned a square piano by Christopher Ganer. In May 1801, she sold the instrument when the family moved from the village of Steventon, near Basingstoke, in Hampshire—where, until that time, Jane had spent all her life—to Bath.⁵¹

Christopher Ganer probably made several hundred pianos. The fortepiano restorer and aficionado David Hackett writes: 'I have helped Graham Gadd to compile a list of known surviving Ganer pianos, and we have managed to 'collect' a total of over a hundred ... out of the hundred plus, no two are identical in terms of appearance and detail.'⁵²

13. Thomas Garbutt (fl. ca 1770–80s) worked in King Street, Golden Square,⁵³ and later at 8 Bolsover Street.⁵⁴ His square pianos are modelled on Zumpe's instruments.
14. George Garcka (b. ca. 1750; fl. 1783–92)

is presumed to be a Prussian immigrant from Schimmerwitz (now Siemirowice in Poland, about 40 km west of Danzig) where the name Garcka was formerly prevalent. Garcka made many square pianos, of entirely conventional design.

Between ca. 1783–1791, George Garcka was resident at 16 Stephen Street⁵⁵ ... [off the western side of] Tottenham Court Road. In December 1787 he was declared bankrupt, but seems to have satisfied his creditors and continued in business.

In 1792, undeterred by such problems, he applied for and was granted a patent for a square piano in which the wrestplank was positioned just behind the nameboard with the strings running diagonally to the right. This is undoubtedly of benefit as regards tuning stability, and is more convenient and comfortable when tuning. The disadvantages concern ease of maintenance, and an awkward, bulky appearance, wholly at variance with eighteenth-century ideas of elegance.

51 See Bradney-Smith, 'Famous Early Piano Maker Christopher Ganer (Gauer???)'.

52 Email from David Hackett to the author, 12 January 2015.

53 See 'King Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28.

54 See Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 151.

55 See *ibid.*, p. 152. See also 'Stephen S', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28.

In the same year, 1792, Garcka moved from Stephen Street to new premises at the corner of Edward Street and 95 Wardour Street in Soho—also the address of the piano maker James Henry Houston (fl. 1790-99).⁵⁶ His financial position did not improve, so in January 1793 he sold his business to Bates & Co., who sold general musical wares including square pianos.⁵⁷

15. John (Johann) Lawrence (Lorenz) Geib (fl. ca 1777–97) was born 1744 in Staudenheim(?), western Germany. About 1770, he settled in London. Geib is ‘an important figure in the development of square piano design’, being responsible for the incorporation of ‘an escapement mechanism, giving’ square pianos some of ‘the subtlety of touch and expression found in grand pianos’.⁵⁸

On Thursday, 9 November 1786, ‘Geib was granted a patent [No. 1571] for a two-lever escapement action for square pianos’.⁵⁹ Geib’s workshop was at Tottenham Court Road.⁶⁰ In 1797, Geib moved to America and began building organs and pianos in Philadelphia.⁶¹ In 1798, Geib continued his business in New York where he died.⁶²

16. John Goldsworth (fl. mid-1780s). On Wednesday, 8 September 1784,⁶³ Goldsworth entered a 14-year partnership with William Rolfe, Thomas Culliford and Thomas Bradford.⁶⁴ Within the context of this partnership, Goldsworth may have been involved principally in making English guitars. On Monday, 2 January 1786, Culliford, Rolfe, Goldsworth and Bradford entered into a contract with Longman & Broderip, agreeing to manufacture pianos exclusively for that firm. All instruments were to be marked with Longman & Broderip labels. Longman & Broderip were contractually obliged

56 See ‘Edwa S’ and ‘Wardour Street’, in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28. Neither Garcka nor Houston insured any stock or tools with the Sun Fire Office, which suggests that they did not manufacture instruments at the Wardour Street address. It is however, reasonable to conjecture that their stock and tools were insured with a different firm. In March 1797, the Wardour Street premises was advertised for sale as a ‘capital manufactory site, with a handsome dwelling house, several extensive tiers of workshops, timber sheds, saw pit, yard, stall & co., a spacious wareroom on the ground floor, compting-house and every other convenience.’ N. MacSween, ‘Short Biography of James Henry Houston’, in *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos* (2012).

