Assessments of musical life in London during the eighteenth century often focus on its individual components: concerts; musical instruments; publishing; the music trade. The risk of fire was pertinent to all venues, homes and businesses, and a significant number of concert promoters, musicians and musical instrument makers chose to insure their property with the Sun Fire Office, the first fully organized fire insurance company. The firm’s own copies of the insurance policies – on deposit at the City of London Corporation, London Metropolitan Archives, from the Royal & SunAlliance Insurance Group (RSA) – provide the names, addresses and occupations of the policy holder, and, since property is mostly valued, we have a means of calculating the financial status of individuals and the possible size of production units. Moreover, the policies encompass some minority groups absent from more traditional sources, including women, foreigners and tenants; disenfranchised sections of eighteenth-century society largely absent from poll books and rate books. Our study, consisting of a transcription and initial analysis of all policies relating to music for the period 1710–79, the first 70 years of this insurance company, sheds new light on musical life in the capital, especially during the growth years of the 1760s and 1770s. Transcriptions of the policies themselves may be found on the Galpin Society website <http://galpinsociety.org>

It should come as no surprise that economic historians have been using insurance records for many years. As long ago as 1986, for example, T. V. Jackson argued that these documents ‘provide the local historian, working on the 18th century, with a source of material which rivals the probate records,’ while David Barnett compared Sun Fire Office policies from the 1770s with Sun, Royal Exchange, Hand-in-Hand, Globe and London Assurance policies from the 1820s to reassess the industrial structure and economic importance of London during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and first quarter of the nineteenth century. Our initial study published ten

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1 The Sun Fire Office collection encompasses a wide variety of documents, such as General Committee Minute Books 1709/10–1896 (CLC/B/192/B/001/Ms 11931), a volume of ground plan sketches of business premises insured with the company during the years 1802–06 (CLC/B/192/F/019/Ms 11936D) and some 500 claims papers for the period 1770–88 (CLC/B/192/F/037/Ms 31688). The core collection consists of 672 volumes of policy registers covering the years 1770–1863 (CLC/B/192/F/001/Ms 11936, hereafter Ms 11936), a separate series of 509 country department registers for the years 1793–1863 (CLC/B/192/F/003/Ms 11937), together with 132 endorsement books for the period 1728–1865 (full reference CLC/B/192/F/004/Ms 12160, hereafter Ms 12160). For further information on insurance records held at the LMA, see ‘Fire Insurance Records’, London Metropolitan Archives Information Leaflet Number 48 (2010).


years ago\(^4\) highlighted the significance of insurance policies of the Sun Fire Office for our understanding of keyboard instrument building during the relatively narrow window 1775–87, while Joan Jeffery’s study published in the same year concentrated on organ builders and insurance records of both the Hand-in-Hand and Sun Fire Office, with particular reference to Abraham Jordan (father and son).\(^5\) More recently, Marie Kent has used a Sun Fire Office policy as the starting point for an important study of the piano maker William Frecker and his possible succession to the workshop of Americus Backers.\(^6\)

Perhaps the main obstacle to our use of the documents is the lack of a comprehensive index. There exists a card index of individual names for the years 1714–31, albeit excluding London, Scotland and Wales, compiled by Alan Redstone (CLC/B/192/F/012/Ms 17817) and a valuable microfiche index of names, trades, locations and valuations created by Professor Roderick Floud and students at Birkbeck College for the window 1775–87 (CLC/140/Ms 24172). There is also an online index for the period 1793–1839 that can be searched at www.nationalarchives.gov.uk. For those interested in the musical life of eighteenth-century London, however, there is no general index and we have relied on our independent examination of all 271 available registers for the years 1710–79 to extract the policies of musicians, music sellers, printers, engravers, and musical instrument makers active in the capital during this period. Our study also encompasses music venues, as well as those described variously as music teacher, bell founder, bell hanger, and dancing master. The latter group has been included since as well as playing musical instruments, some dancing masters (such as James Oswald) were also composers; others (like John Hickford) promoted concerts; and at least one individual (John Baptiste Lemaire Froment) changed his job description from dancing master (in 1771) to music master (in 1773). The importance of the source is underlined by the statistic that a search of some 165,000 register pages has resulted in the identification of 665 policies held by people directly involved in music in London, plus an additional 34 policies that contain references to them for the years 1710–79.

POLICY REGISTERS AND DOCUMENTS

The policy registers were completed by Sun Fire Office officials and it is clear from variations in handwriting within each volume, as well as the occasional blank page, that a number of clerks worked simultaneously on entering groups of policies in several successive ledgers. The date is normally inscribed at the top of each page, with any subsequent policies on the same page being headed with the word ‘ditto’ or an amended date. The earliest policies from the period c1710–19 are arranged in two columns: the policy number, date and premium usually appear in the left-hand column; the name, address and occupation of the policy holder are recorded in the main right-hand column. The terms ‘goods’ or ‘goods & merchandize’ are used rather than a full description of the property being insured and no valuations are recorded. Details concerning endorsements are sometimes added, together with a reference to the endorsement volume and page number where full details are given.

By the 1730s the policies are arranged in three columns. The left-hand column contains the policy number, premium and Quarter Day (Lady Day, Midsummer, Michaelmas and Christmas Day) on which renewal was required, and often the name of the issuing agent. The main central section provides the name, address and occupation of the policy holder, the basic materials from which the building is constructed, a more detailed description of the property, as well as the names of the three managers who had signed the policy. Valuations of the individual items plus the total sum insured are reserved for the right-hand column. No details of any endorsements are recorded in the registers at this date, only the volume and page number of the relevant endorsement register. By the 1760s property is usually categorized variously as ‘household goods’, ‘utensils, stock and goods’, ‘wearing apparel’, ‘printed books’, ‘plate’, ‘glass and china’, and ‘musical instruments’. It should be stressed that not all policy holders chose to insure items according to all of these types, however, and some combined elements of the different categories. The policy of the music master William Bates (1763), for example, has two categories: (1) household goods, printed books


and musical instruments; and (2) wearing apparel. Endorsements, contained within separate ledgers, are presented in two columns: the left-hand column reserved for the number of the policy and the volume in which it occurs, the right-hand column containing amendments to the conditions of the original policy.

WEAKNESSES

Before assessing the importance of the Sun Fire Office records to our understanding of musical life in London, it is important to outline a number of inherent weaknesses in the archive. For our chosen period there are currently two volumes unavailable for study, as well as a significant number of missing volumes,\(^7\) while in some instances repairs to damaged volumes has resulted in the loss of text, particularly near the fore edge. Examples include the 1774 policy of the music seller George Gardom, where the numerical valuations are missing, and the 1769 policy of the composer Mattia Vento (1735–76), where the premium, Quarter Day on which renewal was required, and part of the policy number have been lost. In the case of the musician ‘Brown junior’ the loss of pertinent script has hindered the identification of the policy holder.

Some of the handwriting is difficult to read and occasionally illegible, while scribal errors, missing words, misspellings, inconsistencies and the anglicising of proper names of foreign origin are common. For example, Carl Friedrich Abel (1723–87) is recorded as Charles Frederick Abel or Abell, François-Hippolyte Barthélemon (1741–1808) is written Ipolito Barthelemon, and Giovanni Steffano Carbonelli (d 1752) is recorded as John Stephen Carbonell. The harpsichord maker John Willbrook (fl 1730–39) gave the administrators particular problems, his name being variously spelt Wellbrooke, Welbrook, Wilbrooke, and Willbrook; the flautist Pietro Grassi Florio (c1730–95) is recorded as Florio Grassi. It should also be noted that the series of policies and endorsements concerning John Johnson (one in 1768, two in 1769, plus two endorsements dated 1775) relate not to the musical instrument maker John Johnson, who was active in Cheapside during the period c1740–62, but to the music seller, printer and publisher John Johnston (spelt with a ‘t’), who occupied various addresses near or on the Strand during the 1760s and 1770s. Although scribes sometimes use the designation ‘junior’ to distinguish different generations of the same family baptized with the same name, such as the violin maker Richard Duke (ii) (fl 1764–92), who is referred to as ‘Richard Duke Junior’ in his policies of 1767 and 1777, for the policies of the organ builders Edward Pistor and John Byfield, as well as the woodwind instrument maker Thomas Stanesby, it is necessary to rely upon external sources to confirm identifications.

Particular care must also be taken when analysing occupations, since it is not known if the occupations recorded are those chosen by the policy holder or assigned to them by a Sun Fire administrator. More importantly, while some musicians such as Starling Goodwin (fl 1727–74) and Charles Lockhart (d 1815) are described accurately as ‘Organist’, others job titles are much less specific. Rather than trumpeter, oboist or violinist, performers such as Richard Vinicombe (fl 1759–86), Carl Friedrich Weichsel (fl 1752–75) and Felice de’ Giardini (1716–96) are described simply as ‘Musician’, while Thomas Arne (1710–78) and William Boyce (1711–79) are assigned no occupation, and Johann Christian Bach (1735–82) is described first as a ‘Music Master’ (1769) and ten years later titled ‘Esq’ (1779). Charles Burney (1726–1814) is described as both a ‘Gent’ (1760) and as ‘Doctor of Music’ (1770, 1772 and 1774), while the violinist Michael Christian Festing (c1680–1752) is given his full title ‘Musician in Ordinary to his Majesty’ (1735). Similarly, luthiers such as William Forster (ii) (1739–1808), Joseph Hill (i) (1715–84) and Remerus Liessem (d 1760) are described as ‘Musical Instrument Maker’, with no specific reference to the instrument types being made in their workshops, while many of those referred to as harpsichord maker also made spinets and pianos; only the 1752 policy of Thomas Parker (d 1772) covers the full range of instruments made in his workshop, describing him as ‘Organ Builder Harpsicord & Spinnet maker’. Although Giovanni Gualberto Botarelli’s policy (1766) describes him as a ‘Musician’, he is generally known as a librettist. There are also problems of categorisation associated with those involved in a variety of musical activities or who changed occupation. William Napier (1741–1812), for example, who had a varied career as musician, music\(^7\) For the period 1710–79 there are eight missing volumes of policies: Ms 11936/124 (one of the volumes for 1758), 127 (1759), 142 (1762), 147 (1763), 156 (1764), 165 (1765), 166 (1765), and 251 (1776); plus 18 missing volumes of endorsements: Ms 12160/1, 5, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 29, 31, 35, 38, 40, 41, and 42. There are also two volumes of policies unavailable for study due to their poor state of repair: Ms 11936/215 (1772) and 222 (1773).
seller and promoter, is described as a ‘Musick Master’ (1766), ‘Musician’ (1771) and ‘Music Seller’ (1772); the organ builder Abraham Adcock (fl 1749–73), who was also renowned as a trumpeter, is described simply as ‘Musician’ (1763).

Some care is also needed when assessing property values. It is generally accepted that policy holders themselves usually provided the Sun Fire Office with valuations, but it is not certain whether valuations were deliberately kept low in order to reduce the size of the premium or inflated in the hope of profiting from a claim. Certainly, valuations are virtually always multiples of £10 or £5, with the total sum insured being £100 or a multiple thereof, suggesting that numbers must have been rounded up or down. One exception is the 1770 policy of Thomas Atkins (fl 1770–83), a dealer in musical instruments, whose ‘Household Goods’ were valued at £59, ‘Wearing Apparel’ at £35 and ‘Stock & Goods in Trust’ at £6 (total £100). Moreover, the policies relating to music for the years c1710–19, including those of the violin maker John Barrett (1713) and the music master Luke Pippard (1715), contain no valuations. While it is possible to estimate the value of these policies by comparing the premiums with those policies that are also valued, the results are by no means certain. In a few cases, too, a clerk has inserted a memorandum to the effect that the policy holder was also using another insurance provider. The organ builder John Crang (1717–74), for example, insured property to the value of £1,000 with the Sun (1761), while a memorandum testifies to him insuring an additional £3,000 worth of property with the Union Fire Office. In this example, and perhaps others where no mention of an additional insurance provider is recorded, the figure recorded by Sun Fire Office officials is not the total replacement value of the property.

The address of the premises or property is a fundamental element of the policy documents. However, multiple thoroughfares were given the same name, the parish in which a policy holder resided is not generally recorded after c1750, and some minor alleys and back streets are absent from detailed maps of the period. Mistakes also appear to have been occasionally made by the administrator mishearing the information given orally by the policy holder. The address of the musical instrument maker John Frederick Hintz (1711–72), for example, is recorded as ‘the Corner of Fridays Court in Little Newport Street Leicester Fields’ in 1764, but as ‘the Corner of Riders [Ryder’s] Court in Little Newport Street’ in 1765 and 1769, suggesting that Fridays Court is a mishearing of Ryder’s Court. Given that house numbers, street names and parish boundaries are also subject to change, this makes any assessment of patterns of settlement somewhat challenging. The matter is compounded by the occasional use of dual terminology. Oxford Street, for example, is sometimes referred to as Oxford Road, and the street names Angel Court and Eagle Court in St Mary le Strand appear to be interchangeable from the mid-1760s until the mid-1780s. For example, both Christopher Hayman (fl 1764–94) and William Hornbuckle (fl 1766–84) are referred to as organ builders of Eagle Court in their insurance policies of 1764 and 1766 respectively, but of Angel Court in the 1774 and 1784 Westminster Poll Books (LMA WR/PP1774/5; and WR/PP1784/4, mf X1/159); John Aire (1773) is described as an organ builder of 12 Angel Court, but his landlord John Drabble is recorded in the rate books of St Mary le Strand as organ builder of Eagle Court. During the period covered by this study all the premises on the site of York House in St Martin-in-the-Fields, including parts of George Street, George Alley and Duke Street, were referred to collectively as York Buildings, a label assigned to George Street alone in the mid-nineteenth century.

Similarly, the main retail outlet and workshops of Longman & Broderip (26 Cheapside) was on land owned by the Goldsmiths’ Company and was part of a group of houses referred to by them as Goldsmiths’ Row. Furthermore, when any of the premises were extended, a new house number was assigned to the extension. Thus, 26 Cheapside is referred to in the archives of the Goldsmiths’ Company as 48, 17 and part of 16 Goldsmiths’ Row.

It should be stressed, too, that the records do not provide a complete picture of London musical life during the eighteenth century, since a number of notable figures are absent. Foremost amongst these is George Frideric Handel (1685–1759). There are also a number of musical instrument makers

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8 For further discussion see Barnett (1998), p.6.
9 See for example the policies of the musician Nicholas Lemaire (1772) and the organ builder John Snetzler (1763).
who are missing, including the harpsichord makers Burkat Shudi (i) (1702–73) and Stephen Heming (fl 1697–1715), who supplied harpsichords and spinets to various London theatres, as well as the viol and violin maker Barak Norman (1651–1724). The lowest musicians, as well as journeymen and apprentices, are also generally absent. The musicians Thomas Linley (i) (1733–95) and John Abraham Fisher (1744–1806) only feature as proprietors of Drury Lane and Covent Garden theatres respectively.

