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Woodwind Makers in the Turners Company of London, 1604–1750

Since the researches of Eric Halfpenny in the 1950s,¹ it has been known that the native-born woodwind makers in London in the late seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth belonged to the 'Master, Wardens and Commonalty of the Mistery or Art of the Turners of London', familiarly called the Turners Company.² (The word 'mystery' is used here in an old sense of 'Craft, art; a trade, profession, calling'; *Oxford English Dictionary*.) In this connection, Halfpenny made three useful discoveries. First, he established one master–apprentice line within the Company: William Debnam — Thomas Garrett — Thomas Stanesby Senior — Thomas Stanesby Junior — Caleb Gedney.³ Second, he recognized that John Ashbury and Joseph Bradbury were unusual cases in the Company's records. Third, he determined

that Drumbleby, the maker from whom the diarist Samuel Pepys famously bought a recorder in 1668, was also a member of the Company and brought to light his first name, Samuel.

The present article stems from checking the surviving records of the Company for all the master–apprentice relations stemming from the known makers, backwards, forwards, and sideways. We shall see that, with the exception of Ashbury and Richard Potter, these woodwind makers were part of a vast network of 143 turners, of whom others were probably or possibly makers. A simplified version of the network, extrapolating backwards from the known makers, is shown in Figure 1.⁴ As may be observed there, the entire network goes back to one man, William Shaw Senior (d. 1652), who was already a freeman of the Company when it was given a royal

¹ Eric Halfpenny, 'Biographical Notices of the Early English Woodwind-making School, c.1650–1750', *The Galpin Society Journal* XII (1959), pp.44–52; 'Further Light on the Stanesby Family', *GSJ* XIII (1960), pp.59–69.

² On the history of the Company, see A. C. Stanley-Stone, *The Worshipful Company of Turners of London: its Origin and History* (London: Lindley-Jones & Brother, 1925) and its revised version, Roland Champness, *The Worshipful Company of Turners of London* (London: Lindley-Jones & Brother, 1966). The foreign woodwind makers resident in London are discussed below (pp.74–76).

³ Halfpenny, 'Biographical Notices', p.46, mistakenly gives Debnam's name as Dobnam; the error is repeated in William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), p.128.

⁴ This is a revised version of Appendix 1 from David Lasocki, 'New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers from Newspaper Advertisements', *GSJ* LXIII (2010), p.138. The principal change is that Drumbleby was erroneously shown as an apprentice of William Shaw Junior, whereas he was in fact apprenticed to Shaw Senior.

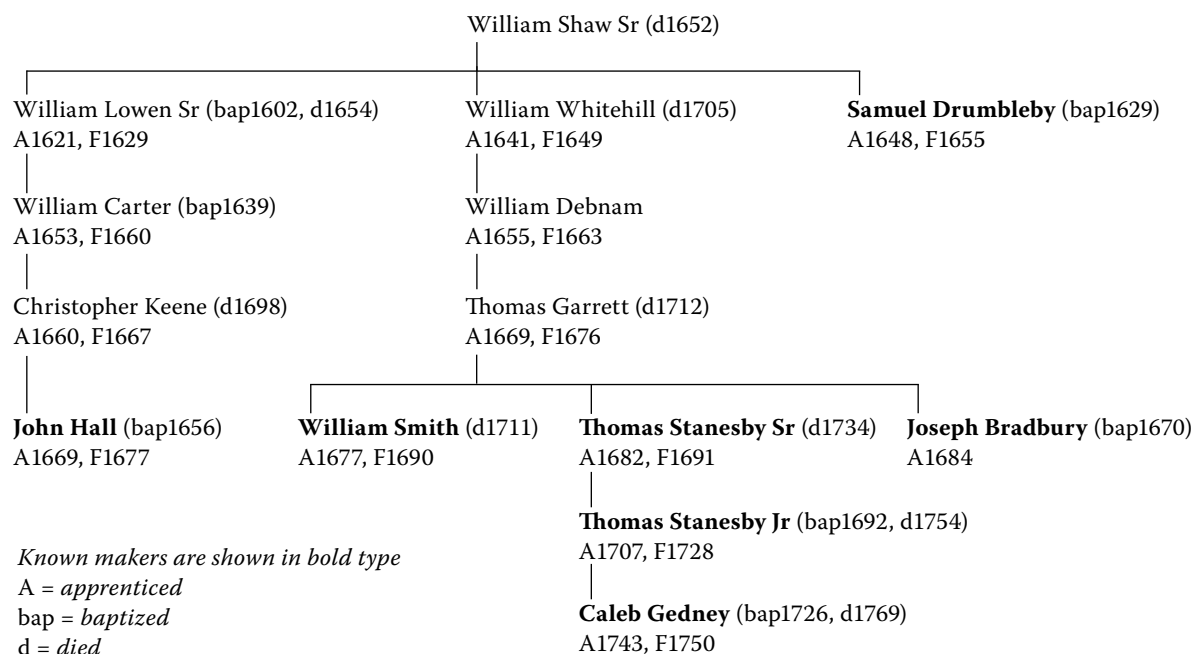


Figure 1. *Known woodwind makers in the Turners Company of London, 1604–1750.*

charter by James I in 1604,⁵ and was later elected to its executive as Renter Warden,⁶ Upper Warden, and finally Master. Thus what Halfpenny called the ‘early English school’ of woodwind makers, who worked with the French-style instruments that came into the country in the early 1670s, had its origins at least 70 years earlier.

An examination of the records relating to the entire network of Turners has made it possible to extract social information relating to the origins of the apprentices and statistics about the workings of the apprenticeship system.⁷ The last section of the article presents summarized information about all the freemen in the network, including some new findings about the known makers.

APPRENTICESHIP AND FREEDOM

Men could become freemen of a London Company in four ways: (a) apprenticeship, (b) redemption, (c) patrimony, or (d) translation from another Company.

Apprenticeship was by far the commonest way to become a freeman. This worked in the following way. A father or widow who wished to have their child apprenticed to a trade took out an indenture⁸ with a freeman of a particular Company, who became the apprentice’s master. The child was said to be bound apprentice, and the Company records of such transactions are called binding records. In the Turners Company binding entailed registration with the Company within two months⁹ and the payment

⁵ For a translation of the text of the charter, see Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, pp.253–63; Champness, *Worshipful Company*, pp.239–49; and the Company’s website, <http://www.turnersco.com/Royal%20Charter.htm>, consulted November 2010.

⁶ ‘The warden of a company who receives rents’; William Dwight Whitney, *The Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia* (New York: Century, 1906).

⁷ The surviving records of the Company relating to apprentices and freemen begin in the year that it was chartered. The records examined for this research, formerly in the Guildhall Library, London (GL), and now in the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), were: (1) Apprentice bindings and freedoms, 1604–1694 (CLC/L/TF/C/007/MS03302/001; olim GL, Ms 3302/1); (2) Apprentice bindings, 1694–1759 (CLC/L/TF/C/007/MS03302/002; olim GL Ms 3302/2); (3) Freedoms, 1694–1759 (CLC/L/TF/C/004/MS03303; olim GL Ms 3303); and (4) Alphabetical list of freemen with addresses and some trades, begun in 1716 with additions and subtractions to at least 1750 (CLC/L/TF/C/003/MS03305; olim GL Ms 3305).

⁸ ‘A deed between two or more parties with mutual covenants, executed in two or more copies, all having their tops or edges correspondingly indented or serrated for identification and security. Hence, A deed or sealed agreement or contract between two or more parties, without special reference to its form’. *Oxford English Dictionary*.

⁹ 1608 Ordinances quoted in Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, p.266.

of a fee called presentment money: 'to the Hall 12d, to the Clerk 4d and to the Beadle 2d for entering the assignment'.¹⁰ The indenture specified for the apprenticeship a length of at least seven years and a starting date (usually the date of the indenture, less commonly a convenient Quarter Day).¹¹

Further conditions could be specified, such as the premium given by the apprentice's family to the master, sometimes with help from a specified charity. Daniel Defoe (1738) commented: 'The præmium was originally not a condition of indenture, but was a kind of usual or customary present to the tradesman's wife to engage her to be kind to the youth, and take a motherly care of him, being suppos'd to be young when first put out. By length of time this compliment or present became so customary, as to be made a debt, and to be condition'd for as a demand...'¹² Campbell (1747) listed the 'Sums given with an Apprentice' for turners as £5 to £20, and for musical instrument makers £10 to £20.¹³ The Turners Company records contain only a handful of indentures from 1736 onwards, but the binding books mention premiums for 31 turners in the network in question from 1727 onwards, varying from 'no money' (eight times) up to £105 (twice). (See Table 1.) There is some correlation between the amount of money paid and the trade or standing of the father, whether deceased or not. But there is a larger correlation between the amount and what were presumably the demands of certain masters (such as Richard Gore, George Hutchinson Junior, Edward Knowles, and Michael Mole Junior). It is noteworthy that Thomas Stanesby Junior, whose kindness is documented by his contemporaries, asked for no premium for either of his apprentices.

The child lived with the master, who 'became for the time of the apprenticeship the parent of the apprentice; he exercised the same rights and was liable to the same obligations as a father, and the apprentice became a member of his household'.¹⁴

The Ordinances of the Turners Company specifically mentions the provision of room as well as 'meat, drink, apparel [and] wages'.¹⁵ This arrangement sometimes went awry: 'Jonathan Blundell apprentice of Isaac Pendred having sued out of his indentures of apprenticeship for that his Master did not find him meat, drink, washing and lodging did this 12 day of August 1717 desire to serve the remainder of his term with George Hutchinson [Senior] to which the said George Hutchinson did agree to'. In 1631, the Company prescribed the modesty of the clothing and hairstyle that apprentices were allowed to wear:

no apprentice ... shall wear any lace upon his hose, doublet, jerkin, or cloak, they being either of leather, canvas, fustian or cloth made without silken or gold buttons or the like; and not to wear any silk shoestrings or silk points, but pointed under the skirts of the doublet, or with hooks as formerly has been used; and the girdle to be of plain leather or plain cloth or the like, and to have plain bands without lace and not too deep of lockram [linen] or Scottish cloth or such like not exceeding ninepence in price, and for their hats not to exceed in price with their hat band the sum of four shillings, and that their hair shall be round cut without locks or long hair.¹⁶

By law, the minimum length of an apprenticeship was set at seven years.¹⁷ Joan Lane notes that 'Attempts to change the seven-year term were always strongly resisted, usually with appeals to customs, tradition and usage, rather than that seven years was an ideal training period ... The value of the term to the master was considerable. It controlled recruitment to an occupation, with numbers of new journeymen qualifying at predictable intervals. Thus wages were kept up and unemployment from overstocking was avoided. The master was also sure of the apprentice's

¹⁰ 1608 Ordinances quoted in Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, p.267.

¹¹ Quarter Days were legal days of the year when rents were due: Lady Day (25 March), Midsummer Day (24 June), Michaelmas also known as St John the Baptist Day (29 September), and Christmas Day (25 December). The Turners Company dues, known as 'quarterage', were also due on the Quarter Days. Lady Day was also the first day in the calendar year until 1752. In this article, all dates have been converted to modern practice.

¹² Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman....*, 4th ed. (London, 1738), p.147.

¹³ R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman, Being a Compendious View of all the Trades, Professions, Arts, both Liberal and Mechanic, now Practised in the Cities of London and Westminster* (London, 1747), pp.336, 339. Curiously, Campbell also observed that the maker of 'Flutes ... is of Kindred to the Turner'. *Ibid.*, p.335.

¹⁴ Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England, 1600–1914* (London: UCL Press; Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996; reprint, London: Routledge, 2003), pp.2–3.

¹⁵ 1608 Ordinances quoted in Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, p.268.

¹⁶ Quoted in Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, pp.80–81; Champness, *Worshipful Company*, pp.98–99.

¹⁷ Statute of Artificers (1563), cited in Lane, *Apprenticeship in England*, pp.2–3.

Table 1. Financial arrangements mentioned in binding records (by amount specified)		
<i>Apprentice</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>financial information</i>
Allington Morley (A1748, F1755); father gentleman	Richard Gore	cons[ideration] £105
William Williamson (A1740, NF); father parker, dec.	Richard Gore	cons £105
Richard Hobbs (A1733, F1740); father gent. dec.	Richard Gore	cons £80
Richard Knowles (A1732, F1741); father yeoman, dec.	Edward Knowles	cons £63
Simon Quennell (A1737, NF); father butcher, dec.	Richard Gore	cons £60
Rowland Minors (A1728, F1734); father gent. dec.	Edward Knowles	in cons £50
James Dancer (A1736, F1743); father joiner	Stephen Chambers Senior	cons £50 charity money from the Charity School belonging to Walbrook
John Hunt (A1725, F1733); father cutler	Edward Knowles	in cons £40
John Wibur (A1739, NF); father gent.	George Hutchinson Junior	cons £20
John Colby (A1742, F1749); father apothecary dec.	Richard Holderness	cons £20
Charles Facer (A1729, F1737); father tallow chandler	George Hutchinson Junior	in cons £15
John Pennington (A1736, NF); father victualler, dec.	George Hutchinson Junior	cons £15
James Stokes (A1740, NF); father gent.	Stephen Chambers Junior	cons £15
Thomas Emlyn (A1742, F1749); father tanner of Reading, Berks	William Bartholomew	cons £11/2/0 charity money being the gift of Mr John Allen gentl of Reading aforesaid
John Maw (A1734, NF); father turner	William Bartholomew	cons £10 – £5 whereof is charity money from the Oxford Society
William Limby (A1743, F1750); father draper, dec.	George Hutchinson Junior	cons £10
John Yates (A1751, F1758); father chandler	George Hutchinson Junior	cons £10
Henry Coppinger (A1747, NF); father gent., dec.	Michael Mole Junior	cons £8 – part thereof charity money from the Green Coat School, Westminster
Thomas Mills (A1746, F1753); father labourer	James Dancer	cons £5/5/0
John Wells (A1727, F1735); father carpenter	George Webster	in cons £5 charity money from a Society in Bartholomew Close
Richard Grunsell (A1729, F1736); father gent., dec.	Michael Mole Junior	cons £5 charity money from Christs Hospital
Charles Iverson (A1734, NF); father fishmonger	Michael Mole Junior	cons £5
Henry Smith (A1744, NF); father greengrocer	Michael Mole Junior	cons 40s charity money from ye Grey Coats Charity School at Westminster
John Hall (A1727, NF); father tanner	William Smith	no money
William Collis (A1735, NF); father cutler, dec.	Edward Knowles	no money
William Sheridan (A1737, NF); father labourer, dec.	Thomas Stanesby Junior	no money
Thomas Strode (A1737, NF); father mariner	Richard Grunsell	no money
William Millington (A1738, NF); father collier, dec.	Stephen Chambers Junior	no money
William Cooke (A1742, F1750); father tailor, dec.	William Bartholomew	no money
Caleb Gedney (A1743, F1750); father tobacconist	Thomas Stanesby Junior	no money
Samuel Taylor (A1746, F1754); father victualler	Thomas Iliffe	no money

<i>Set term of apprenticeship</i>	<i>Number of apprentices</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
7 years	224	83%
8 years	39	14%
9 years	4	2%
10 years	1	
12 years	1	

service for a number of years'.¹⁸

In the network under consideration in the Turners Company, the seven-year term was clearly the most commonly set (83%), but eight years (14%) was significant, and there were terms of nine years (2%), ten years, and twelve years (see Table 2).

The length of time set for the apprenticeship seems to have been calculated so that the boy would be freed around the age of 22, the legal minimum age for becoming a freeman of the City of London. The Turners Company records under examination include 23 examples of youths whose dates of baptism are known (see Table 3). One was freed as early as 19, four around 21, two around 22, five around 23, eight at 24–27, and one at 35. Masters might have been tardy in registering their apprentices with the Company. As we shall see below (p.89), Galeb Gedney claimed that he had already been apprenticed to his master, Thomas Stanesby Junior, two years before the apprenticeship was registered, thus breaking the two-month rule.