57 M. Cole, ‘George Garcka’, in *Square Pianos* (n.d.).

58 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 78. See also M. Cole, ‘Other Makers: John Geib’, in *Square Pianos* (n.d.).

59 Bozarth and Debenham, ‘Piano Wars’, p. 82.

60 Harding, *The Piano-Forte*, p. 410. See ‘Tottenham Court Road’ in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map References 20 and 28.

61 See T. Strange, ‘Geib in America’, in ‘Dating Pianos’, in *Square Piano Tech: A Resource for the Restoration of 18th and Early 19th Century Square Pianos* (n.d.).

62 Latcham, ‘Pianos and Harpsichords for their Majesties’, p. 390, fn. 28.

63 Bozarth and Debenham, ‘Piano Wars’, p. 82.

64 Cole, ‘Adam Beyer, Pianoforte Maker’ (1995), p. 50, fn. 17. See ‘9. Thomas Culliford’, above.

to purchase £5000 worth of instruments annually from Culliford, Rolfe, Goldsworth and Bradford—that is, approximately 300 instruments a year. In January 1787, at the request of Longman & Broderip, Goldsworth left the partnership and established a new business with John Geib (who also made pianos for Longman & Broderip).

17. John Crang Hancock (fl. 1779–94). Hancock's workshop was at 82 Wych Street, St Clement Danes, and later (in 1791) at 32 Parliament Street, Westminster.⁶⁵
18. Henry Holland (fl. 1783–98). Holland's workshop was at Bedford Row, between Red Lion Square and Gray's Inn Garden.⁶⁶ *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce* describes Holland as an 'organ-builder', and locates his workshop in 'Piccadilly'.⁶⁷
19. Jacob Kirckman's workshop was at Great Pulteney Street,⁶⁸ and later at 19 Broad Street, Golden Square (Soho).⁶⁹
20. William Le Blond (fl. 1780–92).
21. James Longman (1740–1803) and Francis Broderip (ca 1750–1807). During the late eighteenth century, the firm of Longman & Broderip took on 'a bewildering number of changing names and partners'.⁷⁰

The firm was founded in 1767 by James Longman in association with unknown partners, and was first known as J. Longman & Co.⁷¹

In 1769, when Charles Lukey joined the firm, the business traded as Longman, Lukey & Co.

In 1773, Francis Fane Broderip became a partner, and the business was known as Longman, Lukey & Broderip.

In 1776 Lukey died, and the business continued (until it filed for bankruptcy on Saturday, 23 May 1795)⁷² as Longman & Broderip.

65 Harding, *The Piano-Forte*, p. 411. See 'Parliament Str.', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map References 36 and 44.

66 See 'Bedford Row', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map References 20 and 28.

67 See Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 183.

68 See 'Pultney Str.', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27.

69 See Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 165. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 203—in which Kirckman's address is erroneously given as '10, Broad-str. Golden-sq.' (that is, Frederick Beck's address). See also 'Broad Street', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27.

70 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 122.

71 P. W. Jones, P. Williams and C. Mould, 'Longman & Broderip', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), Vol. 15, p. 168.

72 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', pp. 49, 59.

On Friday, 13 November 1795, 'James Longman and Francis Fane Broderip were committed to Fleet Prison as debtors'.⁷³

Longman & Broderip, having 'coupled' themselves 'with over impetuous borrowing for business expansion', and having overexposed themselves with credit given to French clients, found that 'Napoleon's effective embargo on British goods caused acute problems with their finances'.⁷⁴

On Wednesday, 2 November 1796, they were released from Fleet Prison. 'Broderip formed a new company with Charles Wilkinson, trading from 13 Haymarket,⁷⁵ selling pianos under the name of *Broderip & Wilkinson*'.⁷⁶