GENERAL TRENDS

Despite the inherent weaknesses, the records of the Sun Fire Office provide a rich source of information concerning music and music making in the capital during the years 1710–79. Firstly, most decades show a slow growth in the number of people active in this area, with a sudden expansion during the 1760s and 1770s (see Table 1 and Figure 1). Importantly, the overall financial value of the music sector shows a similar trend, the total value of the property being insured during the ten years 1770–79 (more than £216,000) being greater than all previous decades combined (see Table 1 and Figure 2). Sometimes described as the ‘Golden Age of Georgian Culture,’ the period following the successful conclusion of the Seven Years War (1763) was one of conspicuous consumption, particularly by the arriving wealthy nabobs from India and those who had made a fortune from the sugar plantations of the Caribbean.

The first two decades of George III’s reign is also associated with a surge in concert life, most notably the series of exclusive concerts held at Carlisle House and directed first by Gioacchino Cocchi (1764) and later by Johann Christian Bach and Carl Friedrich Abel (1765–67, 1774), and this would have provided employment to increasing numbers of musicians. In addition, the ‘cult of exotic instruments’ and the instant success of John Zumpe’s square piano design of c1766 benefitted musical instrument makers. Part of the success of the square piano was its relatively low price (£15–22 compared to £25–98 for a harpsichord), bringing it within reach of the expanding middle classes, who aspired to emulate the rich. The huge increase in the size of the music business in London is also partly explained by the influx of migrants into the sector: from Scotland (such as Robert Bremner and John Broadwood); the West Country (most notably a number of musical instrument makers and music sellers associated with and including Longman & Broderip); from the West Country; see Nex (2011), pp.10, 17 and 19. Thomas Culliford, who supplied keyboard instruments to

13 See, for example, John Summerson, Georgian London (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp.131–64.
16 Peter Holman, Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), pp.135–68.
18 According to recent research, '[…] the percentage of households with annual incomes between £50 and £400 rose from 15 in 1750 to 25 by 1780; see Jeremy Black, Eighteenth-Century Britain, 1688–1783, second edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p.104.
20 The earliest confirmed date for the harpsichord and piano maker John Broadwood (bap Cockburnspath, 15 October 1732) working in London is September 1761 as an employee of Burkat Shudi (i) (1702–73). This is based on evidence from an affidavit published in the Public Advertiser on 14 January 1767; see Boalch (1995), p.25.
21 James Longman (bap Corton Denham, Somerset, 17 April 1745) and both his partners Charles Lukey (bap Falmouth, Cornwall, 5 November 1740) and Francis Fane Broderip (bap Wells, Somerset, 1 November 1750) originated from the West Country; see Nex (2011), pp.10, 17 and 19. Thomas Culliford, who supplied keyboard instruments to Longman & Broderip, was baptized on 24 April 1747 in Penzance, Cornwall; see Jenny Nex, ‘Culliford and Company: Keyboard Instrument Makers in Georgian London’, Early Keyboard Journal 22 (2004), pp.7–48, at p.8.
German-speaking lands (including John Christian Bach,22 Carl Friedrich Abel,23 John Zumpe,24 and Carl Friedrich Baumgarten25); and from Italian-speaking lands (such as Mattia Vento).26 It can also be demonstrated that there was an increasing awareness of insurance services across Britain and throughout all but the most marginalised in society, ranging from a humble wheelwright on the Isle of Wight (who insured his property to the value of £100 in 1748)27 to the Master and Fellows of Magdalen

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23 Carl Friedrich Abel moved to London in the late 1750s, although he did not begin insuring his property with the Sun Fire Office until 1771; see Walter Nape et al, ‘Abel, Carl (Karl) Friedrich’, *New Grove* (2001), vol.1, pp.15–17, at p.15.

24 Michael Cole has seriously undermined the traditional view that London piano making was established by a group of 12 Saxon makers (the ‘twelve apostles’), who fled their homeland to escape the ravages of the Seven Years War. In contrast to some of the other makers, John Zumpe (1726–90) was born near Nuremberg and may have been working in London as early as the 1750s; he had established his own workshop by late 1760 or early 1761; see Michael Cole, ‘The Twelve Apostles? An Inquiry into the Origins of the English Pianoforte’, *Early Keyboard Journal* 18 (2000), pp.9–52, especially pp.25–26.

25 Carl Friedrich Baumgarten was a German organist and violinist, who settled in London in 1758; see Holman (2010), p.172.


27 See policy no. 113411 in the name of Robert Baker of Chale, wheelwright, dated 21 September 1748, Ms 11936/84, p.6.
College, Cambridge (whose property was valued at £1,200 in 1746). These involved in the music business in other towns – including Edinburgh, York and Bath – also started to insure their property against the risk of fire. Thus, the number of extant policy registers increases for successive decades: for the years 1710–19 there are ten volumes of policies, there are 26 registers that cover the years 1730–39, the number rises further to 39 for the decade 1750–59 and there is a marked increase to 85 books for the period 1770–79.

Secondly, musical instrument makers and musicians constitute the two largest groups in terms of both numbers of policies and the total value of policies (see Table 2 and Figure 3). Probably due to the presence of highly combustible materials (notably sawdust, timber, stoves and varnish) on their premises, musical instrument makers were especially keen to insure their property against the risk of fire, and account for nearly 50% of all policies, with a total value of some £167,000. With regards analysis, it should be noted that since occupations and job titles were treated inconsistently by Sun Fire Office officials, these have been rationalised in order to extract the maximum amount from the data available. When more than one occupation was

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28 See policy no.105078, dated 13 May 1746, Ms 11936/77, pp.50–51.
29 These include the music and instrument seller Neil Stewart of Edinburgh (policy no.191918, dated 18 August 1762, Ms 11936/143, p.227); the musical instrument maker Thomas Haxby of York (policy no.208283, dated 6 April 1764, Ms 11936/153, p.414, and policy no.301851, dated 17 September 1771, Ms 11936/208, p.316); and the musical instrument maker Thomas Underwood of Bath (policy no.112714, dated 5 July 1748, Ms 11936/83, p.435).
recorded, for example, the policy has been grouped according to the first named music-related activity; ‘music or instrument outlet’ includes those referred to in their policies as dealers or sellers of music and/or musical instruments with no reference to process or manufacturing; and ‘music publishing’ embraces both music engravers and music printers. ‘Other’ includes bell founders, bell hangers and dancing masters, while ‘musician’ encompasses a wide range of job titles, including those referred to as music master, musician, doctor of music, organist, teacher of music, professor of music, composer of music, and individuals known to be singers. All mean averages have been rounded to the nearest pound. Where no occupation is recorded, individuals have been categorised according to their known activities. An index of named policy holders organised according to these prescribed categories is provided at the end of the commentary.

The matter is complicated, however, by the fact that while theatre managers and concert promoters only account for 1.9% of the total number of policies, they were generally insuring large and valuable buildings and thus account for 19.5% of the total value (see Table 2 and Figure 4). Conversely, while musicians account for more than one third of all policies, they account for less than one quarter of the total value.

Comparing the numbers of policy holders in each category for successive decades, it is clear that while there is a growth in all areas, it is most extreme for musicians and musical instrument makers. The notable expansion in the 1760s and 1770s is compounded by the growth of the music trade and of music publishing, both of which feature only marginally or not at all during earlier decades (see Table 3 and Figure 5). Furthermore, within the musical instrument making sector, the largest growth took place within the area of keyboard instrument manufacture, particularly of pianos and organs, as well as those whose primary focus is not specified (see Table 4 and Figure 6).

Thirdly, there are significant differences between the mean average policy values of the different categories (see Table 5). The mean policy values of music or instrument outlets and those involved in music publishing, for example, are significantly higher than those associated with musical instrument makers and musicians. This is partly

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30 It should be stressed that some of the values are missing from repaired volumes and those for the early period 1710–19 were not recorded by Sun Office administrators; in addition, since the term ‘drum maker’ is ambiguous this policy has been excluded from the ‘other’ category. Hence the number of policies used to generate the data in Figure 11 is smaller than the whole data set.
explained by the presence of two unusually high value policies, one for the music seller and printer Mary Welcker for £8,000 (1776) and one for her executors William Sherlock, James Blundell, and John Henry Moze for £3,000 (1778) in the music or instrument outlet category; excluding these two policies, the mean average value for this group falls to only £467. Similarly, in the music publishing category if the two exceptionally high policies of Robert Bremner (1767) and John Welcker (1777), each valued at £2,000, are removed the mean average policy value is reduced to £476. Nevertheless, policies associated with music publishing are generally higher than other categories, with nearly 60% of policies valued at £500 or more, compared to 49% and 26% of policies associated with musical instrument makers and musicians respectively (see Table 6). This suggests that it was possible for a relatively high number of small and medium-sized musical instrument making firms to survive compared to music publishers. The reasons for this are not clear, although firms operating in the two sectors would have had a different balance of fixed and circulating capital, which may have impacted on their contrasting patterns of insurance valuation. In addition, some of the smaller instrument makers may have been subcontractors, providing parts for the larger firms, a mode of operation that would
### Table 4. Number of policies per instrument type within the musical instrument making sector.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Brasswind</th>
<th>Woodwind</th>
<th>Stringed</th>
<th>Harpsichord or piano</th>
<th>Organ</th>
<th>Non-specific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1710–19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720–29</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730–39</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740–49</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750–59</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1760–69</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770–79</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6. Graph to show the growth in the number of policies per instrument type within the musical instrument making sector. While harpsichord and piano are grouped together it should be noted that piano makers are not recorded until the 1760s.

### Table 5. Average policy values within each defined category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>No of policies with values</th>
<th>Mean Value</th>
<th>Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Music or instrument outlet</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>£695</td>
<td>£200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music publishing</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>£637</td>
<td>£200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musical instrument maker</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>£557</td>
<td>£200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musician</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>£387</td>
<td>£200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theatre manager / concert promoter</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>£5,846</td>
<td>£4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>£459</td>
<td>£200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
arguably have been less suitable for music publishing. In contrast, individual musicians (mostly insuring only domestic items) generally held property of less value than other sectors of the music business.

As with music publishing and outlets, there were some very wealthy musicians, notably Charles Burney (1772) and Felice de’ Giardini (1776), whose policies were valued at £2,200 and £1,500 respectively, and there were a handful of very large musical instrument making firms. Based on the value of their insurance policies, the most significant of these were the stringed keyboard instrument makers Jacob Kirkman (1710–92), John Broadwood (1732–1812), and John Zumpe (1726–90), together with the organ builders George Pyke (d. 1777), and the brothers Benjamin (fl. 1764–86) and William Flight (fl. 1764–91). It should be stressed, however, that there is little evidence to indicate the size of the workforce or employment structure of these or any other firms.

Although Zumpe worked in partnership with both Gabriel Buntebart c1768–78 and Meincke Meyer c1778, for example, only one possible apprentice for him has been identified; and while the workshops, warehouses and sawpits insured by Jacob Kirkman at a site in Southwark clearly constituted a significant complex, there is no evidence to indicate whether specific operations were undertaken in particular workshops. Indeed, it is not until 1816 that a list of workers employed by the piano-making firm of Broadwood & Sons survives, providing the names of 68 workmen categorised according to their role: grand case maker (17); square case maker (12); lyre makers (five); square finishers (16); and key makers (18). It should also be emphasised that despite differences in the mean average value of policies and the distribution of high and low value policies within each category the most frequently occurring value or mode for all groups with the exception of theatre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6. Distribution of high and low value policies within each defined category.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Policies valued at £400 or less</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music or instrument outlet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Music publishing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Musical instrument maker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Musician</td>
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<tr>
<td>Theatre manager / concert promoter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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31 Charles Burney’s policy of 1772 was relatively high due to the high value of his own house (£1,000), the inclusion of his mother’s house in York Street (£500) and musical instruments (£100). Unusually, the largest element in Giardini’s 1776 policy is musical instruments (£600).

32 From an affidavit published in the Public Advertiser on 14 January 1767, we know the names of at least four of Burkat Shudi (i)’s workmen during the 1760s: Andrew Clark; Thomas Nixon; John Broadwood; and Joshua Shudi. The same source includes the important claim by Shudi that he had never taken an apprentice. Also, the inventory of Americakers' premises in Jermy Street made on 5 October 1779, more than a year after his death (January 1778), includes six work benches, suggesting that he may have up to six employees; see Michael Cole, The Pianoforte in the Classical Era (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp.371–76, at p.375. In addition, during the late 1790s the organ builder John Avery employed at least two journeymen (James White and Thomas Flewin), a labourer (Joseph Buck), Thomas Craile and a young ‘German named Frederick’; see Jenny Nex and Lance Whitehead, ‘Musical Instrument Making in Georgian London, 1753–1809: Evidence from the Proceedings of the Old Bailey and Middlesex Sessions of the Peace’, Eighteenth-century Music 2/2 (September 2005), p.259.

33 Although not named as the master, to the reference to the 14-year old James Laurence being discharged from St Martin’s Workhouse on 15 July 1762 to be apprenticed ‘to a Harpsicord maker in Princes St Hanover Sqe’ probably refers to John Zumpe (WCA, St Martin-in-the-Fields Workhouse Registers 1757–63, Ms F4075, mf 2146, unpaginated).

34 The harpsichord and piano maker Jacob Kirkman (1710–92) was a native of Switzerland. He had various properties across London, but until now his workshop addresses have always been given as 17 Great Pulteney Street (c1739–49) and 19 Broad Street (from c1750); see Boalch (1995), p.104. Whether the sites in Westminster (Broad Street) and Southwark (Castle Lane in the Park) specialized in different types of keyboard instrument is not known. However, a presence in both St James Piccadilly and St George Southwark would have meant Kirkman being in close proximity to wealthy clients on the one hand and the timber yards of Lambeth on the other. See George Rudé, Hanoverian London 1714–1808, second edition (Thrupp, Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2003), p.27.

managers and concert promoters is £200. Most music outlets, printers and engravers, and musical instrument makers were thus small businesses, perhaps employing no more than one or two workers; and the supposed several hundred employees and use of the putting-out system by Longman and Broderip in the 1780s must be considered highly unusual. As already explained theatre managers and concert promoters are a special case and need to be considered separately due to the high value and high risk of fire to the property they were insuring.

As well as the overall increase in the population of London there was a comparable migration of polite society away from the City and Covent Garden towards Marylebone and the West End. Since members of this group were the largest consumers of music it is worth investigating whether there is a similar westward movement of musicians and musical instrument makers. As shown by Table 7 and Figure 7, it is not possible to identify a similar movement of the music population of London, but it is clear that the growth in the number of policies from at least the 1730s, and especially during the 1760s, was most marked within the nine parishes of Westminster. Nevertheless, while not revealed by insurance records, there does appear to be a

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<th></th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Westminster</th>
<th>West</th>
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<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>1750–59</td>
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<td>1770–79</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
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Figure 7. Graph to show the distribution of policies by area and decade.

Table 7. Distribution of policies by area and decade.

The dichotomy between stringed keyboard instrument makers active before c1730, who tended to reside within the City and belong to the Joiners’ Company, and those active during the period c1740–90, many of whom had premises in Westminster and were not connected to a particular Livery Company.

