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THE BENTSIDE SPINETS OF STEPHEN KEENE AND HIS SCHOOL

by Peter Mole

The bentside spinet was the common domestic keyboard instrument in England for about a century, from the demise of the rectangular virginal before 1680 until the establishment of the square piano, about 1780.[1] Many thousands of such instruments were made, and considerably more than two hundred have survived. Yet the bentside spinet has been largely ignored by scholars as not really worthy of serious study. This article, which examines the most prestigious school of spinet making in late Stuart England, seeks to redress that omission. The spinet has generally been considered a "poor man's harpsichord".

According to Philip Brutton James, "those who could not afford or had no room for a harpsichord would buy a spinet, but although they were being made as late as 1785 they were by that time obsolete. Apart from these considerations of cost and size-to which may be added its undoubted charm as a piece of furniture-the spinet is essentially the inferior instrument, for its tone is often harsh and inevitably monotonous owing to the lack of stops."[2] This somewhat pejorative characterization has persisted: Raymond Russell comments that "the spinet became a popular instrument in England in the eighteenth century, and was no doubt generally used in circumstances in which the upright piano forte would make its appearance today."[3] The instrument is described in *Grove Music Online* as:

> More affordable than a harpsichord... the spinet is essentially a domestic instrument, which cannot be said to have a repertory of its own distinct from that of the harpsichord. However, much of the music printed in such collections as *Musick's Handmaid* (1663, 1689), *The Harpsichord Miscellany* (2 vols., ca. 1763) and *The Harpsichord Master* (1697–1734) was doubtless intended for use by the amateur performer who had no larger instrument at his disposal.[4]

The implication is clear: the spinet was an inferior instrument that did not compare well with the harpsichord.

This characterization may be fair for the later spinets built from about 1740 to about 1780 during which period they had to stand comparison with the large multi-choir harpsichords produced by the Shudi and Kirckman firms; but it is much less fitting for the earlier instruments. Spinets built during the late Stuart and early Georgian periods (ca. 1680–1740) were highly prized in their own right by influential and aristocratic owners. It is incorrect to characterize the spinet of this period as a poor substitute for the harpsichord, which was in any case quite an unusual instrument in England at that time.

The extent to which the spinet was valued in Restoration society emerges from surviving documents. It is widely known, for instance, that Samuel Pepys bought a spinet from Charles Hayward. Pepys, a senior navy official, was socially well connected, being a nephew of Edward Montagu, 1st Earl of Sandwich. His skill as an administrator and his personal enthusiasm gained him considerable influence in Restoration London, and it is easy to imagine him extolling the virtues of his new "little espinette".[5] Henry Purcell owned two spinets and an organ,[6] but apparently no harpsichord; one of the spinets was probably made by John Player.[7] Evidence of a purchase of a spinet by an aristocrat has survived in the form of a receipt from Stephen Keene, one of the most successful spinet makers of his day, to Lady Catherine Brudenell, Countess of Middleton. The receipt is dated February 4, 1689, and reads: "Recd of the Ladey Middelton the sume of seven ginnies in full for a spinnet of me."

A portrait in the Holburne Museum of Art, Bath, which has been attributed to Jonathan Richardson the Elder and dated c. 1707, shows Master Garton Orme (1695–1758) seated at a spinet.[8] The spinet bears strong resemblance to a Keene instrument of the standard design discussed below, though

some artistic licence has clearly been taken. The focus of the portrait is the sitter: Master Orme, a child about nine years old, is dressed in expensive-looking clothing complete with a ceremonial sword. The inclusion of the spinet indicates the desirability of the instrument.

Another aristocrat who has left a record of her spinet is Lady Grisell Baillie of Mellerstain House, Kelso, Scotland. The following passage appears in her household accounts for 1707, recording the routine she had set for "Grisie," one of her two daughters, then aged fourteen:

> To rise by seven a clock and goe about her duty of reading etc etc and bedrest and come to breakfast at nine, to play of the spinet till eleven, from eleven till twelve to write and read French, at two a clock to sew her seam till four, at four learn arithmetic, after that dance and play herself until supper and be in bed at nine. [9]

It sounds a strict regime and one unlikely, one would think, to generate much enthusiasm for "playing of the spinet." But it clearly places this activity among the accomplishments of a gentlewoman.

Lastly, it seems highly probable that the Keene spinet owned by Lady Willoughby de Eresby in 2008 was purchased in 1707 by her ancestor the 2nd Duchess of Perth. The spinet has been included in the Willoughby de Eresby family inventories since the eighteenth century and was kept until recent times at Drummond Castle, Perthshire, Lady Willoughby de Eresby's home in Scotland, formerly the home of the 2nd Duchess.