On Thursday, 1 November 1798,⁷⁷ 'the firm of *Longman & Broderip* was sold to John Longman, Muzio Clementi, Frederick Augustus Hyde, Frederick William Collard, Josiah Banger, and David Davis. The new company ... was named *Longman, Clementi & Co.*'⁷⁸ 'An advertisement appeared in the Times announcing this on 3 November.'⁷⁹

On Saturday, 28 June 1800, 'the partnership between John Longman and Clementi, Hyde, Collard, Banger and Davis was dissolved, and John Longman received £2,830 12s. for his share. Muzio Clementi, Frederick Augustus Hyde, Frederick William Collard, Josiah Banger, and David Davis established *Clementi & Co.*'⁸⁰

Having left the company, John Longman, 'supplied by the same workmen, set up in competition to Clementi & Co., at 131 Cheapside'.⁸¹

Although Longman & Broderip 'styled themselves "Instrument makers", most or all of the actual making was contracted to various craftsmen, generally of the second rank;⁸² the firm's principal activity was music publishing and, subsequently, dealing in musical merchandise of all types'.⁸³ As 'an all-purpose retail business', they sold 'organs, harpsichords, harps,

73 Ibid., p. 83.

74 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 60.

75 See 'Hay Market', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 36.

76 Cole, 'Longman & Broderip'.

77 See Rowland, 'Clementi's Early Business Career', pp. 49–59.

78 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 84.

79 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 79, fn. 61.

80 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 84.

81 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 79, fn. 61.

82 See '9. Thomas Culliford', above.

83 Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 122.

and pianos, woodwind, string, and brass instruments, and such accessories as mutes, strings, and music stands'. They also published 'both serious and light music'.⁸⁴

James Longman 'was a persuasive, opportunistic, and unscrupulous businessman who had a ruinous effect on all who entered into financial dealings with him. By one count, he was involved in at least 30 lawsuits in some 28 years of business.'⁸⁵ 'Charming, gifted and persuasive undoubtedly, but beneath this façade', James Longman was 'calculating, manipulative and self-serving ... a man prepared to abuse the trust of colleagues, friends, and even members of his close family without compunction'.⁸⁶

On Wednesday, 26 January 1803, James Longman endured a second incarceration in Fleet Street Prison, as a debtor, where he died on Friday, 11 November 1803,⁸⁷ aged 63.

The first known address of Longman & Broderip's workshop is 26 Cheapside⁸⁸—'then the most prestigious shopping street in London'⁸⁹—where they traded 'at the sign of the Harp and Crown'.⁹⁰ Longman, having been apprenticed to the music and musical instrument seller John Johnson, took over Johnson's shop as well as his emblem.⁹¹

On Sunday, 29 September 1782 (Michaelmas), the firm acquired a second trading premises, at 13 Haymarket, near the opera house.⁹²

84 Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 49. See 'Music Publishing in Late Eighteenth-Century London', in Chapter 5, Volume 1 of this publication.

85 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 46.

86 M. Debenham, '131 Cheapside: The Longman Connection—Abstract', in *Margaret Debenham Historical Musicology: New Articles* (2011), Article 1.

87 Corporation of London Record Office, Prison Inquests, 12 November 1803. See Nex, 'Longman & Broderip', p. 84, fn. 342.

88 See 'Cheapside', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 29. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 215.

89 Cole, 'Longman & Broderip'.

90 A. Laurence, *Five London Piano Makers* (London: Alastair Laurence in association with Keyword Press, 2010), p. 52.

91 See Cole, 'Longman & Broderip'. See also Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', pp. 49, fns 11, 81.

92 See Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820*, p. 182. See also Cole, 'Longman & Broderip'. See also 'Hay Market', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 36. On Cary's map, the Haymarket Opera House is designated with the number 72. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 215.