Upon completion of his set term of apprenticeship — or later, for various reasons — the apprentice would be freed by the Company and, indirectly, the City of London. Freedom again entailed registration with the Company and, in the case of the Turners Company, the payment of 'one silver or gilt spoon of the price & value of 13 shillings & 4 pence at least or so much in money'.¹⁹

In practice the amount of time the apprentice took before becoming a freeman varied widely. Tables 4–6 show the actual periods before being freed by the Turners Company. The extreme lengths of some of the periods would not have represented long apprenticeships, but rather the reluctance of the men after their apprenticeship to become free of the Company, presumably because of lax enforcement of the rules governing the practicing of their trade. Thomas Stanesby Junior was a celebrated example, discussed by Maurice Byrne in a previous article:

<i>Term</i>		<i>Number of apprentices</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
less than 7 yrs		2	1%
7 yrs+		71	68%
	7 yrs 0 mo+	28	
	7 yrs 1 mo+	4	
	7 yrs 2 mo+	10	
	7 yrs 3 mo+	3	
	7 yrs 4 mo+	7	
	7 yrs 5 mo+	1	
	7 yrs 6 mo+	5	
	7 yrs 7 mo+	3	
	7 yrs 8 mo+	1	
	7 yrs 9 mo+	3	
	7 yrs 11 mo+	6	
8 yrs+		14	13%
9 yrs+		19	18%
	9 yrs+	3	
	10 yrs+	6	
	11 yrs+	2	
	13 yrs+	4	
	18 yrs+	1	
	20 yrs+	1	
	21 yrs+	1	
	23 yrs+	1	

<i>Term</i>	<i>Number of apprentices</i>
6 years	1
7 years+	4
8 years+	8
10 years+	2

<i>Term</i>	<i>Number of apprentices</i>
18 years+	1

¹⁸ Lane, *Apprenticeship in England*, p.16.

¹⁹ 1608 Ordinances quoted in Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, p.278.

<i>Apprentice</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Apprentice Baptized</i>	<i>Apprenticeship Registered</i>		<i>Freedom Registered</i>	
			<i>Date</i>	<i>Approx Age</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Approx Age</i>
Michael Mole Senior	George Hutchinson Senior	7 Sep 1680	5 Apr 1693	13 yrs 4 mo	10 Apr 1700	19 yrs 7 mo
John Hall	Christopher Keene	21 Jan 1656	22 Jun 1669	13 yrs 5 mo	4 July 1677	21 yrs 5 mo
Thomas Stanesby Junior	Thomas Stanesby Senior	25 Dec 1692	5 Feb 1707	14 yrs 1 mo	3 Apr 1728	35 yrs 4 mo
William Lowen Junior	William Lowen Senior	31 Jan 1630	Patrimony		7 Mar 1651	21 yrs 1 mo
John Lowen	William Lowen Senior	29 Jun 1634	Patrimony		6 Aug 1655	21 yrs 1 mo
Joseph Bradbury	Thomas Garrett	25 Aug 1670	2 Nov 1684	14 yrs 2 mo	not freed	
William Carter	William Lowen Senior	b 1 bap 7 Apr 1639	26 Jly 1653	14 yrs 3 mo	9 Aug 1660	21 yrs 4 mo
William Bartholomew	John Bartholomew	21 Mar 1697	Patrimony		4 Mar 1719	22 yrs
William Shaw Junior	William Shaw Senior	10 Mar 1611	19 Jan 1626	14 yrs 10 mo	19 Jan 1632	20 yrs 10 mo
Henry Barnsly	William Whitehill	24 Jun 1661	23 Nov 1676	15 yrs 5 mo	5 Dec 1683	22 yrs 5 mo
William Roulston	Samuel Drumbleby	30 Dec 1642	23 Jun 1658	15 yrs 6 mo	1 July 1665	22 yrs 6 mo
John Greene	Samuel Drumbleby	14 Jan 1649	12 July 1664	15 yrs 6 mo	1 Aug 1671	22 yrs 7 mo
Joseph Woodward	William Shelley	14 July 1655	20 Feb 1671	15 yrs 7 mo	4 Sep 1678	23 yrs 1 mo
Stephen Chambers Senior	Michael Mole Senior	5 Jun 1687	7 Apr 1703	15 yrs 10 mo	6 Sep 1710	23 yrs 3 mo
Edward Keene	Christopher Keene	14 Aug 1675	3 June 1691	15 yrs 10 mo	not freed	
Joseph Chambers	Stephen Chambers Senior	b 1 bap 24 Oct 1725	patrimony		1 Mar 1749	23 yrs 5 mo
Henry Iliffe	William Roulston	3 Jan 1672	22 Nov 1688	15 yrs 10 mo	7 Jun 1699	27 yrs 5 mo
George Hutchinson Senior	William Roulston	14 July 1665	13 Aug 1681	16 yrs	4 Dec 1689	24 yrs 4 mo
Caleb Gedney	Thomas Stanesby Junior	3 Oct 1726	19 Oct 1743	17 yrs 1 mo	7 Nov 1750	24 yrs 1 mo
Thomas Iliffe	Henry Iliffe	17 July 1706	patrimony		4 Apr 1733	24 yrs 8 mo
John Kellett	William Shaw Senior	7 Sep 1595	4 Jun 1613	17 yrs 9 mo	19 July 1621	25 yrs 10 mo
William Lowen Senior	William Shaw Senior	16 Jan 1603	7 Nov 1620	17 yrs 9 mo	5 Feb 1629	26 yrs
Samuel Drumbleby	William Shaw Senior	30 Aug 1629	3 Apr 1648	18 yrs 7 mo	5 Apr 1655	25 yrs 7 mo

Stanesby 'did not take his freedom until 3 April 1728 when he was thirty-five and was already conducting a successful business. Most probably, both he and the Company considered that there were advantages in being associated, for only two days later ... he was sworn onto the livery.... Thereafter he entered into the life of the Company, becoming Master in 1739'.²⁰

The Livery was a select body of the Freemen of the Company who were entitled to wear the livery, or what we would call the uniform of the Company, consisting of a hood and gown, probably in the Company's heraldic colors of blue and gold (azure and or).²¹ For the privilege, freemen had to pay a fee that rose between 1605 and 1761 from 20s to £8.

²⁰ Maurice Byrne, 'Some More on Stanesby Junior', *GSJ XLV* (1992), p.115.

²¹ Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, pp.44-49; Champness, *Worshipful Company*, pp.66-72.

Moreover, being on the Livery would open up the possibility of being elected Steward or Assistant, thus entailing more expense, so some Freemen sought to be excused, as we shall see in the case of Caleb Gedney.

The number of apprentices that a master could have at any one time was regulated by law and by the London company to which he belonged. The Statute of Artificers (1563) stated that masters should have no more than three.²² In the Turners Company, according to the Ordinances of 1608, no freeman could normally take more than one apprentice at a time, except by paying a fine of £5 (£3 for a member of the Livery) to take a second apprentice.²³ Freemen who were or had been Master, Warden, or Assistant were permitted two apprentices, and one more by consent and a fine of 40s. For practical reasons, the Ordinances make the allowance that 'it shall be lawful in the last year of the term of such apprentice for the Master to take another apprentice, so that at the end of the term, the new apprentice may be fit for him'.²⁴

Table 7 shows the number of freed apprentices (i.e., apprentices who were eventually freed) per year for William Whitehill, the master who had the most apprentices of those in Figure 1. He had at least one apprentice from just over a year after he was freed until his death: one (57% of the years), two (27%), three (8%), and even four apprentices one year (1669) when he also took an apprentice who was never freed. He took more than the official limit for ten years before he served as Warden or Master, suggesting that the limit was applied loosely by the mid-seventeenth century.

A slight majority of the Turners' apprentices under examination were freed: 142 out of 267 (53%). Given the high mortality rate of the day, most would have died during apprenticeship. Others may have found turning not to their taste or the life too exacting. Robert Cammell, an apprentice of Henry Wickenden in 1714, was turned over to a fishmonger the next year. In one curious transaction, Edward Wallis was apprenticed on 26 November 1703 to Thomas Stanesby Senior, then 'by consent of all parties was

the same day turned over to John Stainsby citizen and cooper of London to serve the rest of his said 7 years'.²⁵ Stanesby Senior took no other apprentices than his son, who was therefore probably accurate in the claim on his trade card that 'my Father ... never taught or employ'd any other Person in the finishing part of any Instrument whatsoever....'²⁶ Joseph Bradbury never took the Freedom of the Company, although he became a well-known maker, perhaps because he practised far enough outside London.

According to the 1608 Ordinances of the Company, no person using the 'mystery' could call himself a Master workman or set up in a shop until he had presented himself to the executive of the Company and proved that he had served seven years as an apprentice and a further two years as a journeyman, and had made proof pieces ('masterpieces') demanded by the executive.²⁷ But the 'offence of evading the ordinance against setting up a shop before serving as a journeyman was common and many fines were imposed for it'.²⁸ Setting up shop required some

Table 7. William Whitehill's freed apprentices by year

<i>year</i>	<i>no. of apprentices</i>
1650–54	1
1655–57	2
1658–59	1
1660–63	3
1664–68	2
1669	4
1670–71	3
1672–75	2
1676*	3
1677–78*	1
1679–82	1
1683	2
1684–86	1
1687–89*	1
1699–98	1

* = year when Whitehill served as Warden or Master of the Company

²² Lane, *Apprenticeship in England*, p.3.

²³ Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, p.266.

²⁴ Quoted in Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, p.267.

²⁵ Halfpenny, 'Further Light', p.60, mentions this apprentice without noting that he was turned over immediately, and on p. 62 calls him 'the shadowy Wallis'. Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, p.380, still mentions that Stanesby took Wallis as an apprentice.

²⁶ Quoted in Halfpenny, 'Further Light', p.61.

²⁷ Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, p.265.

²⁸ Champness, *Worshipful Company*, pp.134–35.

Table 8. Years before registering first apprentice

Period	Number of freemen	
less than 1 year	17	31%
1 year+	11	20%
2 years+	1	0.5%
3 years+	3	1.5%
4 years+	6	11%
5 years+	16	30%

capital. Campbell (1747) wrote of the turner: 'He makes use of an Engine called a Lathe.... The Engines used in the nicer sort of Turning are very Expensive; therefore it requires a good Stock to set up with....,' quoting the 'Sums necessary to set up as Master' as £50 to £500, and for a musical instrument maker £100 to £500.²⁹ He also cited the working hours of a turner as 6 a.m. to 9 p.m., a musical instrument maker 6 a.m. to 8 p.m.³⁰ These hours may sound excessive but they were actually the most common at 9.5% and 52.3%.³¹

Once he had been admitted as a Freeman, a man could begin to take apprentices of his own. Table 8 shows that was a wide spread in the number of years before a freeman took his first apprentice: from only 1 day (John Caney to John Howell, 2–3 July 1707) to 25 years 4 months 29 days (James Dancer to Stephen Chambers Senior, 6 Sep 1710–4 Feb 1736). Despite the capital required to set up shop, just over half of these freeman took apprentices within the first two years of being freed, also implying that the journeyman step had been omitted. Nevertheless, 30% waited more than five years, and there are eight instances of more than twelve years.

Of the Turners examined, 42% (59) did take apprentices, 58% (83) did not. Of those who took apprentices, the number taken varied from one to as many as 15 over the course of their career (Table 9).

In the Turners Company if a master died during a boy's apprenticeship, the boy was dealt with in one of two ways. First, the master's widow was allowed to keep any leftover apprentice, 'if she be able & willing to keep him, that she may make him free at the end of his term as if her husband had lived'.³² After John Kellett's death, his apprentice Benjamin Denman was freed in 1655 by Kellett's widow Mary, who even took an apprentice of her own that year. After William

Table 9. Number of apprentices taken by masters with freed apprentices

F = freed NF = not freed

Number of apprentices	Number of cases	
1	9	
2	10	1F/1NF (7), 2F (3)
3	10	3F (2), 2F/1NF (6), 1F/2NF (1), 3NF (1)
4	3	2F/2NF (1), 1F/3NF (2)
5	6	4F/1NF (1), 3F/2NF (2), 2F/3NF (2), 1F/4NF (1)
6	4	4F/2NF (1), 3F/3NF (1), 2F/4NF (1), 1F/5NF (1)
7	1	3F/4NF
8	4	6F/2NF (1), 5F/3NF (1), 4F/4NF (1), 2F/6NF (1)
9	2	3F/6NF (2)
10	3	9F/1NF (1), 7F/3NF (1), 1F/9NF (1)
11	2	9F/1NF (1), 4F/7NF (1)
14	1	7F/7NF
15	1	3F/12NF

Lowen Senior died in 1654, his widow Mary took an apprentice (John Goddard) in 1657; therefore, Lowen's existing apprentice William Carter was probably kept by the widow. The same was presumably true of Christopher Fettiplace, apprenticed to William Lowen Junior, who died in 1665; Fettiplace was freed in 1668. John Siddall's widow Ann took her own apprentice, Ptolemy Pilkington, in 1681 (not freed). She probably, therefore, kept the existing apprentices on her husband's death: their son George Siddall (freed 1684) and Benjamin Clayton (freed 1686). Their 'son' (more likely daughter) Hester was freed by patrimony in 1705. Joseph Woodward's widow Anne took an apprentice, Richard Jones, in 1726 (not freed).

Second, the boy was turned over to another master in the Company, for which fines were payable of 'to the Hall 12d, to the Clerk 4d and to the Beadle 2d for entering the assignment'.³³ The consent of the master's widow is explicitly stated in one case. After Christopher Keene's death in 1698, William Smith,

²⁹ Campbell, *London Tradesman*, pp.243, 336, 339.

³⁰ Campbell, *London Tradesman*, pp.336, 339.

³¹ Analyzed in Lane, *Apprenticeship in England*, p.96.

³² 1608 Ordinances quoted in Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, p.267.

³³ 1608 Ordinances quoted in Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, p.267.

who had already been turned over to Keene from a clothworker, was 'by consent of John Rayment and Elizabeth Keen' turned over to Rayment to serve the remainder of his term in 1699. Rayment had another of Keene's apprentices, John Lathbury, turned over to him that same year, then one of Lathbury's apprentices, Edward Knowles, in 1710.

Three apprentices were turned over to turners who were not part of the network under examination: Thomas Jenkins, apprenticed in 1699 to Francis Scampton, was turned over to John Castell in 1703. John Linford, apprenticed in 1707 to Thomas Elmes (*d.* 1709), was turned over to Edward Hills in 1709, then John Woodward in 1710. And Richard Holdness, apprenticed in 1708 to Richard Cox, was turned over Edward Allison the following year. A fourth boy, Benjamin Fulford, apprenticed to James Dancer in 1755, was turned over to the widow of a citizen and joiner two years later, 'by consent of all parties'.

Redemption simply meant that one paid for the privilege, after nomination by two members of the Livery and approval by the Court of Assistants of the Company.³⁴ This was true for the woodwind maker John Ashbury, who was freed in this way in 1700. Doubtless he had some training in turning and instrument-making from elsewhere.

Patrimony meant that a young man was freed by virtue of his father being a freeman of the Company at the date of the applicant's birth in lawful wedlock.³⁵ The Turners Company would have tested the son to make sure that he had completed the equivalent of an apprenticeship and could make the proof pieces. Twelve boys benefitted from this arrangement: William Bartholomew (father, John), John Bartholomew II (William), Stephen Chambers Junior and Joseph Chambers (Stephen Senior), Matthias Hall (John), George Hutchinson Junior (George Senior), Thomas Iliffe (Henry), John Lowen (William Senior), William Mole (Michael Junior), Thomas Rutchall (Charles), Hester Siddall (John), and John Siddall II (George). Two boys served a registered apprenticeship and then were freed by patrimony: Henry Palmer (John) and George Siddall (John). One boy is listed as being freed by his father

without the apprenticeship being registered—an arrangement equivalent to patrimony: William Lowen Junior (William Senior). Finally, one boy served an apprenticeship to his father, then was freed in the normal way: William Shaw Junior (William Senior).

In four cases, youths were apprenticed to their older brothers: John Bale (to brother Nathaniel), William Howell (John; not freed), John Roleston (William Roulston), and Thomas White (William).

Translation from another Company presumably occurred in cases where the interests of the apprentice were more appropriately served by the Turners. Two apprentices were translated from the Musicians Company, although there is no evidence in the records that they were woodwind makers. Roger Dilly 'being a Freeman of the Musiconers was sworn to observe the orders of this Company' on 13 July 1647. John Starling 'who was free of the Company of Musitioners was translated from the said Company to the Company of Turners' on 20 February 1645. Both in turn took apprentices. One of Dilly's was the son of a freeman of the Turners Company, so Dilly was evidently judged to be a competent turner.