CONTENTS INSURANCE
Most of the policies relate to contents insurance of homes, warehouses and workshops, concert rooms and theatres, with later policies generally providing more detail than earlier ones. For example, the policy of the harpsichord maker Thomas Barton (1718) simply refers to ‘goods & merchandize in his dwelling house’, without reference to a workshop, while the policy of the musician Michael Christian Festing (1735) describes his insurance cover as ‘household goods and musical instruments, printed books and pewter plates’. Typical policies from the 1760s and 1770s include cover for ‘household goods’ and ‘wearing apparel’, as well as ‘utensils stock and goods’, and some also include cover for ‘printed books’, ‘printed music books’, ‘musical instruments’, ‘plate’, ‘glass and china’. As shown by Tables 8 and 9, which include examples of policies mostly from 1775 and valued at £500 and £1,000 respectively, there

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38 Examples include Charles Haward (fl.1660–87), Thomas White (ii) (fl.1621–60), and Thomas Barton (1685–1731); see Boalch (1995), pp.11, 83 and 207.

39 The most significant harpsichord makers of this period (including Burkat Shudi (i) and (ii), John Broadwood, Jacob and Abraham Kirkman, and Joseph Mahoon) all had premises in Westminster and worked outside the jurisdiction of a Livery Company.
are differences between various sectors of the music business. Since musical instrument makers, music sellers and printers were insuring their businesses, a significant proportion of their policies concern ‘utensils, stock and goods in trust’, an umbrella that presumably encompassed workshop benches, tools, raw materials, items under construction and completed instruments. This item is absent from the policies of musicians, who tended instead to insure musical instruments,40 and dancing masters, who often insured valuable clothing in addition to household goods. Within the £500 group, for example, ‘wearing apparel’ constitutes two-thirds of the dancing master John Gherardi’s policy, whereas approximately the same amount of the organ builder Joseph Beloudy’s policy concerns ‘utensils and stock’. In contrast, the musician Theodore Aylward’s policy has more constituent parts and is less dominated by any single element, although ‘musical instruments’, ‘printed books’ and ‘printed music books’ together constitute more than 50% of the total value (see Figure 8). Similarly, within the £1,000 group, ‘utensils & stock’ constitute 70% of the music warehouse woman Mary Hodgson’s policy,

40 When musical instruments are insured, the type or maker of the instrument is not usually specified. The policy of the singer Christian Tedeschiny Korbiz (1764), for example, is the only one that specifies a harpsichord. The organ insured by Thomas Arne (1768) was probably the one bequeathed to his wife Cecilia and son Michael, and described in his will (TNA: PRO PROB 11/1040, ff.11–12) as ‘Mangled[,] trod to Pieces and ruined by and through the Villainy of wicked servants.’
while the printer and musical instrument maker John Welcker focused 78% of his cover on ‘utensils & stock’ and just 5% on ‘wearing apparel’. Although musical instrument makers did not generally tend to insure musical instruments, there are a number of exceptions. These include the organ builders John Byfield (ii), who insured an organ in a Chapel in Margaret Street, Cavendish Square (1777) and one in a workshop belonging to Messrs England and Russell (1779); and George Godfrey, who insured an organ in a ‘Scotch Church in Blackfriars’ (1779). Presumably both makers had not received full payment for the instruments and would have suffered severe financial loss had their property been damaged or destroyed by fire.

There are also significant differences between the policies covering fire risk for the contents of theatres and concert venues (see Table 10). Since Carlisle House was both the home of Teresa Cornelys as well as a venue for concerts, assemblies and masquerades, for example, the 1766 policy includes her household goods and wearing apparel, insured for the high values of £2,680 and £420 respectively. Moreover, the exceptionally high values of £1,400 and £3,000 for ‘plate’ and ‘china and glass’ suggests large amounts of crockery and wine glasses necessary for catering purposes at these events.41 Indeed, when the new proprietors of Carlisle House renewed the venue’s contents insurance with the Sun Fire Office in 1776, the only item was ‘Glass & China in the Gallery Supper Room & their Apartments communicating’ valued at £1,500. In contrast, the proprietors of Covent Garden, Haymarket and Drury Lane Theatres, focused more on the resources necessary for staging performances when drawing up their insurance policies. Thus, the proprietors of Covent Garden Theatre (1769) felt it pertinent to insure ‘machinery’ (£4,000), ‘wardrobe’ (£5,000), ‘musical instruments’ (£500) and ‘musick books’ (£500) to the total value of £10,000. A few months later, Thomas Harris & Co. took out additional policies on the wardrobe of Covent Garden Theatre with the Royal Exchange and on both ‘household goods’ and ‘wardrobe’ with the Union Fire Office for £5,000 and £6,000 respectively, making a grand total of £21,000 spread over three insurance offices. While James Brooke and Richard Yates may also have used the services of additional fire offices when insuring the contents of the Haymarket Theatre, this is not recorded in their Sun policies of 1774 and 1775. Thus, the value of the King’s Theatre contents insurance (£3,000) is dwarfed by that of Covent Garden. It is arguable, too, that under the directorship of Brooke and Yates the Haymarket Theatre provided refreshments, albeit not on the lavish scale of Carlisle House, since the policy of 1775 (and probably that of 1774 also) specifies ‘glasses’ (£600) in addition to ‘Scenes & Machinery’ (£800), ‘wardrobe’ (£1,500) and ‘music books’ (£100).

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41 It seems unlikely that the policy is referring to looking glasses or mirrors, which are referred to in the context of a memorial concert held at Carlisle House in 1772 and recounted by Richard John Samuel Stevens; see Recollections of R. J. S. Stevens: An Organist in Georgian London, ed. Mark Argent (London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Limited, 1992), p.9.
BUILDINGS INSURANCE

In addition to policies that concern the insurance of contents alone, a few policies relate to insurance cover for buildings, either as part of the contents policy or as a separate building’s policy.42 In some instances, the buildings are not occupied by the policy holder themselves but are instead being rented out to tenants. One policy held by the piano maker Christopher Ganer (1775), for example, includes cover for his own personal belongings in Broad Street, Carnaby Market, and additional cover for two brick houses in Deptford. Similarly, the piano maker John Zumpe (1775) insured his own house and personal belongings at 7 Charlotte Row, the three adjoining unoccupied houses, plus two further houses in Edgware Row, for which a single tenant is named. Other examples include two buildings that are identified as concert venues. The concert room and adjoining lodging rooms in Dean Street, for example, were insured for £1,000 by Ann Chambers (1761), and whilst still under construction, the concert venue in Chapel Street, Tottenham Court Road (usually referred to as the New Rooms or Tottenham Street Rooms) were insured by the double bass player Francis Pasquali (1772) for £1,000. Valued at just £100, it is not certain whether the music room in Charlotte Street insured by the cellist John Christopher Zeidler (1772) was also used as a concert venue.

Building materials, as well as usage and contents, impact on fire risk and therefore premiums,43 so insurance officials usually recorded whether a building was made of brick, stone, timber or plaster. Thus, while the dimensions of buildings are not recorded, it is possible to glean something of their nature even when they are not the primary focus of a policy: most houses were either of brick or of brick and timber; a few were of timber only; more unusual was the ‘Timber & Tiled Tenement’ on Battersea Rise belonging to the music seller Robert Bremner (1769). Variations in the cost of premiums are also clarified. Since the School House insured by the organ builders George and John England (1771) was solely of timber, for example, their premium on £1,000 worth of property amounted to £1 10s, whereas the harpsichord maker Baker Harris made use of a brick house and paid only £1 3s in 1771 for the same amount of property.

Moreover, it is possible to gain an insight into the nature of workshops and warehouses held by music tradesmen and women during this period. Workshops and warehouses feature in some 50 policies, mainly of keyboard instrument makers, and were clearly either integral with the family home or situated close by, confirming the domestic nature of many businesses at this time. George Pyke’s dwelling house, workshop and kitchen, for example, were all communicating (1762); the workshops of Thomas Parker (1759) and John & Gerard Vogler (1775) were situated in yards behind each of their houses; while the piano makers Gabriel Buntebart & Christopher Sievers (1778) had two brick warehouses at the bottom of their garden at the back of 13 Hanover Street. Americus Backers and the brothers Adam & Lawrence (Lorence) Beyer also had their different workshops situated behind their homes and it is noteworthy that while Backers shared his workshop with the newly identified harpsichord maker Henry Watson (1766), Messrs Beyer temporarily shared their workshop space with the harpsichord and piano maker John Pohlman (1768).44 It should be stressed, however, that while neither the 1762 nor the 1770 policy of the organ builder James Lyneham (1741/42–85) refer to a workshop, his policies with the Hand-in-Hand Fire Office indicate that his premises in Berwick Street consisted of a house with

42 For example, see two policies held by the harpsichord maker Jacob Kirkman: one for a house, coach house and stables in Brooks Green, Hammersmith (1769); the other for Stone Farm in Beckenham, Kent (1772).
43 According to John Trusler, The London Adviser and Guide: containing every instruction and information useful and necessary to persons living in London and coming to reside here (London: printed for the author, 1786), p.11: ‘The common insurances comprehend all brick and stone buildings not occupied by hazardous trades or goods; hazardous insurances are on timber-buildings and goods, and merchandizes in them called hazardous; as distillers, chemists, apothecaries, colour-men, tallow-chandlers, oil-men, inn-holders, &c. The double-hazardous are thatched, timber, or plaster buildings. If there is any part of the building wood or plaster on the outside, hazardous insurance must be paid.’ For property valued between £200 and £1,000, Trusler notes that, in addition to the 7s 6d for the policy and fire mark, the annual premium per £100 was 2 shillings for common insurance, 3 shillings for hazardous insurance and 5 shillings for double hazardous insurance.
44 The policy held by John Pohlman (3 March 1768) is the earliest reference to a piano maker in the records of the Sun Fire Office. Furthermore, it is arguable that the earliest extant piano by Pohlman, dated 1767, was made in Adam and Lawrence Beyer’s workshop, perhaps with their assistance. For further information on Pohlman, see Martha Novak Clinkscales, Makers of the Piano 1700–1820 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.219–20; and Cole (2000), pp.36–8.
workshop on the upper floor (total 486 square feet), plus a two-storey workshop (total 306 square feet). Moreover, while the policies of instrument makers of the calibre of Caleb Gedney, Thomas Collier and William Forster (ii) make no mention of workshops, this is probably explained by the fact that makers of woodwind and stringed instruments require much less space than harpsichord and organ builders; it also provides circumstantial evidence that their workshops were integral to their living space.

The extent to which musical instrument making could impact on an individual’s living space is provided by the example of Charles Pinto (d 1791), a harpsichord and English guitar (guittar) maker. His one insurance policy from 1778 describes him as a musical instrument maker of 3 Johnson’s Court, Fleet Street, and no reference is made to a workshop. Following Pinto’s death (reported in the Whitehall Evening Post on 15 November 1791 as occurring the previous day) a detailed probate inventory was made of his belongings in Johnson’s Court. The inventory, dated 18 February 1792, gives the impression that, in addition to normal household items, virtually every room was full to overflowing with timber, musical instruments, parts of instruments and instrument cases. As well as a four-poster bed, a chest of drawers and a bath stove, for example, the two back rooms of the premises included at least three pianos, 11 harpsichords, two spinets and a barrel organ. Harpsichords, in particular, were stored throughout the house: there were five more (including one upright harpsichord) in the front parlour and another three in the front room, which also contained 17 sets of harpsichord keys. The front room on the first floor contained an astonishing 75 violins and more than 50 guitars. Just one work bench is recorded and this was in the front garret.

In addition to situations where home and workplace coincided, there were a number of policy holders who had separate homes and businesses. As confirmed by his will, for example, the organ builder Edward Pistor (i) lived at 116 Leadenhall Street and made use of a brick and timber warehouse at 30 Great Street Helens (1770); the harpsichord maker Roger Plenius had both a house in South Audley Street and a warehouse in Mount Street, two thoroughfares that cross each other (1746); and the victualler and harpsichord maker William Rock (i) of Parliament Street made use of additional premises in the nearby streets of Channel Row and Gardiners Lane (1769 policy, endorsements dated 1776 and 1785). From the 1770s the harpsichord maker Jacob Kirkman may also have tried to keep his home and workplace distinct: while maintaining workshops at 19 Broad Street, where his nephew Abraham Kirkman continued to reside, Jacob Kirkman appears to have begun living in Blackheath. Moreover, he also insured a significant site south of the Thames in Castle Lane, Southwark (1779), consisting of several workshops, warehouses and saw pits on four sides of a yard and in the middle of the yard for £400, providing testimony that Jacob and Abraham Kirkman had two simultaneous workshop establishments. Furthermore, a few musical instrument makers, sellers and music printers had separate retail outlets, most notably in the Exeter Exchange and the Royal Exchange, two purpose-built shopping galleries where wealthy consumers could view a wide range of high value goods protected from the elements.

Both Henry Waylett (1759) and his successor Richard Bride (1765 and 1770) had a shop in Exeter Exchange on the Strand, for example, while John Simpson (i) (1742 and 1746) and his successors John Cox (1750), James Crutcher Simpson (1764 and 1766, with John Simpson (ii) in 1769 and 1776) made use of a shop and warehouse close by their dwelling house and under the Royal Exchange in Sweating’s Alley (or Sw Thin’s Alley). Evidence from the policy of John Cox (1750) suggests that it was a ground floor shop and a first floor warehouse.

PIVOTAL MOMENTS
To some extent the insurance policies mark significant stages in the lives or business enterprises of the policy holders. Policies concerning the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, for example, coincide with

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45 CLC, LMA, Hand-in-Hand records: Ms 8674/84, f.156, policy no.2785, dated 17 April 1755. Renewals: Ms 8674/97, f.136, dated 9 April 1762; Ms 8674/107, f.307, dated 4 August 1768; and Ms 8674/117, f.181, dated 1 August 1775.
47 TNA: PRO PROB 31/821/151.
periods of crisis in the running of the theatre (1733 and 1734), as well as the start of managerial stability (1747); John Pohlman’s move from Compton Street to Frith Street (policy dated 1 November 1769) accords with his marriage to Dorothea Ludewigh on 7 September 1769.\(^{49}\) Indeed, policies frequently appear to coincide with the establishment of a business or succession to a workshop. The first policy held by the music seller John Bland (1775), for example, probably coincides with the establishment of his business at 114 Long Acre, the first of Caleb Gedney’s policies (1754) marks his succession to the wind instrument workshop over the Temple Exchange Coffee House of Thomas Stanesby (ii) (d 1754),\(^{50}\) while the date of William Frecker’s first insurance policy (1779) marks the start of his occupancy of the late Americus Backers’ piano workshop.\(^{51}\) It is noteworthy, too, that the first of Roger Plenius’s policies (16 April 1741) may be linked to an indenture between one Charles Cope and Plenius (1 January 1741/42) concerning a loan of £1,100.\(^{52}\) It is possible that the money was intended to finance the establishment of a new workshop in South Audley Street, since the property is similarly valued for insurance purposes at £1,000. Conversely, the 1766 policy of the harpsichord maker Joshua Shudi (1739–74) may mark his dismissal from the workshop of his uncle, the harpsichord maker Burkat Shudi (i).\(^{53}\)

The death of a policy holder appears generally to have been marked by an endorsement to the policy. An endorsement (dated 26 September 1775) to the policy of Samuel Gillespy, an organ builder and harpsichord maker, for example, confirms his death and his widow Esther Gillespy as the new policy holder, while the second of two surviving endorsesments to the policy of William Boyce (dated 16 June 1779), confirms the new policy holders as Hannah and Elizabeth Boyce, described as ‘Executrixes of D’ William Boyce Deceas’d’. Changes of address can also be shown by endorsements, and also by replacement policies. The musician and coffee seller James Lowe had just two policies (1728 and 1735), for example, but his frequent changes of address resulted in three endorsements to the 1728 policy and an astonishing 11 endorsements to the 1735 policy. More usual is the example of the organ builder Samuel Green, whose five policies provide us with four successive addresses: Broad Sanctuary, Westminster (1752), with endorsement concerning his move to 11 Broad Pavement, Grays Inn Lane (1763); 11 Gray’s Inn Lane (1763); near Theobald’s Row in Red Lion Street Holborn (1769 and 1773); and Queen’s Row Islington (1778).