On 29 September 1787, ‘Longman & Broderip acquired additional premises in Tottenham Court Road for use as a musical instrument manufactory and timber yard’.⁹³ In 1791, the address was 195 ‘Tottenham Court Road, opposite Whitefield’s Chapel’.⁹⁴

22. George Pether’s workshop was at 61 Oxford Street,⁹⁵ and later at 16 John Street.⁹⁶

23. Johannes Pohlmann (fl. 1767–93) may have been the earliest copier of Zumpé’s square pianos. His pianos were almost as celebrated as those of Zumpé. Dr Charles Burney reveals that Zumpé, who ‘could not make [square pianos] ... fast enough to gratify the craving of the public’, subcontracted Pohlmann to make ‘an almost infinite number for such as Zumpé was unable to supply’.⁹⁷ Even though Burney disparaged the quality of the sound of Pohlmann’s square pianos, stating that they ‘were very inferior in tone’,⁹⁸ he

bought several himself—probably for pupils or friends—and did not hesitate to recommend them when the Revd Thomas Twining asked for advice on his intended purchase of a piano ... It appears that Burney never renounced his ... enthusiasm for what he reckoned the sweeter tone of Zumpé’s pianos, but it is clear that he found Pohlmann’s a reasonable second best.⁹⁹

Between 1767 and 1776, the rate books for St Anne’s Parish list ‘John Pohlman’ as residing at the southern end of Frith Street, in the house next but one to Compton Street, Soho (Frith Street runs into the south-western corner of Soho Square).¹⁰⁰ In 1777–78, Pohlmann set up his workshop in a newly built house at 113 Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury.¹⁰¹

In 1772, Christoph Willibald Gluck used a Pohlmann square piano at the Paris Opéra.

93 Kassler, ‘Chronology of the Business Begun by James Longman’, p. 3.

94 Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, p. 50, fn. 18. See ‘Tottenham Court Road’ and ‘Chap. St.’ in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 20. Whitefield’s Chapel was destroyed on Palm Sunday, 25 March 1945, by a V2 rocket (see ‘The Twelve Apostles’, Chapter 1, Volume 1 of this publication).

95 See ‘Oxford Street’, in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 252.

96 See ‘John Str.’, in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 35.

97 Burney, ‘Harpsichord’.

98 *Ibid.*

99 Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, p. 70.

100 See M. Cole, ‘Other Makers: Christopher Ganer’, in *Square Pianos* (n.d.). See also ‘Frith Street’ and ‘Compton Street’ in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28.

101 See ‘Great Russel Street’, in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 28.

Antonio Bruni's *Inventaire* includes four Pohlmann pianos (*Inventaire* numbers 105, 135, 178 and 224):

105.—*Un forte-piano, de Johannes Pohlman, année 1772.*¹⁰²
[A piano by Johannes Pohlman, year 1772.]
(Confiscated from Louis-Philippe Duvaucel.)

135.—*Un forte-piano de Johannes Pohlman, année 1771.*¹⁰³
[A piano by Johannes Pohlman, year 1771.]
(Confiscated from Baron Frédéric-Melchior de Grimm.)

178.—*Un forte-piano de Johannes Pohlman, Londini, année 1773.*¹⁰⁴
[A piano by Johannes Pohlman, London, year 1773.]
(Confiscated from Armond-Louis de Gontaut, Duke de Lauzun.)

224.—*Un forte-piano de Johannes Pohlman, Londini fecit, 1776, ayant les peintures du couvert cassées, estimé 800 francs.*¹⁰⁵
[A piano by Johannes Pohlman, made in London, 1776, with damaged lid painting, estimated 800 francs.]
(Confiscated from Henriette-Françoise Michel, Marquise de Marbeuf.)