ORIGINS

The fathers who apprenticed their sons to masters in the network under consideration in the Turners Company were of varied backgrounds and came from many different places. Table 10 shows the distribution of the fathers' trades and Table 11 the geographical distribution of the fathers. It is another measure of the mortality of the time that 41% of the fathers (111/269) are listed as deceased when their sons were apprenticed. Forty percent of the apprentices came from what is now Greater London, and another 20–30% from the Home Counties (depending on how they are defined), but a few came from as far away as the north or Wales.³⁶

RESIDENCE

Preliminary research on where the Turners in question lived has established the remarkable phenomenon that a significant number of the early ones, most of whom seem to have been woodwind makers, lived in a single parish of the City of London,

³⁴ Champness, *Worshipful Company*, p.68.

³⁵ Champness, *Worshipful Company*, p.68.

³⁶ These figures may be compared with the 3,780 apprentices in the Stationers Company in the period 1555–1640: Greater London 21%, South East 14%, East 11%, West Midlands 12%, South West 10%, East Midlands 12%, North West 5%, North East/Yorkshire and the Humber 7%, Wales 2%, unknown and other 7%. D. F. McKenzie, 'Apprenticeship in the Stationers' Company, 1555–1640', *The Library*, 5th series, 13 no. 4 (1958), p.298.

Table 10. Trade or description of father

apothecary	2	flaxdresser	1	poulterer	2
baker	2	fruiterer	1	sadler	2
barber / barber surgeon	3	gardener / tuinman	2	scrivener (scribe)	1
bellowsmaker	1	generosus (aristocrat)	31	soapboiler	1
blacksmith	4	gent.	29	shipwright	2
blockmaker	1	Glazier	3	shoemaker	3
brewer	2	Glover	1	silkthrower (silk-throwster)	1
bricklayer	4	greengrocer	1	stolemaker	1
butcher	5	grocer	5	surgeon	1
cardmaker (for combing wool)	1	haberdasher	2	tailor	8
carpenter / joiner	9	hairthrower (?)	1	tanner	3
chandler / tallow chandler	3	higler (higgler: itinerant dealer)	1	thredman (threadman: maker / seller of thread)	1
cheesefactor	1	hoymen (master of small vessel)	1	tobacconist	1
clerk	6	innkeeper / innholder	5	turner (in London)	4
coachman	1	ironmonger	2	turner (outside London)	3
coal merchant/collier	2	labourer	11	victualler (seller of food / drink)	4
clothworker/clothier	8	mariner	3	watchman	1
cook	1	maulster (maltster)	5	waterman	1
cordwainer (shoemaker)	2	mercier	6	weaver	10
cutler	3	merchant tailor	4	whitster (bleacher)	1
draper / linendraper / woolen draper	4	miller	3	woodman	1
dyer	1	needlemaker	2	woodmonger	1
Esquire	1	parker (park-keeper)	1	yeoman (freeholder under rank of gent.)	29
farmer / agricola / husbandman	23	pewterer	2		
fishmonger	1	plumber	1		

Table 11. Geographical distribution of fathers of apprentices (current regions of England) (total 265 places)

3. Greater London (106 = 40%) City of London (62) Middlesex (44)	8. West Midlands (28 = 11%) Herefordshire (3) Shropshire (4) Staffordshire (4) Warwickshire (10) Worcestershire (7)	5. North West (11 = 4%) Cheshire (3) Cumberland (1) Lancashire (7)
6. South East (54 = 20%) Berkshire (8) Buckinghamshire (3) Hampshire (3) Kent (9) Oxfordshire (6) Surrey (24) Sussex (1)	7. South West (17 = 6%) Devon (1) Gloucestershire (4) Somerset (5) Wiltshire (7)	4. North East/ 9. Yorkshire and the Humber (3 = 1%) Northumberland (1) Yorkshire (2)
2. East (31 = 12%) Bedfordshire (3) Cambridgeshire (4) Essex (10) Hertfordshire (10) Huntingdonshire (1) Suffolk (3)	1. East Midlands (15 = 6%) Derbyshire (2) Leicestershire (6) Northamptonshire (6) Nottinghamshire (1)	Wales (4)

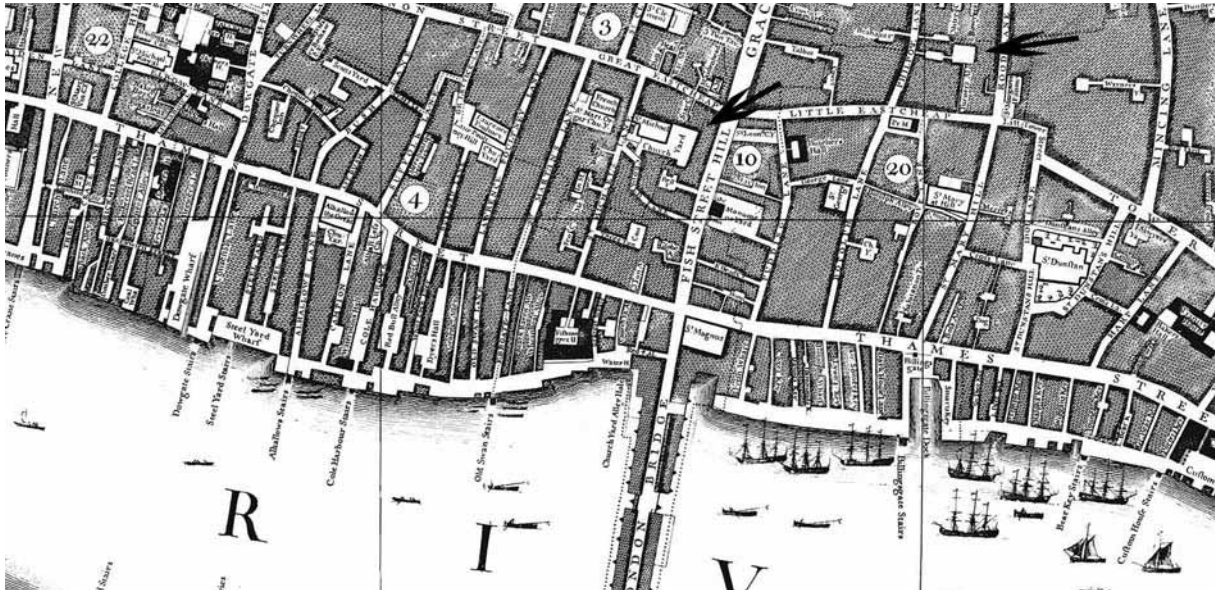


Figure 2. A detail of the John Rocque map of London (1747), showing the area around St Michael Crooked Lane; the left arrow marks the church, and the right arrow the former Hall of the Turners Company in Philpot Lane. Reproduced from *The A to Z of Georgian London* by kind permission of the publishers, Harry Margary, at www.harrymargary.com, in association with the Guildhall Library, London, now the London Metropolitan Archives at <http://collage.cityoflondon.gov.uk>.

St Michael Crooked Lane. The church was situated near London Bridge on the south side of the City. It faced the east side of St Michael's (Miles') Lane, which ran from Great Eastcheap to Thames Street, and was adjacent to Crooked Lane, which went crookedly from St Michael's Lane to Fish Street Hill, the old approach to London Bridge (See Figure 2). After the Great Fire of London in 1666, the church was rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren in 1684–89, and the tower was completed in 1698. But the church was demolished in 1831 to make way for the construction of King William Street as an approach to the new London Bridge, slightly west of the old one, whereupon the parish was united with St Magnus the Martyr.³⁷ One of the attractions of the area for trade would have been its proximity to transport along the Thames and across London Bridge, the only bridge across the Thames at that time. Until 1737, the hall of the Turners Company was located close by on Philpot Lane, between Little Eastcheap and Fenchurch Street.

Table 12 shows that William Shaw Senior is listed in the records of the parish from 1609 to his death in 1652. No fewer than six of his apprentices — John Kellett, William Lowen Senior, William Shaw Junior, William Whitehill, Samuel Drumbleby, and William Carter — are found in the parish. In the 1638 assessment of the parish, Kellett, Lowen, and

Shaw are listed on St Michael's Lane, west side, one or two doors from each other:³⁸

Wm. Lowen at the Golden Ball	£10
Thos. Forrest at the Sonn	£10
Wm. Shawe at the bell	£16
John Kellet at the Whithorse	£12

It was presumably Shaw Junior who was listed as 'Wm Shaw at the brasen Serpent £10' on Crooked Lane, south side. Samuel Drumbleby's father, a spectacle maker, appears on the north side of the lane as 'Thos. Dromblebee at the Cock £12'. The sums of money given are the annual rents of the houses. The modest parish had only 114 premises, on Candlewick Street, St Michael's Lane, Thames Street, and Crooked Lane. By 1667, because of the Great Fire the previous year, Drumbleby had moved to new premises in the Strand, in or near the New Exchange (see below).

Some of these men's apprentices also lived in St Michael Crooked Lane, including five more generations of master–apprentice relations stemming from Whitehill. John Lathbury (freed 1701), an apprentice of Christopher Keene, was also living in the parish in 1708. All in all, the line stemming from Shaw Senior can be traced in the parish for almost one hundred fifty years until 1764, when John

³⁷ *The London Encyclopedia*, ed. Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert (London: Macmillan, 1983), pp.433, 748.

³⁸ T.C. Dale, *The Inhabitants of London in 1638* (1931); <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=32050>, consulted 1 November 2010.

Bartholomew II described himself in his will as 'of Miles Lane' and mentioned property in St Michael Crooked Lane (although he also owned some in Hertfordshire and Suffolk).³⁹

Keene himself (freed 1667) lived in St Botolph Aldgate (children listed 1672–82; buried 1698). His apprentice John Hall (freed 1677) may have been born in that parish, but he lived in St Andrew Holborn (listed 1689–96). Joseph Grinstead (freed 1676) lived in St Gregory by St Paul (children listed 1681–94; recorded 1695; buried 1719). Two other makers lived in St Andrew Holborn: Thomas Garrett (at least 1678–80, but by his death in 1712 he had moved to Bell Yard⁴⁰ in the adjoining St Dunstan-in-the-West) and his former apprentice William Smith (listed 1691–98; buried 1711). John Goodfellow (descended from the Drumbleby line) also lived in Bell Yard.

Thomas Stanesby Senior is described in the Turners' records as living 'in Stone Cutter Street by the Ditch Syde'. Stonecutter Street still exists between Shoe Lane and Farringdon Street. The 'ditch' in question was the Fleet Ditch, the notorious open end of the mainly underground Fleet River that had long been in effect a sewer leading to the Thames.⁴¹ Despite being in such an unhealthy location, Stanesby lived to the age of about 67. Ironically, three years after his death the ditch was covered over by the Fleet Market, which was made into Farringdon Street in 1826–30. Understandably, Stanesby Junior moved away and set up shop at the Temple Exchange in Fleet Street, in the next parish to the west, St Dunstan-in-the-West. On his death his former apprentice Gedney inherited his business and took over the premises, thus handily avoiding setting-up costs.

TRADE AND TRAINING

Parish and city records call John Hall, Thomas Garrett, and Garrett's apprentice William Smith 'flute-maker'. The same term is used in a parish record for Thomas Stanesby Senior.⁴² It literally meant recorder maker but in practice signified

a maker of all the woodwind instruments of the time, although in the recorder boom among amateurs in the period 1680–1715, the maker would probably have made more recorders than any other instrument.⁴³ Because freemen in three different branches of the master–apprentice chart stemming from William Shaw Senior, including one direct apprentice (Samuel Drumbleby), are now known to have been woodwind makers, it seems highly likely that all the others in Figure 1 were at least partly makers: William Carter, William Debnam, Christopher Keene, William Lowen Senior, William Shaw Senior, and William Whitehill. A dispute between Shaw Senior and the Company in 1631, when goods of his were seized, shows that he did make such normal turned items as inkhorns, shuttles, and knobs in both wood and ivory. If Shaw trained not only Drumbleby but all his apprentices in woodwind making, then we also need to include David Flood, John Kellett (who lived next door to Shaw), Charles Rutchall, and William Shaw Junior, not to mention their apprentices. Keene had a strong connection with instrument-making, since he was the younger brother of Stephen Keene, a freeman of the Joiners Company who was one of the most important stringed keyboard instrument makers of his day. The other freed apprentices of the eight known makers could also have been makers: Thomas Blaire, Edward Compton, John Greene, Matthias Hall, and William Roulston.

How many other freemen in the network of 143 turners were woodwind makers remains to be determined, as records from outside the Company are examined. During the course of the seventeenth century, freemen of the London Companies gradually shifted away from their nominal trade, partly in response to the proliferation of trades and partly as the companies' control of trade weakened. For example, because the Musicians Company was poor and allowed only one apprentice at a time, musicians were admitted to several different, wealthier Companies that allowed more apprentices.⁴⁴ An account book of the Turners Company dating from

³⁹ National Archives, PROB 11/897.

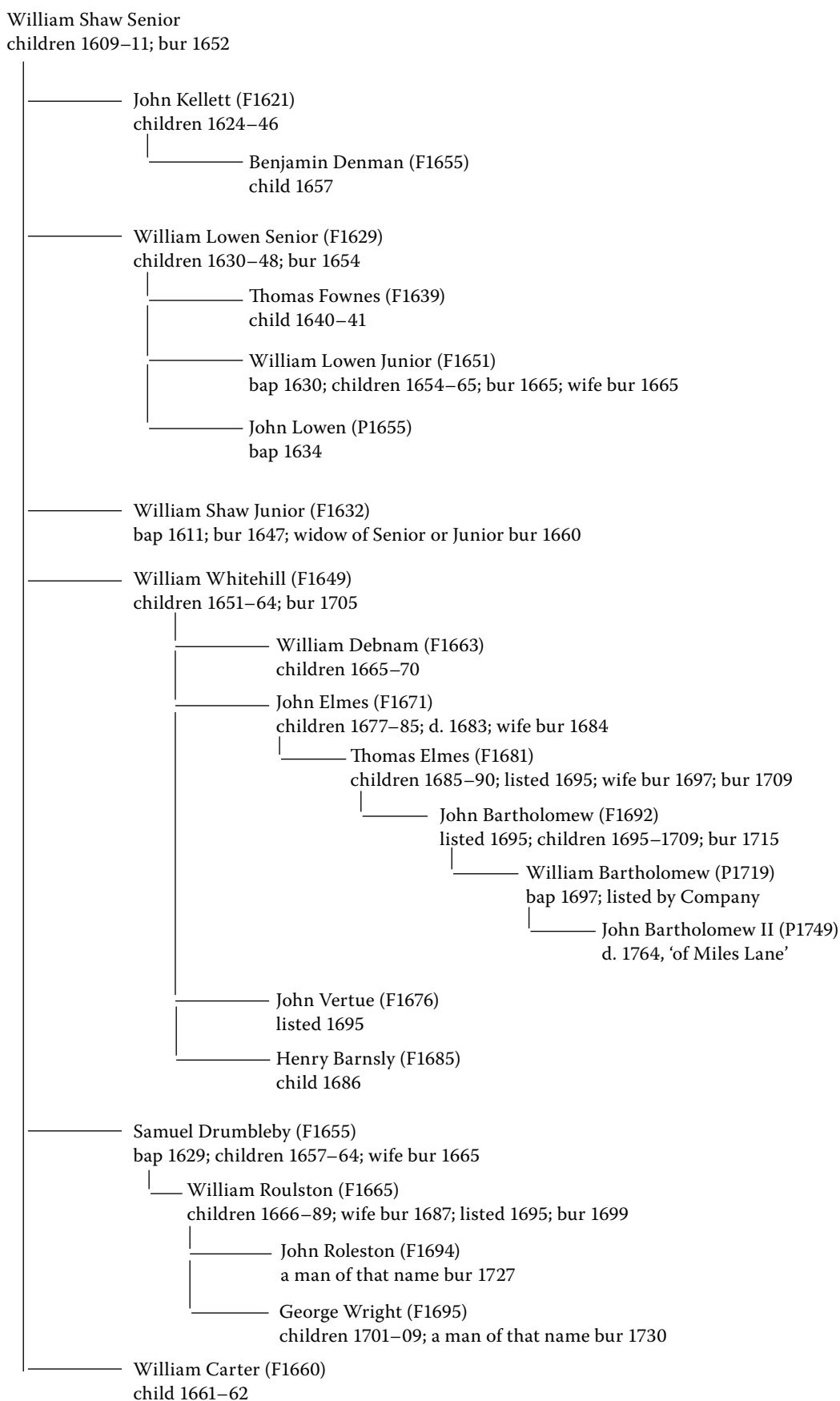
⁴⁰ Bell Yard was named after the Bell Inn in Carter Lane. *London Encyclopedia*, p.54, says that the last record of its existence was in 1708, but the Garrett and Goodfellow records are later.

