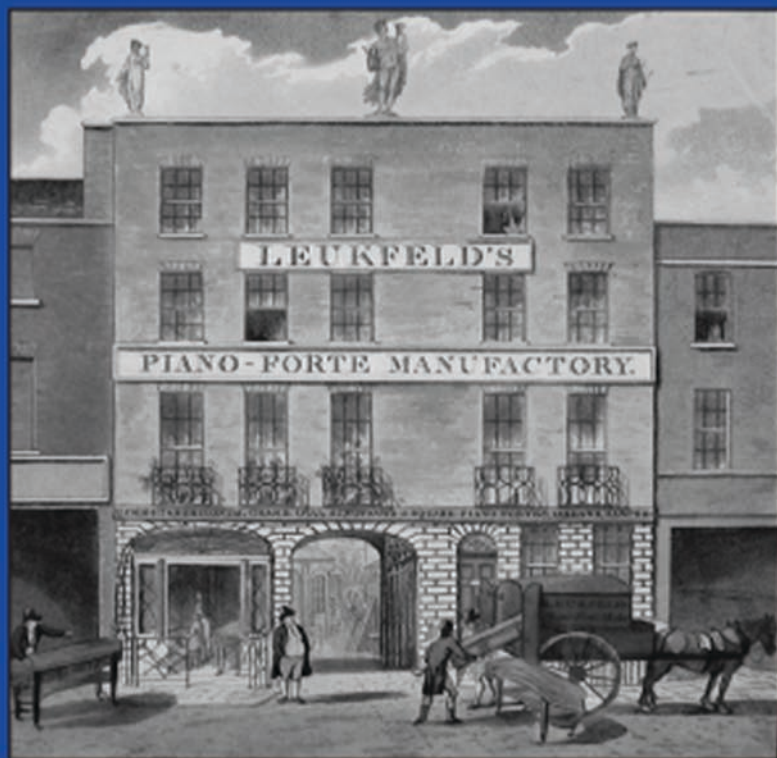


An Ashgate Book

# The Music Trade in Georgian England

Edited by  
Michael Kassler



ROUTLEDGE  


# THE MUSIC TRADE IN GEORGIAN ENGLAND



**Taylor & Francis**

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

THE MUSIC TRADE  
IN  
GEORGIAN ENGLAND

*Edited by*  
MICHAEL KASSLER

 **Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group  
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2011 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

Copyright © Michael Kassler 2011

Michael Kassler has asserted his right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the editor of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

### **British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data**

The Music Trade in Georgian England.

1. Longman & Broderip – History.
  2. Broderip & Wilkinson – History.
  3. Clementi, Muzio, 1752–1832.
  4. Music publishing – England – History – 18th century.
  5. Music publishing – England – History – 19th century.
  6. Musical instrument makers – England – History – 18th century.
  7. Musical instrument makers – England – History – 19th century.
  8. Copyright – Music – England – History – 18th century.
  9. Copyright – Music – England – History – 19th century.
  10. Music printing – England – History.
- I. Kassler, Michael, 1941–  
381.4'5780942'09033-dc22

### **Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

The Music Trade in Georgian England / [edited by] Michael Kassler.

p. cm.

Includes index.

1. Music trade – England – History – 18th century.
  2. Music trade – England – History – 19th century.
- I. Kassler, Michael, 1941–  
ML3790.M755 2011  
338.4'778094209033-dc22                      2011008616

ISBN 13: 978-0-7546-6065-1 (hbk)

# CONTENTS

<i>Illustrations and Music Examples</i>	vii
<i>Tables</i>	xiii
<i>Preface</i>	xv
<i>Abbreviations and Conventions</i>	xvii
~ I ~ LONGMAN, BRODERIP AND THEIR SUCCESSORS	1
Chronology of the Business begun by James Longman	3
1    Longman & Broderip JENNY NEX	9
2    Broderip & Wilkinson MICHAEL KASSLER	95
3    Clementi's Music Business DAVID ROWLAND	125
4    Clementi as Publisher DAVID ROWLAND	159
~ II ~ MUSIC SELLERS' CATALOGUES: A CASE STUDY	193
5    The Periodical Music Collections of John Bland and his Successors YU LEE AN	195
~ III ~ THE LEGAL CONTEXT	231
6    The Development of Musical Copyright JOHN SMALL	233

	~ IV ~ NEW TECHNOLOGIES	387
7	Earl Stanhope's 'Letter-Music' MICHAEL KASSLER	389
8	Stanhope's Novel Musical Instruments MICHAEL KASSLER	433
9	Vollweiler's Introduction of Music Lithography to England MICHAEL KASSLER	451
	<i>Summary of Legal Cases</i>	507
	<i>Index of Persons</i>	525

## ILLUSTRATIONS AND MUSIC EXAMPLES

- Figure 1.1* Trade Card of John Johnson (*Tony Bingham collection, London, by permission*) 13
- Figure 1.2* Plan of a Longman & Broderip piano forte incorporating inventions patented by William Southwell (*by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, John Johnson Collection, in Musical Instruments 1*) 44
- Figure 1.3* Plan of a Broderip & Wilkinson piano forte incorporating the same Southwell inventions (*British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings D,2.2617, Trade cards Banks 88.8, © Trustees of the British Museum*) 45
- Figure 1.4* 10 November 1792 letter from James Davis to John Clarke Stoughton regarding the Longman & Broderip organ for Wymondham Abbey (*Royal College of Music, Museum of Instruments RCM 800, by permission*) 50
- Figure 1.5* Trade card of Longman & Broderip (*Tony Bingham Collection, London, by permission*) 60
- Figure 1.6* Drawing of Longman, Lukey & Co. premises at 26 Cheapside in lease dated 28 August 1772 between The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths and James Longman (*© The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths*) 69
- Figure 2.1* Ludewig Augustus Leukfeld's piano forte manufactory at 27 Tottenham Street (*British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, Trade cards Heal 88.54, by permission*) 107

- Figure 2.2* A series title-page of Breitkopf & Härtel's Complete Edition of Mozart's Music  
(by permission of the Royal College of Music) 112
- Figure 2.3* Series title-page of Broderip & Wilkinson's Complete Edition of Mozart's Piano Music  
(by permission of the Archives and Rare Book Library, University of Cincinnati, USA) 113
- Figure 2.4* Broderip & Wilkinson's first catalogue c1800  
(by permission of the Department of Special Collections, Glasgow University Library) 114
- Figure 2.5* Broderip & Wilkinson's second catalogue c1801 (by permission of Jamie and Michael Kassler, Northbridge, NSW, Australia) 116
- Figure 2.6* Elaborate Broderip & Wilkinson title-page c1802 (National Library of Australia catalogue no. MUS mb 785.28192 B415, by permission) 120
- Figure 3.1* Portrait of Muzio Clementi published by William Richardson on 1 January 1803  
(Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Osborn collection, in folder 3328, by permission) 126
- Figure 4.1* List of Muzio Clementi's Works sent in 1824 by Charles Clementi to the compilers of the Sainsbury & Co. *Dictionary of Musicians*  
(by permission of the Department of Special Collections, Glasgow University Library) 160–161
- Figure 5.1* Extract from John Bland's c1783 general catalogue (BL h.70.b.(9), by permission of the British Library) 209

- Figure 5.2* George Goulding's thematic catalogue of *Le tout Ensemble* (Bodleian Tyson Mus. 750, by permission of the Bodleian Library) 217
- Figure 5.3* John Bland's catalogue of the *Harpichord Collection* (BL g.12, by permission of the British Library) 219
- Figure 5.4* John Bland's catalogue issued in late 1794 or early 1795 of *Periodical Italian Songs* (BL G.811.n.(10), by permission of the British Library) 222
- Figure 5.5* John Bland's catalogue issued mid-1789 of the *Ladies' Glee*s (BL G.325, by permission of the British Library) 224
- Figure 5.6* First page of a *Ladies' Glee* composed by John Moulds and published consecutively by John Bland, Francis Linley and Robert Birchall (BL G.352.a v 5 p 484, by permission of the British Library) 227
- Figure 5.7* John Bland's catalogue issued early in 1795 of *Divine Music* (BL H.817, by permission of the British Library) 228
- Figure 6.1* Text of the privilege granted by King George II to Charles Frederick Abel in 1760 283
- Figure 6.2* Text of notice published by William Tans'ur in 1748 in his *The Royal Psalmodist Compleat* 301
- Figure 7.1* Detail of portrait of Charles 3rd Earl Stanhope by John Opie, exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1803 (in a private U.K. collection, by kind permission of the owner) 391

- Figure 7.2* An example of Baldwin's music shorthand in 1798 (*in Centre for Kentish Studies U1590/C98, by permission of the Centre manager and the Trustees of the Chevening Estate*) 394
- Figure 7.3* The new type font designed for letter-music (*in Centre for Kentish Studies U1590/C97 by permission of the Centre manager and the Trustees of the Chevening Estate*) 407
- Figure 7.4* Stanhope's calculation of the distribution of music into septaves (*in Centre for Kentish Studies U1590/C97, by permission of the Centre manager and the Trustees of the Chevening Estate*) 412
- Figure 7.5* Transcript of Stanhope's draft title-page and preface of the proposed first volume of his *A New Musical Instruction Book* (*in Centre for Kentish Studies U1590/C92/1, by permission of the Centre manager and the Trustees of the Chevening Estate*) 414–415
- Figure 7.6* Stanhope's design of composing cases for letter-music (*in Centre for Kentish Studies U1590/C97, by permission of the Centre manager and the Trustees of the Chevening Estate*) 421
- Figure 7.7* Opening bars of Joseph Mazzinghi's arrangement of Handel's overture to *Esther* (*by permission of Jamie and Michael Kassler, Northbridge, NSW, Australia*) 423

- Figure 7.8* Stanhope's rejected 1806 letter-music transcription of Mazzinghi's arrangement of Handel's overture to *Esther* (in *Centre for Kentish Studies U1590/C97*, by permission of the Centre manager and the Trustees of the Chevening Estate) 424
- Figure 7.9* Stanhope's 1807 letter-music transcription of the same music (in *Centre for Kentish Studies U1590/C97*, by permission of the Centre manager and the Trustees of the Chevening Estate) 425
- Figure 8.1* Label printed for Stanhope's tuning-glasses (in *Centre for Kentish Studies U1590/C97*, by permission of the Centre manager and the Trustees of the Chevening Estate) 441
- Figure 9.1* Lithographed portrait of Georg Jacob Vollweiler, London, 1807 (by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, John Johnson Collection, in *Lithography General Folder 1*) 459
- Figure 9.2* Johann Anton André's *The Offenbach Waltz* printed by Georg Jacob Vollweiler, London, c1807 (by permission of Jamie and Michael Kassler, Northbridge, NSW, Australia) 481



**Taylor & Francis**

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

## TABLES

<i>Table 5.1</i>	John Bland's Title and Thematic Catalogues relating to his Periodical Collections	200– 201
<i>Table 9.1</i>	Music lithographed and printed by Vollweiler's Polyautographic Office in London	497– 501
<i>Table 9.2</i>	Music lithographed and printed by the André firm in Offenbach and sold by Vollweiler's Polyautographic Office in London	502– 505



**Taylor & Francis**

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

## PREFACE

The music trade in Georgian England was based upon shopkeepers called ‘music sellers’ who sold printed music and instruments on which it could be played. These persons—usually partnerships but sometimes sole traders—bought copyrights from composers, arranged for music to be engraved, printed and advertised, and organised the manufacture of musical instruments that they sold under their own names. They engaged external specialists to do the engraving, printing and much of the instrument making, although larger sellers acquired patent rights for instrument inventions and hired their own makers. Music sellers commonly carried out ancillary activities such as tuning and repairing instruments, importing music and retailing concert tickets and books about music. In his *A Complete Dictionary of Music*, published in 1801, Thomas Busby noted that ‘the occupation of a music-seller ... has become an extensive, complex, and mysterious trade, and requires a capital, and a stock of information and experience, of which the music-sellers of the last age had no idea’. The trade was centred in London but distributed its goods and services widely.