These examples are sufficient to justify a rejection of the "poor man's harpsichord" characterization of the spinet by James and later commentators. Indeed, they show that the instrument was fully acceptable to persons at the top end of fashionable society in Restoration England and in Scotland, and even suggest that possession of a spinet may have added to a person's status. In addition, personal experience of playing both the early spinet and the English virginal that it replaced has demonstrated to me the advances over the virginal provided by the spinet, in terms of mechanical reliability, tuning stability, and rapidity of repetition in the bass octave. The spinet also has a markedly lighter and more nasal timbre than the virginal, which may have better suited the Restoration fashion for French music. Certainly, the spinet became popular in late Stuart England, but not for the reasons suggested in the literature.

Having placed the early spinet in what I believe to be its proper context, I now turn to establishing the concept of a school of spinet making in late Stuart England led by Stephen Keene, and to provide a preliminary characterization of the instruments from that school.

Stephen Keene

Stephen Keene's exact date of birth is unknown. However, like all boys (and girls too) in England, Keene was subject to the Statute of Artificers,[10] which mandated that an individual without a private income of forty shillings per year was obliged to be apprenticed in a trade or to go into domestic service. In 1655 Keene was bound apprentice to Gabriel Townsend (ca.1604–1660),[11] a master of the Joiners Company and a virginal maker. Because apprentices were bound at the age of about 16 years, we can therefore assume that Keene was born around 1640.

A note about the Joiners Company is perhaps appropriate here. By the time of the restoration of the monarchy in 1661, the medieval trade guilds had matured into organizations empowered by royal charter to enforce a monopoly over the crafts they controlled. Their primary purpose was to inhibit competition. It was forbidden by law to practice a craft without being a member of the appropriate company: to do so was to invite litigation and possible sequestration of assets. Most craftsmen took the prudent course of entering a company, which could be done by apprenticing with a master for seven years, by patrimony (if a man's father had been a member) or by redemption (payment of a significant fee). Having entered the Joiners Company by apprenticeship, Keene would have become a freeman after seven years, and would then have been obliged to serve three years as a paid journeyman to a master craftsman before being allowed to practice on his own account and to take apprentices of his own. Keene was admitted to the freedom of the Joiners Company on November 3, 1662, on the recommendation of John Player[12] (this suggests that Townsend had died by this time), and would have remained with Player or some other master as a journeyman until qualified to set up in business on his own. In 1704/5, Keene became Master of the Joiners Company, like Townsend and Player before him.

The earliest surviving instruments by Stephen Keene are two virginals: they bear inscriptions including dates, one of 1668 and one of 1675, showing that Keene's workshop must have been established by 1668 at the

latest. An advertisement that appears at the end of the sixth edition of Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1672) would seem to confirm these dates: "Mister Stephen Keen, Maker of Harpsicons and Virginals, dwelleth now in Threadneedle Street at the sign of the Virginal, who maketh them exactly good both for sound and substance."[13]

Figure 1[14] lists the names of Stephen Keene's apprentices and those whom they took on in the course of time once they became master joiners themselves. Keene's influence is undoubtedly visible in the surviving instruments of all these makers, and it is tempting to consider them all as belonging to the School of Keene; however, to do so would be to ignore the fact that some of these makers, in particular the person whom I refer to as "Thomas Hitchcock Free 1701" (to distinguish him from other Thomas Hitchcocks)[15] and Thomas Barton, can be thought of as members of other significant schools as well. Thus, this article focuses on Keene himself and on the two men who came into partnership with him, Edward Blunt and Charles Brackley.

Though we are unlikely to discover the date of Keene's birth, the date of his death is certain, since the probate[16] of a will dated December 16, 1712, of Stephen Keene, "Citizen and Joyner" of London, is in the British National Archive.[17] That date is seven years earlier than the one of "after 1719" given by Boalch.[18] The latter date was based on A. J. Hipkins's claim[19] that he owned a nameboard from a Keene spinet dated 1719. In view of the discovery of this will, either Hipkins must have misread the date or a false date had been inscribed on the nameboard in an attempt to mislead.

There is nothing in Keene's will about musical instruments, but two significant facts emerge-that Keene was wealthy, and that he and his wife were childless. Keene had clearly become a person of some substance, since he wills freehold property in what is now Gracechurch Street, in Islington at York Buildings,[20] and in Grub Street (which now lies under the Barbican complex) to his wife Sarah. It seems that this wealth must have been derived from Keene's virginal- and spinet-making business, since it seems his father was relatively poor.[21] In his will, Keene says specifically that he and his wife Sarah were childless. What could be more appropriate than to leave the business as a going concern to one of the apprentices, perhaps even to one who might have been "family"?