⁴¹ <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=45112>, consulted 9 November 2010.

⁴² Halfpenny, 'Biographical Notices', p.50.

⁴³ The markers of the beginning and end of the boom are the publication of John Hudgebut's tutor, *A Vade Mecum for the Lovers of Musick, Shewing the Excellency of the Rechorder*, in 1679, and Bressan's testimony in a lawsuit that after 1715 his business dropped off. See Byrne, 'More on Bressan', *GSJ XXXVII* (1984), p.102.

⁴⁴ See David Lasocki, 'Musicians in the Drapers and Other City of London Companies in the Seventeenth Century' (forthcoming).

Table 12. Turners in the parish of St Michael Crooked Lane

1761 shows that only 41 of the 100 members of the Livery were turners.⁴⁵

By the end of the seventeenth century, the Turners Company's own and other records disclose the actual trade of some of its freemen. In the Company records William White and George Webster are confirmed as 'turner'. On the other hand, Webster's apprentice Richard Gore is described as 'hardwareman', as are Edward Knowles and his apprentice John Hunt. The term meant 'a manufacturer of or dealer in hardware'.⁴⁶ John Cooke is described in one record as 'instrument maker', but parish records clarify that he was a 'razormaker' or 'chirugions instrument maker'. In Mortimer's *Universal Director* (1763), three members of our network are listed: John Bartholomew II, under turners ('none but real workers in Ivory and Hard Wood'); Michael Mole, under fish-hook and fishing-tackle makers; and _____ Stanesby Junior, under Musical instrument-makers.⁴⁷ Thomas Stanesby Senior was still described as 'Citizen and Turner of London' in his Will (1734), but his son Thomas Junior preferred the more up-to-date and practical description 'Wind Musical Instrument Maker' (1752/54).

RICHARD POTTER (1726–1806)

One other well-known native woodwind maker at the end of the period under consideration was a freeman of the Turners Company: Richard Potter, who later became famous for his patent flute of 1785. He was apprenticed on 3 December 1740 to John Bickerton.⁴⁸ Bickerton in turn had been apprenticed to Daniel Boulton on 2 June 1731 but turned over to Henry Downer on 14 June 1733. Did Potter receive any training in woodwind making from Boulton or Downer?

Boulton's line can be traced back through John

Ward (apprenticed 3 May 1682) to Samuel Kingston (apprenticed 19 November 1666) and Thomas Wood (whose apprenticeship is not recorded but who had been freed by 1661). Downer's line is more complicated because of the presence in the Company of two freemen named John Baker and Edward Jones. Depending on which Baker and Jones were really part of the line, it peters out in Richard Bunker, James Morecock, or John Richards, whose apprenticeships are not recorded (see Figure 3).

Regardless of Potter's lineage in the Company, all the freemen in it fall outside the network under consideration in the present article. Thus he may have even trained himself in woodwind making. The known makers in the network whose instruments have survived were undoubtedly fine craftsmen. In contrast, Ardal Powell says of Potter: 'Claims have been made in modern literature of innovative design and excellent workmanship in Richard Potter's flutes. In fact it is impossible to find an example of his shop's craftsmanship that matches up to the everyday standards of other London makers, such as Schuchart, Collier, and Hale, during the 1760s, 1770s, and 1780s. Potter Senior's ... fame was not due to early innovation or fine craftsmanship, but to his particular talents for business, and to the commercial success of his 1785 flute'.⁴⁹

THE FOREIGN EXCEPTIONS

The primary woodwind makers in England from about 1530 to the Civil War were three generations of the Bassano family, originally emigrants from Venice, as explored at length in a book by David Lasocki.⁵⁰ As royal servants, they would have been exempt from belonging to a London Company. Perhaps one of the members of the second or third generation gave some training to William Shaw Senior.

⁴⁵ Champness, *Worshipful Company*, p.72.

⁴⁶ *Oxford English Dictionary*.

⁴⁷ Thomas Mortimer, *The Universal Director; or, the Nobleman and Gentleman's True Guide to the Masters and Professors of the Liberal and Polite Arts and Sciences, and of the Mechanic Arts, Manufactures, and Trades, Established in London and Westminster, and their Environs* (London, 1763), pp.36, 52, 78–79. See also 'An Eighteenth-Century Directory of London Musicians', *GSJ* II (1949), pp.27–31. Stanesby Junior had in fact died in 1754. Lyndesay G. Langwill was the first to suggest that therefore his successor, Caleb Gedney, continued business for a while under the same name. 'Two Rare Eighteenth-Century London Directories', *Music & Letters* XXX/1 (January 1949), pp.42–43. The same claim is made, citing Langwill, in Halfpenny, 'Biographical Notices', p.51.

⁴⁸ The apprenticeship records cited in this section are taken from *London Apprenticeship Abstracts 1442–1850* on origins.net.

⁴⁹ Johann George Tromlitz, *The Keyed Flute*, trans. and ed. with an introduction by Ardal Powell (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.187.

⁵⁰ David Lasocki with Roger Prior, *The Bassanos: Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in England, 1531–1665* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995); see also Lasocki, 'The Anglo-Venetian Bassano Family as Instrument Makers and Repairers', *GSJ* XXXVIII (1985), pp.112–32.

Along with the shift from Renaissance to Baroque woodwinds in the 1670s, two French makers came to England. According to a sales contract of 1675, Jacques Hotteterre, a member of the celebrated French family of woodwind makers and musicians, was employed as an ‘officier de la musique de Roy de Grande Bretagne’ (although this is not confirmed in Court records).⁵¹ His father, Louis Hotteterre I, and his brother, Jean Hotteterre IV, were both woodwind makers, so it is likely than Jacques was, too. If so, he would have played some part in the dissemination of the new type of instruments. He had returned to France by 1692, when he was appointed ‘basse de hautbois et basse de violon’ at the Court.⁵² (Jacques should not be confused with his more famous nephew, Jacques Hotteterre le Romain.)

Peter Bressan, a native of Bourg-en-Bresse in France, arrived in England around 1688 and worked there until he moved to Flanders shortly before his death in 1731.⁵³ He lived, perhaps from the start, in the parish of St Mary le Strand, a little west of the City of London.⁵⁴ The Turners Company was granted in its 1603 Charter the ‘Ordering and Government of ... all other the Turners and of all other persons for the time being Exercising the said Mistery or Art of Turners within the ... City of London and Suburbs thereof and within five Miles of the same City.’⁵⁵ (The word ‘suburb’ may sound modern, but it goes back to the fourteenth century: ‘The country lying immediately outside a town or city; more particularly, those residential parts belonging to a town or city that lie immediately outside and adjacent to its walls or boundaries’; *Oxford English Dictionary*.) The 1608 Ordinances provided that everyone practising the trade of turner within the Company’s jurisdiction had to appear before its executive, prove they had served seven years as

apprentice and two years as journeyman, and make the proof pieces demanded. If he passed the test a foreigner had to pay the sum of 6s 8d on setting up a shop, with a fine of £3 for every offense.⁵⁶ ‘Strangers’ practising the trade who were denizens also had to pay 4s per year quarterage, and ‘foreigners’ 2s.⁵⁷

Bressan served only a two-year apprenticeship in Bourg-en-Bresse, but he seems to have had further training in woodwind making in Paris.⁵⁸ Perhaps that and proof pieces were enough to satisfy the executive of the Turners Company. Or perhaps Bressan evaded examination by the Company because he lived in Duchy Lane. This street was in the area around Somerset House, the home of the Queen Dowager Catherine of Braganza (widow of Charles II), where many Roman Catholics had settled. In a court case in 1693, the year after Catherine set out to return to her native Portugal, one of the residents of this area claimed that ‘their houses were part of Somerset House and should not have to pay the Poor Rate’.⁵⁹ Although the residents lost this case, it is clear they believed themselves to be figuratively ‘outside’ London.

John Just Schuchart had arrived in London from Germany by 1720, and remained there until his death in 1759.⁶⁰ Described as ‘Instrumentmacher aus London’, Schuchart did make a trip to Germany in 1725 when he sold oboes to the Court in Gotha.⁶¹ He seems to have worked for Bressan at first, then set up his own workshop by 1732, perhaps as early as 1725.⁶² Thomas Cahusac Senior (1714–1788) and Benjamin Hallet (fl. 1713–1753) were probably apprentices of his.⁶³ Schuchart’s son Charles, born around 1720, presumably apprenticed under him – but obviously not in the Turners Company which, as a foreigner, he could not join. The two men parted company in 1754, when Charles set up a workshop

⁵¹ Tula Giannini, ‘Jacques Hotteterre le Romain and his Father, Martin: A Re-examination Based on Recently Found Documents’, *Early Music* XXI/3 (August 1993), p.378.

⁵² Marcelle Benoit, *Musiques de Court: Chapelle, Chambre, Écurie, 1661–1733* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1971), p.131.

⁵³ The principal biographical sources on Bressan are Maurice Byrne, ‘Pierre Jaillard, Peter Bressan’, *GJSJ* XXXVI (1983), pp.2–28; and ‘More on Bressan’, *GJSJ* XXXVII (1984), pp.102–11.

⁵⁴ Byrne, ‘Pierre Jaillard’, p.6.

⁵⁵ Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, pp.256, 261; Champness, *Worshipful Company*, pp.242, 246.

⁵⁶ 1608 Ordinances quoted in Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, pp.265–66.

⁵⁷ 1608 Ordinances quoted in Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, pp.275–76.

⁵⁸ Byrne, ‘Pierre Jaillard’, pp.2, 4–5.

⁵⁹ Byrne, ‘Pierre Jaillard’, p.6.

⁶⁰ This paragraph is mostly based on Lasocki, ‘New Light’, pp.90–95.

⁶¹ See Christian Ahrens, ‘The London Woodwind Instrument Maker John Jost [sic] Schuchart (Schuchardt)’, *GJSJ* LXII (2009), pp.287–88.

⁶² Maurice Byrne, ‘Schuchart and the Extended Foot-Joint’, *GJSJ* XVIII (1965), p.9.

⁶³ Maurice Byrne, ‘The Cahusacs and Hallet’, *GJSJ* XLI (1988), pp.24–31.

at 'The Sign of the Two Flutes and Hautboy'. When John Just died, he designated as his successor not Charles, but his own son-in-law, another foreign-born woodwind maker called Henry (Hindrik) John Muræus, at a similar sounding workshop, 'the Bassoon, two Flutes, and Hautboy'. Charles died in 1765 and was succeeded at the Two Flutes and Hautboy by Thomas Collier, who seems to have been working for him for at least a couple of years and may well have been his apprentice. Thus another network of makers grew up in the eighteenth century outside the Turners Company.

LISTINGS FOR TURNERS WHO TOOK APPRENTICES, BY DATE OF APPRENTICESHIP
Known woodwind makers are shown in **bold type**
* indicates a maker with a separate listing
Apprenticeships are for seven years unless otherwise stated

Abbreviations:

A	apprenticed
App(s):	apprentice(s)
b	born
bap	baptized
bur	buried
dau	daughter
dec.	deceased
F	freed
mar	married
NF	not freed
P	freed by patrimony
R	freed by redemption

William Shaw Senior (F by 1604; Renter Warden, 22 May 1628–13 May 1629, Upper Warden, 19 May 1631–29 May 1633; Master, 7 May 1635–17 May 1637)⁶⁴

son Henry bap 19 Mar 1609, bur 17 Sep 1610, St Michael Crooked Lane⁶⁵

son *William bap 10 Mar 1611, ditto

1638: St Michael's Lane, west side, 'at the bell'

bur 5 July 1652, St Michael Crooked Lane, 'householder, buried in the middle aisle of the church'

Will made 2 Dec 1651, proved 13 July 1652.⁶⁶

Bequests totaling at least £40; residue of estate to wife Hester.⁶⁷ App Drumbleby called 'servant'.

Hester Shaw widow bur 2 Feb 1660, St Michael Crooked Lane

Apps: *Charles Rutchall (A1606, F1630),

*John Kellett (A1613, F1621), *William Lowen Senior (A1620, F1629), *William Shaw Junior (A1626, F1632), David Flood (A1627, F1635),

*William Whitehill (A1641, F1649), ***Samuel Drumbleby** (A1648, F1655, second master not named); 7 not F (A1604, 1613, 1624, 1631, 1639, 1642, 1643)

On 17 January 1631, the Wardens of the Company went with a constable to Shaw's house and seized his goods for nonpayment of fines of 40s and 6s 8d.⁶⁸ The goods included: 8 bunches of hair weighing 7½ lb, 6 butter knives, 4 ivory inkhorns with sandboxes and 3 without, 6 pieces of iron, 18 shuttles, and 6 ivory knobs and seals. He was brought before the Lord Mayor and must have paid up, for on 15 April the goods were delivered back to him. Only four days later, he was unanimously elected Upper Warden of the Company, and by 14 July he was distributing the Company's 'meal' (wheat flour) to the poor.⁶⁹

But evidently there was further trouble with the Company. On 3 June 1641, Shaw Junior was nominated as Steward but refused, saying 'You have heretofore wronged & abused my father'.⁷⁰ But he

⁶⁴ Stanley-Short, *Worshipful Company*, p.291; Champness, *Worshipful Company*, pp.251–52.

⁶⁵ This and all subsequent references to baptisms and burials in St Michael Crooked Lane are taken from London Metropolitan Archives, P69/MIC3/A/001/MS11367; olim Guildhall Library, Ms 11367.

⁶⁶ National Archives, PROB 11/222.

⁶⁷ Unnamed wife of late son William Junior 40s. Sister Helen Buisopp £5. Her dau and Shaw's goddaughter Martha Buisopp £5. Martha's children William, Martha and Anne 20s each. Nephew James Shaw, Shaw's godson, £5; his wife 50s. Niece Frances Streete, James' sister, £3. Each of her children 10s. Alice Cox, goddaughter, 40s. Alice Dover, goddaughter, 10s. Brother-in-law John Johnson 40s. Sister-in-law Mrs Johane Freeman 40s. Poor of parish of St Michael Crooked Lane 40s. Parson Browne of parish 40s for funeral sermon. Forgives debts of kinsman John Shaw. Two servants Samuel Drombleby and John Harvest 10s each. Maidservant at time of death 10s. Friend William Manby 40s. Rest and residue of estate to wife Hester, made executrix of Will; Johnson made overseer.

⁶⁸ Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, 207–8; Champness, *Worshipful Company*, 75–76.

⁶⁹ Because government distribution of wheat and meal had proved unsatisfactory, the London Companies took this task upon themselves (Champness, *Worshipful Company*, pp.148–49).