As indicated by directories of instrument makers and music publishers, the trade employed thousands of people, and many more must have given music sellers custom. This book does not survey the entire trade but concentrates upon significant aspects of it.

The [first part](#) deals with Longman & Broderip, arguably the foremost English music seller in the late eighteenth century, and the firm’s two successors—Broderip & Wilkinson and Muzio Clementi’s variously styled partnerships—who carried on after Longman & Broderip’s assets were divided in 1798. The next part shows how a rival music seller, John Bland, and his successors, used textual and thematic catalogues to advertise works that they published in periodically issued collections.

Like other shopkeepers, music sellers in the Georgian era were subject to various legal constraints, but the development of musical copyright, detailed in the [third part](#), impinged upon them uniquely. The last part recounts Charles 3rd Earl Stanhope’s efforts to change

the ways in which music was printed and recorded, and describes Georg Jacob Vollweiler's endeavour to introduce the new technology of music lithography into England.

I am grateful to my colleagues who contributed to this book, to the librarians, archivists and scholars who answered our numerous queries, to Rachel Lynch (my editor at Ashgate for more than ten years), to her colleagues James McAllister and Kirsten Weissenberg who looked after the book's production, and to Felicity and Elizabeth Teague who copy-edited its text.

Michael Kassler  
*Northbridge, NSW, Australia*  
June 2011

## ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

The following abbreviations are used in this book. Further abbreviations are defined at their first appearance in a chapter.

Baron	H. Baron collection of lithographed music, University of Reading Library
Beinecke	Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, USA
BL	British Library, London
BL Add. Ms	British Library Additional Manuscript
BM	British Museum, London
Bodleian	Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
CKS	Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone
CLRO	Corporation of London Records Office (records at Guildhall Library)
<i>CMC</i>	David Rowland (ed.), <i>The Correspondence of Muzio Clementi</i> , Bologna, 2010
col.	column number(s)
Coutts	Archivist's Department, Coutts & Co., London
CUL	Cambridge University Library
<i>ER</i>	<i>The English Reports</i> (Edinburgh, 178 volumes, 1900–1932)
ESH	Entered at Stationers' Hall (see below)
f	folio number(s)
fn	footnote
Guildhall	Guildhall Library, London
GUL	Glasgow University Library
IGI	FamilySearch.org ( <a href="https://www.familysearch.org">https://www.familysearch.org</a> , including the International Genealogical Index of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints)
K	private collection of Jamie and Michael Kassler, Northbridge, NSW, Australia
Killerton	Killerton House, Broadclyst, Devon
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives

<i>MESH</i>	Michael Kassler, <i>Music Entries at Stationers' Hall, 1710–1818</i> , Aldershot, 2004
mf	microfiche or microfilm
ms	manuscript
NAL	National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London
n.s.	new series
NYPL	New York Public Library, New York, USA
OB	<i>The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674–1913</i> : <a href="http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/">http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/</a> (see below)
p	page number(s)
pmk	postmark
RCM	Royal College of Music, London
RI	Royal Institution, London
RISM	<i>Répertoire International des Sources Musicales</i> : <a href="http://rism.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/">http://rism.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/</a>
ser.	series
SRO	Somerset Record Office, Norton Fitzwarren, Somerset
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
UNE	University of New England Library, Armidale, NSW, Australia
v	volume number(s)
v	<i>versus</i> [in citations of legal cases]
wmk	watermark

Dates are presented in day/month/year format, i.e., the day precedes the month. The symbols '<' and '>' at the left of a date stand for 'before' and 'after', respectively. A letter is specified by using the format: Sender→Addressee, Date of the letter.

In transcriptions of texts the symbol '|' denotes a line break.

A work described by the acronym 'ESH' followed by a date was entered at Stationers' Hall on that day. If a work was published in London its day of entry there can be regarded as its publication date (see *MESH* p xxi). Symbols that follow the acronym 'OB' give the reference number on <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/> of the proceedings of a particular trial at London's central criminal court.

In this book a person born outside England generally is called by the name by which he or she was known in England.

~ I ~

LONGMAN, BRODERIP  
AND THEIR SUCCESSORS



**Taylor & Francis**

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

## CHRONOLOGY OF THE BUSINESS BEGUN BY JAMES LONGMAN

- 7/1768 James Longman commences business at 26 Cheapside as J. Longman & Co.
- c*1/8/1769 Charles Lukey joins James Longman as partner. Firm is restyled 'Longman, Lukey & Co.'
- c*12/1771–  
*c*3/1772 Firm relocates temporarily to 45 St Paul's Church Yard while 26 Cheapside is rebuilt
- 3–11/1773 Francis Fane Broderip joins the firm as a partner
- c*25/12/1774 Firm restyled 'Longman, Lukey & Broderip'
- 7/1776 Charles Lukey dies
- <20/10/1776 Firm restyled 'Longman & Broderip'
- <2/11/1782 Longman & Broderip acquire additional premises at 13 Haymarket
- <16/4/1787 Longman & Broderip receive warrant from Prince of Wales
- <29/9/1787 Longman & Broderip acquire additional premises in Tottenham Court Road for use as a musical instrument manufactory and timber yard
- c*1/1/1791 Longman & Broderip receive a further warrant from the royal family
- 23/5/1795 Commission of bankrupt awarded against James Longman and Francis Fane Broderip; the firm continues to trade under the control of the assignees

- 11/6/1795      Creditors of the firm asked to empower the assignees to carry on or to dispose of the business
- 7/1795              Assignees decide to continue the business and hire James Longman to conduct its 26 Cheapside and Tottenham Court Road parts and Francis Fane Broderip to conduct its Haymarket part
- 13/11/1795      James Longman and Francis Fane Broderip committed to the Fleet Prison because they are unable to repay debts to Culliford & Co. and others
- 24/5/1796      Office of the Commissioners of Bankrupts grants certificates of conformity to James Longman and Francis Fane Broderip, permitting them to carry out new business activities without accounting for these to the firm's creditors
- 2/11/1796      James Longman and Francis Fane Broderip released from the Fleet Prison and resume their work for the assignees
- 6/4/1797      Creditors asked to empower the assignees to sell the Longman & Broderip business as a whole or in parts
- 1/11/1798      Assignees sell Longman & Broderip's assets to the two partnerships named in the next row and the firm ceases to operate
- 1/11/1798      Francis Fane Broderip and Charles Wilkinson Jr start Broderip & Wilkinson at 13 Haymarket      John Longman, Muzio Clementi, Josiah Banger, Frederick Augustus Hyde, Frederick William Collard and David Davis start Longman, Clementi & Co. at 26 Cheapside and Tottenham Court Road

- 6/3/1801 John Longman leaves partnership, which is restyled 'Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis' or (for short) 'Muzio Clementi & Co.' or 'Clementi & Co.'. John Longman's retirement from the partnership is backdated to 28/6/1800.
- 1/1/1805 George Wilkinson replaces Charles Wilkinson Jr as partner in Broderip & Wilkinson
- 8/2/1807 Francis Fane Broderip dies. His share of the partnership purchased by George Wilkinson in instalments.
- 20/3/1807 Tottenham Court Road premises damaged by fire but subsequently rebuilt
- 22/11/1807 George Wilkinson pays final instalment
- 1/1/1808 Firm starts trading under the style 'Wilkinson & Co.'
- <28/7/1808 Firm acquires additional premises at 3 [Great] Windmill Street for use as a piano manufactory

- 8/1809 Firm determines to exit by 12/1809 all business activities except piano making
- 8–9/1810 William Frederick Collard becomes a partner before 18/8/1810. Frederick Augustus Hyde retires from the partnership on 31/8/1810. Firm restyled ‘Clementi, Banger, Collard, Davis & Collard’ before 18/8/1810.
- 1/1811 Wilkinson & Co. cease trading. George Wilkinson and Robert Wornum II form partnership styled ‘Wilkinson & Wornum’ at 315 Oxford Street to make pianos. Thomas Preston acquires Wilkinson & Co.’s music plates and copyrights.
- 11/10/1812 Wilkinson & Wornum premises destroyed by fire
- c12/1812 George Wilkinson and Robert Wornum II start separate piano-making businesses

- 24/6/1817 Josiah Banger retires from the partnership. Firm restyled 'Clementi, Collard, Davis & Collard'.
- 9/1/1822 David Davis dies. Firm restyled 'Clementi, Collard & Collard'.
- 24/6/1831 Muzio Clementi retires from the partnership. Firm restyled 'Collard & Collard'.



**Taylor & Francis**

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# LONGMAN & BRODERIP

Jenny Nex

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

As a centre of enlightened thought and the primary focus of commerce in Britain, London grew to become the largest city in Europe by the end of the eighteenth century. It was the hub of the British royal court, the legal system and the church, and a major port, and it attracted visitors and migrants from all over Britain, the European mainland and farther afield, its population rising from about 750,000 in 1700 to around 900,000 a century later. Furthermore, London was a major focus for intellectual and artistic pursuits, playing host both to the Royal Society—properly ‘The Royal Society of London for the Promotion of Natural Knowledge’, whose main concern was the furthering of ‘scientific’ activities—and to the Royal Academy of Arts, founded in 1768 to train artists and to guide wider artistic taste.<sup>1</sup> Inevitably, London became a centre of fashionable society, with royalty, nobility and gentry spending at least part of the year in the capital, attending the theatre, pleasure gardens and concerts. Music played a central role in both public and private entertainment, and the market for printed music and musical instruments grew as a consequence. This in turn led to an increase in the number of music sellers and other persons employed in the trade.

