

The Köhler Family of Brasswind Instrument Makers

Lance Whitehead and Arnold Myers

Introduction

On Thursday, 12 December 1907, *The Beckenham & Penge Advertiser* printed a short paragraph concerning the discovery of a dead body.¹ According to the report, a local shepherd had found the body two days earlier, at about eight o'clock in the morning, in Lloyd's Park, Ham Farm, Beckenham, Kent. A revolver, from which two cartridges had been discharged, was found lying on the chest of the deceased, and, from various papers in his possession, the dead man was identified as John Buxton Köhler, 39, a musical instrument maker, of 62 Belmont Road, Beckenham, Kent. He had committed suicide.

John Buxton Köhler was the fifth generation of his family to specialize in the manufacture of military wind instruments, his death marking the end of a dynasty that spanned some twelve decades. For some years prior to Köhler's death, the output of 'Köhler & Son' had been limited to hunting, coach, and signal horns, but about 50 years earlier, under the leadership of John Buxton Köhler's grandfather, John Augustus Köhler, the firm held manufacturing rights to Thomas Harper's 'Improved Chromatic Trumpet' and to John Shaw's 'Patent Swivel Valves,' and supplied a number of regimental bands with a wide variety of brass instruments.² Various authors have discussed Köhler's contribution to the English slide trumpet³ and to the development of valves,⁴ but relatively little has yet been published concerning the history of the family itself and nothing at all regarding its tragic ending.⁵ This study not only provides a contextual backcloth to the large number of extant instruments stamped 'John Köhler' or 'Köhler & Son,' it also attempts to clarify some of the confusion surrounding John Köhler (II) and John Augustus Köhler, and it should, by including a revised list of addresses and dates for the family, provide an additional source for those involved in the dating of Köhler instruments.

John Köhler (I)

John Nicholas Köhler was probably born in Volkenroda, near the town of Kassel, in the German landgraviate of Hesse-Kassel. He had at least six brothers and sisters—Martin, Henry, Johannes, Anna Elizabeth, Nicholas, and Catherine—and we know that at the time of his will (dated 12 September 1792),⁶ all four surviving siblings still resided there. Hesse-Kassel was well known for maintaining substantial armed forces, which they hired out as mercenary troops, but there appears to be no documentary evidence to support the claim that Köhler belonged to a Hessian regiment.⁷ According to records preserved at the Greater Manchester County Record Office, John Köhler instead joined the Royal Lancashire