⁷⁰ Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, p.83; Champness, *Worshipful Company*, pp.128–29.

may have had other reasons for refusing the office of Steward, the principal duty of which was to provide a dinner on Lord Mayor's Day to the Master, Wardens, Assistants, and Livery and their wives - an expensive task that could be avoided by payment of a fine of £5.⁷¹ Regardless of the past, on 4 June 1650 Shaw Senior was among those appointed to carry the Company's Charter and Ordinances to Westminster to be inspected by the Committee for Corporations.⁷²

Charles Rutchall (A Midsummer 1606 to William Shaw Senior, F 14 Jun 1630)
son of Thomas of Wisbitch [Wisbech], Isle of Ely, Camb, baker, dec.
App: son Thomas Rutchall (P1652)

John Kellett (A 4 Jun 1613 to William Shaw Senior for 8 years, F 19 Jly 1621)
son of Richard of Coventry, clothworker, dec.
bap 7 Sep 1595, Holy Trinity, Coventry⁷³
Mary dau of John and Mary bap 28 Mar 1624,
bur 19 Sep 1625, St Michael Crooked Lane
Rebecca dau ditto bap 17 Aug 1628, bur 30 Jly 1630, ditto; 'turner'
Elizabeth dau ditto bap 20 Dec 1629, ditto
Hesther dau ditto bap 26 bur 28 Dec 1632, ditto
Anne dau ditto bap 7 Oct 1635, ditto; 'turner'
Mary dau ditto bap 18 May 1638, bur 8 Dec 1646
John Junior A to John Wallington 12 February 1640 for 10 years; F 26 Apr 1650; bur 5 June 1661, St Michael Crooked Lane
1638: St Michael's Lane, west side, 'at the Whithorse'
d. by 1655 when widow Mary freed apprentice
Apps: *Thomas Boylson (A1622, F1630), Benjamin Denman (A1648, F by widow 1655; Anne dau of Benjamin and Sarah bap 18 Oct 1657, St Michael Crooked Lane); 1 not F (A1636); another by widow 1655

William Lowen Senior (A 7 Nov 1620 to William Shaw Senior for 8 years, F 5 Feb 1629)
son of William of Cheshunt, Herts, yeoman, dec.
bap 16 Jan 1603, Cheshunt (Willm. the sonne of Wm Lowyn of Turnfold)⁷⁴
William son of William and Mary bap 31 Jan 1630, St Michael Crooked Lane
Joane dau ditto bap 22 May 1631; 'turner'

John son ditto bap 20 Mar, bur 22 May 1633, ditto
John son ditto bap 29 Jun 1634, ditto
Samuel son ditto bap 26 Oct 1636, bur 24 Feb 1638, ditto; 'turner'
Gilbert son ditto bap 11 Jly 1638, ditto; 'turner'
Thomas son ditto bap 15 Sep 1639, ditto; 'turner'
Samuel son ditto bap 28 Jun, bur 14 Jly 1641, ditto; 'turner'
May dau ditto bap 2 Sep 1644, bur 8 Dec 1646, ditto
Samuel son ditto bap 15 Jun 1648, ditto
1638: St Michael's Lane, west side, 'at the Golden Ball'
bur 12 Apr 1654, St Michael Crooked Lane
Apps: Thomas Fownes (A1631, F1639; Ellynor dau of Thomas and Grace bap 8 Nov 1640, bur 3 Aug 1641, St Michael Crooked Lane), *Daniel Bernard (A1633, F1641), *William Lowen Junior (F1651), John Smyth (A1645, F1654), John Lowen (bap 29 Jun 1634, St Michael Crooked Lane, P1655), *William Carter (A1653, F1660, kept by widow or turned over to another master), John Goddard (A1657 to widow Mary); 3 not F (A1629, 1639, 1652)

Thomas Boylson (A 29 Sep 1622 to John Kellett, F 9 Aug 1630)
son of Thomas of Beweley [Bewdley], Worcs, mercer, dec.
Apps: Hamlett Cooper (A1631, F1639); 3 not F (A1632, 1635, 1639)
1638: parish of St Gabriel Fenchurch, rent £20

William Shaw Junior (A 19 Jan 1626 to father for 8 years, F 19 Jan 1632)
son of *William Senior
bap 10 March 1611, St Michael Crooked Lane
1638: Crooked Lane, south side, 'at the brasen Serpent'
bur 3 Jly 1647, ditto
Apps: *Nathaniel Bale (A1632, F1640), *William Shelley (A1635, F1654); 3 not F (A1635, 1635, 1646)

As mentioned above, on 3 June 1641 Shaw Junior was nominated as steward of the Company but refused, saying 'You have heretofore wronged & abused my

⁷¹ Champness, *Worshipful Company*, p.64.

⁷² Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, p.83; Champness, *Worshipful Company*, p.129.

⁷³ *International Genealogical Index (= IGI)*.

⁷⁴ Cheshunt parish register ref. DP/29/1/1, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

father'.⁷⁵ He went on to use 'many other most uncivil & scandalous & opprobrious words to the whole Court' of Assistants, whereupon he was dismissed from the Livery.

Nathaniel Bale (A 13 Nov 1632 to William Shaw Junior, F 17 Apr 1640)
son of John of Egham, Surrey, gent.
no baptism for anyone of this name at St John the Baptist, Egam during the period 1600–1650; therefore perhaps the Nathanyell Bales bap 25 Jan 1618, All Saints, Kingston upon Thames⁷⁶ perhaps mar Abigail Allen, 21 Sep 1646, St Bartholomew the Less⁷⁷
App: John Bale (brother; A1641, F1648)

Daniel Bernard (A 1 May 1633 to William Lowen Senior, F 19 Apr 1641)
son of George of Soxleby [Saxelbye], Leics, yeoman
Apps: William Hose (A 1647, F1656), Edward Walker (A1647, F1659), *John Siddall (A1651, F1659); 3 not F (A1647, 1652, 1657)

William Shelley (A 24 Feb 1635 to William Shaw Junior, F 19 Jan 1654; Master, 17 May 1683–16 March 1685)⁷⁸
son of George of Naseing [Nazeing], Essex, yeoman
App: *Joseph Woodward (A1671, F1678)

William Whitehill (A 16 June 1641 to William Shaw Senior for 8 years, F 26 June 1649; Renter Warden, 4 May 1676–23 May 1677; Upper Warden, 24 May 1677–8 May 1678; Master, 23 April 1687–8 May 1689)⁷⁹
son of Francis of Maplederham [Mapledurham], Oxon, yeoman
Francis son of William and Dorothy bap 13 Nov 1651, St Michael Crooked Lane
Sara dau ditto bap 26 Dec 1652, bur 30 Sep 1653, ditto
John son ditto bap 9 Mar 1654, ditto
William son ditto bap 18 Nov 1655, bur 13 Jly 1657, ditto
William son ditto bap 4 Nov 1657, ditto
Anne dau ditto bap 20 Jan 1659, ditto

Hester dau ditto bap 2 Mar bur 3 Aug 1661, ditto
Prudence dau ditto bap 15 May bur 2 Dec 1662, ditto
Mary dau ditto bap 18 May bur 30 Oct 1664, ditto
bur 26 Mar 1705 in the chancell, ditto
Apps: John Denham (A1650, F1672), *William Debnam (A1655, F1663), Edward Oakeley (A 1660, F1669), *John Elmes (A1663, F1671), John Vertue (A1669, F1676; 1695 marriage assessment: St Michael Crooked Lane), James Stevens (A1669, F1676), *Henry Barnsly (A1676, F1683), Nicholas Edmonds (A1683, F1690), John Page (A1691, F1698, but living William Roulston's house 1695); 2 not F (A1669, 1695)

William Lowen Junior (F 7 Mar 1651, probably by P) son of *William Senior
bap 31 Jan 1630, St Michael Crooked Lane (parents William and Mary)
Elizabeth dau of William and Katherine b 11 bap 18 bur 22 Jan 1654, ditto
Mary dau ditto bap 18 Feb 1655, bur 16 Oct 1656, ditto
Mary dau ditto bap 8 Feb 1657, ditto
Sarah dau ditto bap 25 Jly 1658, bur 14 Dec 1665, ditto
William son ditto bap 15 Jan 1660, bur 8 Mar 1661, ditto
William son ditto bap 13 Oct 1661, bur 29 Oct 1663, ditto
Samuel son ditto bap 22 Feb 1663, bur 6 Nov 1665, ditto
Katherine dau ditto bap 28 Feb 1663, bur 6 Dec 1665, ditto
Charles son ditto bap 2 Apr bur 9 Dec 1665, ditto
Katherine dau ditto bap 28 Feb 1663, bur 6 Dec 1665, ditto
Charles son ditto bap 2 Apr bur 9 Dec 1665, ditto
bur 24 Nov 1665, ditto; 'householder'; presumably died of the plague, along with his wife and children
wife Katherine bur 1 Dec 1665, ditto
Apps: Christopher Fettiplace (A 1660, F1668, presumably turned over to another master); 2

⁷⁵ Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, p.83; Champness, *Worshipful Company*, pp.128–29.

⁷⁶ E-mail message from Duncan Sutton, Surrey History Centre, 9 December 2010.

⁷⁷ *IGI*.

⁷⁸ Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, p.292; Champness, *Worshipful Company*, p.253.

⁷⁹ Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, p.292; Champness, *Worshipful Company*, pp.252–53.

not F (A1656, 1665)

Samuel Drumbleby (A 3 Apr 1648 to William Shaw Senior, F 5 Apr 1655, second master not named)

son of Thomas, citizen and spectacle maker of London (mar Elizabeth Thompson, 29 May 1622, St Catherine Cree;⁸⁰ bur 14 Sep 1643, St Michael Crooked Lane)

bap 30 Aug 1629, ditto (parents Thomas and Elizabeth)

Mentioned as 'servant' in Shaw's Will, 1652
son John of Samuel and Elizabeth bap 24 May 1657, St Michael Crooked Lane

dau Elizabeth ditto bap 4 Apr 1659, ditto

dau Lucey ditto bap 11 Oct 1660, bur 5 Sep 1661, ditto

son Samuel ditto bap 6 Feb 1662, bur 19 May 1662, ditto

son Samuel ditto bap 28 Jun 1663, bur 9 Jun 1664

wife Elizabeth bur 7 Aug 1665, ditto, in S aisle of church

mar licence 24 May 1666, of ditto, turner, widower, about 30, and Margaret Pung of Lombard Street, London, about 24⁸¹

Apps: *William Roulston (A1658, F1665), *John Greene (A1664, F1671); 2 not F (A1655, 1668)

Drumleby was apprenticed to Shaw Senior but must have finished his training and been freed by another master, because Shaw died in 1652. The most likely second master is William Whitehill, but several others descending from Shaw are possible. Halfpenny noted Drumleby's apprentice Greene, but not his earlier apprentice Roulston.

Drumleby is well-known as the maker from whom the diarist Samuel Pepys bought a flageolet (1667) and a recorder (1668).⁸² Pepys called him 'a maker of flageolettes, the best in towne', 'the pipe-maker', and 'my flagelette-maker'.⁸³ Drumleby also

made Pepys a mould for some 'paper tubes', to help his failing eyesight, so the maker was willing to do some general work, too.⁸⁴ After the Great Fire in 1666 Drumleby moved to premises in the Strand, in or near the New Exchange, where Pepys first encountered him on 11 February 1667, confirmed on 5 February 1668.⁸⁵

John Siddall (A 24 Feb 1651 to Daniel Bernard, F 26 Jan 1659)

son of Adam of Bury, Lancs, weaver

d. by 2 Feb 1681 when widow Ann named in records

Apps: John Mode (A1663, F1672), Samuel Glover (A1669, F1678), John Heaton (A1673, F1680), *George Siddall (A1676, F1684, presumably kept by widow), Benjamin Clayton (A1678, F1686, presumably kept by widow), Hester Siddall (P1705); 2 not F (A1664, 1673, 1679), 1 A1681 by widow

William Carter (A 26 Jly 1653 to William Lowen Senior, F 9 Aug 1660, kept by widow or turned over to another master)

son of Anthony, citizen and poulterer of London, dec.

b 1 Apr, bap 7 Apr 1639, St Leonard Eastcheap⁸⁶
Thomas son of William and Sarah bap 7 Jun 1661, bur 3 Jun 1662, St Michael Crooked Lane

App: *Christopher Keene (A1660, F1667)

William Debnam (A 16 June 1655 to William Whitehill for 8 years, F 7 Aug 1663)

son of William of Bramptree, Essex, yeoman

William son of William and Rebecca bap 21 May 1665, St Michael Crooked Lane

George son of William and Sarah bur 5 Feb 1670, ditto

Apps: ***Thomas Garrett** (A1669, F1676), *Joseph Grinstead (A1669, F1676); 1 not F (A1663)

⁸⁰ *IGI*.

⁸¹ Cited on ancestry.com.

⁸² *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews; contributing eds. William A. Armstrong, Macdonald Emslie, Sir Oliver Millar, the late T. F. Reddaway, vol.VIII (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), pp.53, 87; vol.IX (1976), p.157. Pepys had a cousin named Thomas who was freeman of the Turners Company (see Stanley-Stone, *Worshipful Company*, pp.241–42; Champness, *Worshipful Company*, pp.139–40).

⁸³ *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol.VIII, p.53; vol.IX, pp.30, 364.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, vol.IX, p.278.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, vol.VIII, p.53; vol.IX, p.51. New Exchange in the Strand was at the site now occupied by Nos. 54–64, near Adam Street, between present-day Charing Cross Station and Waterloo Bridge. *London Encyclopedia*, p.539.

⁸⁶ *IGI*.

William Roulston (A 23 Jun 1658 to **Samuel Drumbleby**, F 1 Jly 1665; Renter Warden, 18 May 1699–death)
 son of William of Burton on Trent, Staffs, tanner
 bap 30 Dec 1642, St Modwen, Burton upon Trent (parents William and Jane)⁸⁷
 William son of William and Martha bap 21 Apr 1666, St Michael Crooked Lane
 John son of ditto bap 9 Nov 1671, bur 19 Apr 1672, ditto
 unnamed dau bur 23 Jan 1673
 Elizabeth dau ditto bap 20, bur 29 Jly 1674, ditto
 Hannah dau ditto bur 14 Jun 1689
 wife Martha bur 11 May 1687 ‘in the tabernacle’
 1695 marriage assessment: wife Francis, dau Jane, servants George Wright, John Page (app of William Whitehill), Humfrey Nash (A1694), Mary Sellers, St Michael Crooked Lane
 bur 21 Sep 1699, ditto; ‘an ancient inhabitant of this parish’
 Will made 19 May 1698, proved 24 Oct 1699.⁸⁸
 Bequests totaling £33.⁸⁹ Wife Frances received two houses in Burton upon Trent, ‘all share and part in my Trade both at home and abroad’, lease of house and residue of estate.
 Apps: Francis Feist (A1671, F1679), *John Cooke (A1675, F1682; 1695 marriage assessment, widow Cook, instrument maker and daus, St Mary Woolnoth; dau Anne bap 16 Aug 1686, St Mary Woolnoth; ‘razormaker’; son Thomas b 7 Jun 1697, bap 20 Jly 1698, ditto; ‘chirugions instrument maker in little Lumbard Street’), George Alsop (A1679, F1686), *George Hutchinson Senior (A1681, F1689), *Morris Hutchins (A1682, F1704), John Roleston (brother; A1686, F1694; ?bur 26 Sep 1727, St Michael Crooked Lane), *John Palmer (A1687, F1695), *George Wright (A1688, F1695), *Henry Iliffe (A1688, F1699); 1 not F (A1694)

Christopher Keene (A 26 Oct 1660 to William

Carter, F 12 Nov 1667)
 son of Richard of Sydenham, Oxfordshire, yeoman, dec.
 older brother John A 1652 to William Lowen Senior, NF
 Son Gilbert A to father 6 Oct 1686, NF
 Christopher son of Christopher and Katherine bap 21 Nov 1672, St Botolph Aldgate, ‘Minories’⁹⁰
 Edward son ditto, bap 14 Aug 1675, ditto; A to father 3 Jun 1691, NF
 Frances dau ditto, bap 30 Jan 1677, ditto
 Christopher and Stephen, twins, ditto, bap 16 Feb 1682, ditto
 bur 21 Aug 1698, ditto
 Apps: ***John Hall** (A1669, F1677), *John Rayment (A1670, F1677), Thomas Wright (A1676, F1687), *John Lathbury (A1694, turned over to Rayment 23 Jan 1699); 7 not F (A 1668, 1681, 1684, 1686, 1691, 1693, 1694)

Keene was the youngest of three brothers. The middle brother, Stephen (d. 1712), became one of the most celebrated stringed keyboard instrument makers in England. Stephen was apprenticed to Gabriel Townsend of the Joiners Company on 6 August 1655, when his father was already described as ‘late’, and freed on 3 November 1662. In 1712, Christopher’s son Christopher Junior became executor of Stephen’s Will, in which his twin brother Stephen II and another brother named William were mentioned.⁹¹

John Elmes (A 7 Dec 1663 to William Whitehill, F 21 Mar 1671)
 son of Robert of parish of Blockly [Blockley], Worcs, yeoman
 Hannah dau of John and Hannah bur 31 Jly 1677, St Michael Crooked Lane
 paid two quarters quarterage 1682–83
 John son of John deceased bur 18 Oct 1685, ditto
 Will made 10 May, proved 30 Aug 1683.⁹² All estate to wife Hannah.