Newspapers at this time published notices that promoted individual firms and made the public aware of their importance. Although it generally is not known who placed such notices, in cases such as the following self-promotion seems the most likely motive:

---

<sup>1</sup> See Jeremy Black and Roy Porter (eds), *A Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century World History*, London, 1994, articles on ‘London’ (p 422), ‘Royal Academy of Arts’ (p 652) and ‘Royal Society’ (p 653).

The proof of ENGLISH GENIUS is, in no instance evidenced more perceivably, than in the invention and improvement of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, which, within these few years, have become very considerable articles of export, whereas formerly, the *amateurs* imported from ITALY. But now LONDON has become as famous for every species of musical instruments, as CREMONA has been for exceeding in *violins*, and may boast of one manufactory which gives employment to several hundred workmen of different denominations. We allude to that of Mess. LONGMAN and BRODERIP.<sup>2</sup>

The activity of Longman and his partners that culminated in the firm of Longman & Broderip was central to musical life in London for thirty years from 1768, and their legacy can still be felt today. As their work encompassed many areas—instrument making and dealing, music publishing, selling concert tickets, entertaining visiting musicians and establishing property rights—they are often mentioned in books and articles about this period. However, due to the complexity of their situation and the lack of surviving company records, many misunderstandings and myths have become established by repetition. I hope that this chapter will lay to rest some of these inaccuracies.

The focus of this chapter is the instrument-making side of the firm, although it does not include an examination of the surviving instruments. That, together with detailed analysis of the firm's music publishing activities, lies outside the scope of this work.

Because of the scale of the firm's business, many individuals make an appearance in this chapter. However, the thread which runs through it all is in the shape of James Longman.

## 1.2 THE EARLY YEARS

James Longman was born in Corton Denham in Somerset, the fourth and youngest son of Joseph and Susan(n)a(h). His baptism is recorded on 17 April 1745,<sup>3</sup> some ten years after that of his eldest brother Joseph Jr. Between the middle two brothers, George and John, a sister

---

<sup>2</sup> *The Times*, 31 January 1788, p 3.

<sup>3</sup> All dates have been converted to the Gregorian calendar, adopted in Britain in 1752. Before then, years began in March rather than January.

Ann was born, but she died at the age of three.<sup>4</sup> James lost both of his parents in his early years, his mother passing away only a year after his baptism and his father some four years later.<sup>5</sup> In his will, Joseph described himself as a linen weaver of Corton Denham. He bequeathed all his property to his four sons, the most to the eldest son Joseph Jr, who received land settled on his mother as well as the tools of his father's trade, including looms and engines and the use of the 'Brooken House and Water'. The younger three also received a share of Joseph's other 'lands and tenements' and were each to receive £490 when they reached the age of twenty-one years. Until then, the interest on these sums was to be paid for their maintenance and education.<sup>6</sup> Thus, a family of four boys aged fifteen, thirteen, eight and five were left without parental guidance but with the means to support themselves if they had the skill to do so. It is not known whether the boys' uncle William, executor of their father's will, stepped in to the breach, but the family seem to have been able to keep going without falling into poverty.

The next known appearance of James is in 1760, when he began his career in London. Why the profession of musical instrument maker was chosen by or for him is not clear, nor why he moved so far from his native land, but London certainly offered opportunities for him. Members of the wider Longman family were already established in the capital, so he could have been under the supervision of a kinsman.<sup>7</sup>

At a meeting of the Worshipful Company of Cooks on 7 June that year, James Longman, said to be 'aged 14', was bound

---

<sup>4</sup> Parish records for Corton Denham, SRO mf D\P\co.d.2/1/1 M4184/2, baptisms 1538–1760. Joseph was baptised on 2 March 1735, George on 18 October 1737, Ann on 6 February 1740 and John on 30 July 1742. All are recorded as children of Joseph and Susan(n)a(h). Ann was buried on 10 October 1743 (SRO mf D\P\co.d.2/1/1 M4184/4, burials 1560–1812).

<sup>5</sup> SRO mf D\P\co.d.2/1/1 M4184/4, burials 1560–1812. Susannah Longman was buried on 27 May 1746 and Joseph Longman on 29 November 1750.

<sup>6</sup> TNA PROB 11/786, court copy of will of Joseph Longman, written 31 July 1748, proved 13 February 1751. The executors named were Joseph's brother William and cousin Robert Longman.

<sup>7</sup> A detailed survey of the Longman family has been made by Dennis Longman. His unpublished notes are now housed at the Society of Genealogists in London.

apprentice to John Johnson, a ‘citizen and cook’, for seven years for the not inconsiderable sum of £105.<sup>8</sup> The records of the Cooks’ Company confirm that this is indeed our James Longman as his father is described as ‘Joseph Longman of Corton Denham in the County of Somerset, doulas maker’, even though James’s stated age differs by a year from his actual age as extrapolated from his christening date (not uncommon in archival sources of this period). Doulas is a cloth of coarse linen that was worn mainly by the lower classes, and fits with Joseph’s occupation of linen-weaver as described in his will.<sup>9</sup> The description of John Johnson as a cook is also not problematic once it is realised that musical instrument makers did not have their own guild at this time, so it was necessary for one wishing to work within the City of London to belong to an established livery company. Musical instrument makers appear in a number of guilds, including the Cooks’, Spectacle Makers’, Turners’, Glovers’ and Haberdashers’ Companies.<sup>10</sup> Johnson referred to himself as a musical instrument maker (his trade card is reproduced in *Figure 1.1*) and worked from a shop facing St Mary le Bow Church on Cheapside, at the sign of the Harp and Crown.<sup>11</sup>

What James learnt from his master is uncertain, but as Johnson made violins it is likely that James received some training as a luthier. Johnson’s trade card states that he sold ‘all sorts of musical instruments’ as well as reeds, strings and harpsichord wire. In addition, he bought second-hand instruments and published music, so James would have seen how it was possible to combine different aspects of the music trade in order to make a living.

The composer Charles Dibdin records that his brother Thomas introduced him to Johnson’s employ about 1756, ‘by way of putting me in the road to church preferment’. As ‘old Johnson ... kept a

---

<sup>8</sup> Worshipful Company of Cooks, Court Minutes, 1738–1784, Guildhall ms 3111/2 p 179.

<sup>9</sup> Ivor H. Evans (ed.), *Brewer’s Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 14th ed., London, 1995, p 348.

<sup>10</sup> Cliff Webb, *London Livery Company Apprenticeship Registers*, 41 volumes, London, 1996–2007.

<sup>11</sup> John Milnes (ed.), *The British Violin*, Oxford, 2000, p 40.



*Figure 1.1 Trade card of John Johnson  
(Tony Bingham Collection, London, by permission)*

capital music-shop in Cheapside', Charles Dibdin started with a positive attitude, but soon

grew tired of an attendance on him, for I saw no chance of advancement to the organ-loft; and he never failed, when I called, to set me down to tune harpsichords, a mere mechanical employment, not at all to my taste, which I buckled to with great reluctance, and considered as the height of indignity.<sup>12</sup>

He had more ambition than he saw could be fulfilled remaining where he was, so

I began to look about me, and to consider how I might least infringe on my plan of independence. I saw plainly that I might have screwed up harpsichords in old Johnson's shop to all eternity without advancing my fortune; and, as to the songs and sonatas that I brought him for sale, they had not been performed at the theatres nor Vauxhall, nor any other place, nor introduced by music-masters at boarding-schools; besides, they came out under no patronage—and then, again, I am ready to allow they were puerile, imperfect and crude; but that, indeed, would have brought with it no objection, had they boasted the foregoing advantages.<sup>13</sup>

This demonstrates one way in which music sellers chose music to publish: if it was performed in the expanding public arena of theatres, pleasure gardens or concerts, they could promote it as such and hope to generate more sales than if it were sold purely on its own merits.

Dibdin also was frustrated that Johnson's friendship with Thomas Dibdin, a sea captain, was not more productive. He had helped Johnson by taking goods that were not selling well in London to the West Indies, where the market for London-made goods and music was expanding. Charles Dibdin's complaints, although interesting in themselves, are of particular significance when seen in the light of James Longman's later career. As well as learning to make instruments, he would have seen how a company operated both in the home market and in the increasing export market, supplying a range of goods including instruments and printed music as well as services such as instrument tuning.

---

<sup>12</sup> Charles Dibdin, *The Professional Life of Mr Dibdin, written by himself*, London, 1803, v 1 p 17.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, v 1 p 18.

However, James did not serve his full term of seven years under Johnson. He died in 1761,<sup>14</sup> and his widow Ruth took over the firm, a common practice in eighteenth-century London. In 1767 there was a further hitch as James was ‘discharged by judgement in the Outer Court’.<sup>15</sup> This meant that he was not able to gain his freedom of the City by servitude, as he was still three months short of completing his seven years’ service. He appealed to a different livery company, the Spectacle Makers’, to allow him to pay a fee and enter this company ‘by redemption’. This he was permitted to do, and for the sum of £2/6/8 James was admitted into the Freedom of the City of London in the Company of Spectacle Makers on 5 March 1767.<sup>16</sup>

The year 1767 was significant also for James’s inheritance. If we accept that a year was ‘lost’ before he began his apprenticeship, he would have been twenty-one around 17 April 1767, and whatever was left of the £490 and the share in the property bequeathed to him by his father would have come into his own control. Thus, within two months, he became able to work independently within the City of London and had some financial backing to help him to set up on his own. His first appearance in the Land Tax Assessment Books is in the Ward of Farringdon Within, St Matthew’s precinct, where he is listed under Goldsmiths Row.<sup>17</sup> Although this street does not appear on contemporary maps such as Rocque’s published in 1747 and Horwood’s of 1799–1819,<sup>18</sup> Goldsmiths’ Row was a group of houses

---

<sup>14</sup> TNA PROB 11/866, court copy of John Johnson’s will, signed 19 January 1742, proved 8 June 1761. His sole legatee and executrix was his wife Ruth. No will in her name has been traced. The May 1762 date given for Johnson’s death in the records of the Spectacle Makers’ Company (CLRO CF1/943, ELJL/943/2) is incorrect.

<sup>15</sup> The reason for this judgement is not known as relevant records have not survived.

<sup>16</sup> Records of the Spectacle Makers’ Company, *op. cit.* I am grateful to Nancy Mace for helping me to find this record.

<sup>17</sup> LMA, formerly Guildhall ms 11.316/205–89.