However, it should be stressed that policy dates should not necessarily be taken as precise pivotal moments. The four policies of the music historian Charles Burney, for example, only approximate to his return to London after nine years in King’s Lynn (autumn 1760, policies for Poland Street dated 28 June 1760 and 3 October 1770), his move to Queen Square, Bloomsbury (24 December 1770, policy dated 4 January 1772) and his move to St Martin’s Street Leicester Fields (8 October 1774, policy dated 8 December 1774).\(^{54}\) It is interesting to note, too, that the harpsichord and piano maker John Broadwood did not begin insuring property with the Sun Fire Office until 1779, six years after the death of his employer, father-in-law and partner Burkat Shudi (i) and five years after he first voted in the Westminster Elections. Other examples include the woodwind instrument maker Thomas Collier, who succeeded to the workshop of Charles Schuchart at the Two Flutes and Hautboy at 20 Chandos Street in 1767, but did not begin insuring his property with the Sun until 1772; and the flute maker Richard Potter (1726–1806), who had his own premises from c1745, becoming a Freeman of the Turners’ Company on 7 September 1748,\(^{55}\) but did not begin insuring his property with the Sun Fire Office until 1759.

\(^{49}\) WCA, St Anne Soho, Marriage Register 1769–77, mf 16. We would like to thank Michael Cole (personal correspondence) for pointing out that Pohlman lived in Frith Street following his marriage.

\(^{50}\) An etching and engraving by William Hogarth, entitled The Times, Plate 1 (dated 7 September 1762) depicts a chaotic fire scene in London. Some of the shop-signs in the image have been shown to contain a political message, and while one of the buildings is labelled ‘TEMPLE COFFEE HOUSE’ it is not possible to identify the wind instrument workshop of Caleb Gedney that was situated above it. For further information see Shelia O’Connell, London 1753, exhibition catalogue (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), p.71.


\(^{52}\) TNA: PRO C109/329.

\(^{53}\) Joshua Shudi apparently worked as a finisher for his uncle Burkat Shudi (i) during the period c1761–66; see Boalch (1995), pp.175–76.

CONNECTIONS

One of the most fascinating aspects of the Sun insurance archive is the possibility it provides of drawing connections between individuals. As well as the link between the piano maker John Pohlman and the organ builders and piano makers Adam & Lawrence Beyer already noted, for example, a number of instrumentalists resided at the homes of fellow musicians: Charles Frederick Baumgarten’s one extant insurance policy (1769) testifies to his association with the cellist and gamba player Stephen Paxton (1734–87), while the first of Giacobbe Cervetto’s policies (1762) testifies to his association with the violinist Richard Collett (fl 1737–79). The identification of Benjamin Slade’s address in George Alley, York Buildings suggests that there may have been a connection with the harpsichord maker Joseph Mahoon (1696–1773), whose premises were initially situated close by in George Street, York Buildings. There is no concrete evidence to suggest that Mahoon was apprenticed to Benjamin Slade (1669–1734), but he appears to have succeeded Slade as Harpsichord Maker to His Majesty in 1729, and the closeness of their workshops adds support to the suggestion that the initials ‘GC’ found internally on a spinet inscribed on the outside Mahoon Londini Fecit might be those of Benjamin Slade’s master George Castleman.56 From his sole policy (1769) it appears that Henry Repuke was an associate of the organ builders Anthony and Joseph Beloudy, who also insured their property in a house in the ‘Coachmakers Yard near the Coach & Horses in Newtoners Lane’57 in 1769 and 1775 respectively. There may also be a connection between the Beloudys and the organ dealer Joseph Clary, who had apartments in a brick house in Newtoners Lane (1770).

The policy registers also shed important new light on the genealogy of the harpsichord maker John Hitchcock (1734–74). Doubt has been cast on the assumption that John Hitchcock was the son and successor to Thomas Hitchcock (ii) (d 1737), since, while there was considerable amount of circumstantial evidence to link the two makers,58 no record of baptism had been identified. Following Thomas Hitchcock (ii)’s untimely death in a road traffic accident,59 it has been claimed that, rather than his widow Margaret60 or John Hitchcock taking over the workshop in Fetter Lane, the successor was a recently discovered spinet maker, referred to in terms of their freedom of the Haberdashers’ Company, as ‘Thomas Hitchcock Free 1701.’61 Thus, the existence of an insurance policy (1740) in the name of Margaret Hitchcock (1696–1763), in which she is described as a ‘Widow and Musical Instrument maker’, is extremely important, since it establishes her as the true successor to her late husband’s business. Since it was a patriarchal society, Margaret Hitchcock’s policy also excludes the possibility of any male member of the household who had reached full legal age. Moreover, an endorsement dated 1746/47 testifies to her taking her son John Hitchcock as a ‘Partner in Trade’. That John Hitchcock was indeed the son of Thomas and Margaret Hitchcock is confirmed by the recent discovery of his record of baptism, which took place in Beedon, a small village within Wantage’s sphere of influence.62 Thus, it can now be suggested

57 The address is recorded as either ‘Newtoners Lane’ or ‘Newtners Lane’ and is not listed in the place name index of The A to Z of Georgian London (Lymnpe Castle, Kent: Harry Margary in association with Guildhall Library, London, 1981) or The A to Z of Regency London (Lymnpe Castle, Kent: Harry Margary in association with Guildhall Library, London, 1985). It may, however, have been a small thoroughfare off Newtsone Street, High Holborn.
58 Like Thomas Hitchcock (ii), for example, John Hitchcock belonged to the Haberdashers’ Company, becoming a Freeman of the Haberdashers’ Company by Patrimony on 9 November 1750; see GL, Haberdashers’ Company, Freedom Registers 1642–1772, Ms 15857/2, p.446. Both also had premises in Fetter Lane: Thomas Hitchcock (ii) is described as ‘a Harpsichord-maker in Fetter-lane’ in the London Evening Post for Thursday 9 June 1737; a report in the Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser on Monday 5 December 1763 concerning John Hitchcock falling through a trapdoor, as well as his Sun Fire policy of 1771, likewise give his address as Fetter Lane.
59 According to a report in the London Evening Post for Thursday 9 June 1737, Hitchcock was killed when the chaise he was travelling in with his two children was overturned by a wagon.
62 John Hitchcock, the son of ‘Thos. and Margaret Hitchcock’, was baptized on 31 March 1734; see <http://familysearch.org> (accessed 15 November 2012).
that John Hitchcock trained as a harpsichord maker in his mother’s workshop before succeeding to the family business on the death of Margaret Hitchcock in 1763.

The sometimes complex relationships between Thomas Arne, his estranged wife Cecilia Arne (née Young), François-Hippolyte Barthélemon (the husband of Cecilia’s niece Polly Young) and Arne’s pupil Charlotte Brent are encapsulated in their various policies. All three of Cecilia Arne’s policies refer to premises not associated with Thomas Arne: two (from 1765 and 1774) relate to property in the homes of personnel outwith the musical life of London; and one (from 1772) refers to her sojourn with Barthélemon during the period c1772–74. From his Sun Fire Office policy of 1778 we know that Barthélemon himself was a temporary resident at Arne’s premises in Bow Street, Covent Garden, while Charlotte Brent, generally considered partly responsible for Thomas and Cecilia Arne’s 20-year separation, insured her property at the home of Thomas Arne in Covent Garden Piazza in 1765. Charlotte Brent and Cecilia Arne were not, however, the only women to insure property with the Sun Fire Office.

WOMEN

Gender studies have become increasingly important in recent years, as scholars have begun to assess the role of women and the implications of gender in defining ‘appropriate behaviour’.63 While women could sing freely in public, for example, their choice of musical instrument was limited largely to the harpsichord or piano; in contrast, men were far less restrained in public, being able to be composers, music masters and professional instrumentalists of all kinds. Within the private sphere, women were allowed to be more accomplished than men, although their instrumental opportunities were still restricted, while it was deemed inappropriate for non-professional men to be over-accomplished, since this hinted at a taste for frivolity and the avoidance of ‘real’ work. While both male and female musicians insured their property with the Sun Fire Office during the period 1710–79, male policy holders hugely outnumber women. Notable women include the already mentioned singers Cecilia Arne (1765, 1772 and 1774) and Charlotte Brent (1765), neither of whom are described in terms of their careers, and the harpist Elizabeth Brumen (1775). In total, 17 policies or 2½% of those directly relating to the musical life of London were held solely or jointly by women.

The identification of women within manufacturing and trading is also problematic since many of the archives are themselves gendered. During the period under investigation, women were not considered to be independent citizens, were disenfranchised and could not own property if there was a male who could do so on their behalf.64 Following Elizabeth Brumen’s marriage to John Dyke in 1792, for example, her insurance policy transferred to him since he became the property owner (see endorsement dated 1793). As a result, many of the women only become visible when they are widowed: Elizabeth Hare, widow of the musical instrument maker and music publisher John Hare (1728); Catharine Byfield, widow of the organ builder John Byfield (i) (1756 and 1759); and Mary Shudi, widow of the harpsichord maker Joshua Shudi (1779). All of these women must have had a good knowledge of their husband’s businesses or they would not have been able to run the establishment after they died. Some relied upon assistance, yet since many businesses were home-based, they are likely to have been contributing even while their spouses were alive.65 Indeed, evidence that Mary Shudi had considerable knowledge of harpsichord building, is provided by the probate inventory of

65 Following the death of the harpsichord maker Thomas Barton on 2 September 1731, for example, a notice was published a few days later in the London Evening Post (9 September 1731) indicating that his widow intended to continue the business: ‘MR. THOMAS BARTON, Harpsichord-maker, being dead, and having left a great Number of curious Instruments, his Widow [Mary Barton] gives this publick Notice, that she will continue the Business at her Husband’s late Dwelling near the South-Sea House, Bishops-gate-Street, where she employs the same hands that work’d for her Husband, and will take the utmost Care to give Satisfaction to her Customers’. Similarly, Elizabeth Hare continued the business of her late husband with the aid of John Simpson (i) until c1734; see Humphries and Smith (1970), p.171.
Joshua Shudi's goods and chattels she completed, some six years after his death, on 30 May 1780.\textsuperscript{67} As well as differentiating between planks of walnut and mahogany, for example, she describes a chest as containing 'an imperfect Set of Tools' and is able to specify some 99 'Leaves for sounding boards' (perhaps planks of coniferous wood that had been planed and were ready to be jointed), 26 'bellies' and 21 'Octive bars' (probably 4ft hitchpin rails).

One of the best examples of female involvement in musical instrument making is that of Ann and Catherine Gedney, who, following the death of their father Caleb Gedney in 1769, continued the business of flute making at the Temple Exchange Coffee House with the aid of their guardian Mr Miller, possibly the bassoonist John Miller.\textsuperscript{68} Caleb Gedney had insured his property with the Sun Fire Office in 1754 and 1763, and while one of the pertinent endorsement volumes to his 1763 policy is missing, we know that in 1775 the policy holder was Ann Gedney. Importantly, the Gedney sisters announced that they were successors to their late father Caleb Gedney in \textit{The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser} on 2 June 1769, that they 'were brought up in the business, and [had] finished most of the instruments for some years, in their father's life time.' This rare and important piece of evidence demonstrates that daughters did serve informal apprenticeships within home-based businesses, enabling them to earn a living should circumstances arise which made this a necessity. Although Catherine Gedney was the eldest, she had previously married the flautist Pietro Grassi Florio,\textsuperscript{69} and may have had a subsidiary role to her sister Ann; the endorsement testifies to Ann residing at their home. It should be stressed too, that like a number of flute makers at this time, Ann and Catherine Gedney appear to have bought in keywork from John Hale.\textsuperscript{70}

Women were also able to earn a living as music publishers and music shopkeepers. These include Elizabeth Liessem, widow of Remerus Liessem, who is described in her 1761 policy as 'Stationer & Musick Shop [Keeper]', and Mary Hodgson, possibly the widow of Peter Hodgson, who is referred to in her 1775 policy as 'Music Warehouse Woman'. Perhaps the best known, however, is Mary Welcker, whose policy of 1776 describes her as 'Music Seller & Printer'. The total sum insured by Welcker, some 20 months before her death in 1777, amounted to £8,000, an extraordinarily large amount that dwarfs virtually all other policies, held by both men and women, with the exception of those concerning concert venues and theatres. In comparison, the total combined value of John Broadwood’s two insurance policies from 1779 amounts to £3,500. Indeed, Welcker’s high value policy may have been greatly inflated, since the 1773 policy of Peter Welcker, whom she succeeded, amounted only to £3,000, as did the joint 1778 policy of her executors William Sherlock, James Blundell and John Henry Moze.

Furthermore, some women were involved in concert promotion and theatre management. Partly due to the untimely deaths of their husbands, Mary Wilkes and Hester Booth, for example, were both part of the short-lived management team that insured the contents of the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane in 1733 for £4,000. Similarly, the widow of one of the purchasers of Covent Garden Theatre in 1767, Elizabeth Powell, having then married the musician John Abraham Fisher, was part of the management team who, in 1776, jointly insured the machinery, wardrobe, music, prompt books and musical instruments at the theatre with the Sun Fire Office for £10,000, at the same time making use of the Royal and Union Fire Offices. A value of £500 for the musical instruments at the theatre strongly suggests the inclusion of an organ and perhaps one or more harpsichords. As previously discussed, two female concert promoters also insured their property with the Sun Fire Office: Teresa Cornelys and Ann Chambers.