⁸⁷ *IGI*.

⁸⁸ National Archives, PROB 11/452.

⁸⁹ Daughter Jane Wright and her husband George Wright £12. Jane half of pewter, George cloak. Sister Anne Roulston, brother’s widow, £4. Kinsman John Roulston £12, bed and household stuff. John and brother Samuell, clothes except cloak. Kinswoman Sarah Roulston £5.

⁹⁰ London Metropolitan Archives P69/BOT2/A/008/MS09225/001, olim Guildhall Library, Ms 9225/1.

⁹¹ Peter Geoffrey Mole, ‘The English Spinet with Particular Reference to the Schools of Keene and Hitchcock’, PhD Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2009, pp.75–76, 78, 397.

⁹² National Archives, PROB 11/373.

Hannah Elmes widow bur 12 Sep 1684, St Michael Crooked Lane
 Apps: *Thomas Elmes (A1674, F1681), Joseph Such (A1682, F1689); 1 not F (A1677)

John Greene (A 12 Jly 1664 to Samuel Drumbleby, F 1 Aug 1671)
 son of Edward of New Sarum, Wilts, cardmaker, dec.
 bap 14 Jan 1649, St Thomas, Salisbury (parents Edward and Katherin)⁹³
 Apps: *John Walter (A1672, F1682), *William White (A1675, F1682); 6 not F (A 1671, 1672, 1675, 1678, 1682, 1682)

Thomas Garrett (A 13 May 1669 to William Debnam, F 3 Oct 1676)
 son of Thomas of Aynow [Aynho] on the Hill, Northants, maulster, dec
 Thomas son of Thomas and Hannah Garrett,
 bap 3 Apr 1679, St Dunstan-in-the-West, 'out of Bell Yard'⁹⁴
 Mary dau of Thomas and Hannah Garrett, bap 7 Mar 1680, ditto, 'out of Chancery Lane. Rolls L'
 Elizabeth dau of Thomas and Hannah Garret, bap 5 Oct 1682, ditto, 'from Bell yard'
 Hannah dau of Thomas and Hannah Garret, bap 3 Dec 1682, ditto, 'from Bell-yard'
 Katherine dau of Thomas and Hannah Garret, bap 25 Jun 1684, ditto, 'from Bell-yard'
 Thomas dau of Thomas and Hannah Garret, bap 29 Oct 1685, ditto, 'from Bell-yard'
 Sarah dau of Thomas and Hannah Garret, bap 17 Oct 1686, ditto, 'from Bell yard' John dau of Thomas and Hannah Garret, bap 2 Sep 1688, ditto, 'from Bellyard'
 8 Apr 1712, ditto: 'Thomas Garret a Flute-Maker was bur[ied]: from Bell Y[ard]: in the Body of the church'⁹⁵
 Apps: ***William Smith** (A1677, F1690), ***Thomas Stanesby Senior** (A1682, F1691), ***Joseph Bradbury** (A1684, not F), Thomas Blairst (A1686, F1693); 4 others not F (A1687,

Halfpenny wrote: 'The question remains whether Garrett was simply a general turner, or whether he was able to transmit to [his apprentices] Bradbury and Stanesby the special art of instrument making, and particularly that of the jointed French-pattern oboes and recorders, which had reached England in the lifetimes of the three men. Garrett ... received his Freedom on October 3, 1676, just at the time when these instruments were making their first appearances in the country'.⁹⁶ The burial record cited above now confirms that Garrett was a woodwind maker. Moreover, his first apprentice, William Smith, was also a maker.

The French-style oboe and recorder almost certainly arrived in London in 1674, with a group of French musicians who included Jacques (James) Paisible, the best-known recorder player of the day.⁹⁷ The musicians made an immediate impression, and their instruments began to be heard by the following year upon the London stage, so word was out around town. The recorder boom referred to above had begun by 1679. The local woodwind makers would surely have taken advantage by switching to the new-style instruments.

John Hall (A 22 June 1669 to Christopher Keene, F 4 July 1677)
 son of Samuel of London, marriner [mariner]
 bap 21 Jan 1656, St Botolph Aldgate (parents Samuel and Susan)⁹⁸
 Jly 1689 poll tax: Scroops Court & wife 0–2–0 [2s]
 1691–92 St Andrew Holborn poll tax: Scroops Ct, flutemaker and his wife, 0–2–0 [2s]; Alice Kennarston ser. 0–1–0 [1s]
 1696 St Andrew Holborn baptismal register: in Smiths Co^{rt} in Holborn
 'two new Flutes made by Hall' advertised 1700⁹⁹
 Apps: Matthias Hall (son of John and Mary bap 8 Mar 1696, St Andrew Holborn; P1721); 5 not F (A1690, 1696, [1718, 1728, 1729])¹⁰⁰

⁹³ Wiltshire & Swindon Archives, 1900/5; information from Robert Jago, Archivist.

⁹⁴ LMA, P69/DUN2/A/01/Ms 10348; olim GL, Ms 10348; digitized image on ancestry.com.

⁹⁵ LMA, P69/DUN2/A/018/MS10350; olim GL, Ms 10,350; digitized image on ancestry.com.

⁹⁶ Halfpenny, 'Biographical Notices', p.46.

⁹⁷ See David Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540–1740', PhD Dissertation, University of Iowa, 1983, pp.317–27.

⁹⁸ LMA, P69/BOT2/A/004/MS09224; olim GL, Ms 9224; digitized image on ancestry.com.

⁹⁹ See Lasocki, 'New Light', p.74.

¹⁰⁰ Another Turner named John Hall makes an appearance in the records at this time, so it becomes impossible to distinguish their apprentices.

- Joseph Grinstead (A 5 Jly 1669 to William Debnam, F 5 Sep 1676)
son of John of Westbradley [West Bradley], Somerset, yeoman
Mary dau of Joseph and Mary born 20 bap 25 Jly 1681, St Gregory by St Paul
Joseph son b 30 Oct bap 12 Nov 1682, ditto
Marabella dau b 9 bap 30 Mar 1684, ditto
Anne dau b and bap 24 Dec 1685, ditto
Frances dau b 3 bap 20 Feb 1687, ditto
William and Susanna, twins, b and bap 2 Sep 1689; William bur 13 Nov 1690, ditto
William Hendrak son born 28 Jan bap 2 Feb 1692, ditto
John son bur 14 Aug 1694, ditto
1695 marriage assessment with wife Mary, sons Joseph, Francis, William, daus Mary, Susanna, St Gregory by St Paul
bur 14 Oct 1719, ditto
Apps: William Allen (A1688/1692, F1700), John Gideon Taylor (A1704, F1711), Henry Hughes (A1711, F1720); 12 not F (A1683, 1684, 1689, 1691, 1695, 1700, 1702, 1707, 1710, 1711, 1714, 1718)
- John Rayment (A 8 Jun 1670 to Christopher Keene, F 4 Jly 1677)
son of Thomas of Bennington [Benington], Herts, husbandman
Apps: *Clement Palmer (A1694, F1701), Abraham Crosse (A1702, F1710), *Edward Knowles (A1708, turned over to Rayment 1710); 6 not F (A 1680, 1682, 1684, 1692, 1700, 1714)
- Joseph Woodward (A 20 Feb 1671 to William Shelley, F 4 Sep 1678)
son of Matthew of Hexon [Hexton], Herts, yeoman
bap 14 Jul 1655, Hexton (parents Matthew and Anna)¹⁰¹
d. by 4 May 1726 when widow Anne took A
Apps: *Richard Cox (A1693, F1700), Henry Wickenden (A1700, F1714), Joseph Canfield (A1710, F1721); 6 not F (A1680, 1685, 1686, 1698, 1703, 1708); another A to widow (1726)
- John Walter(s) (A 1 Oct 1672 to John Greene, F 2 Aug 1682)
son of Thomas of Berhamstead [Berkhamsted], Herts, baker
App: John Mollins (A1691, F1698)
- Thomas Elmes (A 5 May 1674 to John Elmes, F 3 Aug 1681)
son of Robert of Northwick, Wigorn [Worcester], husbandman
Martha dau of Thomas and Martha bap 24 Feb 1685, St Michael Crooked Lane
Sara ditto bap 4 Mar 1688, ditto
Humphrey son of ditto bap 22 Apr 1690, ditto
1695 marriage assessment with wife Martha, son Humphrey, daus Elizabeth and Sarah, servants George Ringwood and Edward Marsey, St Michael Crooked Lane
wife Martha bur 17 Oct 1697 in the churchyard, ditto
bur 9 Jun 1709 in the churchyard, ditto
Will made 14 May, proved 16 Jun 1709.
Bequests totaling £20 10s. Estate to children Humphrey, Elizabeth Nisbett and Sarah.¹⁰²
Apps: *John Bartholomew (A1685, F1692), George Ringwood (A1692, F1699), Daniell Douse (A1700, F1707), John Linford (A1707, turned over to Edward Hills 1709, turned over to John Woodward 1710, F1721); 1 not F (A1695)
- William White (A 7 Apr 1675 to John Greene, F 3 May 1682)
son of John of Marsh Gibourne [Marsh Gibbon], Bucks, husbandman
1716+: 'in Grubb Street Turner'¹⁰³
App: *Thomas White (A1686, F1693)
- Henry Barnsl[e]y (A 23 Nov 1676 to William Whitehill, F 5 Dec 1683)
son of Henry of Bromsgrove, Worcs, gent.
bap 24 Jun 1661, Bromsgrove¹⁰⁴
dau Anne of Henry and Elizabeth bap 21 Jun 1686, St Michael Crooked Lane
Apps: James Sones (A1685, F1692), *John Howell (A1698, F1707), *Thomas Barnsley (A1707, F1718)

¹⁰¹ IGI.¹⁰² Son-in-law Robert Nisbett 5s. Dau Elizabeth Nisbett 5s. Dau Sarah Elmes silver cup and spoon, bed and bedding. Son Humphrey Elmes £20, clothes after apprenticeship, silver watch, bed and bedding. Residue of estate to children.¹⁰³ Grub Street, now Milton Street, ran between Chiswell Street and Fore Street, near the church of St Giles Cripplegate. 'Since the 17th century, when Andrew Marvell coined the phrase "Grub Street", it has been used in connection with needy authors and literary hacks'. (*London Encyclopedia*, p.343.)¹⁰⁴ IGI.

George Siddall (A 5 Dec 1676 to father, John Siddall, F 2 Jan 1684, presumably kept by widow)
 Apps: son John Siddall II (P1705); 9 not F (A1684, 1685, 1696, 1700, 1701, 1703, 1704, 1704, 1707)

William Smith (A 9 Aug 1677 to **Thomas Garrett**, F 3 Dec 1690)
 son of William of Martyn [Marton], Warwicks, clerke
 1691–92 St Andrew Holborn poll tax: Fetter Lane, wife & child, 0–3–0
 c. Jan 1695 Farringdon Ward Without poll tax: [Fetter Lane] Blewett's Bldgs & wife
 Aug 1698 St Andrew Holborn poll tax: Fetter Lane flutemaker & wife
 bur 10 March 1711, St Andrew Holborn
 Apps: Edward Compton (A1707, F1718); 1 not F (A1691)

George Hutchinson Senior (A 3 Aug 1681 to William Roulston, F 4 Dec 1689)
 son of George of Amberley, Sussex, clerk [clerk] bap 14 Jly 1665, Amberley (parents George and Elizabeth)¹⁰⁵
 1695 marriage assessment, bachelor, St Mary Abchurch, servants Michael Molde, Francis Skempton, John Palmer (an app of Roulston), Magdalen Berry
 son of George and Mary, bap 22 Apr 1705, St Sepulchre Fleet Lane
 Apps: *Francis Scampton (A1691, F1698), *Michael Mole Senior (A1693, F1700), Peter Cox (A1700, F1707), John Goodfellow (A1710, F1718; 1716+: 'in Bell Yard turner'; Will made 26 Aug 1752, proved 26 June 1754, of St Dunstan-

in-the-West¹⁰⁶), Johathan Blundell (A to Isaac Pendred 1712; turned over to Hutchinson 1717, F1719), Darius Deek (A1715, F1723), *George Hutchinson Junior (P1726), Jacob Rhodes (A1718, F1726); 1 not F (A1706)

Thomas Stanesby Senior (A 7 Jun 1682 to **Thomas Garrett**, F 7 Oct 1691)
 son of John of Moorlylme [Morley Lyme], Derbys, yeoman; (John bur 5 Sep 1690; wife Martha d. 1686)¹⁰⁷
 mar Mary Kilpin, 4 May 1690, St Marylebone¹⁰⁸
 Elizabeth dau of Thomas and Mary bap 13 Feb 1691, St Dunstan-in-the-West;¹⁰⁹ mar Samuel Welder, goldsmith, 24 Feb 1714, St Bride Fleet Street;¹¹⁰ mentioned in Will, 1734; d. by Thomas Junior's Will, made 1752
 son *Thomas bap 25 Dec 1692, St Bride Fleet Street
 dau Mary bap 17 Mar 1694, St Bride Fleet Street; d. 1696¹¹¹
 son Richard b. 1697;¹¹² not mentioned in Will, 1734
 dau Martha b. 1698;¹¹³ mar Charles Alchorne (app to Welder 1721¹¹⁴) 1 Sep 1729, St Bride; mentioned in Will, 1734; widowed by 1752 (Thomas Junior's Will)
 1716+: 'in Stone Cutter Street by the Ditch Syde'; annual rent £9¹¹⁵
 Will made 11 Jly, proved 12 Sep 1734.¹¹⁶
 Bequests: Thomas junior, 'all my pattern Instruments¹¹⁷ with all my working Tools and a Seal Ring' as well as £40 after the death of his mother. Elizabeth and Martha plain rings. Wife Mary motto ring and residue of

¹⁰⁵ *IGI*.

¹⁰⁶ National Archives, PROB 11/809.

¹⁰⁷ Byrne, 'Some More', p.121.

¹⁰⁸ Halfpenny, 'Further Light', p.59.

¹⁰⁹ Microfilm of register held by London Metropolitan Archives; e-mail message from Wendy Hawke, Senior Archivist, 22 November 2010.

¹¹⁰ Halfpenny, 'Further Light', p.59; Byrne, 'Some More', p.121.

¹¹¹ Halfpenny, 'Biographical Notices', p.49; 'Further Light', p.60.

¹¹² Halfpenny, 'Further Light', p.60.

¹¹³ Halfpenny, 'Further Light', p.60.

¹¹⁴ Byrne, 'Some More', p.121.

¹¹⁵ Halfpenny, 'Biographical Notices', p.49.

¹¹⁶ National Archives, PROB 11/667. He therefore died between these two dates. Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, p.380, and *Grove Music Online*, s.v. 'Stanesby', by Friedrich von Huene (accessed 3 November 2010) both give the death date less accurately as July/August 1734.

¹¹⁷ Halfpenny quotes 'pattern instruments' without comment, and we have not seen anyone else comment on them. They were presumably workshop prototypes (pointed out by Ardal Powell, e-mail message to David Lasocki, 6 November 2010).

estate ('Goods and Chattles Bonds Notes Securityes Book debts and all my personal Estate').

widow Mary bur 1 Apr 1743, St Pancras¹¹⁸
App: Edward Wallis (A1703; immediately turned over to John Stanesby, citizen and cooper of London), ***Thomas Stanesby Junior** (A1707, F1728)

The modern writings on Stanesby Senior have already been cited.¹¹⁹ For a comprehensive list of his surviving instruments (13 recorders, 1 flute, 8 oboes, and 1 bassoon), see Young.¹²⁰

Morris Hutchins (A 6 Sep 1682 to William Roulston, F 5 Apr 1704)
son of Morris of Hamsted [Hampstead] Norreys, Berks, maulster, dec.
Apps: *George Webster (A1708, F1727), Humphry Hill (A1716, F1728); 1 not F (A1712)

Joseph Bradbury (A 5 November 1684 to **Thomas Garrett** for 8 years, not F)¹²¹
son of William of Stableford [Stapleford], Herts, turner
bap 25 Aug 1670, Stapleford (parents William and Jane)¹²²

Halfpenny noted that Bradbury 'was an almost exactly contemporary of Stanesby I ... beside whom he worked for five years as a fellow apprentice in the workshop of Thomas Garrett, their master'.¹²³ The Turners' records, however, say nothing about how long Bradbury remained an apprentice of Garrett. They show only that Stanesby had been apprenticed for about a year and a half before Bradbury arrived.