<sup>18</sup> John Rocque, *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark*, London, 1747, republished as *The A to Z of Georgian London*, Lympne Castle, Kent, 1981; and Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, with the Borough of Southwark...*, London, 1813, republished as *The A to Z of Regency London*, Lympne Castle, Kent, 1985.

on the south side of Cheapside near St Paul's Cathedral, on the other side of the road from Johnson's premises. It was so called because it was owned by the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, whose Hall is still located on Foster Lane, not far from the same end of Cheapside.<sup>19</sup> During this period of establishing himself, James Longman seems to have come to an arrangement with Ruth Johnson, for when she ceased to use the sign of the Harp and Crown inherited from her husband, it was taken over by him.<sup>20</sup>

The extent to which Longman used that sign is not clear from the historical record. Its appearances seem to have dwindled rapidly, and eventually another 'logo', of Apollo playing a lyre, was substituted (see *Figure 1.5* on page 60 below), although that too seems not to have been used for long.

The numbering of houses on Cheapside is confused. Although all other contemporary sources give Longman's address as 26 Cheapside, the Goldsmiths' rent books did not use that numbering until 1781: they record that Longman was responsible from 1769 for the rent of houses numbered 48 (or 49), 17 (called the Queen's Head) and part of 16.<sup>21</sup> His arrangement with the Goldsmiths' Company between 1767, when he began to pay Land Tax, and 28 August 1772, when his formal lease was signed, is not clear. The tenants previous to Longman were James Corneck at no. 17 and Edward Thorowgood at no. 48. Corneck, a hosier, apparently did not vacate his premises entirely when Longman took over, as he is recorded as still living

---

<sup>19</sup> Rent books of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths (in the Company's library) v 10, Lady Day 1763–1773. There are two series of rent books, for Lady Day (25 March) and Michaelmas Day (29 September), the rents being due every six months.

<sup>20</sup> *The Public Advertiser*, 4 May 1768, p 1, has the last located advertisement for 'Mrs Johnson, at the Harp and Crown, in Cheapside', while the first advertisement found with 'J. Longman and Co. at the Harp and Crown, No. 26, Cheapside' is in *The Public Advertiser*, 21 July 1768, p 3. Widow Johnson appears to have operated under the heading 'At the Old Music Shop, no. 110, in Cheapside', until her death in 1777. Her stock was advertised for sale at auction in July that year (*The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 11 June 1777, p 3).

<sup>21</sup> 26 Cheapside was formed from what had been these three separate properties. Longman paid £7 'rent for the quarter to Lady Day 1769'.

there some years later.<sup>22</sup> This may have been a consequence of housing issues in London described by Adam Smith:

The dearness of house-rent in London, arises, not only from those causes which render it dear in all great capitals, the dearness of labour, the dearness of all the materials of building, which must generally be bought from a great distance, and above all the dearness of ground-rent, every landlord acting the part of a monopolist, and frequently exacting a higher rent for a single acre of bad land in town, than can be had for a hundred of the best in the country; but it arises in part from the peculiar manners and customs of the people, which oblige every master of a family to hire a whole house from top to bottom.<sup>23</sup>

As a result

A tradesman in London is obliged to hire a whole house in that part of the town where his customers live. His shop is upon the ground-floor, and he and his family sleep in the garret; and he endeavours to pay a part of his house-rent by letting the two middle stories to lodgers.<sup>24</sup>

### 1.3 LONGMAN, LUKEY & Co.

Between 20 July and 8 August 1769, James Longman took a business partner named Charles Lukey.<sup>25</sup> No information has come to light about the terms of their partnership or who had responsibility for particular activities. Like Longman, Lukey came up to London from the West Country. He was born in Falmouth in Cornwall where he was baptised on 5 November 1740, making him James's senior by five or six years.<sup>26</sup> Lukey was the third of at least six children and

---

<sup>22</sup> TNA PROB 10/2721, will of Charles Lukey, written February 1774 with a codicil dated 17 October 1775, proved 10 May 1777.

<sup>23</sup> Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, London, 1776, v 1 p 146.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> In *The Public Advertiser*, 20 July 1769, p 3, the firm is advertised as J. Longman and Co.; in *The Public Advertiser*, 8 August 1769, p 3, it is advertised as Longman, Lukey, and Co.

<sup>26</sup> IGI. His parents were named Charles and Grace.

probably the eldest son.<sup>27</sup> His father was a shopkeeper,<sup>28</sup> so would have had an idea of commercial practices. It is not known whether Lukey undertook a formal apprenticeship or when he removed to London, but he was admitted to the Worshipful Company of Musicians on 18 September 1772<sup>29</sup> and was made free of the City of London by redemption on 26 January 1773, paying, like Longman, £2/6/8 for this privilege.<sup>30</sup> It seems likely that Lukey was a subsidiary partner to Longman before then, as lack of the necessary freedom would have made it difficult for Lukey to be in charge of a business within the City of London.

In 1771 the partners decided that the premises at 26 Cheapside were not adequate for their purposes, so they removed temporarily to 45 St Paul's Church Yard, just up the road, while a building project was undertaken at no. 26.<sup>31</sup> This work did not go altogether to plan, as *The Public Advertiser* reported in August that 'yesterday morning a man fell from Longman and Co.'s house in Cheapside, which is repairing, and was taken up for dead'.<sup>32</sup> And in September:

Yesterday morning, at the house Mr Longman is pulling down in Cheapside, there had like to have happened a second dreadful accident by the wall of the Nag's Head falling in; but owing to a cart not coming at the appointed time, eight men that were at work were saved by their going to breakfast half an hour before their time merely on that account.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> The children of Charles Lukey Sr and Grace Lukey christened in Falmouth are listed in IGI as Prudence *bap*7/8/1736, Grace *bap*27/12/1738, Charles *bap*5/11/1740, Elizabeth *bap*24/10/1742, Mary *bap*1/3/1747 and Benjamin *bap*26/2/1749. Charles Lukey's (the son's) will (cited in note 22 above) also mentions a brother called Richard.

<sup>28</sup> CLRO, Worshipful Company of Musicians, Freedom Records, ELJL/1000/26.

<sup>29</sup> 'A List of the Court of Assistants of the Worshipful Company of Musicians', Guildhall ms 3098 p 62.

<sup>30</sup> Worshipful Company of Musicians, Freedom Records, *loc. cit.*

<sup>31</sup> *The Public Advertiser*, 9 December 1771, p 4.

<sup>32</sup> *The Public Advertiser*, 20 August 1771, p 2.

<sup>33</sup> *The Public Advertiser*, 27 September 1771, p 32.

It is somehow reassuring to note how little working habits have changed in two hundred years.

On their return to 26 Cheapside in 1772, Longman himself held the lease for the first time: it was for 60½ years from Lady Day 1772 to Michaelmas 1832 at the rate of £50/8/4 per year.<sup>34</sup> The lease makes clear what the building project involved, as it says that a rear section was added to the existing building at the cost of some £800, the two parts being numbered 17 and 48.<sup>35</sup> Having spent this large sum, it is understandable that James took out a policy with the Hand-in-Hand Fire Office on 29 April 1772 to insure the premises for £1,500.<sup>36</sup>

#### 1.4 LONGMAN, LUKEY & BRODERIP

In 1773 a third partner joined the firm.<sup>37</sup> Francis Fane Broderip came from a family of musicians in Wells, Somerset. A son of John (the organist of Wells Cathedral) and Eleanor, he was received into the church on 1 November 1750 and was the youngest of three children recorded in the Cathedral registers from this union, Elizabeth being received in 1746 and William in 1748.<sup>38</sup> Like Lukey, Broderip was not free of the City when he joined the firm, but was admitted to the Freedom of the Worshipful Company of Spectacle Makers on 16 January 1777 by redemption.<sup>39</sup> Although Francis Broderip seems to

---

<sup>34</sup> Lady Day (the Feast of the Annunciation, 25 March), Midsummer's Day (21 June), Michaelmas (the Feast of St Michael, 29 September) and Christmas Day were the 'quarter days' which structured the business year.

<sup>35</sup> Lease between The Goldsmiths' Company and James Longman, 28 August 1772. The counterpart copy is in the Company's library at Goldsmiths' Hall.

<sup>36</sup> Policy no. 88125, LMA formerly Guildhall ms 8674/113 p 83.

<sup>37</sup> A document in the 1773 legal case *Bach v Longman* (TNA C12/71/22) indicates that Broderip joined the firm between March and November 1773.

<sup>38</sup> Transcripts of Wells Cathedral Registers of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1660–1982 (SRO mf DD/WCL 69). Burials: 30/12/1770, John Broderip, organist of the Cathedral; 11/4/1785, Mrs Eleanor Broderip, widow of the late Mr John Broderip Organist of the Cathedral.

<sup>39</sup> I am grateful to Colin Eldridge, Honorary Archivist of the Spectacle Makers' Company, for advising that the Company's records corroborate Broderip's origins, as his father is described there as John Broderip of Wells, Somerset.

have lived at the Cheapside premises initially,<sup>40</sup> he later resided at Warwick Court with his family<sup>41</sup> and eventually became manager of the Haymarket branch that the firm established in 1782.<sup>42</sup>

All three partners married during the early years of the firm. Lukey was first, his wife Mary producing two children, Charles Jr on 19 September 1772 and Mary Jr on 6 September 1773,<sup>43</sup> both of whom feature in the firm's later history. The marriage was recorded in the Leominster parish register on 2 July 1771.<sup>44</sup> That these are indeed the correct people is evidenced by Charles's address in the 'Parish of Saint Michael le Querne, otherwise Foster Lane, London', in which 26 Cheapside is found.<sup>45</sup> While Charles was a bachelor, his wife Mary was widowed, her former husband Mr Broderip having died in the previous year. This was William Broderip, the Leominster organist, who appears to have been a relative, perhaps a cousin, of Francis. William had married Mary Woodhouse on 21 February 1770 in Leominster,<sup>46</sup> but details of her origins are not known.

Francis Broderip married Anne Longman on 12 January 1774 in West Drayton, Middlesex.<sup>47</sup> Again it is not possible to be certain of

<sup>40</sup> London Borough of Hillingdon, Parish of West Drayton, register of baptisms, marriages and burials, 1701–1813, LMA DRO1/A1/3, p 12. Broderip is recorded as being 'of the Parish of St Vedast Foster Lane', in which 26 Cheapside is situated.

<sup>41</sup> His four sons were baptised in the parish of St Andrew Holborn, from Warwick Court. LMA, formerly Guildhall ms 6667/12–13.

<sup>42</sup> In 1785 the 'gentleman composer' John Marsh wrote in his journal that after his quartet had been engraved and printed he 'desired some [copies] to be sent to Longman's in Cheapside for sale upon the usual terms, & as many to his partner Broderip in the Haymarket'. See Brian Robins (ed.), *The John Marsh Journals*, Stuyvesant, New York, 1998, p 348.

<sup>43</sup> Willoughby A. Littledale (ed.), *The Registers of St Vedast Forster Lane and St Michael le Querne*, Harleian Society registers no. 29, London, 1902, p 192 and p 282.