Keene's wife Sarah died in 1720 and the probate of her will is in the records of the Canterbury Prerogative Court.[22] Sarah's will is in many ways more interesting than that of Keene himself, since, looking at the persons named as beneficiaries, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Sarah Keene was related to Edward Blunt. She names in her will her "late nephew" Edward Blunt,[23] which confirms the note in the third edition of Boalch's *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord* that Blunt died "before December 1718."[24] But, significantly, Sarah Keene also left money to Blunt's daughter Mary. Though this is not certain, it is therefore likely that the relationship between Stephen Keene and Edward Blunt was not only one of master and apprentice but also one of family.[25]

The two surviving spinets inscribed "Keene & Blunt" are significant in this context. Keene's normal practice was for his name to be applied as a nameboard inscription and for the apprentice or journeyman to initial a key or jack. This pattern is found both on earlier and on later Keene spinets; initials appearing on a key or jack include "EB" (Edward Blunt), "TB" (Thomas Barton), and "CB" (Charles Brackley). The joint inscription may therefore be evidence of a close business relationship, probably amounting to *de facto* partnership, and in this instance evidence of a family relationship too.

Edward Blunt

From the archives of the Joiners Company,[26] it is known that Blunt was bound apprentice to Stephen Keene from September 5, 1693, for seven years. Blunt must therefore have been born about 1677. Blunt became a freeman of the Joiners Company in December 1700.[27] It seems likely that Blunt worked for or with Keene in Keene's premises "in Threadneedle Street at the sign of the virginals" from 1700 to 1702. Blunt married Anne Beezley on June 13, 1702, at St. James' Westminster, which may indicate that by that time Blunt had moved into his own premises; their daughter Anne was christened at St. Botolph Bishopsgate on April 18, 1703.[28] A spinet dated 1703 and bearing the inscription of Edward Blunt alone has survived, which confirms that by then Blunt had set up his own business. Furthermore, the records of the Joiners Company show the binding to him of an apprentice, Nicholas Mitchell, in 1704.[29] From the Land Tax Assessment records it is clear that by 1706 Blunt was in his own premises in the parish of St. Benet Fink.[30]

At some time between the Land Tax Assessment dates in 1707 and 1708, Blunt moved into John Player's former premises in the neighboring parish of St. Martin Outwich.[31] Perhaps he felt the need for more space, because on March 30, 1708, a second daughter, Mary, was christened at St. Martin Outwich,[32] and in 1709