DIVERSIFICATION

The insurance records testify to significant numbers of musicians, musical instrument makers and music publishers also being active in other areas of musical life. Herman Bernhard Victor, for example, is described in his policy as both organist and musical instrument maker (1765 and 1767); James Pockley was both harpsichord maker and printer (1766); while Thomas Bennett is referred to as both copper plate printer and dealer in musical instruments (1766). It is well known that some organ builders also worked as clock and watchmakers. We know from

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\textsuperscript{67} TNA: PRO PROB 31/681/425.
\textsuperscript{70} Lasocki (2010), p.96.
their insurance policies that William Davis (1775), Isaac Northam (1769), and Hilton Wray (1772) all practised the dual crafts of organ and clock making, for example, while George Pyke, described variously as ‘Musical Clockmaker & Organ Builder’ (1757), ‘Organ Builder and Clock Maker’ (1760) and ‘Watchmaker & Organ Builder’ (1762 and 1767) was also a Freeman of the Clockmakers’ Company. By the eighteenth century the membership of livery companies encompassed a far broader cross section of trades than their name suggests. Following the example of his father, the organ, clock and watchmaker Edward Pistor (i), for example, was a Freeman of the Clothworkers’ Company;71 the organ builder Edward Darvill was a Freeman of the Parish Clerks’ Company.72 Conversely, one of George Pyke’s apprentices Samuel Green, while a Freeman of the Clockmakers’ Company,73 is described in all five of his insurance policies simply as organ builder (1762, 1763, 1769, 1773 and 1778). Other artisans combined the complementary trades of cabinet and keyboard instrument making. Marchant West (1768) and William Thickbrown (1773) are both described as Cabinet Maker and Organ Builder, while Robert Addison combined organ building with cabinet making and upholstery (1767). It is questionable, however, whether cabinet making necessarily refers to a separate line of business or to an integral part of the same trade. Benjamin and William Flight, for example, may have initially specialised in case and cabinet making, diversified to include organ building and eventually concentrated solely on organ manufacture. Alternatively, Benjamin Flight may have been the organ builder and it was his brother William who concentrated on case and cabinet making.

Some members of the music trade combined several distinct roles, such as Joseph Gibbs (1773), who was a ‘Bookseller Stationer and Dealer in Medicines and Musical Instruments’; Beston Germon, who was both ‘Milkman & Musick Master’ (1770); and John Westobee, who is recorded as a ‘Needle Maker, Musician and Victualler’ (1739). Other victuallers include the musician Thomas Perkins (i), who resided at The Edinburgh Castle in the Strand (1770) and the harpsichord maker William Rock (i) (1765), who was also a Freeman of the Vintners’ Company.74 The letting of rooms must also have been an important source of additional income for the organ builder James Lyneham and the harpsichord makers Thomas Garbutt and Mary Shudi. The latter advertised ‘A genteel First Floor to lett [sic]’ in the Public Advertiser on 16 January 1775 and a few months later it was occupied by the architect Joseph Bonomi, who insured his property at her home for a total value of £400. That the piano maker John Zumpe invested significant amounts of money in four adjacent houses in Charlotte Row and two adjoining houses in Edgware Row, Paddington, presumably with a view to providing income from all but one of them, is confirmed by his 1775 insurance policy, which values the six properties, together with his household goods and wearing apparel, for the total sum of £2,300.

CLAIMS

That fire was a real threat to lives and livelihoods is testified by reports of fires suffered by a number of musical instrument makers during the course of the eighteenth century. These include the violin maker Elizabeth Hare (ii) (d after 1752), whose premises in Birchin Lane were destroyed by a fire in 1748,75 the violin maker Joseph Hill (ii) (1745–93), whose workshop was destroyed by the fire that consumed the King’s Theatre in the Haymarket on 17 June 1789,76 and the organ builder George England (d 1773), who lost three valuable organs in a fire in 1771. According to a notice in the General Evening Post for 23–25 May 1771:

Yesterday morning about three o’clock a fire broke out among some shavings in a loft belonging to Mr. Wildboar, Dyer, in Northampton-street, Wood’s-close, which entirely consumed the same, together

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71 Edward Pistor (i) (1727–76) took up his Freedom of the Company by Patrimony on 3 October 1750 (Clothworkers’ Company Archive, Register of Freemen 1725–54, Ms CL/C/3/2/1, f.125v). We are very grateful to Jessica Collins, archivist of The Clothworkers’ Company, for this information.
72 Edward Darvill became a Freeman of the Parish Clerks’ Company on 19 April 1762 (GL, Parish Clerks’ Company, Freedom Registers 1668–1943, Ms 10942/6, unpaginated).
73 Samuel Green became a Freeman of the Clockmakers’ Company on 29 September 1772 (GL, Clockmakers’ Company, Freedom Registers 1631–1811, Ms 11568, unpaginated).
74 William Rock became a Freeman of the Vintners’ Company on 2 July 1755 (GL, Vintners’ Company, Freedom Registers 1658–1768, Ms 15212/1, p.304).
76 Milnes (2000), p.84.
with that of Mr. England, Organ-builder, adjoining. Mr. England’s policy of insurance was out about six weeks ago, which he had not renewed; he has lost three organs, valued at 400 guineas.77

It is likely that the fire had a severe impact on the finances and working capability of George England, and he may have needed assistance from his brother and successor John England. Certainly, the only known Sun Fire Office policy held by George England was held jointly with John England, who may have even paid the premium. Moreover, since there are no other known Sun policies and this one, dated 31 December 1771, postdates the conflagration, it is possible that he had previously insured his property with a different company.

Unfortunately, only a very small number of Sun Fire Office claims survive and these date from the very end of our study period, 1770–88.78 Just one claim pertains to music, that of Robert Shaw, a musician, musical instrument maker and dealer in musical instruments, who had premises on the Strand.79 Very little is known about Robert Shaw and it appears that there were two musicians of this name, one a violinist (d 1790) and the other a bassoonist and oboist (d 1803).80 Shaw’s two policies date from 1772 and 1773, and his property was valued at £300 and £500 respectively. According to Shaw’s signed affidavit – confirmed and countersigned by the curate, a churchwarden and a sidesman of St Martin in the Fields – the fire took place on 14 September 1780 and resulted in the loss of his ‘Household Goods, Utensils, Stock, Goods in trust, Wearing Apparel, Plate, China and Glass […] to the sum of Five Hundred Pounds & upwards’. Unfortunately, the inventory made by Shaw to support his claim does not survive and no other information of note is recorded.

OTHER FIRE INSURANCE RECORDS

While the Sun Fire Office was the most significant insurance provider for London’s musical population, it should be noted that some musicians, music sellers and instrument makers made use of other insurance companies. During the latter part of the period covered by the current study, for example, the musician Lewis Borghi insured his property solely with the Royal Exchange (1777 and 1782),81 while the musician Joseph Bryan appears to have transferred allegiance from the Sun (1760, 1761, 1763, 1769) to the Royal Exchange (1776).82 It is also possible that one of the two musicians named Robert Mason in the Sun Fire records insured their property with the Royal Exchange in 1783.83 In addition to insuring a large amount of property with the Sun Fire Office, the harpsichord maker Jacob Kirkman also made use of the Hand-in-Hand Fire Office (1768 and 1775) for a brick house (valued at £500) in Rose Street, St Anne Soho.84 Moreover, the organ builder James Lyneham insured property in Berwick Street with both the Hand-in-Hand (1755, 1762, 1768 and 1775)85 and the Sun (1762 and 1770). In contrast, the organ builders Abraham Jordan (i) and (ii) (father and son) held numerous policies with the Hand-in-Hand during the first half of the eighteenth century but just one with the Sun Fire Office (1712).86 Also, although James Longman and Francis Broderip insured their joint property with the Sun in 1786, generally it was James Longman alone who insured their Cheapside and other premises during the period 1772–92 with

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78 See CLC/B/192/F/037/Ms 31688/001–007 and CLC/B/192/F/040/Ms 15040/001–004.
79 Included in CLC/B/192/F/037/Ms 31688/004.
81 CLC, LMA, Royal Exchange records: 18 Charles Street: Ms 7253/3, p.21, policy no.70076, dated 4 March 1777; and 5 John Street, Oxford Market: Ms 7253/6, p.386, policy no.82828, dated 21 January 1782.
82 CLC, LMA, Royal Exchange records: Marsham Street: Ms 7253/2, p.381, policy no.68739, dated 18 September 1776. Endorsement concerning move to 4 Romney Row, Marsham Street: Ms 7253/7, p.448, dated 7 June 1783.
83 CLC, LMA, Royal Exchange records: 47 Berwick Street: Ms 7253/7, p.480, policy no.86912, dated 4 July 1783.
84 CLC, LMA, Hand-in-Hand records: house in Rose Street: Ms 8674/108, f.147, policy no.59405, dated 16 December 1768; renewal Ms 8674/117, f.364, dated 16 December 1775.
85 CLC, LMA, Hand-in-Hand records: house and workshops in Berwick Street: Ms 8674/84, f.156, policy no.2785, dated 17 April 1755. Renewals: Ms 8674/97, f.136, dated 9 April 1762; Ms 8674/107, f.307, dated 4 August 1768; and Ms 8674/117, f.181, dated 1 August 1775.
86 For a detailed discussion see Jeffery (2002), pp.76–135.
the Hand-in-Hand.⁸⁷ Although absent from the Sun Fire policy registers for the period 1710–79, the organ builder and harpsichord maker William Bailey is found in The London Assurance records insuring property at his premises ‘at the Corner of Castle Court facing the New Exchange in the Strand’; the value of his insured property amounted to the not insignificant sum of £800.⁸⁸ The organ and harpsichord maker John Crang insured property with both the Sun Fire Office and the Union Fire Office (later known as the Union Assurance Society) in 1761 and 1764. Furthermore, the combined sums insured with the two companies, amounting to £4,000 in 1761 and £4,500 in 1764 provides compelling evidence that Crang was one of the most significant organ builders during this period. In comparison, the organ builder George Pyke insured property with the Sun valued at £2,000 in 1762, while another organ building contemporary John Snetzler insured his stock in 1763 for £800.

While the picture presented here is one of overall dominance by the Sun Fire Office, it should be stressed that no comprehensive search of alternative insurance providers has been undertaken. Assessment of the Royal Exchange records is based on the index of names and occupations created by Professor R. Floud and students at Birkbeck College for the period 1775–87, while records of the Hand-in-Hand have only been dip sampled. The clerks of the Hand-in-Hand provided a person index at the start of each ledger and this alone has been used to identify potential musicians and musical instrument builders for a handful of volumes only.

CONCLUSION
Insurance policies held by musicians, music sellers and musical instrument makers during the years 1710–79 provide a significant means of assessing the size and financial value of musical life in London. Indeed, while there are some notable absences – including Handel and Burkart Shudi (i) – it may be one of the best measures of the music sector’s expansion during the 1760s and 1770s. Further light is shed on individuals of whom much has already been written; for others, the records of the Sun Fire Office are our only primary source. Until now, little has been known concerning the structure of musical instrument workshops in the capital, and it is hoped that it might soon be possible to construct a model for this business type. While not intended as an exhaustive study it is hoped that this assessment might lead to further research and analysis of a source that has still to be utilised fully by music scholars.

EDITORIAL METHOD
The process of production, by numerous individuals working over many years, means that the policies exhibit disparate handwriting and spelling. A variety of shorthand versions of words have also been used, including ‘Ind’, ‘Indt’ ‘End’ and ‘End’ (endorsement), exceed g (exceeding), P ds (pounds) and Dwell (dwelling). Our transcriptions retain the spellings and abbreviations as they appear in the documents in order to preserve some resemblance of the originals. Later additions, including references to endorsements, are contained within [], the ends of lines are indicated by a \ and all editorial matter is presented within [].

The policy dates, which occur in the original documents either in full or in an abbreviated form at the top of each page, with subsequent entries on a page dated by reference to this header using the word ditto (or D⁹), have been standardised and inserted as part of the heading of each policy. For all policies dated January, February or March for the years 1710–52 we have used a hybrid of the Old and New Style for recording the year; the policy of the harpsichord maker Benjamin Slade, for example, is recorded as 24 January 1715/16.

If the policy holder is directly involved in music then the policies appear under their name, arranged in alphabetical order by surname. When a musician or musical instrument maker is named in the policy

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⁸⁸ CLC, LMA Ms 8747/2, p.10, policy no.29784, dated 28 February 1760. It is possible that this is the same person or a relative of the William Bailey who is described as a flute maker in the records of the Sun Fire Office: see LMA Ms 11936/284, p.80, policy no.429609, dated 8 June 1780.
of another person in the music business, the policy
appears under the name of the holder but is cross-
referenced under the name of the mentioned second
person. When the name of a person in the music
business appears in the policy of an individual
outside of music, the policy is recorded not under
the name of the policy holder but under the named
member of the music business. All policies referring
to premises such as Carlisle House, Tottenham
Street Rooms and Drury Lane Theatre are listed
under venues. It should also be noted that while
policies referring to Robert Bremner’s property in
Edinburgh are listed alongside his London policies,
they have not been counted in the statistics for
London.

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS
The following editorial conventions and abbreviations
have been used throughout:
<> Deleted in original
{} Inserted in original
[] Editorial
\ New line
BIOS The British Institute of Organ Studies
CCA Clothworkers’ Company Archive
CLC City of London Corporation
CLRO Corporation of London Record Office
DBOB The Freeman-Edmonds Directory of
British Organ Builders
GL Guildhall Library
LMA London Metropolitan Archives
mf Microfilm
RSM Royal Society of Musicians
TNA: PRO The National Archives: Public Record
Office
WCA Westminster City Archives

In addition, two genealogy websites have been
accessed to determine various births, deaths and
marriages:
<http://familysearch.org> Free family history
and genealogy records website provided by The
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
We would like to express our thanks to the RSA
Insurance Group for permission to publish this
selection of records from their archives; staff at
City of London Corporation, London Metropolitan
Archives, Guildhall Library and Westminster City
Archives; as well as individuals including Robert
Bigio, Alasdair Broun, Jessica Evans, Katie George,
Wendy Hawke, Marie Kent, Roz Southey and Simon
Waters. In particular, we thank Paul Banks and
Simon McVeigh, who read and commented on an
earlier version of this paper.

INDEX OF NAMED POLICY HOLDERS ORGANIZED ACCORDING TO PRESCRIBED CATEGORIES

For the purposes of the index, occupations and names have been standardised. People who practised dual
trading or had a portfolio career appear in more than one category. It should be stressed that the occupations
given here are derived from the policies themselves and sometimes differ from modern conceptions of a
person’s work profile. The year of the policy and the total sum insured have also been extracted from the
registers; for the years 1710–19 no monetary valuations were recorded and these policies are marked ‘no
insured amount’. Harpsichord makers not recorded in Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord*, organ builders
not recorded in the Directory of British Organ Builders, <http://www.npor.org.uk> (accessed 18 November
2012), plus William Green, the one music printer not recorded in Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*,
are marked with a §.