<sup>44</sup> In the Herefordshire Archive Service, Hereford.

<sup>45</sup> The parish of St Michael le Querne was united with the parish of Foster Lane after the Great Fire of 1666.

<sup>46</sup> IGI.

<sup>47</sup> *loc. cit.* in note 40 above.

Anne's familial connections with her husband's colleagues as none of their parents is named in the marriage record. The clergyman who married them was one J. Longman. The Rev. John Longman I came from North Cadbury in Somerset and was ordained by John Wynne, Bishop of Bath and Wells, on 23 September 1733.<sup>48</sup> North Cadbury is not far from Corton Denham, so it seems likely that James was related to the Rev. John Longman, who died at the Broderips' house in 1792.<sup>49</sup> To add to the confusion, Anne's brother was a second Rev. John Longman, who also died at the Broderips' house three years later.<sup>50</sup> Either the father or the son might have performed the marriage between Anne and Francis. It appears that Anne brought a legacy to the marriage since she had inherited £200 from an uncle in 1769. A second bequest brought her £400 in 1789,<sup>51</sup> a useful addition to the family finances since the Broderips' four sons, John, William, Charles and Francis, were born between 1775 and 1788.<sup>52</sup>

The last of the three men to take a wife, James Longman married Elizabeth Tomkyns, daughter of Packington and Elizabeth

---

<sup>48</sup> 'Clergy of the Church of England Database' (<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>), record ID 46467.

<sup>49</sup> 'DIED. ... On Wednesday, at Mr Broderip's, in Bedford-row, the Rev. John Longman, father of Mrs Broderip, at the advanced age of eighty-four' (*The Morning Herald*, 9 June 1792, p 3).

<sup>50</sup> *The Star*, 2 March 1795, p 4. This death notice describes Rev. John Longman II as 'of Uxbridge, in the fifty-first year of his age'. Together with Francis Broderip, Mrs Broderip (presumably Anne), and their sons John and William (both then at Eton College), 'Rev. Mr Longman, Uxbridge' subscribed to Richard Eastcott, *Sketches of the Origin, Progress and Effects of Music*, Bath, 1793. Longman & Broderip also subscribed for six copies of this book, probably for sale to their customers.

<sup>51</sup> In the will of James Longman of Bristol, glassmaker, made 7/4/1768 and proved 16/3/1769, he left £200 each to Anne and her brother John. He also bequeathed £800 for the benefit of his sister Mary, which upon her death was to be divided equally between Anne and John. The will of Mary Longman of Bristol, spinster, was made 17/12/1788 and proved 14/2/1789. Information recorded from the *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* by Dennis Longman in his Longman family study (see note 7 above).

<sup>52</sup> IGI. They were all christened at Saint Andrew Holborn: John *bap*12/1/1775, William *bap*26/3/1778, Charles *bap*1/3/1781 and Francis *bap*27/3/1788. Their careers are briefly described in the next chapter.

Tomkyns at St Anne's, Soho, on 7 April 1775.<sup>53</sup> The Tomkyns family were wine merchants of Oxford Street and were of sufficient wealth that, on the death of her father, Elizabeth had her own income from his estate.<sup>54</sup> This included a sum in the three per cent consolidated annuities which brought her a total of £144/14/15 between 17 July 1779 and 25 January 1785.<sup>55</sup> That this income did not automatically pass to her husband, as would have been the general case, is due to the clause in her father's will that bequeathed the funds to his

daughter Elizabeth Longman and her assigns for and during the term of her natural life for her own sole and separate use and benefit and not to be subject or liable to the debts engagements or controul of her present husband and so that he may not have any thing to do or intermeddle therewith.<sup>56</sup>

While this strong language might appear at first to show a dislike or distrust of Longman by his father-in-law, it was the usual wording in documents where a father wished to secure the financial future of his daughter. Otherwise, the law was such that any property received by a wife belonged to her husband.<sup>57</sup>

The triumvirate of Longman, Lukey & Broderip, cemented not only through business but also through familial ties, existed for less than three years, as Lukey died in his home town of Falmouth in July 1776. In his will, written in 1774, he bequeathed £10 each plus some personal effects to his mother Grace and his four siblings Richard, Elizabeth (Betsey), Grace and Prudence. However, a codicil of October 1775 stated that Richard and Betsey 'shall not receive more than one shilling from my property', that which was previously

---

<sup>53</sup> IGI.

<sup>54</sup> TNA E/112/1787/6238, *Longman v Assignees*, 1802.

<sup>55</sup> TNA C12/1703/6, *Longman v Tomkyns*, 1785.

<sup>56</sup> TNA PROB 11/1041, court copy of the will of Packington Tomkyns, made 3 August 1775, proved 7 April 1778. See also TNA PROB 11/1274, court copy of the will of Elizabeth Tomkyns, made 12 January 1789, proved 9 April 1796.

<sup>57</sup> It was not until the Married Women's Property Act in 1857 and subsequent legislation that married British women were able to own property independently of their husbands. See John Belchem and Richard Price (eds), *The Penguin Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century History*, London, 1996, p 365–367.

designed for them going instead to Charles Jr. The cause of this change of heart is not recorded. As well as the three central legatees—his wife Mary and their two children—Lukey bequeathed mourning rings, each of the value of one guinea, to James Longman, Francis Broderip, George Eltoft (their clerk),<sup>58</sup> James Corneck and Ely Dyson, all of Cheapside and probably all residing at number 26. The latter two men, both hosiers, also acted as the executors and trustees of the will. Lukey's wife Mary was nominated as guardian of the children and also received his 'two reels or machines for silvering strings and also my household goods plate china and linnen of every kind to be possessed and enjoyed by her for her own use'.<sup>59</sup>

The mention of machines for silvering strings is significant as it indicates one of the operations which the firm undertook itself rather than by hiring outsiders. As women at this time often were left widowed with children to care for, it was important that they could support themselves if the need arose, and this bequest enabled Lukey's wife to earn a living after he died.

### 1.5 LONGMAN AND BRODERIP AS PARTNERS

Lukey's death left the firm with two partners, James Longman and Francis Fane Broderip, the way it remained, at least in appearance, until 1798, when its assets were divided and sold to Broderip & Wilkinson and Longman, Clementi & Co. The partnership was not an equal one as Longman owned a three-quarter share and Broderip the remainder.<sup>60</sup> They allowed themselves £10/10/- to be drawn from their business each week, giving Longman a weekly wage of £7/17/6 and Broderip £2/12/6.<sup>61</sup> This equalled an annual salary of £136/10/- for Broderip and £409/10/- for Longman, and compares favourably

---

<sup>58</sup> Office of the Commission of Bankrupts and Successors: Order books relating to petitions against declarations of bankruptcy, TNA B1/93, 1795–1796, p 68–73, 28 July 1796.

<sup>59</sup> TNA PROB 10/2721, court copy of will of Charles Lukey, written February 1774, proved 10 May 1777, codicil dated 17 October 1775.

<sup>60</sup> TNA C12/178/48, *Smith v Longman*, 1791.

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*

with tradesmen, who earned about £40, army officers, who were paid up to about £100, and lawyers, who earned about £200 per year. Successful manufacturers and tradesmen in London earned between £200 and £600 per year.<sup>62</sup> These numbers also show that, together with the £50/8/4 paid to the Goldsmiths' Company for the premises at 26 Cheapside,<sup>63</sup> the firm spent some £600 per annum on rent and the salaries of the two partners alone.

One of the few references to the characters of the partners is found in the Rev. William Peters's description of members of the Prince of Wales's Lodge of Freemasons in 1788, where Broderip, then aged 37, is described as 'a good, jolly fellow'.<sup>64</sup> He was initiated into this Lodge on 16 April 1787 and seems to have been an energetic member, acting as secretary in March 1788 and providing the lodge with 'an elegant and useful desk, and a chest for the use of the secretary of this lodge', for which he was given the 'thanks of this lodge ... for his generous donation'. He became a deputy warden in 1790, proposed members and seconded the appointment of others.<sup>65</sup>

Longman and Broderip supported the Whig party, as in the Westminster polls of 1784, 1788 and 1790 they both voted for Samuel Lord Hood and Charles James Fox.<sup>66</sup> Both partners also signed in 1792 the declaration:

of our determined Resolution to support, by every Means in our Power,  
the ancient and most excellent Constitution of Great Britain, and a

<sup>62</sup> Liza Picard, *Dr Johnson's London*, London, 2000, p 55. These amounts are based upon statistics of average family incomes compiled by the economist Joseph Massie in 1759.

<sup>63</sup> James Longman's 28 August 1772 lease (see note 35 above).

<sup>64</sup> See Henry Sadler, *Thomas Dunkerley, his Life, Labours, and Letters*, London, 1891, p 131–132. Peters was secretary of the lodge. I am grateful for Michael Kassler for this reference.

<sup>65</sup> I thank Diane Clements, director, The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, for searching the Lodge's archive, and Michael Kassler for forwarding the results of the search to me. Thanks also to the Prince of Wales's Lodge, no. 259, for permitting these references to be cited.

<sup>66</sup> LMA, Westminster Poll Books, WR/PP1784/22 & 24 (1784); WR/PP1788/15 & 16 (1788); WR/PP1790/10 & 11 (1790). My thanks to Lance Whitehead for this information.

Government by King, Lords, and Commons; and to exert our best Endeavours to impress on the Minds of those connected with us, a Reverence for, and a due Submission to the Laws of their Country, which have hitherto preserved the Liberty, protected the Property, and increased the Enjoyments of a free and prosperous People.<sup>67</sup>

Longman and Broderip may have felt obliged to sign this declaration because they had held an appointment to the Prince of Wales for a number of years. Newspaper advertisements claiming this warrant have not been found before December 1787,<sup>68</sup> but for Broderip to join the Prince of Wales's Lodge he would have needed such an appointment, so it must have preceded 16 April 1787.<sup>69</sup> The firm must later have received additional royal appointments, as from January 1791 they advertised that they were 'Manufacturers of Musical Instruments, and Music Sellers to their Majesties, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and all the Royal Family'.<sup>70</sup>

## 1.6 MUSIC PUBLISHING AND LEGAL ISSUES

As mentioned, music publishing was a core activity of James Longman and his partners from the outset. Nearly 700 Longman & Broderip publications were entered at Stationers' Hall.<sup>71</sup> Because musical instruments were bought only occasionally it was good for music sellers to have another string to their bow. An ongoing service

---

<sup>67</sup> *Declaration of the Merchants, Bankers, Traders, and other Inhabitants of London, made at Merchant Taylors' Hall, December 5th, 1792...*, London, 1793, p 4 (copy at BL 1141.d.6(5)): 'Frans. Broderip' (p 12), 'James Longman' (p 43).