Figure 1. Stephen Keene and his apprentices

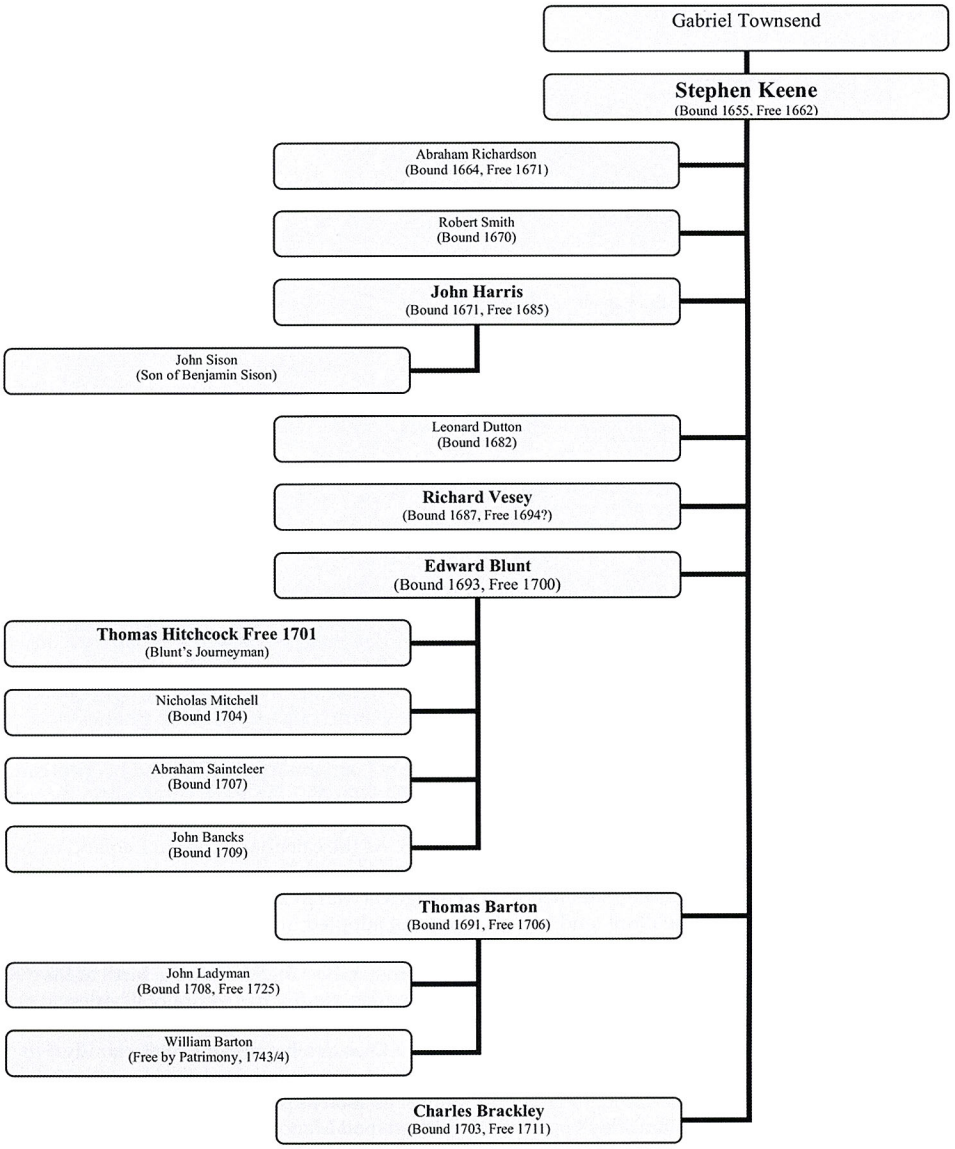

TABLE 1. Surviving spinets from the School of Stephen Keene.
(A) denotes an attributed date.

		Ownership/Location	Date	Accession no.	Notes
By Keene	1	Royal College of Music, London	1682[?]	RCM 179	Inscribed on jack rail
	2	Hall I' Th' Wood, Bolton, Lancashire	1685–90 (A)	BOLMG: 1919.2.19.HITW	
	3	Edgardo Sodero, San Sebastian, Spain	1690–95	K24	
	4	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	1700	32.252	Top key inscribed EB[?] 1700
	5	Colonial Williamsburg Foundation	1700	1953-876	Top key inscribed EB 1700
	6	Cantos Music Foundation, Calgary, Alberta	1700 (A)	340	
	7	University of Edinburgh	1704	4351	Top key inscribed 1704
	8	Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg	1705/6	2000.534	Top key and jack inscribed CB / 1705/6
	9	Lady Willoughby de Eresby	1707	None	Top key inscribed CB / 1707
	10	Royal College of Music, London	1708	RCM 3	Attributed, top key inscribed 1708
	11	Westwood Manor, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire	1711	Not known	Top key inscribed CB / 1711 / [?]13 / [?]m
	12	Deerfield Memorial Hall, Deerfield, MA		1872.13.02	
	13	Hamamatsu Museum, Japan		Not known	
By Keene & Blunt	14	The Marquess of Bute	1702	Not known	Top key inscribed EB / 1702
	15	Prof D. McCaldin		None	
By Blunt	16	Sold at Sotheby's, November 2004	1703	Not known	Jack and top key inscribed Thomas Hitchcock
By Keene & Brackley	17	Peter Mole	1712 (A)	None	Under restoration
By Brackley	18	Private ownership, Philadelphia		None	

John Bancks was bound to him as apprentice.[33] St. Martin Outwich and St. Benet Fink stood very close to each other at the Bishopsgate end of Threadneedle Street, and St. Botolph Bishopsgate was not far away, as can be seen from the small portion of John Rocque's map of London (1746) reproduced here (See Figure 2).[34] So Blunt apparently continued to live and work in the same small area of London.

The third edition of Boalch's *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord* states, without quoting the evidence, that Edward Blunt was dead by December 1718;[35] but the Land Tax Assessments provide clarification–in 1711 the Blunt (and former Player) premises were empty and in 1712 they were occupied by a James Anselm.[36] So either Blunt had died or he and his family had moved away. Since no further record of Blunt has survived, it seems likely that he died in 1711.

Charles Brackley

From the record of Charles Brackley's binding to Stephen Keene, dated November 2, 1703,[37] it seems likely that Brackley was born about 1687 or 1688, at the vicarage in Wroughton, Wiltshire, where his father, John Brackley was the Perpetual Vicar.[38] Charles Brackley became a freeman of the Joiners Company in January 1710.[39] On September 2, 1711, he married Elizabeth Langwill or Longueville at St. Benet Fink. A son, Samuel, was baptized at St. Benet Fink on June 21, 1713, and a daughter, Sarah, on April 12, 1715, but Sarah survived only until July 1718. A further daughter, Elizabeth, was baptized on August 23, 1717, but died later that year.