Bradbury's surviving instruments (5 recorders and 2 oboes) are listed in Young.¹²⁴

John Bartholomew (A 30 May 1685 to Thomas Elmes, F 5 Oct 1692)
son of William of London, stolemaker
perhaps bap 23 Aug 1672, St Giles Cripplegate (parents William and Mary)
Mary dau of John and Elizabeth bap 21 Apr 1695, St Michael Crooked Lane
William son ditto bap 21 Mar 1697, St Michael Crooked Lane
John son ditto bur 28 Jly 1701
John son ditto bur 30 Mar 1705
John son of John and Margaret bur 9 Jan 1709
1695 marriage assessment with wife Elizabeth and daus, St Michael Crooked Lane
bur 22 Sep 1715 in the church
Apps: William Manforth (A1697, F1704), *William Bartholomew (P1719)

Thomas White (A 2 Jun 1686 to William White, F 7 Jun 1693)
son of John of Marsh Gibbon, Berks, yeoman
bap 1670, Marsh Gibbon¹²⁵
Apps: Edward Holland (A1700, F1707 by William Dwyte), John White (P1725); 1 not F (A1693)

John Palmer (A 3 Aug 1687 to William Roulston, F 3 Oct 1695)
son of Henry of Whartock [Martock], Somerset, gent., dec.
In 1695 was apparently living with *George Hutchinson Senior
Apps: Richard Nicholas (A1707, F1714; 1716+: 'on London Bridge'), Henry Palmer (A1713, P1722; 1716+: 'near Wood Street Counter';¹²⁶ 4 not F (A1700, 1702, 1709, 1718)

¹¹⁸ Byrne, 'Some More', p.120.

¹¹⁹ Halfpenny, 'Biographical Notices', pp.49–50, and 'Further Light', pp.59–60.

¹²⁰ Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments: An Inventory of 200 Makers in International Collections* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), pp.219–20.

¹²¹ Eric Halfpenny, 'The English 2- and 3-Keyed Hautboy', *GSJ* II (1949), pp.10–26, calls him from a maker's mark only 'Jo. Bradbury'. But the forename Joseph was already known to Halfpenny ten years later ('Biographical Notices', p.45), so Mary Kirkpatrick, 'Another Oboe by Jonathan Bradbury: Restoration and Comparison', *GSJ* XXXIII (1980), pp.106–10, was mistaken in calling him Jonathan. Her error was already pointed out by Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, p.42.

¹²² *IGI*.

¹²³ Halfpenny, 'Biographical Notices', p.45.

¹²⁴ Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, p.35.

¹²⁵ *IGI*.

¹²⁶ Wood Street Counter or Compter was a small prison, mostly for debtors, on the east side of Wood Street, a few yards from Cheapside, between the present Love Lane and Gresham Street.

George Wright (A 5 Sep 1688 to William Roulston, F 3 Oct 1695)

son of George of Moseley, Worcs, gent., dec.
a man of this name mar Roulston's dau Jane by 1698

William son of George and Sarah bur 30 May 1701, St Michael Crooked Lane

a female child ditto bur 22 Dec 1701, ditto

Mary dau ditto bur 38 Apr 1709, ditto

a man of this name bur 13 Nov 1730

Apps: Robert Middleton (A1700, F1709), Thomas Powell (A1704, F1712; d. c. 1729¹²⁷), Edward Chambers (A1709, F1716; 1716+: 'beyond sea'), *Richard Gore (A1717, F1724), Joseph Webb (A1723, F1735); 3 not F (A1697, 1707, 1711)

Henry Iliffe (A 22 Nov 1688 to William Roulston, F 7 Jun 1699 by John Kiffitt, Haberdasher)

son of Richard of Kibworth, Leics, yeoman

bap 3 Jan 1672, Kibworth Beauchamp¹²⁸

1695 marriage assessment: servant to Matthew Page (there was a turner of that name¹²⁹)

Thomas son of Henry and Elizabeth, bap 17 July 1706, St Botolph Aldersgate¹³⁰

1716+: 'in Aldersgate Streete by the Bell Inne'

Will made 20 Mar 1750, proved 7 Nov 1751.¹³¹

'Turner'. Bequests totaling £197 2s.¹³² Owned property in Harefield, Middlesex.

Apps: *Thomas Iliffe (P1733); 1 not F (A1715)

Francis Scampton (A 2 Dec 1691 to George Hutchinson Senior, F 7 Dec 1698)

son of Henry, citizen and carpenter of London, dec.

presumably d. by 23 Jly 1703 when A turned over Apps: Thomas Jenkins (A1699, turned over to John Castell 1703, F1708), *Peter Field (A1701, F1708); 1 not F (A1703)

John Ashbury (R 6 March 1700)¹³³

son Charles A to Richard Bullock, November 1698,¹³⁴ not F

Ashbury is unusual not only in buying his Freedom of the Turners Company, but also in having a documented parallel career as a musician.¹³⁵ If his son Charles was around 15 when he was apprenticed, John would have married by 1683, probably having finished an apprenticeship elsewhere, and been born around 1660 or earlier. He is first documented on 12 April 1690, when he was sworn in as fife at Court, replacing Clement Newth (buried 22 March). He is recorded again at Court in 1694, and still listed as fife in *New State of England* (1702) but is absent from the 1703 edition.¹³⁶

On his surviving trade card Ashbury described himself as 'Major Hautboy' in the Foot Guards. The card, reproduced by Langwill, also states that Ashbury 'Makes all sorts of Wind MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS vizt. Flutes, Hautboys, Bassoons &c. Allso Punch Bowles. He being the first Inventor of the Foundation or Pump Punch Bowl. And allso turns all manner of Curious works in any sort of hard WOOD or IVORY and Setts in Artificiall

¹²⁷ Will, National Archives, PROB 11/633, made 17 Apr 1721, proved 12 Nov 1729.

¹²⁸ The Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland, DE5417/1; information from Clive Chandler, Senior Archives Assistant.

¹²⁹ Will, National Archives, PROB 11/518, made 9 Aug 1709, proved 11 Dec 1710.

¹³⁰ *IGI*.

¹³¹ National Archives, PROB 11/791.

¹³² Nephew Richard Iliffe £100. Mary, wife of Samuel Robinson of Nether Kibworth, Leics, £30. Thomas Carter of Upper Kibworth, Leics, £10. Grace, wife of Thomas Langton of Clipson, Northants or Leics [in Leics, near Northants border], £20. Three children of William Swingler late of Mowsley, Leics, £5 each at age 21. John Birch of Christs Hospital £10 at 21. Christian Iliffe dau of nephew Thomas Iliffe £10 at 21. Friend John Illingworth of Stanhope Street, Middlesex, 1 guinea. Samuel Taylor, app of dau-in-law Mary Iliffe, and Mary servant to Mary 1 guinea each. Copyhold estates in parish of Harefield, Middlesex, and residue of estate to nephew Thomas Iliffe of Coventry.

¹³³ Halfpenny, 'Biographical Notices', p.45 gives the date when Ashbury became free of the Company as 6 March 1699, but that is Old Style.

¹³⁴ Cited in Halfpenny, 'Biographical Notices', p.45.

¹³⁵ See also Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki with Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714* (Aldershot & Brookfield VT: Ashgate, 1998), vol.I, pp.30–31.

¹³⁶ Guy Miège, *The New State of England, under our Present Sovereign Queen Anne*, 4th ed. with supp. (London, 1702), pt, III, p.87; 5th ed. (London, 1703), p.482.

Teeth at his House at ye Corner of Peters Court in St. Martin's Lane in the Fields'.¹³⁷ This is beautiful documentation of a London woodwind maker also being a general turner. Halfpenny suggests that the trade card was printed to advertise Ashbury's opening in new premises around 1698, the date of his first appearance in the rate books; and in any case the card cannot have been later than 1702, as it refers to William [III].¹³⁸ Ashbury would have been at least 40 when he entered the Turners Company. Halfpenny found it curious that Ashbury would have done so, because 'he was then living beyond the City [of London] liberties with no apparent obligation to the Company'. But as we have seen, the Company had the power to regulate turning within five miles of the City. Ashbury's name disappears from the rate books around 1704, but only the burial of a 'Robert Ashbery' is noted in the parish registers (on 1 April) that year.

The James Talbot manuscript (c1695) mentions a tenor oboe 'entire made by Ashbury'.¹³⁹ No instruments by him seem to have survived.

Michael Mole Senior (A 5 Apr 1693 to George Hutchinson Senior, F 10 Apr 1700)
son of Michael of parish of North Moulton [Molton], Devon, tailor
bap 7 Sep 1680, North Molton (parents Michael Mole and Margery Eames)¹⁴⁰
d. by 21 Jan 1718 when described as deceased in binding record for son, *Michael Junior
Apps: *Stephen Chambers Senior (A1703, F1710), *John Squire (A1709, F1718)

Richard Cox (A 6 Sep 1693 to Joseph Woodward, F 2 Oct 1700)
son of Richard of Wolverhampton, Staffs, clothier [clothier], dec.
Apps: *Richard Holderness (A1708, turned over to Edward Allison 1709); 4 not F (1708, 1713, 1717, 1718)

Clement Palmer (A 28 Mar 1694 to John Rayment, F 8 Jan 1701)
son of Clement, citizen and grocer of London, dec.

Apps: John Benn (A1701, F1710); 1 not F (A1701)

John Lathbury (A 17 Jly 1694 to Christopher Keene, turned over to John Rayment 23 Jan 1699, F 12 Nov 1701)

son of Richard of Burnham, Bucks, farmer
Marthah dau of John and Jane bap 3 Oct 1708, St Michael Crooked Lane

App: *Edward Knowles (A1708, turned over to Rayment 1710)

John Howell (A 7 Dec 1698 to Henry Barnsley, F 2 Jly 1707)

son of William of parish of Shoreditch, Middlesex, Labourer

Apps: John Caney (A1707, F1718); 1 not F (brother A1717)

Peter Field (A 5 Apr 1701 to Francis Scampton, F 16 Apr 1708)

son of Lawrence, citizen and silkthrower of London

Apps: Edward Crowther (A1709, F1716); 1 not F (A1718)

Stephen Chambers Senior (A 7 Apr 1703 to Michael Mole Senior, F 6 Sep 1710)

son of Edward of parish of Aldegate, London, labourer, dec.

bap 5 Jun 1687, St Botolph Aldersgate (parents Edward and Mary)¹⁴¹

1716+: 'in Bridgwaters Gardens in Barbican at ye sign of the Fish'¹⁴²

Apps: *James Dancer (A1736, F1743), Stephen Chambers Junior (P1744), Joseph Chambers (P1749; b 1, bap 24 Oct 1725, St Giles Cripplegate, parents Stephen Chambers Turner and Elizabeth)¹⁴³

¹³⁷ Lyndesay G. Langwill, *An Inventory of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers*, 6th ed. (Edinburgh: author, 1980), p.4.

¹³⁸ Halfpenny, 'Biographical Notices', p.45.

¹³⁹ Anthony Baines, 'James Talbot's Manuscript (Christ Church Library Music MS 1187): I. Wind Instruments', *GSJ* I (1948), p.14.

¹⁴⁰ *IGI*.

¹⁴¹ LMA, P69/BOT1/A/01/Ms 3854/2; olim GL, 3854/2; digitized image on ancestry.com.

¹⁴² Bridgwaters Gardens was approximately where Fann Street is today, between Aldersgate Street and Golden Lane.

¹⁴³ LMA, P69/GIS/A/01/Ms 6419/15; olim GL, MS 6419/15; digitized image on ancestry.com.

Thomas Stanesby Junior (A 5 Feb 1707 to father, F 3 Apr 1728; Master, 31 May 1739–6 May 1741)¹⁴⁴

son of ***Thomas Stanesby Senior**

bap 25 Dec 1692, St Bride Fleet Street¹⁴⁵

1716+: ‘Thomas Stanesby the younger in Fleetstreet near St Dunstans Church’

wife Alice, probably bur 12 April 1743, St Pancras¹⁴⁶

d. Brompton, Middlesex, 2 Mar 1754; bur same day, St Pancras¹⁴⁷

Will made 6 Oct 1752, proved 2 Mar 1754;¹⁴⁸

‘Wind Musical Instrument Maker in the Temple Exchange Fleet Street in the parish of Saint Dunstan in the West London’. Asks to be buried in churchyard of St Pancras near late wife. £1,600 in ‘the Joint Stock called three per centum annuities of the year 1726’;¹⁴⁹ £500 in stock to nephews and nieces (sons and daus of late sister Elizabeth Welder); £100 in stock to sister Elizabeth Alchorne widow; £5 each from interest to her two sons (already been given £600 in stock by another ‘relation’). To late app Gedney ‘all my Working Tools Materials for Work and all my unfinished Work’ provided he demonstrate his ‘intermarriage between him and my late Servant Catherine Gale but not otherwise’; ‘friend and ally Mr. Nathaniel Patten’ (a procurator-general of the ecclesiastical Court of Arches¹⁵⁰) all books and pamphlets except accounts; £1,000 in stock to Mrs. Rebecca Henrietta Maria Brown ‘who now lives with me’, also made executrix. Brown died on 3 Apr 1754, and on 26 Apr Stanesby’s property ‘left unadministered’ transferred to her executor and brother, Thomas Stone; the ensuing court case is summarized by Byrne.¹⁵¹

Apps: ***Caleb Gedney** (A1743, F1750); 1 not F (William Sheridan A1737)

The modern writings on Stanesby Junior have already been cited.¹⁵² For a comprehensive list of his surviving instruments (17 recorders, 2 fifes, 47 flutes, 6 oboes, and 3 bassoons), see Young.¹⁵³

Thomas Barnsley (A 6 Aug 1707 to Henry Barnsley, F 5 Mar 1718)

son of John of Bridgnorth, Salop, tuinman [gardener?]

1716+: ‘on Saffron Hill’ / ‘now in Chequer Alley’ / in ‘Moorefeilds att ye Sheeves’¹⁵⁴

Apps: 3 not F (A1718, 1723, 1726)

Edward Knowles (A 31 Mar 1708 to John Lathbury, turned over to John Rayment 5 Jly 1710, F 6 Apr 1715)

son of Edward, citizen and scrivener of London, dec.

1716+: ‘on London Bridge Hardwareman’

Apps: John Hunt (A1725, F1733; hardwareman), Rowland Minors (A1727, F1734), Richard Knowles (A1732, F1741); 2 not F (A1716, 1735)

Richard Holderness (A 8 Jly 1708 to Richard Cox; turned over to Edward Allison 7 Jly 1709; F 7 Jan 1730)

son of Richard of Henley, Oxon, waterman

Apps: Daniel Holderness (A1735, F1745), John Colby (A1742, F1749)

George Webster (A 26 Aug 1708 to Morris Hutchins, F 2 Aug 1727)

son of George of parish of Stepney, Middlesex, surgeon, dec.

1716+: ‘in Cheswell [Chiswell] Street neare the

¹⁴⁴ Byrne, ‘Some More’, p.115, reported Stanesby’s apprenticeship on 5 February 1706, but that was Old Style dating. Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, p.380, and *Grove Music Online*, s.v. ‘Stanesby’, repeat that Stanesby was apprenticed in 1706. Master information from Stanley-Short, *Worshipful Company*, p.294; Champness, *Worshipful Company*, p.254.

¹⁴⁵ Halfpenny, ‘Biographical Notices’, p.49.

¹⁴⁶ Byrne, ‘Some More’, pp.119–20.

¹⁴⁷ Byrne, ‘Some More’, pp.116, 120.

¹⁴⁸ National Archives, PROB 11/667.

¹⁴⁹ For details of the stock, see Halfpenny, ‘Further Light’, pp.61–62.