<sup>68</sup> In *The Daily Universal Register*, 7 December 1787, p 1, they advertised that they were 'music-sellers, and musical instrument-makers, to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales'.

<sup>69</sup> I thank Diane Clements for this information.

<sup>70</sup> *The World*, 24 January 1791, p 1. Only their appointment to the Prince of Wales was noted in their advertisement in *The World*, 31 December 1790, p 1.

<sup>71</sup> See *MESH* and Nancy A. Mace, 'The market for music in the late eighteenth century and the entry books of the Stationers' Company', *The Library* v 10 no. 2 (June 2009) p 157–187 at p 162–163.

of providing music to instrument owners could generate further sales over a long term.

Works published and sold by Longman & Broderip included solo and chamber music, songs with easy accompaniments for the amateur, and favourite pieces arranged from the popular operas of the day. They also sold tutors that taught people to play instruments that they had purchased. Between 1770 and 1790, the firm issued instruction books for the harpsichord, piano, flute, oboe, bassoon, clarinet, bagpipe, violin, guitar, mandoline, harp, cistre (cittern) and tenor (viola).<sup>72</sup> Their July 1789 eight-page catalogue listed about 500 works for sale, including their own publications and editions imported ‘from different parts of Europe’.<sup>73</sup>

It seems likely that the firm used external engravers and printers to produce their publications, but few such tradesmen can be definitely linked with them. In 1791 John Williams said that he had known Longman and Broderip for some twenty years and had printed music for them.<sup>74</sup> His proximity to their Cheapside shop in 1780 is recorded in the policy that insured his dwelling house, utensils, stock and other goods at 7 Fountain Court for £300.<sup>75</sup> Williams is not mentioned in standard reference books, but Humphries and Smith include Lucy Williams of Fountain Court, a music and copperplate printer who started printing in 1808 and printed some music for Clementi & Co., which succeeded Longman, Clementi & Co.<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> See Adrienne Simpson, ‘A short-title list of printed English instrumental tutors up to 1800, held in British libraries’, *RMA Research Chronicle* no. 6 (1966) p 24–50.

<sup>73</sup> Imagery of the copy of this catalogue at BL RB.23.b.2153 is in the database *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

<sup>74</sup> TNA E133/54/55, *Forster v Longman*, 1791.

<sup>75</sup> LMA, formerly Guildhall ms 11936/287 p 18, Sun Fire Office policy no. 432842, 12 September 1780.

<sup>76</sup> Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1970, p 335. Her will shows that her business had multiple locations in 1843: 123 Cheapside, 17 St Martins le Grand, and no. 72 and no. 21 of the Pantheon on Oxford Street (TNA PROB 11/1994, p 97–98, court copy of the will of Lucy Williams, made 1 September 1843, proved 2 February 1844).

Robert Williamson, a music printer,<sup>77</sup> and James Freeman, a music engraver, gave evidence in court saying that they knew Longman and Broderip, but neither testified that he had worked for them.<sup>78</sup>

In the 1780s the King's Theatre in the Haymarket appears to have granted the benefit of publishing music performed there to its copyist Leopoldo di Micheli, who in turn sold this right to Longman & Broderip for about £40 per season.<sup>79</sup> This enabled the firm to publish music which would be bought by the theatre-going public who wished to keep up with the latest fashions. However, this was not as simple an arrangement as it might seem. The law of musical copyright was not well established at this time, and it was unclear whether copyright in a composition was owned by the composer, the performer or the copyist.<sup>80</sup> This led to trouble, as all three parties could sell rights in a composition to different persons, bringing composers and rival publishers into conflict with one another. For example, a case concerning ownership of copyright was brought by the composer Stephen Storace after Longman & Broderip published a song from his opera *Il Re Teodoro*. Here, the question of ownership was between Storace, his sister Nancy who sang the aria, and di Micheli, who sold it to Longman & Broderip. Stephen Storace won the case in July 1789 and was awarded an injunction against Longman & Broderip publishing the aria in question, a token 1/- compensation and legal costs.<sup>81</sup>

Perhaps the most significant occurrences during the Longman, Lukey & Co. years from the point of view of their long-term and wide-ranging impact are the court cases discussed in [Chapter 6](#) that were brought against the firm by the composers John Christian Bach and Charles Frederick Abel in 1773. Joseph Haydn, through the

---

<sup>77</sup> TNA E113/82/27, *Longman v Blundell*, 1781.

<sup>78</sup> TNA E113/54/55, *Forster v Longman*, 1791.

<sup>79</sup> See Curtis Price, Judith Milhous and Robert D Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London: Volume 1: The King's Theatre, Haymarket*, Oxford, 1995, p 38, quoting 21 July 1789 testimony of Sir John Andrew Gallini, a trustee of the opera company, in TNA C107/201.

<sup>80</sup> A detailed survey of this subject is given in [Chapter 6](#) below.

<sup>81</sup> Jane Girdham, *English Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London: Stephen Storace at Drury Lane*, Oxford, 1997, p 89.

London music sellers William Forster & Son, also was involved in legal wrangling with Longman & Broderip. This case rested on the identification of the composer of two trios that Haydn had sent to William Forster in 1784, which Longman & Broderip had separately acquired as compositions by Ignace Pleyel. Each publisher sued the other and it became vital to establish who the composer was.<sup>82</sup> A full discussion of this dispute has been published, and it appears that the parties eventually settled out of court.<sup>83</sup>

After buying the stock and music plates of the music seller Mary Hughes *otherwise* Welcker at auction after her death in 1778,<sup>84</sup> James Longman sued her executors, James Blundell, John Henry Moze and William Sherlock. Although Longman had been assured that all remaining copies in her stock of music were included in the sale, James Blundell had kept back over £500 worth of music which legally belonged to Longman.<sup>85</sup> Another court case was brought by Longman & Broderip against the music seller Samuel Babb in 1784.<sup>86</sup> The issue here was whether parts of a published work could be extracted and used in a lesson book or teaching aid without infringing the copyright of the original composer and publisher.<sup>87</sup>

Some injured parties decided to publicise a perceived infringement of copyright by advertising the matter in newspapers. An example inserted by Joseph Tacet reads as follows:

<sup>82</sup> Documentation of the *Forster v Longman* cases is found in TNA E133/54/54–55, E133/54/55, E127/49, E112/1746/4924 and E112/1724/4329.

<sup>83</sup> Nancy A. Mace, ‘Haydn and the London music sellers: Forster v. Longman & Broderip’, *Music and Letters* v 77 no. 4 (November 1996) p 527–541. For Longman & Broderip’s dealings with other London publishers see Ian Woodfield, ‘John Bland: London retailer of the music of Haydn and Mozart’, *Music and Letters* v 81 no. 2 (2000) p 210–244.

<sup>84</sup> Mary Hughes cohabited with the music seller Peter Welcker, whom she succeeded after his death in 1775. She was known as ‘Mrs Welcker’, but they never married.

<sup>85</sup> TNA E113/82/27, *Longman v Blundell*, 1781.

<sup>86</sup> TNA E133/82/26, *Longman v Babb*, 1784.

<sup>87</sup> One witness, the musical instrument maker Peter Thompson II, a partner of the music sellers Samuel, Ann & Peter Thompson, testified that it was common and agreed practice that, after a work had been published over a year, extracts from it could be used as examples in such books. See page 374 below.

## MUSIC

Mr Tacet begs leave to inform all lovers of honesty as well as music, that Mess. Longman and Lukey, music printers, in Cheapside, people entirely unknown to him, have taken the honest means of printing a book, as they are pleased to intitle, *Thirty-six Preludes in different Keys, with Minuets, and Variations, &c.* by Mr Tacet: Mr Tacet thinks it his duty to inform the public, that those worthy gentlemen Longman and Lukey never had his permission to pirate his works, which they have done in respect of the minuets and variations; and as to the Preludes, Mr Tacet declares he never saw them till after published, and thinks those miserable productions a disgrace to the Name of any Musician.

J. TACET.<sup>88</sup>

Longman, Lukey & Co. replied to this charge in an advertisement a few days later, denying that Tacet was the composer.<sup>89</sup>

Longman & Broderip also crossed swords with contemporaries regarding rights to innovations in musical instruments. This is exemplified in the case of Christian Clauss, a maker of English guittars,<sup>90</sup> who patented the addition of a small keyboard to that instruments in 1783, and termed the result a ‘piano forte guittar’. In April 1784 he advertised that:<sup>91</sup>

so particularly excellent are the improvements, and so distinguished the honor and reward the Patentee has received that it is not wonderful to find the trade attempting to impose an imitation of the Patent Instrument upon the public, and even attempting, by public advertisement, to call in question the solemn decision of the High Court of Chancery, made upon an inspection and comparison of the genuine and spurious instruments, their separate properties, and an investigation of the facts adduced in

---

<sup>88</sup> *The Public Advertiser*, 31 January 1771, p 1.

<sup>89</sup> *The Public Advertiser*, 6 February 1771, p 1.

<sup>90</sup> The English guittar is a type of cittern, a wire-strung instrument usually plucked with the fingers, which was popular in England during the second half of the eighteenth century. See Robert Spencer and Ian Harwood, ‘English guitar’, in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, London, 1984, v 1 p 706–707. The spelling ‘guittar’ is adopted here as it was widely used at the time and distinguishes this instrument from the Spanish guitar.

<sup>91</sup> This patent subsequently was numbered 1394. See B[ennet] Woodcroft (ed.), *Patents for Inventions: Abridgments of specifications relating to music and musical instruments, 1694–1866*, 2nd ed., London, 1871, p 14.

support of them. To prevent however any further controversy, and to place the question beyond all possibility of doubt, Mr Clauss takes the liberty to subjoin an extract from the order made by the Court on this occasion. It is as follows, viz. ‘That the caveat asked by Charles Pinto and James Longman be withdrawn, and that the Patent of the said Christian Clauss do pass the Great Seal of Great Britain.’—After this the Patentee flatters himself the candour of a generous public will readily determine whose instrument most deserves their attention.<sup>92</sup>

It seems that Clauss’s problems were not resolved by that advertisement. A year later he brought a legal challenge against Longman & Broderip for infringing his 1783 patent rights.<sup>93</sup> Unfortunately, the outcome of this case is not known. Clauss clearly was keen to establish his rights and seems to have tried other means to do so: in July 1786, he was bound over, together with Mr Brawns, a tailor, and Henry Walther, a bookbinder,<sup>94</sup> to keep the peace towards his partner or former partner Joseph Levy, a jeweller and goldsmith.<sup>95</sup> Clauss and Levy also argued (more properly) in the courts about their partnership and its termination.<sup>96</sup> However, Clauss may have been clutching at financial straws, as he was declared bankrupt in 1787.<sup>97</sup>

Charles Pinto, mentioned in the advertisement just quoted, is not recorded in modern literature about the music trade. He left no will and, as his heirs were (like himself) illegitimate, a probate inventory was made of his property in 1792, which provides a fascinating insight into the living conditions of someone who appears

---

<sup>92</sup> *The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, 17 April 1784, p 3. This advertisement was repeated multiple times.