The parish birth register of St. Benet Fink notes the birth of a fourth child, Charles Brackley, "son of Charles and Elizabeth Brackley," on January 12, 1718, and his baptism the following day. But the death register records the burial of a Charles Brackley on October 2, 1718. As the calendar in use in England in 1718 was the Julian one, in which the year changes at March 26 (the Gregorian calendar was not adopted in England until 1752), the inescapable conclusion is that Charles Brackley the spinet maker died before the birth of his son Charles. No further record of Charles Brackley the spinet maker has been found and it is not known what became of the family.[40]

Brackley came into partnership with Keene almost as soon as he was a freeman. The spinet at Westwood Manor (discussed below) bears the inscription of Keene but has Brackley's initials and the date 1711 on the top key lever. My own instrument is inscribed *Stephanus Keene Carolus Brackley Londini fecerunt.*[41] It is undated, but because of the date of the probate of Keene's will, it cannot be later than 1712. A spinet in private ownership in Philadelphia that bears Brackley's inscription alone is certainly later still, but cannot be later than 1718, as that is when Brackley died; indeed, judging

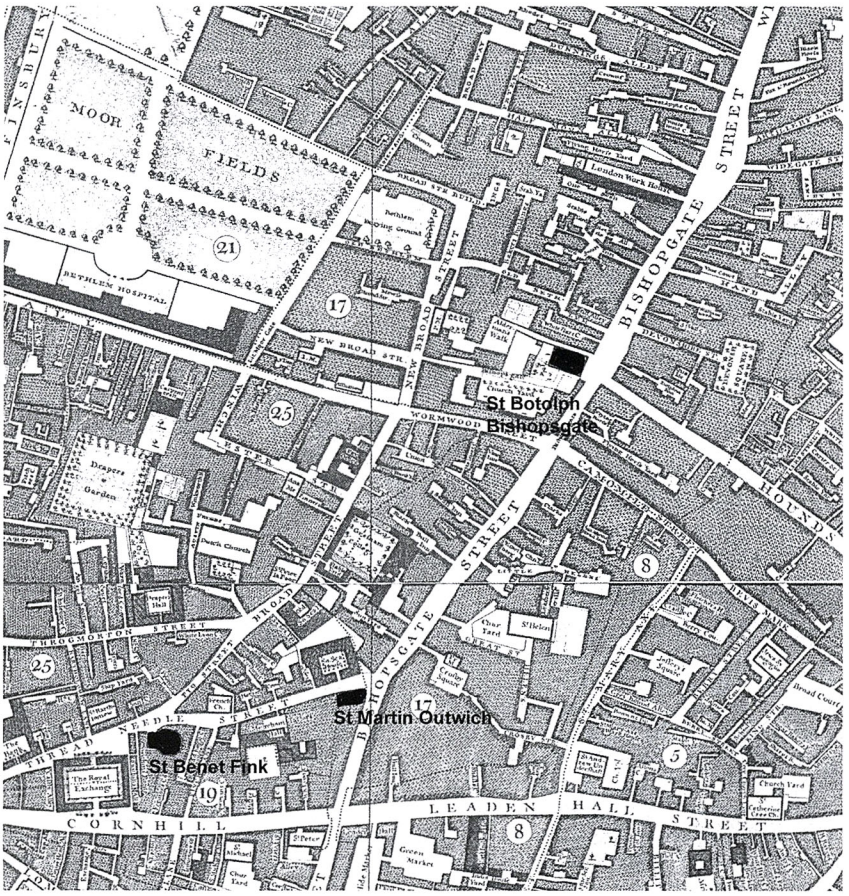

Figure 2. John Rocque, *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark*, engraved by John Pine (London: John Pine and John Tinney, 1746).

by its keyboard compass, it is likely to have been made somewhat earlier. The relevance of genealogical details to this organological study will now be clear: without the careful analysis of the date of Keene's death and of the dates of birth and burial in the Brackley family, it would not have been possible to determine with such certainty the date range of these spinets built by Charles Brackley.