MUSIC OR INSTRUMENT OUTLET

Atkins, Thomas: dealer in musical instruments, 1770 (£100)
Babb, Samuel: music seller, 1779 (£600)
Bielefield, John Henry: musical instrument and music seller, 1773 (£500), music seller, 1778 (£300)
Bland, John: broker and music seller, 1775 (£500), music seller and engraver, 1779 (£700)
Blundell, James (d 1786): [with William Sherlock and John Henry Moze]: music seller and executor to the will of Mary
Welcker, 1778 (£3,000), [alone]: music seller and printer, 1778 (£900), 1779 (£1,900)
Bremner, James: music seller, 1770 (£1,000)
Bremner, Robert (d 1789): music seller, 1767 (£2,000)
Carr, Benjamin: music shop, 1763 (£200)
Caruso, Francesco: music shop, 1765 (£200)
Clary, Joseph: dealer in organs, 1770 (£100)
Collett, Thomas (fl. 1755–66): musician and dealer in musical instruments, 1766 (£265)
Cox, John: musical instrument maker and seller, 1750/51 (£1,200), 1756 (£400), no occupation recorded, 1761 (£200)
English, William [with John Pollet]: dealer in musical instruments, 1774 (£200)
Gibbs, Joseph: bookseller, stationer and dealer in medicines & musical instruments, 1773 (£300)
Gardom, George: music seller, 1774 (missing)
Hardy, Joseph: stationer and music shop, 1757 (£200)
L’Heureux, David: dealer in musical instruments, 1762 (£200), [with Elizabeth Johnson, schoolmistress]: schoolmaster and dealer in musical instruments, 1770 (£500)
Hill (i), Joseph (1715–84): music shop, 1763 (£300)
Hodgson, Mary: music warehouse woman, 1775 (£1,000)
Johnston, John: music shop, 1768 (£400), dealer in musical instruments, 1769 (£400), dealer in music and musical instruments, 1769 (£1,000)
Jones, Charles: bookseller and dealer in musical instruments, 1752 (£200), 1757 (£300), dealer in musical instruments, 1761 (£300)
Knibb, Thomas: stationer and music seller, 1769 (£200)
Lewer, James: dealer in canes and musical instruments, 1759 (£600)
Liessem, Elizabeth: stationer and music shop, 1761 (£200)
Moze, John Henry [with James Blundell and William Sherlock]: music seller and executor to the will of Mary Welcker, 1778 (£3,000)
Light, Edward: music seller, 1774 (£200), 1777 (£200)
Napier, William (1741–1812): music seller, 1772 (£1,300)
Newton, Thomas: dealer in musical instruments, 1749 (£200)
Okell, Samuel Henry: dealer in musical instruments, 1774 (£100)
Oswald, James (1711–69): master of music, musical books and instrument seller, 1746 (£200)
Pollet, John [with William English]: dealer in musical instruments, 1774 (£200)
Portal, Abraham: stationer and music seller, 1779 (£500)
Rauche, Michael: music warehouse man, 1763 (£500)
Rutherford, David (d. 1770): musical instrument maker and music seller, 1760 (£800)
Rutherford, John (fl. 1771–84): musical instrument maker and music seller, 1771 (£900)
Schuchart, Charles (d. 1765): musical instrument maker, dealer in musical books, 1755 (£200)
Shaw, Robert: musician and dealer in musical instruments, 1773 (£500)
Sherlock, William [with James Blundell and John Henry Moze]: music seller and executor to the will of Mary Welcker, 1778 (£3,000)
Simpson (i), John: musical instrument seller, 1734 (£200), 1735/36 (£500)
Skillern, Thomas: engraver and music seller, 1778 (£700)
Tyther, John: musical instrument seller, 1746 (£300), 1751 (£600)
Waylett, Francis: musical instrument seller, 1755 (£200)
Waylett, Henry (d. 1772): musical instrument Seller, 1750 (£500)
Welcker, John: music seller, 1778 (£1,000)
Welcker, Mary (d. 1777): music seller and printer, 1776 (£8,000)
Welcker, Peter (d. 1774): master of music and music seller, 1761 (£1,000), 1767 (£2,400), 1773 (£3,000)

MUSIC PUBLISHING
Abell, John (d. 1768): engraver of music, 1763 (£200), music printer, 1766 (£200)
Bennett, Thomas: copper plate printer and dealer in musical instruments, 1766 (£300)
Bland, John: music seller and engraver, 1779 (£700)
Bremner, Robert (d. 1789): music printer, 1769 (£200)
Freeman, James Thomas: music engraver, 1778 (£200)
§ Green, William: music printer, 1772 (£300), 1777 (£300)
Hummell, Adolph: music printer and dealer in musical instruments, 1761 (£500), music printer, 1764 (£1,000), 1766 (£1,000)
§ Pockley, James: harpsichord maker and printer, 1766 (£200)
Randall, William: music printer, 1766 (£200), 1767 (£500), 1777 (£600), 1779 (£500)
Skillern, Thomas: engraver and music seller, 1778 (£700)
Straight, Thomas: music engraver, 1763 (£100)
Walsh (ii), John (1709–1766): musical instrument maker and music printer, 1757 (£1,500)
Waylett, Henry (d 1772): musical instrument maker and music printer, 1759 (£1,000)
Welcker, John: music printer and musical instrument maker, 1775 (£1,000), 1777 (£2,000)
Wright, Herman: gent [music printer], 1777 (£600)

MUSICAL INSTRUMENT MAKER
§ Addison, Robert: cabinet maker, organ builder and upholster, 1767 (£300)
Aire, John: organ builder, 1773 (£200)
Astor, George (1752–1813): musical instrument maker, 1779 (£100)
Augé, Peter: musical instrument maker, 1778 (£300)
Backers, Americus (d 1778): harpsichord maker, 1766 (£400)
Barnes, Robert (fl 1765–1811) [with John Norris]: musical instrument maker, 1772 (£500)
Barrett, John (fl 1711–43): musical instrument maker, 1713 (no insured amount), 1735 (£400), 1740 (£300)
Barton, George: musical instrument maker, 1773 (missing)
Barton, Thomas (d 1731): harpsichord maker, 1718 (no insured amount)
Baxter, William: organ builder, 1769 (£100), 1771 (£200), 1773 (£400)
Beck, Arnold Frederick (fl 1763–98): cabinet and musical instrument maker, 1763 (£200), 1767 (£300), musical instrument maker, 1771 (£600), 1775 (£1,000)
§ Beckman, Nicholas: harpsichord maker, 1775 (£300)
Beloudy, Anthony: organ builder, 1769 (£400)
Beloudy, Joseph (d 1805): organ builder, 1775 (£500)
Beyer, Adam (1729/30–1804) [with Lawrence Beyer]: organ builder, 1768 (£700)
Beyer, Lawrence (d 1789) [with Adam Beyer]: organ builder, 1768 (£700)
Bressan, Peter (d 1731): musical instrument maker, 1710/11 (no insured amount)
Bride, Richard: musical instrument maker, 1765 (£600), 1770 (£800)
Broadhurst, William: cabinet maker, organ builder and chandler, 1767 (£100)
Broadwood, John (1732–1812): harpsichord maker, 1779 (£1,900)
Buchhop, Johan George: musical instrument maker and cabinet maker, 1778 (£100)
Buckinger, Joseph: musical instrument maker, 1774 (£200)
Buntebart, Gabriel (d 1794): harpsichord maker, 1765 (£200), 1766 (£300), [with John Zumpe]: musical instrument maker, 1768 (£1,500), 1773 (£2,200), [alone]: piano maker, 1771 (£200), [with Christopher Sievers]: musical instrument maker, 1778 (£1,900)
Burckhard, Christian (fl 1763–83): harpsichord maker, 1771 (£400)
Byfield, Catharine (d 1769): widow and organ builder, 1756 (£400), 1759 (£1,800)
Byfield (i), John (1694–1756): organ builder, 1748 (£600), 1749 (£800)
Byfield (ii), John (c1731–99): organ builder, 1768 (£1,000), 1777 (£200), 1779 (£200)
Carr, Benjamin: musical instrument maker, 1773 (£400), 1775 (£700)
§ Coates, John: organ builder, 1765 (£100)
Collier, Joseph [with James Davis]: musical instrument maker, 1768 (missing)
Collier, Thomas (d 1785): flute maker, 1772 (£200), 1779 (£300)
Cornell, William: organ builder, 1769 (£200), 1774 (£200)
Corbett, William (1680–1748): musical instrument maker and musician to the King, 1738 (£1,000)
Cotton, Robert: flute maker, 1776 (£300)
Cotton, William (d 1775): flute maker, 1759 (£200)
Cox, John: musical instrument maker and seller, 1750/51 (£1,200), 1756 (£400), no occupation recorded, 1761 (£200)
Crang, John (1717–74): organ builder, 1761 (£1,000), 1764 (£1,500), 1769 (£600)
Crang, Thomas: organ builder, 1771 (£150)
Crole, Charles: organ builder, 1774 (£500)

Culliford, Thomas (1747–1821) [with Joseph Wallcutt]: musical instrument maker, 1775 (£300), [alone]: ditto, 1779 (£500)

Darvill, Edward: silversmith, organ builder and clockmaker, 1777 (£800)

Davis, Edward: organ builder and toy man, 1772 (£700)

Davis, James [with Joseph Collier]: musical instrument maker, 1768 (missing)

Davis, William: organ builder and clockmaker, 1775 (£200)

Davy, William: organ builder, 1772 (£100), 1774 (£200)

Dickson, John: musical instrument maker, 1776 (£300)

Dodds, Thomas: cabinet maker and organ builder, 1777 (£400)

Downing, George: harpsichord maker, 1771 (£700)

Duke (ii), Richard (fl 1764–92): musical instrument maker, 1767 (£300), 1777 (£800)

England, George [with John England]: organ builder, 1771 (£1,000)

England, John (d 1791) [with George England]: organ builder, 1771 (£1,000), [with Hugh Russell]: ditto, 1773 (£400), [alone]: ditto, 1778 (£200)

Engman, Eric: organ builder, 1769 (£300)

Evans, Peter: musical instrument maker, 1775 (£500, £700)

Flight, Benjamin [with William Flight]: cabinet maker, 1764 (£400), case and cabinet maker, 1768 (£500), cabinet maker and organ builder, 1773 (£1,600), organ builder and shagreen case maker, 1776 (£2,200), organ builder, 1778 (£2,700)

Flight, William [with Benjamin Flight]: cabinet maker, 1764 (£400), case and cabinet maker, 1768 (£500), cabinet maker and organ builder, 1773 (£1,600), organ builder and shagreen case maker, 1776 (£2,200), organ builder, 1778 (£2,700)

Florio, Pietro Grassi (c1730–95): musical instrument maker, 1778 (£500)

Ford, Jacob: musical instrument maker, 1775 (£200)

Forster (ii), William (1739–1808): musical instrument maker, 1767 (£100), 1773 (£500), 1776 (£600)

Fournier, Adam: organ builder, 1771 (£300), 1777 (£300)

Frecker, William (c1761–c1834): piano maker, 1779 (£400)

Ganer, Christopher (fl 1774–1806): piano maker, 1774 (£500), piano maker and inlayer, 1775 (£1,100)

Garbutt, Thomas (fl 1767–72): harpsichord maker, 1767 (£200), 1770 (£200)

§ Gates (i), John (fl 1755–70): harpsichord maker, 1762 (£200)

Gedney, Caleb (1726–69): wind musical instrument maker, 1754 (£500), musical instrument maker, 1763 (£600)

Gillespy, Samuel (fl 1765–75): organ builder, 1765 (£200), harpsichord maker, 1768 (£500)

Godfrey, George (fl 1768–84): organ builder, 1769 (£400), 1779 (£600)

Goldsworth, John (fl 1772–93): harpsichord maker, 1778 (£200)

Gray, Robert (fl 1796): organ builder, 1772 (£500)

Green, Samuel (1740–96): organ builder, 1762 (£200), 1763 (£400), 1769 (£400), 1773 (£1,000), 1778 (£1,300)

Griffin, George: organ builder, 1771 (£300)

Hale, John (fl 1771–1804): flute maker, 1771 (£100)

Hancock, James (fl 1771–90) [with John Crang Hancock]: organ builder, 1771 (£800), 1774 (£1,400), [alone]: ditto, 1773 (£100), 1775 (£400)

Hancock, John Crang (fl 1771–94) [with James Hancock]: organ builder, 1771 (£800), 1774 (£1,400), [alone]: ditto, 1773 (£200), harpsichord maker, 1777 (£700)

Hare (i), Elizabeth (d 1741): widow, 1728 (£1,000)

Hare, John (1672–1725) [with Joseph Hare]: musical instrument maker, 1722/23 (£1,000)

Hare, Joseph (1698–1733) [with John Hare]: musical instrument maker, 1722/23 (£1,000)

Harris, Baker (fl 1752–80): harpsichord Maker, 1760 (£200), 1771 (£1,000)

Hayman, Christopher (fl 1764–94): carpenter and organ builder, 1764 (£200)

Hilberg, William: harpsichord and piano maker, 1768 (£400), [with Peter Saderbloom]: harpsichord maker, 1773 (£1,300)

Hill (i), Joseph (1715–84): musical instrument maker, 1773 (£200)

Hill, William (fl 1769–90): musical instrument maker, 1772 (£200)
Hintz, John Frederick (1711–72): musical instrument maker, 1764 (£500), 1765 (£1,500), 1769 (£600)

Hitchcock, John (1734–74): harpsichord maker, 1771 (£1,000)

§ Hitchcock, Margaret (1696–1763): widow and musical instrument maker, 1740 (£500)

Hogg, Thomas (fl 1773–92): musical instrument maker, 1773 (missing)

Holland, Henry: organ builder, 1779 (£700)

Hornbuckle, William: organ builder, 1766 (£300)

Horne (i), Robert [with Henry Thorowgood]: musical instrument maker, 1763 (£800)

Horne (ii), Robert: drum maker, 1777 (£200)

James, Thomas: musical instrument maker, 1764 (£200)

Jones, James: organ builder, 1767 (£300), 1768 (£700), 1771 (£1,000), 1772 (£1,000), 1775 (£700)

Jones, John: musical instrument maker, 1717 (no insured amount)

Jordan (i), Abraham (c1666–1716): organ builder, 1712 (no insured amount)

§ Kirkhoff, Frederick (d 1748): harpsichord maker, 1739/40 (£300)

Kirkman, Abraham (1737–94): harpsichord maker, 1762 (£300), [with Jacob Kirkman]: ditto, 1772 (£1,000), [alone]: ditto, 1778 (£1,000)

Kirkman, Jacob (1710–92): harpsichord maker, 1762 (£500), 1769 (£600), [with Abraham Kirkman]: ditto, 1772 (£1,000), [with John Pybus]: ditto, 1772 (£300), [alone]: ditto, 1772 (£500, £600, £1,200), 1778 (£500), gent, 1777 (£600, £500, esquire, 1779 (£400)

Kusder, Henry: flute maker, 1769 (£200)

Ladyman, John (fl 1708–45): harpsichord maker, 1730 (£300), 1734/35 (£500)

Langshaw, John: organ builder, 1767 (£400)

Langshaw, William: organ builder, 1771 (£1,200)

Lark, George: organ builder, 1761 (£300)

Leffley, Adam: musical instrument maker, 1774 (missing)

Lever, James: musical instrument maker and dealer in toys, 1764 (£1,000)

Liessem, Remerus (d 1760): musical instrument maker, 1753 (£300)