<sup>93</sup> TNA C217/134, *Clauss v Longman*, 1785.

<sup>94</sup> Walther, who succeeded his better-known relative John Ernst Baumgarten in 1782, also supplied ‘a powder to kill and destroy the book-worm’ (advertisement, *The Morning Post, and Daily Advertiser*, 3 August 1782, p 1).

<sup>95</sup> LMA Middlesex Sessions of the Peace, MJ/SP/1786/07/032. Clauss and Levy are described as ‘patent musical instrument makers’ in *Bailey’s British Directory; or, Merchant’s & Trader’s Useful Companion*, London, 2nd ed., 1785, v 1 p 64 (copy at Guildhall).

<sup>96</sup> TNA C12/154/35, *Clauss v Levy*, 1786.

<sup>97</sup> *The London Gazette*, 31 July 1787, p 367.

to have been involved in dealing, making or repairing instruments.<sup>98</sup> Besides twenty harpsichords, four pianos, three harps, five organs, some sixty guitars, ninety bowed stringed instruments, seventy bows and ‘a bell instrument’, Pinto possessed a work bench, eleven stoves and many pieces of wood and metal (presumably for making or repairing instruments). One guitar listed is described as ‘a patent guitar by Longman & Co.’, suggesting that he might have worked for them. No connection is known between him and the musicians Thomas and George Frederick Pinto.<sup>99</sup>

In 1796 Longman & Broderip warned the public of infringements to their rights to use William Southwell’s 1794 piano patent (subsequently numbered 2017):

The Musical Dilettanti are particularly requested by LONGMAN and BRODERIP, to be cautious in respect to places where they may apply for the purchase of Mr SOUTHWELL’s new invented Patent Piano Forte, with additional Keys, as those manufactured and sold by them at their respective houses, No. 26, Cheapside, No. 13, Haymarket, and No. 141, Tottenham Court Road, are universally allowed to be infinitely superior in point of tone, touch, and quality, to those which are attempted to be offered to the Public, under the idea of the same invention and improvements, yet differing widely in their actuating principles.<sup>100</sup>

In a busy marketplace, makers and dealers tried to gain advantage over their competitors by fair means or foul, with each party setting his own standard of ethical behaviour. Some chose to commence legal proceedings when they felt others had gone too far. However, as Southwell found, the law at this time did not have much strength to resolve what now are regarded as intellectual property disputes. Although Longman & Broderip were involved in numerous legal actions, their activities appear to have been within the bounds of commercial practice of the time.

---

<sup>98</sup> TNA PROB 31/821/151.

<sup>99</sup> I am grateful to Nicholas Temperley for help with this matter.

<sup>100</sup> *The True Briton*, 8 January 1796, p 4. Details of Southwell’s difficulties in benefiting from this patent are given in George S. Bozarth and Margaret Debenham, ‘Piano wars: the legal machinations of London pianoforte makers 1795–1806’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* v 42 (2009) p 45–108.

## 1.7 WORKERS AND WORKING PRACTICES

Because Longman & Broderip's business records have not survived it is difficult to find information about their employees.<sup>101</sup> However, other documents reveal some names of people who supplied instruments to the firm or who contributed to its daily running in one way or another. The 1788 newspaper notice quoted on page 10 above said that Longman & Broderip gave 'employment to several hundred workmen of different denominations'. Although this phrase is imprecise it gives an order of magnitude of the size of the workforce.

To obtain musical instruments for their customers Longman & Broderip appear to have had four types of business relationship with workers. Some people were directly employed by the firm and worked in their premises. A number of external contractors made instruments exclusively for the firm which bore the firm's label. Other instruments were bought in and resold under the original makers' names. A 'putting-out' system also was used, in which all the necessary materials were given to external makers who constructed instruments in their own premises for an agreed fee. Such diversity of approach was common during the latter years of the eighteenth century. This was a time of both continuity and change in industrial production, and it is not surprising that some traditional methods were in use while more modern procedures were being adopted.

In conformity with the sales practices of merchants of their time, Longman & Broderip used a credit system in which proprietors of other music shops could pay at a later date,<sup>102</sup> and dealers in

---

<sup>101</sup> Some of these records may have been destroyed in one or another fire that affected the firm's successors. An 1807 fire at one of the premises of Clementi & Co., described in [Chapter 3](#), burnt some of their property. The brothers Frederick William Collard and William Frederick Collard, who took over after Clementi retired, suffered a major fire in 1851 when their newly completed factory burnt to the ground. They were able to rebuild and were bought out by Chappell's in 1929. They were lessees of Queen's Hall when it was destroyed by enemy action in 1941, and a fire in 1964 ruined their premises in New Bond Street. (See the obituary of Louis Dreyfus, head of Chappell & Co., in *The Times*, 5 May 1967, p 12.) As noted in [Chapter 2](#), the premises of Wilkinson & Wornum, a successor of Broderip & Wilkinson, were destroyed by fire in 1812.

<sup>102</sup> As evidenced in the 1783 legal case *Wynne v Longman* (Parliamentary Archives, Main Papers, HL/PO/JO/10/2/58).

musical instruments were allowed to take instruments on a ‘sale or return’ basis.<sup>103</sup> Cash was accepted, which in the Haymarket branch that the firm opened in 1782 was kept in a money drawer and a till which contained a bowl for coins. The till was kept locked and only Broderip, Joseph Serle (a young shopman) and one other person had keys.<sup>104</sup>

The Spectacle Makers’ Company records show that James Longman took on twelve apprentices between 1770 and 1789, namely:

- John Crowther (son of Ralph, St James Westminster, Middlesex) 9/7/1770
- John Barrow (son of John, St James Clerkenwell, Middlesex, waiter) 29/10/1771
- Joseph Longman (son of George, Milborne Port, Somerset, farmer) 10/9/1785
- George Read (son of John of Putney, Surrey, gardener) 3/4/1786
- George Smith (son of George, St Swithin, London, hairdresser) 15/8/1786
- Charles Lukey (son of Charles, Cheapside, London, musician) 3/10/1786
- William Naughan (son of Philip, St Luke, Middlesex, soap-maker) 9/5/1787
- George Garrett (son of Robert, Panton Street, Haymarket, stationer) 23/10/1787
- George Gough (son of George) 28/6/1788
- John Allan (son of John, Castle Street, Oxford Market, Middlesex, musical instrument maker) 31/7/1789
- Elizabeth Gough (d[daughter of] ..., Little Red Lion Court, Charterhouse Lane) 5/8/1789
- James Edwards (son of Lloyd Pittell, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, bookbinder) 16/9/1789<sup>105</sup>

It is interesting that the first two apprentices were bound early in the firm’s existence while the others were taken on between 1785 and 1789, the last three at monthly intervals in 1789. The reasons for this temporal distribution are not known. It is conceivable that the firm

---

<sup>103</sup> Trial of John Bates, 6 April 1796, OB t17960406-85. David Davis, superintendent of Longman & Broderip, and Thomas Young, a former employee, testified in this trial that the firm had operated on a ‘sale or return’ basis, but not since bankruptcy proceedings began in 1795.

<sup>104</sup> Trial of James Jones *otherwise* Sandy, 27 February 1788, OB t17880227-1, testimony of Broderip and Serle.

<sup>105</sup> These records are transcribed in Cliff Webb, *London Livery Company Apprenticeship Registers* v 14: *Spectaclemakers’ Company 1666–1800...*, London, 1998.

had grown so large by the mid-1780s that many basic chores needed to be done. The idea that Longman needed the fees that apprentices often brought as lump sums from their parents or guardians is contradicted by the circumstance that none of his apprentices came with a ‘consideration’. By training apprentices he enabled members of the next generation to climb onto the first rung of the music trade in the expanding London market.

Charles Lukey Jr was the son of Longman’s former partner, whose premature death had left his wife and children vulnerable. Joseph Longman of Milborne Port (close to Corton Denham) probably was a son of James’s brother George. He is recorded as having two sons called Joseph, the first passing away at the age of four. The second Joseph was born in 1768, so would have been in 1785 a relatively old apprentice at seventeen years.<sup>106</sup>

The inclusion of a female apprentice, Elizabeth Gough, is unusual but not unheard of. Women did undertake formal apprenticeships but these were usually in the ‘female trades’ such as millinery and dressmaking. Elizabeth is not listed as being made free of the Spectacle Makers’ Company, so it is not known what her work was within the firm, although it could have included minding the shop, keeping accounts, or lighter aspects of instrument making such as string making or the silking of pianos. Only two of the apprentices’ fathers were recorded as having music-related occupations,<sup>107</sup> showing that Longman was of high enough standing for people not otherwise involved in instrument making to want to send their children to him to learn a trade.

The records of the Spectacle Makers’ Company also show that Broderip took on two apprentices: William Moore, son of Stephen Moore, tailor of Panton Street, on 12 March 1787, and George Wilkinson, son of Charles Wilkinson Sr of Islington, on 4 November 1797.<sup>108</sup> The latter relationship, discussed in the next chapter, grew in

---

<sup>106</sup> Dennis Longman notes (described in note 7 above).

<sup>107</sup> Although Lloyd Pittell Edwards was listed as a bookbinder he was also a schoolmaster and an organist. See the article by Raymond B. Davies on Edwards’ son, the artist Sydenham Teast Edwards, in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>108</sup> Cliff Webb, *op. cit.*

significance. The former entry may have been incorrectly recorded, because a pamphlet published in Aberdeen in 1800 establishes that Broderip had an apprentice named Stephen Moore.<sup>109</sup>

Despite claims he apparently made that his apprenticeship lasted for a full term, Stephen Moore served Broderip for only three years and ‘was not employed during that time in the manufactory of musical instruments, or organ work’.<sup>110</sup> Moore later made at least one piano in London, as a square piano with a nameboard inscribed ‘Stephen Moore and Co., Panton Square, Haymarket, Patent, London 1796’ was sold in 1982,<sup>111</sup> but he had to leave London by 1798. In a letter written c1799, the Longman & Broderip employee Frederick Augustus Hyde recalled that:

Mr Moore lived at the Hay Market with Messrs Longman and Broderip, but never to my recollection received any lessons from Mr Clementi, who is now by my side, and does not even remember him by name. Mr Moore’s unfortunate situation in life obliged him, I believe, to leave this country, since which he has been in Edinburgh; and Mr Watlen can inform you of every particular respecting him.<sup>112</sup>

Moore and the music seller John Watlen had become partners so that Moore could make pianos in Edinburgh, ‘but none he ever made was good, of course he broke deep in debt, which he will never be able to pay’.<sup>113</sup> Their partnership lasted only for six months and led to litigation between them.<sup>114</sup> Moore then tuned and repaired pianos and

---

<sup>109</sup> [Alexander Anderson], *A Detail of the Facts, respecting the late attempt, made by Mr Stephen Moore, to tune and repair the organ of St Paul’s Chapel, Aberdeen*, Aberdeen, [1800].