It is curious that Blunt and Brackley were in partnership with Keene in such quick succession-to judge from the inscriptions on surviving instruments–and this requires some explanation. I surmise that it was Keene's intention to leave his business to Blunt. Perhaps he helped Blunt to set up on his own in premises close by, with the intention of establishing Blunt's reputation before retiring from building instruments himself. That plan was laid waste by Blunt's untimely death in his late 30s in 1711. Thomas Barton, probably seeing no prospect of a partnership with Keene, had by that time set up a successful business of his own, and only Brackley was still working in Keene's premises. So, by default, Brackley became Keene's successor, but he died early too, though not before Keene. All of that is hypothetical, but it fits the known facts.

Spinets from the School of Keene

It is difficult to be certain how many Keene spinets have survived. Those of which I am certain are listed in Table 1, but there may be several more, and perhaps many more. So far in this research project, I have undertaken detailed inspection of eight Keene spinets and have

gathered as much data about the remainder as I can find. In my view they fall clearly into three classes:

1. Early instruments having a virginal-style soundboard register, almost certainly produced while the Keene workshop was also making virginals.

2. The "standard" GG–d^3 Keene spinet of 54 notes with a broken octave and split sharps in the bass and a box-guide register.

3. "Transitional instruments" made by Brackley while Keene was still alive, having an extended compass, but not reaching five octaves.

For those who are not keyboard specialists, a note may be appropriate here on the difference between a soundboard register and a box-guide register, since that difference is key to the proposed classification. The register–the structure that guides the movement of the jacks–of North European virginals, including English ones, was in two parts; this type is known as a soundboard register. A lower part consisting of a strip of timber formed with the requisite number of individual jack guide holes was attached to the structure of the instrument or to the key-frame, and a cooperating upper part was formed by cutting oversize guide holes directly into the soundboard. A leather strip, with guide holes cut to the precise size needed for the jacks, was glued to the upper surface of the soundboard. In this way, the jacks touched only the leather, ensuring quiet operation. The individual jacks are guided only at the top and bottom of the register.

The register of Renaissance virginals made in the major instrument making centres of Italy is known as a box-guide register. The individual jack guide holes were formed by profiles chiseled into modules of timber glued together, the guide holes lying along the glue line. The complete register was assembled so that it contained the requisite number of jack guide holes; it was then glued directly to the underside of the soundboard. Each individual jack slides in the register in a vertical guide within a solid, but not monolithic, box of timber.

Early makers of English bentside spinets initially adopted English virginal practice and provided their instruments with soundboard registers. By 1700 they had changed to the box-guide register, but with an important improvement: the unique geometry of the spinet allowed the boxguide to be glued to the rear of the wrest plank. In this position, the register is unable to vibrate with the soundboard, thereby eliminating a source of mechanical unreliability in the instrument and freeing the soundboard from the inertia of the weighty register.

Early instruments.

The cover of this magazine shows the serpentine-tail spinet (on a table) by Stephen Keene at the Royal College of Music, London. This is clearly an early instrument, though whether it is the earliest spinet by Keene to have survived is difficult to say.[42] Its early date is clear from several features. It is Keene's only surviving example of a spinet with a serpentine-tail design, a feature characteristic of instruments by Charles Haward, some of which bear dates in the 1680s–the one at the National Music Museum at the University of South Dakota (accession no. 10773) is dated 1689, for example. The Keene spinet has the maker's inscription on the jack rail, a virginal feature (though frustratingly, the date has been removed), and it has a short octave without split sharps in the bass, which again points to an early date. It has a soundboard register, though this has been repaired in recent times with a wooden capping, and it has a rose, again a virginal feature. But perhaps most conclusively of its date, on the uppermost key lever it carries a craftsman's initials. They are very indistinct, but by using a technique taught to me by John Watson, I have been able to determine that they read "JH".[43] The initials "JH" are those of John Harris, who was apprenticed to Keene in 1675 (see Figure 1). Harris became a freeman in 1685 and set up in business on his own, so I date the instrument to 1682, based both on the archival evidence and on the belief, not yet proven, that the date also appears on the key lever-using Watson's technique I believe I can see a "2" and further examination, perhaps including infrared photography, may yet yield a date.

The standard Keene spinet.

The second group contains at least six spinets that can be thought of as Keene's "standard product": mitred-tail instruments having a fifty-four note compass of GG to d^3, with a broken octave and a box-guide register glued to the back of the wrest plank. The example shown in Figure 3 is the spinet of 1707 belonging to Lady Willoughby de Eresby. The other surviving spinets that can certainly be placed in this group are those in Colonial Williamsburg, at the University of Edinburgh, and at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston; the

instrument owned by Sg. Edgardo Sodero of San Sebastian, Spain (formerly exhibited at the Kenneth G. Fiske Museum in Claremont, California); and the instruments at the *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe*, Hamburg, and in Deerfield, Massachusetts (see Table 1), although some doubt about this last instrument remained at the time of writing. The Keene and Blunt instruments and those built by Edward Blunt when working for himself were also to Keene's "standard design". Many hundreds of instruments of this sort must have been built, by Keene, by Benjamin Slade, and by others in the William and Mary period, continuing into the earlier part of the reign of Queen Anne-so between about 1690 and 1708. But only about thirty-five are extant.