24. John Preston (probably only a dealer). Preston began trading in 1774 at Banbury Court, Long Acre. From 1778, Preston's shop was at 97 Strand.¹⁰⁶
25. William Rolfe (1756–1829; fl. 1797–1829). In early 1781, Rolfe lived and worked at 34 Carter Lane, to the south of and near to Saint Paul's Churchyard. Between Wednesday, 24 September 1784 and Friday, 29 September 1797, Rolfe worked in partnership with Thomas Culliford.¹⁰⁷ Following the dissolution of the partnership, Rolfe's workshop was at 112 Cheapside¹⁰⁸ and 13 Red Lion Court, Watling Street.¹⁰⁹ Rolfe's square pianos are noted for their elaborate hand-painted nameboards and two folding internal music-desks. One music-desk is for the use of the piano player, whilst the second desk, located at the treble-end and facing towards the front of the instrument, is for the use of

102 'XXX Inventaire du 11 Vendémiaire l'an IIe, rue de Cadet, 8' in Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur*.

103 'XLIII Inventaire du 16 Messidor l'an IIe' in *ibid.*

104 'LX Inventaire du 2 Frimaire, rue de Lille, 345' in *ibid.*

105 'LXXVI Inventaire du 28 Pluviôse l'ann IIIe, à Chaillot' in *ibid.*

106 See 'Strand', in Cary, Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 36. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 259.

107 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 50, fn. 17.

108 See 'Cheapside', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 29.

109 See Nex, 'Culliford and Company', p. 31.

an ‘accompanying’ musician within a chamber music context. There are 39 extant pianos by Rolfe.

26. Frederick and Christian Schoene (fl. 1780s) (Christian Schoene died in 1795). In 1782 Zumpe relinquished his business to these brothers. They came from Zumpe’s hometown, Fürth, and like him had served an apprenticeship there. Their workshop was at 22 Princes Street, Cavendish Square.¹¹⁰ The Schoene business was a success until 1789, when the French Revolution put an end to the Schoene’s most lucrative market. A few years later Frederick Schoene took a new partner named Vinsen (first name not known), so there are some excellent late eighteenth-century pianos in existence bearing the inscription Schoene & Vinsen. The last known instrument labelled Schoene is dated 1805 and now belongs to the Easton Historical Society in Pennsylvania. It is inscribed not by Frederick Schoene but by his son, George Frederick Schoene. The inscription reads: ‘Georgius Fredericus Schoene No. 45 Paddington Street,¹¹¹ Marylebone London 1805.’ He turned his back on piano making, however, and became a successful artist and engraver.¹¹² Antonio Bruni’s *Inventaire* includes nine Schoene pianos (*Inventaire* numbers 2, 30, 36, 56, 75, 120, 125, 141 and 222):

2.—*Un forte-piano de Schoene, année 1788.*¹¹³

[A piano by Schoene, year 1788.]

(Confiscated from Marie-Louis de Caillebot, Marquis de la Salle.)

30.—*Un forte-piano anglais, de Schoene and successors, to ... année 1788.*¹¹⁴

[An English piano, by Schoene and successors, to year 1788.]

(Confiscated from Marie-Léopoldine-Monique, Princess Dowager of Kinski.)

36.—*Un forte-piano anglais, de Schoene, année 1786.*¹¹⁵

[An English piano, by Schoene, year 1786.]

(Confiscated from Charles-René-Félix de Vintimille, Marquis de Luc.)

56.—*Un forte-piano anglais, de Schoene, année 1788.*¹¹⁶

[An English piano, by Schoene, year 1788.]

110 Harding, *The Piano-Forte*, p. 421. See ‘Princes Str.’, in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 280.

111 See ‘Paddington Street’, in Cary, *Cary’s New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 19.

112 See Cole, ‘John Zumpe’.

113 ‘I Inventaire du 13 Floréal l’an IIe, rue de Grenelle, 370’ in Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous La Terreur*.

114 ‘VI Inventaire du 4 Floréal l’an IIe, rue Dominique, 1522’ in *ibid.*

115 ‘VII Inventaire du 12 Floréal l’an IIe, rue du Bacq, 559’ in *ibid.*

116 ‘XIII Inventaire du 9 Prairial l’an IIe, place de la Révolution’ in *ibid.*

(Confiscated from Jean-Baptiste Boullongne, or Jean-Baptiste Tavernier de Boulogne.)