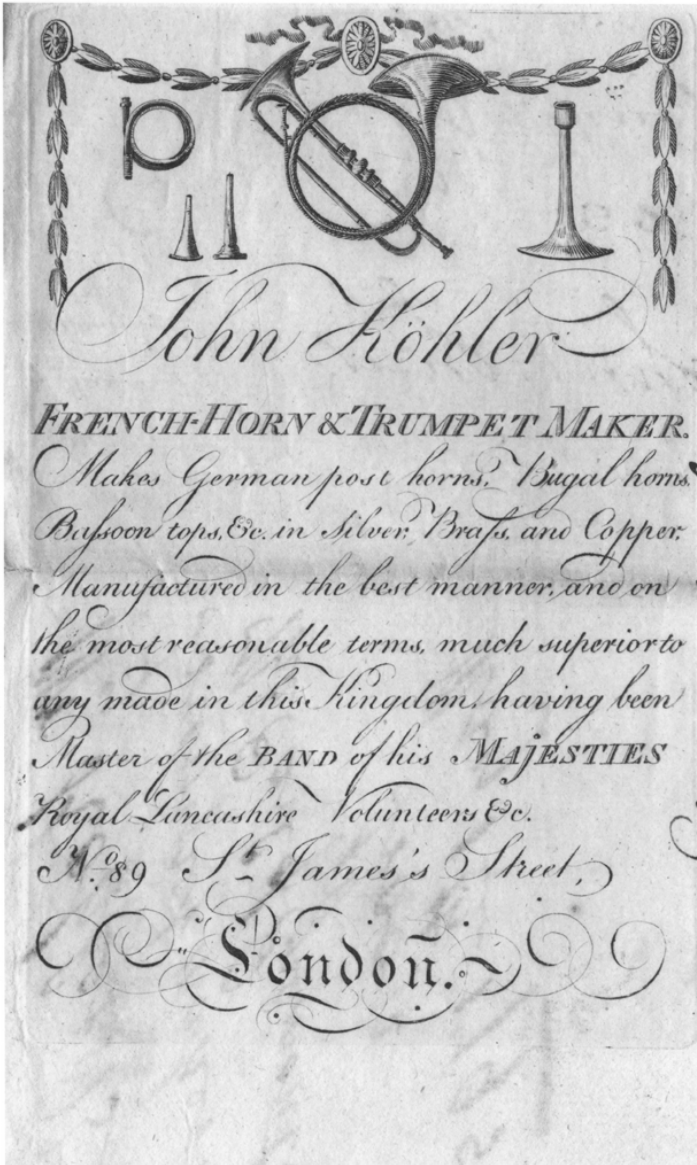


Figure 1

John Köhler's trade card, from the Bill to Equip the Earl of Egremont's Troop of Sussex Yeoman Cavalry with a trumpet (1 May 1795).

West Sussex Record Office, Petworth House Archives 6638.

Courtesy of The Right Honourable Lord Egremont.

Volunteers on 1 July 1782. As well as recording his trade (musician) and place of birth (Hesse-Kassel), the Register of Recruits also confirms Köhler's age (28), suggesting that he was born in about 1754.⁸

The length of Köhler's army career is not known, but his regiment returned to Manchester in 1783, where it was disbanded,⁹ an event made more intriguing by the fact that Köhler's trade card (see Figure 1) claimed that he had "been Master of the BAND of his MAJESTIES / Royal Lancashire Volunteers."¹⁰ One thing for certain is that three years later Köhler was living and working in London. According to his will, various rate books,¹¹ and trades directories, Köhler resided first at 9 Whitcomb Street (1786–93) and later at 89 St. James's Street (1794–1801), his occupation being described successively as "French horn maker" (1790–92), "instrument seller" (1794) and "trumpet maker" (1800).¹² His trade card also advertised "German post horns," "Bugal horns" and "Bassoon tops."

Only one instrument appears to have survived from the founder of the firm in the eighteenth century, a straight hunting horn of copper with an ivory mouthpiece, held by Warwickshire Museum Service. Including mouthpiece it is 330mm long, and it bears a stamp near the bell rim, "I. KÖHLER WHITCOMB ST LONDON." This is interesting as an early example of the English straight hunting horn. There is no reason to suppose that the output of the earliest Köhler workshops differed in any way from the standard models of horn, trumpet, etc., and were similar to those made in other London workshops. There is also an eight-keyed bassoon with brass keys and mounts bearing the stamp of George Astor ("G [x]A]STOR [& C][°] / LO[N]DO[N]") in Ridlington Church, Oakham, with a copper bell by John Köhler, inscribed near the rim "John Köhler Maker Whitcomb Street London." The bell is probably an example of a "Bassoon top" as listed and depicted—to the right of the central motif—on Köhler's trade card (see Figure 1).

Köhler rented 89 St. James's Street, situated on the corner of St. James's Street and Cleveland Row, close to St. James's Palace, from the Reverend John Nelthorpe.¹³ A contemporary plan of the property made in 1795 (see Figure 2), showing it *in situ* with the other houses Nelthorpe leased from the crown, reveals it to have been squeezed between a coffee house and a hotel, while a copy of Köhler's insurance policy, held with the Sun Fire Office, and dated 21 September 1797, indicates that its contents were valued at £400 (see Figure 3).