Transitional instruments.
The third group consists of "transitional instruments"-that is spinets between a 54-note compass, from GG to d^3, and those with a full five octaves. The instrument shown in Figure 4 is at Westwood Manor, near Bradford-on-Avon, Wilt shire.[44] This Keene spinet (dated 1711) has a compass of 56 notes (from GG to e^3), but without two sharps, GG-sharp and d^3-sharp.

The grain of the soundboard runs parallel with the register rather than parallel with the spine as in Keene's earlier instruments. Why Keene made this change after so many years is not known. It may well be that it was Keene's lack of experience with this arrangement that has resulted in the collapsing of the soundboard of several instruments: those of my own Keene spinet and Brackley spinet (ca. 1711) and of the Brackley instrument in Philadelphia (1712 or shortly thereafter). The latter instrument, made by Charles Brackley after Keene's death, is fully chromatic from GG to e^3, and though no inspection has been carried out to date, it seems from detailed photographs that this compass is original.

From the above it will be clear that Keene did not live to make a five-octave spinet. The literature suggests that the spinet signed jointly by Barton and Aston and dated 1709 is the earliest five-octave instrument,[45] but this seems extraordinarily early in the context of known instruments by Keene, Player, and possibly Hitchcock from similar dates, which still have a relatively restricted compass. But the earliest five-octave spinet was indeed likely to have been a Barton one, which is very appropriate for an article about the School of Stephen Keene, since of course Thomas Barton was apprenticed to Keene. A five-octave Barton spinet dated 1719 was once at St. Cecilia's Hall, University of Edinburgh, but was removed suddenly by the owners and sold. Is this the earliest five-octave spinet? I can't say, but I have in my files a monochrome photograph from a 1930s advertisement showing what appears to be a five-octave spinet, said to be by Thomas Barton and dated 1714. But frustratingly, the lid is closed!

This is a report of work-in-progress and there is more to be done. I would be grateful for any further information

Figure 3. Spinet by Stephen Keene (1707). Owned by Lady Willoughby de Eresby.

Figure 4. Spinet by Stephen Keene (1711). Westwood Manor, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire.

that readers can supply about the spinets from the School of Stephen Keene.

This article is an abridged version of one which appeared in the Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society *34 (2008); it was based on a paper read at the 36th annual meeting of the AMIS, Yale University, June 2007. Many thanks to all who have assisted, including, Emily Azis, Andrew Garrett, Darryl Martin, Steven Morris, Charles Mould, Jenny Nex, John Watson, Lady Willoughby de Eresby, and Paula Woods. The owner's Keene which was used as model for many kit instruments is shown (on its stand) on the cover.*

1 The first surviving square pianos, by Johannes Zumpe, date from 1766. Similar ones were made by other makers, including Beyer, Pohlmann, Ganer, and Broadwood; see Michael Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

2 Philip Brutton James, *Early Keyboard Instruments, from their Beginnings to the Year 1820* (1930; repr., London: Tabard Press, 1970, with a new preface by the author), 32.

3 Raymond Russell, *Keyboard Instruments*, vol. 1 of Catalogue of Musical Instruments: Victoria and Albert Museum (London: HMSO, 1968), 21.

4 Edwin M. Ripin and Lance Whitehead. *Grove Music Online.* s.v. "Spinet". http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 21 January 2008.

5 *The Diary of Samuel Pepys,* ed. Richard Gallienne (New York: Random House, 2003), April 4, 1668.

6 London, National Archives, PROB 11/489.

7 Peter G. Mole, "On the Trail of Purcell's Spinet," *Early Music* 36 (2008): 409–414.

8 An image of this portrait and some comments of a general nature are available through <http://museumnetworkuk.org/portraits/artworks/holburne/img3.html>, accessed January 22, 2008.

9 *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie, 1692–1733,* ed. R. Scott-Moncrieff (Edinburgh: University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1911). www.archive.org/details/householdbookofl00bailrich/ Mellerstain House, the home of the present Lord and Lady Baillie, contains a spinet by Charles Hayward, though it is probably not the one "Grisie" was made to play.

10 The Statute of Artificers (Eliz. I, C4 [1563]); See William P. Quigley, *Five Hundred Years of English Poor Laws, 1349–1834: Regulating the Working and*

Nonworking Poor. <http://www3.uakron.edu/lawrev/quigley1.html> , accessed 18 November 2005.