¹⁵⁰ Byrne, ‘Some More’, p.120.

¹⁵¹ Byrne, ‘Some More’, pp.117–20.

¹⁵² Halfpenny, ‘Biographical Notices’ and ‘Further Light’; Byrne, ‘Some More’; Lasocki, ‘New Light’, pp.95–96.

¹⁵³ Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, pp.220–23.

¹⁵⁴ Saffron Hill still exists just west of Farringdon Road. Chequer Alley was off Whitecross Street, between Chiswell Street and Old Street. Moor Fields was a large area of drained fields east of what is now Moorgate—Finsbury Pavement—City Road.

- Artillery Ground Turner'
App: John Wells (A1727, F1735)
- John Squire (A 16 Feb 1709 to Michael Mole Senior, F 8 Jan 1718)
son of Robert, citizen and barbersurgeon [barber surgeon] of London
Apps: *Michael Mole Junior (A1718, F1725); 3 not F (A1721, 1726, 1733)
- William Bartholomew (P 4 Mar 1719)
son of *John
bap 21 Mar 1697, St Michael Crooked Lane 1716+: 'in Crooked Lane'
Apps: John Whinyard (A1730, F1737), John Bartholomew II (P1749; d. 10–26 Apr 1764, 'of Miles Lane', St Michael Crooked Lane; also owned property in Boxford, Suffolk, and Cheshunt, Hertfordshire;¹⁵⁵ listed under turners—'none but real workers in Ivory and Hard Wood'—in Mortimer's *Universal Director*, 1763¹⁵⁶), Thomas Emlyn (A1742, F1749), William Cooke (A1742, F1750); 2 not F (A1720, 1734)
- Richard Gore (A 26 Oct 1716 to George Wright, F 2 Dec 1724)
son of Christopher of Asha [Esher], Surrey, gent., dec.
1716+: 'in Cannon Street Hardwareman'
Apps: Peter Whitmore (A1725, F1733), Richard Hobbs (A1733, F1740), Allington Morley (A1748, F1755); 4 not F (A1730, 1737, 1738, 1740)
- Michael Mole Junior (A 21 Jan 1718 to John Squire, F 3 Feb 1725)
son of *Michael Senior, dec.
1716+: 'Black Swan Court in Cannon Street'¹⁵⁷
Presumably the Michael Mole, Crooked Lane, listed under fish-hook and fishing-tackle makers in Mortimer's *Universal Director* (1763)¹⁵⁸
- Apps: Richard Grunsell (A1729, F1736), William Mole (P1751); 3 not F (A1734, 1737, 1744)
- George Hutchinson Junior (P 4 May 1726)
son of *George Senior
son of George and Mary, bap 22 Apr 1705, St Sepulchre Fleet Lane 1716+: 'on Snow Hill'¹⁵⁹
Will made 17 Apr, proved 10 May 1762.¹⁶⁰ Estate to wife Martha.
Apps: Charles Facer (A1729, F1737), William Limby (A1743, F1750), John Yates (A1751, F1758); 2 not F (A1736, 1739)
- Thomas Iliffe (P 4 Apr 1733)
son of *Henry
bap 17 July 1706, St Botolph Aldersgate (parents Henry and Elizabeth)¹⁶¹
not mentioned in father's Will, made 20 Mar 1750
App: Samuel Taylor (A1746, F1754)
- James Dancer (A 4 Feb 1736 to Stephen Chambers Senior, F 16 Jun 1743)
son of Robert of parish of St Andrew Holborn, joiner
Apps: Thomas Mills (A 1746, F1753); 1 not F (A1755, turned over to Eleanor, widow of John Watson, late citizen and joiner of London, 1757)
- Caleb Gedney** (A 19 Oct 1743 to **Thomas Stanesby Junior**, F 7 Nov 1750)
son of Caleb of London, tobacconist
bap 3 Oct 1726, St Bride Fleet Street (parents Caleb and Ann)¹⁶²
Catherine dau of Caleb and Catherine, bap 23 Apr 1749, St Luke Old Street;¹⁶³ 'minor ... by and with the Consent of Caleb Gedney the Natural Lawful Father', mar 'Florio Grassi', 12 Apr 1766, St Dunstan-in-the-West, 'both of this parish'.¹⁶⁴ Haman son of Florio and

¹⁵⁵ Will, National Archives, PROB 11/897.

¹⁵⁶ Mortimer, *Universal Director*, pp.78–79.

¹⁵⁷ Just west of Laurence Poultney Lane.

¹⁵⁸ Mortimer, *Universal Director*, p.36.

¹⁵⁹ Close to St Sepulchre church.

¹⁶⁰ National Archives, PROB 11/876.

¹⁶¹ *IGL*.

¹⁶² LMA, P69/BRI/A/01/Ms 6550; olim GL, Ms 6550; digitized image on ancestry.com. It is claimed in Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, p.130, alas repeated in Lasocki, 'New Light', p.95, that Gedney was born in 1729.

¹⁶³ Byrne, 'Some More', p.116.

¹⁶⁴ LMA, P69/DUN2/A/01/Ms 10354/2; olim GL, Ms 10354/2; digitized image on ancestry.com. An advertisement by Lewis Augustus Lavenue, the music publisher who bought up Florio's manuscript music, confirms that he went by Grassi rather than Pietro (*Morning Chronicle*, 23 January 1796; *True Briton*, 29 April 1796).

Catherine Grassi b 17 Dec 1769, bap 21 Jan 1770, 'Fleet Street'.¹⁶⁵ Pietro Grassi Florio (d. 1795) was one of the leading London flautists of his day.¹⁶⁶

Ann dau of Caleb and Catherine, b 24 Aug bap 15 Sep 1751, St James Clerkenwell¹⁶⁷

Elizabeth dau of Caleb and Catherine, bap 26 Nov 1758, St Dunstan-in-the-West;¹⁶⁸ bur 4 Aug 1759, ditto, 'Fleet Street'¹⁶⁹

Stanesby Junior made it a condition of his bequest to Gedney (1752/1754) that he marry Stanesby's former servant Catherine Gale (with whom Gedney had had the two children). It may have been because the children were illegitimate that Gedney had Catherine and Ann baptized outside his parish and outside the City.

d. 8 May 1769; bur 14 May, St Dunstan-in-the-West, 'East Vault'¹⁷⁰

In a court case in 1754, Gedney testified that he was apprenticed on 21 April 1741, and after his freedom he continued to work for Stanesby daily at his apartments until the latter's death, when he took over the business (at the Temple Exchange Coffee House, Fleet Street, living above it).¹⁷¹ Similarly, announcing himself as Stanesby's successor in a newspaper advertisement in 1754, Gedney said he had lived with him 'as Apprentice and Journeyman ever since the year 1741'.¹⁷² Note that this was two years before the apprenticeship was registered with the Company, thus breaking the rule that this should be

done within two months. The two-year journeyman step was mandated by the 1608 Ordinances of the Company, if often flouted.

Summoned on Election Day, 23 May 1754, Gedney 'was excused from coming on to the livery for the present'. By 1759, however, he was on the Livery.¹⁷³ On 7 November 1764, 'Caleb Gedney one of the Stewards Elect, appeared and agreed and undertook to serve the said office and to bear one equal moiety [half] of the expense of the Dinner and Entertainment to be provided for the Company on next Lord Mayor's Day'.¹⁷⁴ The cost of such a dinner was high: £24 2s 2d in 1756.¹⁷⁵

For a list of Gedney's surviving instruments (3 flutes, 3 oboes, 2 clarinets, and 2 bassoons), see Young.¹⁷⁶ He evidently also dealt in musical instruments, as Sir Samuel Hellier bought a French serpent from him in 1768.¹⁷⁷

GEDNEY'S DAUGHTERS AND FLORIO

On 2 June 1769, less than a month after their father's death, Catherine and Ann Gedney announced themselves as his successors, 'at the Temple-Exchange Coffee-house, Fleet-street, and under the inspection of Mr. Miller, their guardian', having been 'brought up in the business, and finished most of the instruments for some years, in their father's life time'.¹⁷⁸ Since the girls had a guardian, their mother must have died a little earlier.

The new discovery of Catherine's early marriage to the flautist Pietro Grassi Florio prompts some new musings. Since we now know that they had

¹⁶⁵ LMA, P69/DUN2/A/01/Ms 10351; olim GL, Ms 10351; digitized image on ancestry.com. This son, later known as Charles Haiman Florio (d. 1819), became a flautist, pianist, singer, and composer. Obituary, *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle* 65, no. 1 (July 1795), p.618. Relationship to father confirmed in *Sun*, 17 October 1798. See also *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* 5 (1978), s.v. 'Florio, Charles Haiman'; and Michael Burden, 'Mara, Gertrud Elisabeth (1749–1833)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed., May 2006; <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18024>, consulted 24 November 2010.

¹⁶⁶ See David Lasocki, *Florio's Breathing Flute: The Life of Pietro Grassi Florio and the Making of Florio Flutes* (e-book, www.instantharmony.net 2012). See also *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* vol.5 (1978), s.v. 'Florio, Pietro Grassi'; *Grove Music Online*, s.v. 'Florio, Pietro Grassi', consulted 23 November 2010.

¹⁶⁷ LMA, P76/JS1, Item 010; digitized image on ancestry.com; Byrne, 'Some More', p.116.

¹⁶⁸ LMA, P69/DUN2/A/01/Ms 10351; digitized image on ancestry.com.

¹⁶⁹ LMA, P69/DUN2/A/01/Ms 10353; olim GL, MS 10353; digitized image on ancestry.com.

¹⁷⁰ Lasocki, 'New Light', p.95; LMA, P69/DUN2/A/01/Ms 10353; Halfpenny, 'Further Light', p.64.

¹⁷¹ Byrne, 'Some More', p.119; Byrne, 'Schuchart', p.8.

¹⁷² Quoted in Byrne, 'Some More', p.117.

¹⁷³ Byrne, 'Some More', p.115.

¹⁷⁴ Champness, *Worshipful Company*, p.81.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.80.

¹⁷⁶ Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, p.85.

¹⁷⁷ See Catherine Frew and Arnold Myers, "Sir Samuel Hellier's 'Musical Instruments,'" *GSJ LVI* (2003), p.15.

¹⁷⁸ Lasocki, 'New Light', p.96.

already been married for three years when Caleb died, the point of mentioning the guardian in the announcement may have been to advertise the association with Miller – probably John Miller (1700/1–1770), London’s leading bassoonist, who had already been advertised as approving Caleb’s bassoons in 1754. Since Florio evidently approved of his wife continuing in the woodwind-making business, the chances are that it lasted for a while. The surviving six-keyed flute marked CALEB / GEDNEY / LONDON on all the joints and 1769 on the foot may well have been made by his daughters.¹⁷⁹

Scholars have tried to refute the impression gained from the title pages of flute tutors published from 1766 onwards, and keyed flutes marketed under the trade name *Florio*, that Florio and Tacet had anything to do with the invention of the six-keyed flute other than acting as vehicles to publicize it. But Florio may have been connected with this invention. A report by someone who worked as a maker for Florio’s opera colleague Teobaldo Monzani that Florio had his ‘daughter’ make flutes with a C-foot may refer to her.¹⁸⁰ *Florio* flutes had come onto the market by 1771.¹⁸¹ Measurements establish that they stemmed from another woodwind workshop, the Two Flutes and Hautboy owned by Thomas Collier, although they bear a close resemblance to the 1769 Gedney instrument. The Gedney, *Florio*, and Collier instruments all had keywork by John Hale. Florio also seems to have played for ‘a long time’ on a flute made by Collier rather than the Gedney workshop.¹⁸² Clearly, the Gedney sisters and Collier had a close business relationship. The new *Florio* flutes therefore seem to have celebrated Catherine’s famous husband and perhaps drew on his ideas.¹⁸³

CONCLUSIONS

Eight of the ten native-born woodwind makers in England in the period 1604–1750 — Joseph Bradbury, Samuel Drumbleby, Thomas Garrett, Caleb Gedney, John Hall, William Smith, Thomas Stanesby Senior, and Thomas Stanesby Junior — formed part of a network of 143 master–apprentice relations in the Turners Company of London. This vast network can be traced back to William Shaw

Senior (d. 1652), who was already a freeman of the Company when it was chartered by James I in 1604, the date the surviving apprenticeship and freedom records of the Company begin.

Because these eight makers lie on three different branches of the network, the five other Turners who preceded them in this network — William Carter, William Debnam, William Lowen Senior, Christopher Keene, and William Whitehill — were probably at least partly woodwind makers, too. If Shaw trained all his apprentices in woodwind making, then we also need to include David Flood, John Kellett (who lived next door to Shaw), Charles Rutchall, and William Shaw Junior, not to mention their apprentices. The other freed apprentices of the eight known makers could also have been makers: Thomas Blaire, Edward Compton, John Greene, Matthias Hall, and William Roulston.

The end of documented woodwind making in the network, as well as a way around the formal apprenticeship system, came with Gedney’s underage daughters Catherine and Ann. Although still under the care of a guardian (despite Catherine being married to the celebrated flautist Pietro Grassi Florio), they announced themselves as their father’s successors on his death in 1769, having been ‘brought up in the business, and finished most of the instruments for some years’. Catherine’s marriage to Florio and other evidence suggest a connection between the Gedney workshop and that of Thomas Collier, who made keyed flutes under the tradename *Florio*.

The Company records show that some of the later freemen in the network did not even work as turners: Richard Gore, John Hunt, and Edward Knowles were hardwaremen, and John Cooke was a maker of surgeon’s instruments. Just how many other freemen in the network were or were not makers remains to be discovered from records outside the Company.

The eleven Wills of freemen in the network that have been traced so far describe the men as ‘citizen and turner’ or plain ‘turner’, with the exception of Thomas Stanesby Junior, who acknowledged that he worked as a ‘Wind Musical Instrument Maker’. Only the Wills of the Stanesbys mention tools of

¹⁷⁹ Powell, *Keyed Flute*, pp.183–84.

¹⁸⁰ Cornelius Ward, *The Flute Explained: Being an Examination of the Principles of its Structure and Action, and an Account of its Past and Present State, with Other Original Information Important to the Flutist and the Musician* (London, 1844).

¹⁸¹ Powell, *Keyed Flute*, pp.14, 183.

¹⁸² *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, 10 March 1795.

¹⁸³ For more details, see Lasocki, *Florio’s Breathing Flute*.

the trade: Stanesby Senior bequeathed to his son 'all my pattern Instruments with all my working Tools' and Stanesby Junior left to his former apprentice Gedney 'all my Working Tools, Materials for Work and all my unfinished Work'.

John Ashbury was a freeman of the Company but he lies outside the network. Rather, he became a freeman by redemption, a term that meant he bought the privilege. His trade card shows that he had general training in turning wood and ivory, and he also worked as a military and Court musician. Another maker, Richard Potter, was apprenticed to a Turner but he belongs to another network that does not seem to be linked to woodwind making, so he may well have trained himself in making. The foreign makers in London during this period — Jacques Hotteterre, Peter Bressan, John Just and Charles Schuchart, Henry John Muræus — worked outside the Turners Company, although they were technically subject to its jurisdiction.

Over the period 1609–1764, but largely in the seventeenth century, a total of 23 freemen in the network lived in the parish of St Michael Crooked Lane on the south side of the City near the Thames, beginning with Shaw Senior himself and five of his freed apprentices. This parish would have therefore been the centre of woodwind making in the seventeenth century. At the end of the century

and in the next, the known makers preferred the more fashionable far west side of the City, where Drumbleby had removed after the Great Fire of 1666. Stanesby Senior lived in St Bride Fleet Street; Garrett, Smith, Stanesby Junior, and Gedney in the nearby parish of St Dunstan-in-the-West.

Finally, the Company apprenticeship and freedom records for the network coupled with records from outside the Company have made it possible to compile some statistical information about the workings of the apprenticeship system: (1) the set and actual terms of apprenticeship; (2) the age of the youths at apprenticeship and freedom; (3) the places of origin of the apprentices and the trades of their fathers; (4) the percentage of apprentices who were freed; (5) what happened to an apprentice when his master died during the apprenticeship; (6) how long it took a freeman to begin taking apprentices of his own; and (7) how many apprentices a master had at a time and over his lifetime.

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