There are also several documents in Köhler's own handwriting that shed new light on his life and working practices. A Bill to Equip the Earl of Egremont's Troop of Sussex Yeoman Cavalry (West Sussex Record Office: Petworth House Archives 6638), for instance, lists the different components of a Köhler trumpet, including the price for the "line and tassels" and for the box (see Figure 4). Further insight is provided by two letters dating from the late 1790s and now preserved at the British Library (see Figures 5 and 6). Written to two high ranking officers of the Cambridgeshire Regiment of Militia, the letters not only provide testimony that Köhler supplied instruments to the military but that he also, like many other musical instrument makers of the period, undertook repairs, sold sheet music, and sometimes experienced difficulties in obtaining payment.¹⁴

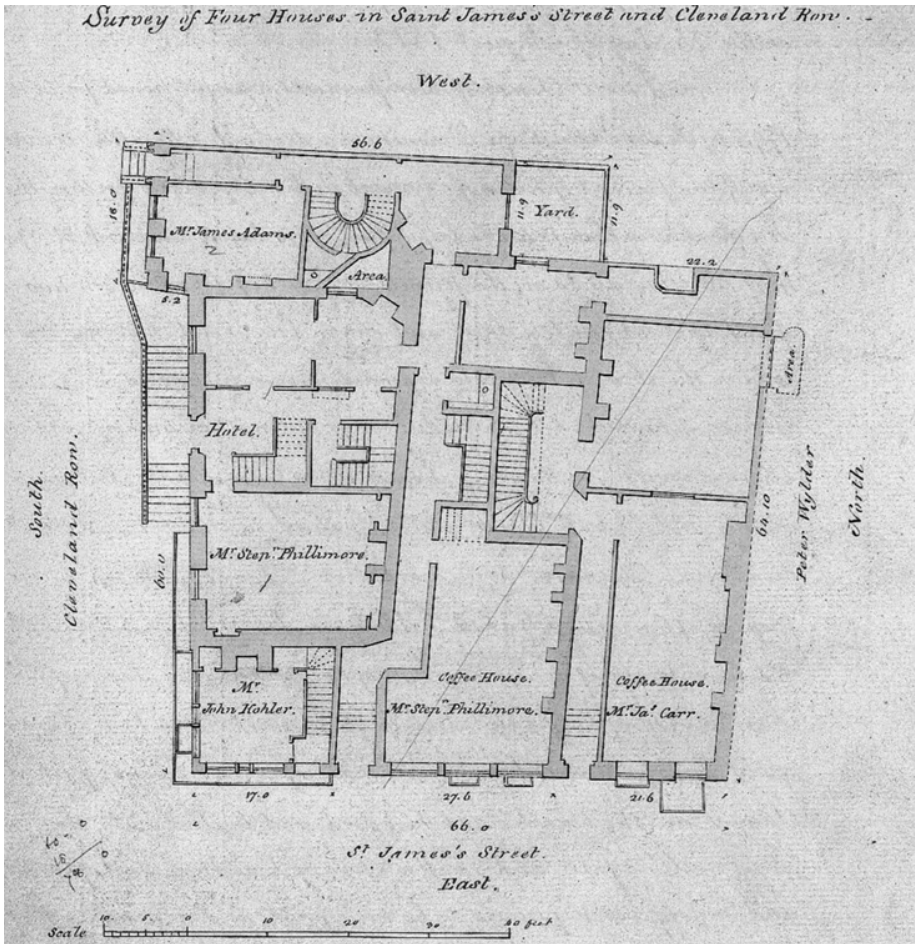


Figure 2

A plan of the four houses on the corner of St. James's Street and Cleveland Row (1795), including 89 St. James's Street, from the *Surveyor General of Land Revenues and Successors: Constat [sic] Books*, volume W4. The National Archives of the UK (NA): PRO CRES 6/92, p. 86. Courtesy of The National Archives of the UK.

[21 Sep^t 1797]

670127 16 [s] Michs 1798 {dated 29th}	John Kohler N ^o 89 St James's Street / Musical Instrument Maker On his / household goods in his Dwelling House / Brick & Timber situate as aforesaid not / exceeding One hundred pounds — / Utensils Stock & goods in Trust therein only / not exceeding two hundred Pounds / Wearing Apparel & Plate therein only not / exceeding Fifty pounds on each — / W Godfrey H Boulton C Bewicke	100 200 100 Duty 8[s]
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Editorial Conventions

- { } Inserted in original
- [] Editorial
- / New line

Figure 3

Sun Insurance Policy No. 670127 of John Köhler (21 September 1797).
Guildhall Library Ms 11936/410, unpaginated.