<sup>110</sup> Francis Fane Broderip→unnamed recipient in Dundee, 28 July 1799, quoted in *ibid.*, p 7.

<sup>111</sup> *Important Musical Instruments*, Sotheby’s, London, 7 April 1982, lot 88, p 26–27.

<sup>112</sup> Frederick Augustus Hyde→unnamed recipient, c1799, quoted in [Anderson], *A Detail of the Facts...*, *op. cit.*, p 7. Hyde’s career is described below and in [Chapter 3](#).

<sup>113</sup> John Hamilton [music seller in Edinburgh]→unnamed recipient, 4 September 1799, quoted in *ibid.*, p 8.

<sup>114</sup> *ibid.*, p 9–10; *Moore v Watlen*, 1799.

organs in Scotland, to general dissatisfaction.<sup>115</sup> He returned to London, spent time in the Fleet Prison for debt,<sup>116</sup> and died in 1803.<sup>117</sup>

One of the best known suppliers of harpsichords and pianos to Longman & Broderip was Thomas Culliford.<sup>118</sup> Another west-country man, he was born in Penzance, Cornwall in 1747. The earliest surviving Longman & Broderip instrument which bears his name is dated 1779.<sup>119</sup> In July 1789 John Marsh referred to him as ‘foreman to Longman & Broderip’.<sup>120</sup> Culliford used a range of premises, including the workshops in Fountain Court behind 26 Cheapside, for which he paid an annual rent of some £70.<sup>121</sup> On 29 September 1784 he entered into a fourteen-year partnership with William Rolfe, John Goldsworth and Thomas Bradford, and on 2 January 1786 they signed a contract with Longman & Broderip, agreeing not to sell instruments to other customers nor to tune instruments unless under Longman & Broderip’s name, and to supply Longman & Broderip with £5,000 worth of instruments per year.<sup>122</sup> By 1789, the partners had changed—the firm was now run by Thomas Culliford, William Rolfe and Charles Barrow—but the contract remained in force.<sup>123</sup> In order for these partners to supply what was probably hundreds of

---

<sup>115</sup> As detailed in [Anderson], *op. cit.*

<sup>116</sup> *The London Gazette*, 4 July 1801, p 765; 7 July 1801, p 795; 14 July 1801, p 867.

<sup>117</sup> Court copy of will of Stephen Moore, ‘piano maker in Upper James Street, Golden Square’, made 20 December 1802, proved 27 October 1803, TNA PROB 11/1400. I am grateful to Michael Kassler for information about Moore.

<sup>118</sup> For a detailed analysis of his life and work see Jenny Nex, ‘Culliford and Company: keyboard instrument makers in Georgian London’, *Early Keyboard Journal* v 22 (2004) p 7–48.

<sup>119</sup> Donald H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440–1840*, 3rd ed. by Charles Mould, Oxford, 1995, p 483–490.

<sup>120</sup> Brian Robins (ed.), *The John Marsh Journals*, *op. cit.*, p 457.

<sup>121</sup> TNA E112/1771/5631, *Longman v Culliford*, 1795. I am very grateful to Margaret Debenham for her assistance in untangling the complexities of this legal case.

<sup>122</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> *ibid.*

instruments every year, Culliford & Co. would have needed a considerable workforce who though employed by that company worked indirectly for Longman & Broderip. Although we do not have a list of all of Culliford & Co.'s employees, the internal parts of some of their instruments bear the names of workmen who presumably were responsible for a whole instrument or made the part on which their name rests.

J. Hanson's signature appears in the keywell of a harpsichord dated 1783.<sup>124</sup> The names 'Cairns' and 'Glen' are on the keyboard of a harpsichord sold as lot 14 by Christie's on 13 November 2002. Cairns's signature is found on the keyboards of instruments by both Broadwood and Houston, suggesting that Cairns specialised in making keyboards and either moved from one firm to another or sold his keyboards to multiple customers.<sup>125</sup> The names 'McFarlane' and 'Kaisor' are on the back of one nameboard,<sup>126</sup> while 'Glen', 'Grey' and 'J Speissegger Jr' (apparently a mistake for 'J. Speissegger Jr') are on keys of a harpsichord dated 1787 now at the Horniman Museum in London.<sup>127</sup> Within three years Speissegger Jr had gone home to Charleston, South Carolina, where he set up on his own.<sup>128</sup> In a 1790 advertisement 'John Speissegger, jun.' said that he was 'late from Messrs Longman & Broderip's, London' and that, as well as having for sale a 'variety of instruments and every other article in the musical line', he had 'an excellent harpsichord, with a celestiniel stop, made by Longman and Broderip' and 'a neat assortment of hosiery, haberdashery, and various other articles' available for sale.<sup>129</sup>

---

<sup>124</sup> Boalch, *op. cit.*, p 485. This instrument is now in private ownership in Maidenhead, Berkshire.

<sup>125</sup> My thanks to John Watson of Colonial Williamsburg for this information.

<sup>126</sup> Boalch, *op. cit.*, p 489. It is now in private ownership in the United States.

<sup>127</sup> I thank Mimi Waitzman for providing imagery of Speissegger's signature.

<sup>128</sup> His father John Speissegger Sr, who died in 1793, was an organ builder in Charleston from the 1760s to the 1780s and belonged to a family of organ builders. John Snetzler, well known for the organs he built in England, was a cousin of another member of this family, Johann Conrad Speissegger, and served his apprenticeship with him in Schaffhausen, Switzerland.

<sup>129</sup> *The City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, Charleston, 1 March 1790, p 2. I am grateful to Michael Kassler for bringing this advertisement to my attention.

Thomas Pringle's name appears on the action of a Longman & Broderip square piano made about 1785.<sup>130</sup> Thomas Young, who described himself as a 'harpsichord and piano-forte maker', testified in 1796 that he 'was formerly in the employ of Messrs Longman and Broderip'.<sup>131</sup>

In addition to these workers, whose status with Culliford & Co. is not clear, that partnership employed a foreman named James Stevenson (who was a carpenter) and a porter named John Griffiths.<sup>132</sup> They also took on apprentices. Culliford was master to Charles May from 1779,<sup>133</sup> Samuel Davies from 1784 and Samuel's brother Joseph from 1788.<sup>134</sup> William Rolfe took on John Hunter in 1787<sup>135</sup> as well as his own four sons Robert, Nicholas, Thomas Hall, and James Longman Rolfe over subsequent years.<sup>136</sup> Besides these individuals who probably were directly involved in manufacturing, Culliford had a 'servant' named Samuel Allen who had come over from America,<sup>137</sup> and may have been the Samuel Allen who later testified that he had worked for 'Ellison and Oakley' in Fountain Court in 1796 who 'make instruments for Longman & Broderip'.<sup>138</sup> His reference presumably was to Thomas Allison and John Oakey, named in a 1795 legal case as 'two of the principal finishers and workmen' employed by Culliford & Co.<sup>139</sup> Even from this small

---

<sup>130</sup> *ibid.*, p 222.

<sup>131</sup> Trial of John Bates, 6 April 1796, OB t17960406-85.

<sup>132</sup> Trial of John Griffiths, 14 January 1789, OB t17890114-7. I thank Lance Whitehead for bringing this source to my attention.

<sup>133</sup> TNA IR 1/30 (Board of Stamps, Apprenticeship Books 9/1778–1/1781).

<sup>134</sup> Glovers' Company records, Guildhall ms 4591/3–4. For further details of the Davies brothers see Jenny Nex, 'Culliford and Company...', *op. cit.*, p 21.

<sup>135</sup> TNA IR 1/33 (Board of Stamps, Apprenticeship Books 2/1786–8/1788).

<sup>136</sup> TNA PROB 10/5138 (will of William Rolfe, proved 22 January 1830, names his sons) and Cliff Webb, *London Livery Company Apprenticeship Registers v 4: The Glovers' Company 1675–1804*, London, 1996, p 17.

<sup>137</sup> Trial of William Martin and Benjamin Williams, 12 December 1787, OB t17871212-21.

<sup>138</sup> Trial of Richard Geast, 6 April 1796, OB t17960406-83.

<sup>139</sup> TNA E112/1771/5631, *Longman v Culliford*, 1795.

sample it appears that an entire structure of workers carried out the daily business of that company. During the time of their exclusive contract with Longman & Broderip these workers could be regarded as part of the latter's empire.

Further information about people directly employed by Longman & Broderip can be gleaned from various historical documents. A number of persons, when setting up on their own or promoting their services, stated that they had previously worked for the firm. Their advertisements show that this connection was positive and indicate the firm's status. Examples include George Grant Mann, a harpsichord and violin teacher who opened a shop in Loll Bazaar, Calcutta in 1786, and advertised that he had 'just arrived from Messrs Longman and Broderip's at their music warehouses No. 26 Cheapside, and No. 13 Haymarket London', where he had 'presided over' the 'repair and hire of all kinds of musical instruments'.<sup>140</sup> With his partner Mr Russell, Mann offered a music-selling and tuning service, a combination he would have been familiar with from his previous employers. William Phillips advertised in 1793 that he was 'from Longman & Broderip' but was now based at 3 Manor Row, Little Tower Hill, where he worked as a music seller and offered a tuning and repair service.<sup>141</sup> Humphries and Smith report that P[eter] Evans, a music seller at 102 High Holborn in the 1770s and 80s, had previously worked for Longman, Lukey and Co., but give no reference to support this claim.<sup>142</sup>

Some singers augmented the income they earned as performers by working for Longman & Broderip during the day. They include James Cooke, a 'new singer at Drury Lane' in 1791, who soon after his *début* there was described as 'an articled clerk to Messrs Longman

---

<sup>140</sup> *The Calcutta Gazette; or, Oriental Advertiser*, 27 July 1786, p 3. He arrived at Calcutta in 1785 (*The East India Kalendar; or, Asiatic Register ... for the year 1791*, London, 1791, p 73) and was listed as a musician in Cawnpore (now Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh) in John Mathison and Alexander Way Mason (eds), *An East-India Register and Directory for 1803*, London, [1802], p 122. His 'only relative' advertised in *The Morning Post*, London, 4 January 1804, p 1, for information about him.

<sup>141</sup> *The Times*, 28 December 1793, p 1.

<sup>142</sup> Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, *op. cit.*, p 142.