75.—*Un forte-piano de Schoene, année 1784.*¹¹⁷

[A piano by Schoene, year 1784.]

(Confiscated from Louis-Joseph Nompar de Caumont, Duke of La Force.)

120.—*Un forte-piano de Schoene 1787.*¹¹⁸

[A piano by Schoene, 1787.]

(Confiscated from Simon-Charles Boutin.)

125.—*Un forte-piano de Schoene, année 1785.*¹¹⁹

[A piano by Schoene, year 1785.]

(Confiscated from Charles-Eugène-Gabriel de la Croix, Marquis de Castries.)

141.—*Un forte-piano anglais de Schoene, successor de Johannes Zumpe, Londini fecerunt, estimé 800 francs.*¹²⁰

[An English piano by Schoene, successor to Johannes Zumpe, made in London, estimated 800 francs.]

(Confiscated from Lord François-Thomas Kerry.)

222.—*Un forte-piano de Schoene, fait en 1786 estimé 1 000 francs.*¹²¹

[A piano by Schoene, made in 1786 estimated 1000 francs.]

(Confiscated from Mr de Mayet.)

27. John Henry Schrader (fl. ca 1768–1802).

28. John and James Simpson (fl. ca 1767–95). About 1732, John Simpson established a publishing business at the sign of the Viol and Flute, Sweeting's Alley, Royal Exchange, Cornhill.¹²² (In 1732, *New Remarks of London* makes it evident that the alley was then known indifferently as Swithen's or Seething's Alley. It adjoined Freeman's Yard and ran from the back of the Royal Exchange.)¹²³ John Simpson was also an instrument maker.

117 'XVII Inventaire du 18 Messidor l'an IIe, rue de Grenelle-Saint-Germain, 367' in *ibid.*

118 'XXXV Inventaire du 6 Brumaire l'an IIIe' in *ibid.*

119 'XL Inventaire du 26 Vendémiaire l'an IIIc' in *ibid.*

120 'XL Inventaire du 26 Vendémiaire l'an IIIc' in *ibid.*

121 'LXXV Inventaire du 3 Pluviôse l'an IIIe, rue de Grenelle, faubourg Germain' in *ibid.*

122 See 'Strand', in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 30. On Cary's map, the Royal Exchange is designated with the number 83.

123 Kidson, *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers*, pp. 116–17.

'John and James Simpson's (son and grandson of John Simpson?) workshop was located at 14 or 15 Sweetings Alley, opposite the east door of the Royal Exchange, Cornhill.'¹²⁴

A listing of John and James Simpson at this address was first made in 1770 in the *Directory of London*, where they are described as 'musical instrument-makers'.¹²⁵

This listing remained unaltered until 1796, when the *Directory of London* entry reads 'J. Simpson, 14, Sweeting's Alley'. In the *Times* of 12 July 1796, an advertisement mentions that a 'Set of Twelve Hymns, set to music by J. F. Hering' can be purchased from 'Mr. J. C. Simpson, Sweeting's Alley'.¹²⁶

29. William Southwell (1736/37? – 1825).¹²⁷
30. Robert Stodart (fl. ca 1770–96). In 1775, Stodart set up his workshop at Wardour Street, Soho.¹²⁸
31. Charles Trute (fl. 1760–94). Trute's workshop was at 7 Broad Street, Golden Square (Soho).¹²⁹

124 See 'Georgian London Addresses and Locations: Merchants—Music' (n.d.). See also 'Simpson, James and John' (n.d.). See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 287.

125 See 'Georgian London Addresses and Locations'.

126 Kidson, *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers*, p. 117.

127 See Bozarth and Debenham, 'Piano Wars', p. 45, fns 2, 95.

128 See 'Wardour Street' in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map References 27 and 28. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 300.

129 See 'Broad Street' in Cary, *Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent*, Map Reference 27. See also Barfoot and Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce*, p. 315.

This text is taken from *The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View, Volume Two*, by Geoffrey Lancaster, published 2015 by ANU Press, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.