Lincoln, John (fl 1776–1817): organ builder, 1776 (£200)

Lockton, Heming (fl 1720–52): harpsichord maker and picture seller, 1724 (£500)

Luther, John Christian (d 1789): musical instrument maker, 1776 (£700)

Lyneham, James: organ builder, 1762 (£200), 1770 (£400)

Mahoon, Joseph (1696–1773): harpsichord maker, 1734 (£500), 1741/42 (£200), 1755 (£1,800), 1771 (£500)

Marshall, John: musical instrument maker, 1766 (£300)

Martin, Adam: musical instrument maker, 1775 (£300)

Metzener, John (d 1756): harpsichord maker, 1753 (£200), 1755 (£600)

Meyer, Peter: musical instrument maker, 1774 (£100)

Meyers, Christian Henry: cabinet and musical instrument maker, 1778 (£100)

Miller, George: musical instrument maker, 1765 (£300), 1776 (£600)

Murbeus, Henry John (fl 1760–76): flute maker, 1760 (£500), 1764 (£500)

§ Nash, David: harpsichord maker, 1770 (£200)

Neubeaur, Frederick (d 1774): harpsichord maker, 1767 (£400)

Newton, Thomas: musical instrument maker, 1764 (£600)

Norborn, John: musical instrument maker, 1774 (£100)

Norris, John (1739–1818) [with Robert Barnes]: musical instrument maker, 1772 (£500)

Northam, Isaac: clock and watchmaker and organ builder, 1769 (£600)

Oakman, William: musical instrument maker, 1764 (£200)

§ Oehme, John Philip: organ builder, 1765 (£200)

Oelschlager, Christopher: musical instrument maker, 1773 (£200)

Parker, Thomas (d 1772): organ builder, harpsichord and spinet maker, 1752 (£300), organ builder, 1759 (£800)

§ Pfaff, George: harpsichord maker, 1766 (£200), 1776 (£200)

Pinto, Charles (d 1791): musical instrument maker, 1778 (£500)

Pistor (i), Edward (1727–76): organ, clock and watchmaker, 1761 (£500), 1769 (£600), 1770 (£600), organ builder, 1770 (£300)
Plenius, John Christian (d 1775): harpsichord maker, 1765 (£300)
Plenius, Roger (1696–1774): harpsichord maker, 1741 (£1,000), 1746 (£1,200)
§ Pockley, James: harpsichord maker, 1765 (£100), harpsichord maker and printer, 1766 (£200)
Pohlman, John (fl 1768–80): harpsichord and piano maker, 1768 (£200), 1769 (£500), 1777 (£700), piano maker, 1777 (£600)
Potter, Richard (1726–1806): musical instrument maker, 1759 (£200), 1762 (£300)
Premston, John (d 1798): musical instrument maker, 1761 (£200), 1766 (£400), 1772 (£600), 1775 (£1,000), 1776 (£400), 1779 (£1,000)
§ Pybus, John [with Jacob Kirkman]: harpsichord maker, 1772 (£300)
Pyke, George (fl 1739–77): musical clock maker and organ builder, 1757 (£600), organ builder and clock maker, 1760 (£1,500), watchmaker and organ builder, 1762 (£2,000), 1767 (£1,800)
§ Reiter, James (fl 1768–84): organ builder, 1768 (£400), 1771 (£700)
§ Repke, Henry: organ builder, 1769 (£200)
Rivton, Thomas: musical instrument maker, 1753 (£400)
Rock (i), William (fl 1744–94): victualler and harpsichord maker, 1765 (£500), toyman and harpsichord maker, 1769 (£900)
Rodnenbostel, George Henry: French horn maker, 1764 (£400), 1768 (£600), toy man and French horn maker, 1770 (£1,000)
Rostrand, Edward (d 1771): organ builder, 1764 (£300)
Russell, Hugh [with John England]: organ builder, 1773 (£400)
Rutherford, David (fl 1770): musical instrument maker, 1748/49 (£400), 1766 (£1,200), musical instrument maker and music seller, 1760 (£800)
Rutherford, John (fl 1771–84): musical instrument maker and music seller, 1771 (£900)
§ Saderbloom, Peter [with William Hilberg]: harpsichord maker, 1773 (£1,300)
Schuchart, Charles (d 1765): musical instrument maker, dealer in musical books, 1755 (£200)
Scouler, James: musical instrument maker, 1754 (£300), 1760 (£500), harpsichord maker, 1771 (£300)
Shaw, Robert: musician and musical instrument maker, 1772 (£300)
Shaw, William: brazier and French horn maker, 1775 (£600)
Sherwood, Benjamin: musical instrument maker, 1759 (£200)
Shrider, Christopher (fl 1704–51): organ builder, 1711 (no insured amount), 1731 (£400)
Shudi, Joshua (fl 1774): harpsichord maker, 1766 (£500)
Shudi, Mary: harpsichord maker, 1779 (£600)
Sievers, Christopher (d 1793): musical instrument maker, 1778 (£100), [with Gabriel Buntebart]: musical instrument maker, 1778 (£1,900)
Simpson, James Crutcher: musical instrument maker, 1764 (£500), 1766 (£1,000), [with John Simpson (ii)]: musical instrument maker, 1769 (£1,000), 1776 (£1,000)
Simpson (i), John: musical instrument maker, 1742 (£200), 1746/47 (£600)
Simpson (ii), John [with James Crutcher Simpson]: musical instrument maker, 1769 (£1,000), 1776 (£1,000)
Slade, Benjamin (1669–1734): harpsichord maker, 1715/16 (no insured amount)
Smart, George: musical instrument maker, 1774 (£200, missing)
Smith (i), Gerard (fl 1689–1729): organ builder, 1715/16 (no insured amount)
Smith, John Philip: musical instrument maker, 1775 (£300), 1778 (£700)
Smith, Thomas (d 1789): musical instrument maker [violin maker], 1752 (£500), 1763 (£200), 1764 (£600), 1773 (£500, £300), 1774 (£200), 1776 (£300), 1778 (£400), 1779 (£300), [with Sir Richard Sutton]: ditto, 1775 (£700)
Smith, William: musical instrument maker, 1746 (£900)
Snetszler, John: organ builder, 1763 (£800)
§ Spiegelberg, Jacob (fl 1771–92): harpsichord maker, 1771 (£300), 1772 (£600)
§ Stahlberg, Ephraim (fl 1770–89): harpsichord maker, 1770 (£200), 1774 (£300)
Stanesby (ii), Thomas (1692–1754): flute maker, 1725/26 (£500)
Stodart, Robert (1748–1831): harpsichord maker, 1774 (missing)
Straube, Rudolf (1717–85): musical instrument maker, 1765 (£200)
§ Thickbrown, William: cabinet maker and organ builder, 1773 (£100)
Thompson (i), Robert (fl 1743–73): musical instrument maker, 1773 (£600)
Thorowgood (ii), Henry [with Robert Horne (i)]: musical instrument maker, 1763 (£800)
Tilley, Thomas: musical instrument maker, 1772 (£200), 1775 (£200)
§ Turk, John (fl 1765–86): harpsichord maker, 1765 (£200)
§ Turpin, Oliver: organ builder, 1763 (£200)
Victor, Herman Bernhard: organist and musical instrument maker, 1765 (£500), 1767 (£700)
Vogler, Gerard [with John Vogler]: musical instrument maker, 1774 (£500), 1775 (£1,000)
Vogler, John [with Gerard Vogler]: musical instrument maker, 1774 (£500), 1775 (£1,000)
Walcott, Joseph [with Thomas Culliford]: musical instrument maker, 1775 (£300)
Walsh (i), John (c1665–1736): musical instrument maker, 1712 (no insured amount), 1715/16 (no insured amount)
Walsh (ii), John (1709–66): musical instrument maker, 1756 (£1,000), musical instrument maker and music printer, 1757 (£1,500)
Wamsley, Peter (d 1744): musical instrument maker, 1733 (£500), 1741 (£1,000)
§ Watson, Henry: harpsichord maker, 1766 (£400)
Waylett, Henry (fl 1772): musical instrument maker and music printer, 1759 (£1,000)
Welcker, John: music printer and musical instrument maker, 1775 (£1,000), 1777 (£2,000)
West, Marchant (fl 1768–76): cabinet maker and organ builder, 1768 (£100)
Wightman, George: musical instrument maker and chandler, 1776 (£200)
Wilbrook, John (fl 1730–39): musical instrument maker, 1736 (£500)
Willemot, Leonard: musical instrument maker, 1778 (£300)
Woodham, Richard: musical instrument maker, 1775 (£200)
Wray, Hilton: watchmaker and organ builder, 1772 (£400)
Wright (ii), Daniel: musical instrument maker, 1735/36 (£500)
§ Yungkurt, Henry: harpsichord maker, 1774 (£100)
Zopfe, John Balthazar (d 1750): harpsichord maker, 1742 (£200), 1743/44 (£300)
Zumpe, John Christopher (1726–90): musical instrument maker, 1763 (£300), 1768 (£800), 1769 (£800), 1779 (£2,300)
[with Gabriel Buntebart]: ditto, 1768 (£1,500), 1773 (£2,200), [alone]: gent, 1775 (£2,300)