11 Townsend trained not only Stephen Keene but also another prominent spinet maker, John Player. A virginal by Townsend, which was made for Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia and the sister of King Charles I, is now in the Musical Instrument Museum (MIM), Brussels (accession no. 1591); see Donald H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440–1840,* 3rd ed., ed.Charles Mould (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 660.

12 London Guildhall MS 8051/1.

13 Boalch, *Makers,* 3rd ed., 102, quoting A. J. Hipkins and William Gibb, *Musical Instruments, Historic, Rare and Unique* (London: A. and C. Black, 1888; repr., 1945), xxii. The notice appears in John Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick,* 6th ed., [part 3], *The Art of Descant, or Composing Musick in Parts,* by Thomas Campion (London: W. Godbid for J. Playford, 1672 [part 3, 1671]), 41 (copy in the Houghton Library, Harvard University).

14 Most this information has been assembled from material in Boalch, *Makers,* 3rd Edn.,(1995), 715-716, supplemented from the Binding and Freedom Registers of the Joiners Company at the Guildhall Library. MS numbers, subject matter, and dates of these registers are listed at <http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/join.htm>, accessed August 2008.

15 "Thomas Hitchcock Free 1701" is identified in Peter Mole, "The Hitchcock Spinet Makers-A New Analysis," *Galpin Society Journal* 60 (2007): 45–61.

16 In 18th-century England, probate of a will was granted very quickly, within a few days of death.

17 London, National Archives, Barnes Quire Numbers 223-262: PROB 11/530.

18 Boalch, *Makers,* 3rd ed., 102.

19 Hipkins and Gibb, *Musical Instruments*, 52.

20 Samuel Pepys lived in York Buildings, and it is therefore likely that Keene and Pepys knew each other.

21 It has not been possible to determine absolutely the identity of Keene's father. We know from Keene's binding record that his father was named Richard. The wills of the two Richard Keenes in the genealogical records of the time both describe themselves as yeomen (London, National Archives, PROB 11/229 and PROB 11/193).

22 London, National Archives, PROB 11/580.

23 Use of the term "nephew" at this date need not necessarily indicate a blood relationship-it was often used as a term of endearment-but here I believe it does show a family connection.

24 Boalch, *Makers*, 3rd ed., 19.

25 When Sarah married Stephen Keene her name was given as "Casterman," but that is not necessarily inconsistent with her having been born a Blunt-she might have been married before. Or Blunt's may have been mother Sarah's sister.

26 London Guildhall MS 6837.

27 London Guildhall MS 8051/2.

28 London Guildhall MS 4516/2.

29 Boalch, *Makers*, 3rd ed., 716. This fits very nicely with the date of "Thomas Hitchcock Free 1701" leaving Blunt's employ, which is assumed to have been in 1703 or 1704: see Mole, "The Hitchcock Spinet Makers," 49–50.

30 London Guildhall MS 11316/21.

31 London Guildhall MS 11316/27.

32 London Guildhall MS 6837.

33 Boalch, *Makers*, 3rd ed., 715.

34 Reproduced in Ralph Hyde, *The A to Z of Georgian London* (London: Harry Margary, 1981); reproduced with permission of the Guildhall Library, London, copyright holders of the modern reproduction. The street plan changed very little between the late seventeenth century and 1746.

35 Boalch, *Makers*, 3rd ed., 19.

36 London Guildhall MS 11316/33 and 11316/36.

37 London Guildhall MS 8052/3.

38 Theresa M. Story-Maskelyne & F. H. Manley, "Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of Wroughton, its Rectors and Vicars," *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine* 41 (June 1922): 451–78, here, 471.

39 London Guildhall MS 8051/3.

40 All otherwise unreferenced information on Brackley and his family is from London Guildhall MSS 4097-8.

41 The instrument was formerly in the collection of Sheila Barnes and the late John Barnes.

42 An instrument with almost as good a claim to that title is at Hall I' Th' Wood, Bolton, England; see Peter Mole, "Two Spinets in the Collection of Viscount Leverhulme," *Galpin Society Journal* 61 (2008): 252, 325–31.

43 The technique is to create and display several versions of a digital images with different brightness/contrast and hue/saturation parameters; it helps to involve a colleague in the process, preferably of the opposite sex, since the two sexes notoriously often see colours differently (personal communication, John Watson, 2006).

44 This manor contains the *Stephanus Mutinensis* ottavino of 1537, the 4th oldest Italian virginal to have survived.

45 Boalch, *Makers*, 3rd ed., 225.