MUSICIAN

Abel, Charles Frederick (1723–87) [with John Christian Bach]: musician, 1764 (£1,200), [alone]: ditto, 1771 (£400), 1779 (£1,000)
Adcock, Abraham (fl 1749–73): musician, 1763 (£500)
Armenio, Andrea (fl 1771–77): musician, 1771 (£200)
Arne, Cecilia (1711–89): no occupation recorded [singer], 1765 (£200), wife of Thomas Augustine Arne, 1772 (£200), 1774 (£200)
Arne, Michael (c1740–86): master of music, 1769 (£500)
Arne, Dr Thomas Augustine (1710–78): no occupation recorded [composer], 1765 (£400), 1768 (£500), 1778 (£300)
Arnold, Samuel (1740–1802): music master, 1765 (£200), 1766 (£300)
Asbridge, John: music master, 1770 (£500), musician, 1776 (£300)
Aylward, Theodore (c1730–1801): musician, 1765 (£300), 1769 (£400), 1775 (£500)
Bach, John Christian (1735–82) [with Charles Frederick Abel]: musician, 1764 (£1,200), [alone]: music master, 1769 (£1,000), esquire, 1779 (£1,000)
Barrow, Thomas (c1722–89): musician, 1755 (£300)
Barthélemon, François-Hippolyte (1741–1808): musician, 1778 (£400)
Bates, William: music master, 1763 (£500), 1768 (£300)
Baumgarten, Charles Frederick (1740–1824): musician, 1769 (£300)
Bellamy, Richard (d 1813): musician, 1767 (£100)
Bishop (ii), Henry: musician, 1772 (£100)
Blake, Benjamin (1751–1827): musician, 1777 (£300)
Botterelli, Giovanni Gualberto: musician, 1766 (£500)
Boxill, John: musician, 1770 (£100)
Boyce, Dr William (1711–79): no occupation recorded [composer], 1760 (£500)
Brent, Charlotte Eloisa: spinster [singer], 1765 (£400)
Brown, [first name missing]: musician, 1774 (£200)
Brumen, Elizabeth: harper, 1775 (£100)
Bryan, Joseph: musician, 1760 (£300), 1761 (£600), music master, 1763 (£300), 1769 (£400)
Bulkley, George (d 1784): musician, 1767 (£100, £500), 1779 (£200)
Burgess, Henry: musician, 1756 (£200)
Burnett, William: musician, 1777 (£400)
Burney, Charles (1726–1814): gent, 1760 (£1,000), 1772 (£2,200), 1774 (£1,200)
Campbell, Daniel: musician and cook, 1772 (£200)
Carbonelli, Giovanni Steffano (d 1752): professor of music, 1734 (£300)
Caruso, Francesco: music master, 1778 (£300)
Cervetto, Giacob (c1682–1783): musician, 1762 (£300), 1773 (£400), 1776 (£400)
Cirri, Giovanni Battista (1724–1808): music master, 1767 (£300)
Cloes, Nicholas: master of music, 1747 (£400)
Cocchi, Gioacchino (1715–1804): musician, 1769 (£400), 1770 (£500)
Cock, James: musician, 1772 (£100)
Collett, Richard (fl 1737–79): musician, 1741 (£300), 1759 (£300)
Collett, Thomas (fl 1755–66): musician and dealer in musical instruments, 1766 (£265)
Cooper, Robert: musician, 1769 (£200)
Corbett, William (1680–1748): musical instrument maker and musician to the King, 1738 (£1,000)
Cramer, John Henry (fl 1776–78): musician, 1776 (£200)
Crosdill, John (1751–1825): musician, 1772 (£500)
Crouch, William (1749–1833): musician, 1775 (£300)
Curtis, Thomas (d 1806): organist, 1761 (£600), 1775 (£600)
Dale, Joseph (1750–1821): music master, 1772 (£100)
Dance, William (1755–1840): musician, 1778 (£300), 1779 (£300)
Davies, Richard (d 1773): musician, 1764 (£200)
Dawson, Jeremiah (d 1740): musician, 1719 (no insured amount)
Dibdin, Charles (1745–1814): musician, 1769 (£400), music master, 1770 (£500), gent, 1778 (£500)
Dickinson, Samuel (fl 1773–1810): musician, 1773 (£300), 1777 (£300)
Dressler, John (fl 1775–1808): musician, 1775 (£200)
Duncalf, Henry (d 1762): musician, 1754 (£400), 1756 (£200), 1760 (£500)
Dunwald, John Peter: musician, 1764 (£200)
Fawcett, John (d 1793): musician, 1767 (£200)
Festing, Michael Christian (c1680–1752): musician in ordinary to his Majesty, 1735 (£400)
Flack, John Casper (1748–1813): musician, 1774 (£300), 1778 (£200)
Florio, Pietro Grassi (c1730–795): musician, 1767 (£100)
Foulis, John (fl 1750–93): musician, 1776 (£300)
Foy, William: musician, 1770 (£200), 1775 (£400)
Froeke, John George (fl 1739–63): composer of music, 1760 (£1,000)
Froment, John Baptiste Lemaire (fl 1739–73): music master, 1773 (£100)
Gates, ii (d 1793): organist, 1772 (£200)
Germon, Beston: milkman and music master, 1770 (£300)
Gervasio, Giovanni Battista (fl 1768–72): music master, 1772 (£700)
Giardini, Felice de’ (1716–96): musician, 1772 (£800), 1776 (£1,500)
Goodwin, Starling (fl 1727–74): organist, 1753 (£200)
Goodwin, William (d 1784): musician, 1769 (£300), organist, 1779 (£300)
Grenville, Thomas: musician, 1779 (£200)
Griffes, Edward (fl 1753–1811): organist, 1767 (£300)
Groombridge, John (d 1827): organist, 1775 (£200)
Gross, Charles (d 1783): musician, 1777 (£200)
Gwillim (i), John (fl 1752–1838): musician, 1775 (£200)
Harwood, Thomas [with William Harwood]: master of music, 1746 (£200)
Harwood, William [with Thomas Harwood]: master of music, 1746 (£200)
Hebden, John (1701–65): music master, 1761 (£200)
Heesom, Edward: musician, 1771 (£100)
Heinnitz, John (d 1803): musician, 1774 (£200)
Heron, Henry (d 1795): music master, 1765 (£300), 1767 (£400)
Hook, James (1746–1827): music master, 1771 (£500), 1775 (£500)
Houghton, William: musician, 1772 (£200)
Howard, Samuel (1710–82): musician, 1764 (£1,000)
Jackson, William: musician, 1770 (£200)
Jee, John (b 1746): musician, 1776 (£200)
Jones, William: musician, 1770 (£200)
Kammell, Antonio (d 1784): music master, 1771 (£700)
Kas, John: musician, 1778 (£200)
Keeble, John (c1711–86): musician, 1744 (£500), 1755 (£700), esquire, 1769 (£1,000)
Knyvett, Charles (1752–1822): gent [singer and organist], 1773 (£300)
Korbitz, Christian Tedeschiny (fl 1754–68): musician, 1764 (£200)
Leander, Thomas (fl 1752–98): musician, 1779 (£400)
Lemaire, Nicholas: musician, 1772 (£100)
L’Heureux, David: music master, 1765 (£100)
Lockart, Charles (d 1815): organist, 1771 (£200)
Long, John (fl 1767–94): musician, 1778 (£200)
Lowe, James (d 1764): master of music, 1728 (£300), professor of music and coffee seller, 1735 (£300)
Luther, John Christian (d 1789): musician, 1777 (£700)
Lyon, William: musician, 1775 (£200)
Marchelli, Joseph: musician, 1775 (£400)
Mason (i), Robert: musician, 1773 (missing)
Mason (ii), Robert: musician, 1777 (£100)
Maxfield, William (fl 1770–84): musician, 1770 (£100)
McFarland, Patrick: musician, 1764 (£200)
Merchi, James: music master, 1773 (£300), 1777 (£300)
Miller, John (1700/1–70): musician, 1752 (£500)
Miller, William: musician, 1777 (£200)
Muilment, Michael: master of music, 1743 (£400)
Muller, George (d 1772): musician, 1756 (£200)
Munro, Robert (fl 1772–1800): musician, 1772 (£200)
Musolini, Cesar (fl 1773–93): musician, 1775 (£300)
Napier, William (1741–1812): music master, 1766 (£300), musician, 1771 (£400)
Neeves, William: musician, 1769 (£300)
Nicholl, Morgan (b 1746/7): musician, 1772 (£700), 1776 (£1,100)
Nicolai, Theophilus: musician, 1772 (£300)
Noferi, Giovanni Battista (c1740–82): musician, 1770 (£400), gent, 1776 (£500)
Oswald, James (1711–69): master of music, musical books and instrument seller, 1746 (£200)
Owen, Robert: musician, 1763 (£200)
Parkinson, William (fl 1776–1834): musician, 1776 (£200)
Parry, John: musician, 1763 (£100)
Pasquali, Francis (fl 1743–94): musician, 1771 (£400), 1772 (£1,000)
Paxton, Stephen (1734–87): musician, 1764 (£300), 1774 (£800), 1777 (£1,200)
Pearson, Hugh (1723–82): musician, 1761 (£200)
Peirce, Thomas (fl 1731–76): musician, 1740 (£400), 1752 (£400)
Perkins (i), Thomas (d 1776): musician, 1764 (£100), victualler and musician, 1770 (£500)
Philpot, Stephen (d 1773): musician, 1769 (£600, £100)
Piccini, Antonio (fl 1774–83): musician, 1777 (£200)
Pippard, Luke (fl 1709–17): music master, 1715 (no insured amount)
Quilice, Gaetano (fl 1754 –86): music master, 1777 (£200)
Rathgen, Adam (fl 1764–89): musician, 1764 (£200), 1766 (£300)
Rawlings, James Henry (c1757–1807): musician, 1778 (£200)
Rawlings, Robert (1742–1816): musician, 1769 (£100)
Rawlins, James: musician, 1772 (£200)
Real, Joseph (fl 1750–90): musician, 1772 (£100)
Reich, Christian (fl 1751–85): musician, 1763 (£200)
Reinhold, Henry Theodore (c1690–1751): musician, 1745 (£300)
Rice, Henry (fl 1775–84): musician, 1775 (£200)
Rich, Christian: musician, 1779 (£200)
Richards, John: musician, 1761 (£400)
Robinson (i), Charles: musician and china man, 1770 (£200)
Robinson (ii), Charles: musician, 1774 (£200), 1777 (£200)
Rose, Bernard: musician, 1762 (£200)
Sarjant, James (fl 1769–98): musician, 1769 (£300)
Schubert, George Frederick (fl 1775–1805): musician, 1775 (£200)
Schuman, Frederic: musician, 1762 (£500)
Scouler, Alexander (fl 1773–99): musician, 1773 (£100)
Seymour (i), Charles (fl 1760–94): musician, 1768 (£100)
Sharpe, John: musician, 1771 (£300)
Shaw, Anthony (1747–92): musician, 1770 (£200), tobacconist and musician, 1778 (£600)
Shaw, Robert: musician and musical instrument maker, 1772 (£300), musician and dealer in musical instruments, 1773 (£500)
Smethergell, William (c1751–c1836): musician, 1773 (£200)
Solinus, Andrew (fl 1739–76): master of music, 1748 (£300)
Tacet, Joseph (fl 1751–86): musician, 1767 (£500)
Tatnall, Samuel (fl 1775–1825): musician, 1775 (£300)
Thompson (ii), Robert: musician, 1774 (£100)
Trebbi, Joseph (fl 1775–82): musician, 1776 (£500), 1779 (£400)
Turner, Samuel: organist, 1775 (£200)
Vandernan, Thomas (d 1778): teacher of music, 1771 (£400)
Vento, Matthias (1735–76): music master, 1769 (£445, £500), 1774 (missing)
Victor, Herman Bernhard: organist and musical instrument maker, 1765 (£500), 1767 (£700)
Vincent (ii), Richard (d 1766): musician, 1748 (£300), 1760 (£500)
Vinicombe, Richard (fl 1759–86): musician, 1772 (£200)
Wafer, Richard (fl 1770–95): music master, 1770 (£100), musician, 1778 (£200)
Ward, John: musician, 1762 (£200), 1763 (£400)
Warner, Francis: musician, 1772 (£400)
Webbe, Samuel (1740–1816): musician, 1768 (£200)
Weber, Anthony: musician, 1753 (£300)
Weeley, Samuel (d 1743): gent [singer], 1736 (£500)
Weichsel, Charles (fl 1752–75): musician, 1766 (£500)
Weideman, Charles (d 1782): musician, 1756 (£500), 1776 (£200)
Welcker, Peter (d 1774): music master, 1760 (£300), master of music and music seller, 1761 (£1,000), 1767 (£2,400), 1773 (£3,000)
Weldon, Patrick Peter: musician, 1770 (£200)
Werner, Anthony (fl 1739–55): musician, 1742 (£500)
Westobee, John: needle maker, musician and victualler, 1739 (£600)
Zeidler, John Christopher (fl 1772–93): musician, 1772 (£100)
Zuckert, John Frederick: musician, 1754 (£400), 1769 (£600)

THEATRE MANAGER / CONCERT PROMOTER

Barrett, John [with William Berry, Thomas Chippendale, James Cullen, George Dawson, Thomas Haig, George Ridge, Ferdinand Schomberg and Samuel Spencer]: proprietor of Carlisle House, Soho Square, 1776 (£1,500)
Berry, William [with John Barrett, Thomas Chippendale, James Cullen, George Dawson, Thomas Haig, George Ridge, Ferdinand Schomberg and Samuel Spencer]: proprietor of Carlisle House, Soho Square, 1776 (£1,500)
Booth, Hester [with Mary Wilks, John Highmore and John Ellys]: patentee of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, 1733 (£4,000)
Brooke, James (fl 1773–84) [with Richard Yates (ii)]: proprietor of the King’s Theatre, Haymarket, 1774 (£3,000), 1775 (£3,000)
Chambers, Ann: no occupation recorded [concerning Dean Street concert room], 1761 (£1,000)
Chippendale, Thomas [with John Barrett, William Berry, James Cullen, George Dawson, Thomas Haig, George Ridge, Ferdinand Schomberg and Samuel Spencer]: proprietor of Carlisle House, Soho Square, 1776 (£1,500)
Colman, George [with Henry Dagge, Thomas Harris, James Leake and William Powell]: proprietor of Covent Garden Theatre, 1769 (£10,000)
Cornelys, Teresa (1723–97): no occupation recorded [concert promoter and singer, concerning Carlisle House, Soho Square], 1766 (£7,500)
Cullen James [with John Barrett, William Berry, Thomas Chippendale, George Dawson, Thomas Haig, George Ridge, Ferdinand Schomberg and Samuel Spencer]: proprietor of Carlisle House, Soho Square, 1776 (£1,500)
Dagge, Henry [with George Colman, Thomas Harris, James Leake and William Powell]: proprietor of Covent Garden Theatre, 1769 (£10,000), [with Elizabeth Fisher, John Abraham Fisher, Thomas Harris and James Leake]: ditto, 1776 (£10,000)
Dawson, George [with John Barrett, William Berry, Thomas Chippendale, James Cullen, Thomas Haig, George Ridge, Ferdinand Schomberg and Samuel Spencer]: proprietor of Carlisle House, Soho Square, 1776 (£1,500)
Ellys, John [with Mary Wilks, Hester Booth and John Highmore]: patentee of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, 1733 (£4,000)
Fisher, Elizabeth [with Henry Dagge, John Abraham Fisher, Thomas Harris and James Leake]: proprietor of Covent Garden Theatre, 1776 (£10,000)
Fisher, John Abraham (1744–1806) [with Henry Dagge, Elizabeth Fisher, Thomas Harris and James Leake]: proprietor of Covent Garden Theatre, 1776 (£10,000)
Fleetwood, Charles (d 1747): patentee of Theatre Royal Drury Lane, 1734 (£4,000), 1738 (£4,000)
Ford, James [with Willoughby Lacy, Thomas Linley and Richard Brinsley Sheridan]: patentee and proprietor of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, 1777 (£14,000)
Garrick, David [with James Lacy]: patentee of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, 1747 (£4,000), 1773 (£10,000)
Haig, Thomas [with John Barrett, William Berry, Thomas Chippendale, James Cullen, George Dawson, George Ridge, Ferdinand Schomberg and Samuel Spencer]: proprietor of Carlisle House, Soho Square, 1776 (£1,500)
Harris, Thomas [with George Colman, Henry Dagge, James Leake and William Powell]: proprietor of Covent Garden Theatre, 1769 (£10,000), [with Henry Dagge, Elizabeth Fisher, John Abraham Fisher and James Leake]: ditto, 1776 (£10,000)
Highmore, John [with Mary Wilks, Hester Booth and John Ellys]: patentee of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, 1733 (£4,000)
Lacy, James [with David Garrick]: patentee of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, 1747 (£4,000), 1773 (£10,000)
Lacy, Willoughby [with James Ford, Thomas Linley and Richard Brinsley Sheridan]: patentee and proprietor of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, 1777 (£14,000)
Leake, James [with George Colman, Henry Dagge, Thomas Harris and William Powell]: proprietor of Covent Garden Theatre, 1769 (£10,000), [with Henry Dagge, Elizabeth Fisher, John Abraham Fisher and Thomas Harris]: ditto, 1776 (£10,000)
Linley (i), Thomas (1733–95) [with James Ford, Willoughby Lacy and Richard Brinsley Sheridan]: patentee and proprietor of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, 1777 (£14,000)

Pasquali, Francis (fl 1743–94): musician [concerning Tottenham Street Rooms], 1772 (£1,000)

Powell, William [with George Colman, Henry Dagge, Thomas Harris and James Leake]: proprietor of Covent Garden Theatre, 1769 (£10,000)

Ridge, George [with John Barrett, William Berry, Thomas Chippendale, James Cullen, George Dawson, Thomas Haig, Ferdinand Schomberg and Samuel Spencer]: proprietor of Carlisle House, Soho Square, 1776 (£1,500)

Sheridan, Richard Brinsley [with James Ford, Willoughby Lacy and Thomas Linley]: patentee and proprietor of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, 1777 (£14,000)

Spencer, Samuel [with John Barrett, William Berry, Thomas Chippendale, James Cullen, George Dawson, Thomas Haig, George Ridge and Ferdinand Schomberg]: proprietor of Carlisle House, Soho Square, 1776 (£1,500)

Wilks, Mary [with Hester Booth, John Highmore and John Ellys]: patentee of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, 1733 (£4,000)

Yates (ii), Richard [with James Brooke]: proprietor of the King’s Theatre, Haymarket, 1774 (£3,000), 1775 (£3,000)

Zeidler, John Christopher (fl 1772–93): musician [concerning a music room in Charlotte Street], 1772 (£100)

OTHER

Bishop (i), Henry: dancing master, 1776 (£400)

Bride, James: locksmith and bell hanger, 1753 (£200)

Chapman, William: bell founder, 1776 (£200, £300), 1779 (£600)

Cook, Richard [with Daniel Cox, Daniel Herne and Edward Keighley]: blacksmith and bell hanger, 1770 (£1,000)

Cox, Daniel [with Richard Cook, Daniel Herne and Edward Keighley]: blacksmith and bell hanger, 1770 (£1,000)

Delatre, James: dancing master, 1773 (£400)

Fay, Philip (fl 1774–83): dancing master, 1775 (£1,000), 1779 (£1,100)

Foy, William: dancing master, 1778 (£200)

Froment, John Baptiste Lemaire: dancing master, 1771 (£500)

Galliard, Benjamin Sampson (fl 1778–94): dancing master, 1778 (£300)

Gherardi, John (fl 1764–70): dancing master, 1764 (£400), 1770 (£500)

Hart, Nathan: dancing master, 1775 (£200)

Herne, Daniel [with Richard Cook, Daniel Cox and Edward Keighley]: blacksmith and bell hanger, 1776 (£1,000)

Keighley, Edward [with Richard Cook, Daniel Cox and Daniel Herne]: blacksmith and bell hanger, 1770 (£1,000)

Lester, Thomas: bell founder, 1768 (£700)

Mayor, John: bell founder, 1722 (£500)

Merrifield, John (fl 1762–86): dancing master, 1779 (£600)

Pack, Thomas: bell founder, 1767 (£200)

Rawston, Thomas: blacksmith and bell hanger, 1756 (£200), 1760 (£500)

Riviere, John La (fl 1764–84): comedian and dancing master, 1768 (£500)

Rogier, Charles: dancing master, 1772 (£300)

Sac, Sebastian Le: dancing master, 1718 (no insured amount)

Turner, Robert: church bell hanger, 1773 (£200)

Villeneuve, George: dancing master, 1779 (£1,000)

Webster, John: smith, locksmith and bell hanger, 1770 (£300)

Wills, Joseph Alexander: dancing master, 1777 (£400)

Yates (i), Richard (fl 1778–94): dancing master, 1778 (£400)