[recto]

The R: H: Earl of Egremont / Bo[ugh]^t of John Kohler [sic] May 1. 1795

[verso]

Mr Kohler's Bill / Trumpet maker to / The Earl of Egremonts / Troop / May 1st 1795.
/ £5..18..0..

	£	s	d
To a New Trumpet	4	14	6
To a crook to make D	0	6	6
To six shanks	0	9	0
To Line & Tossels [sic] for Trumpet	0	6	0
To a Box for Do	0	2	0
{Ex[amine]d [by] J. L. J}	£5	18	0

[receipt attached to recto of bill]

London Sep^t 30 1795 / Received [sic] of my Lord Egremont by the hands of M^r. Clanert
five pounds Eighteen / Shillings for a Trumpet & x x x

£5	18	0	John Köhler
			[signature]

Figure 4

A Bill to Equip the Earl of Egremont's Troop of Sussex Yeoman Cavalry with a trumpet (1 May 1795). West Sussex Record Office: Petworth House Archives 6638 (handwritten in black ink on paper).

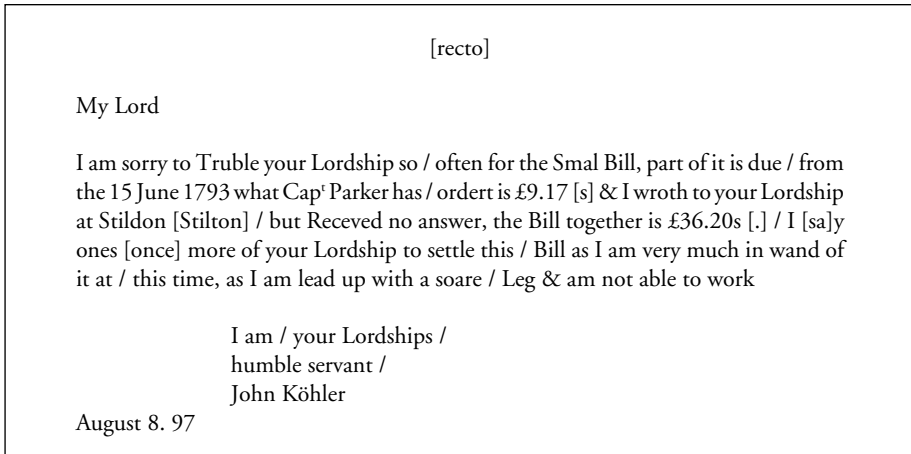


Figure 5

Letter from John Köhler to the Earl of Hardwicke, Commander of the
 Cambridgeshire Regiment of Militia (8 August 1797). British Library, Ms 35,668,
 p.194 (handwritten in black ink on paper).

As well as providing unwitting testimony regarding his place of birth, the will of John Köhler (I) indicates that he had a wife (Elizabeth), a son (John Lewis), and a housekeeper (Frances Cook). Interestingly, since John Lewis Köhler (born 5 October, baptized 25 October 1789) is recorded in the Baptismal Register of St. Martin-in-the-Fields as the son of “John Nicholas and Frances,”¹⁵ it seems that he was the illegitimate son of John and his housekeeper. We also know from Elizabeth Köhler’s affidavit to her husband’s will (29 April 1801) that Köhler died on 3 January 1801, although a search of the burial registers of St. James Piccadilly, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and St. Anne Soho has failed to provide any supporting documentation.

[recto]

London July 12 1798

Sir

I received your letter, & am Extramly sorrow to / Truble you with this Bill, I received a Letter from M^r Lehman Master of your Band, that Colonel Nightingale / gave him orders to send to me for a pair of the best stiel / cymbals I could make, & also sent a pair of ould horns & Trumpe[ts] / to be repair & x x, if you will have the goodness to Inquire of M^r / Lehman how [who] give him to order them things to be don & the Cymbals / to be send for, then you will be the best judge. I have his letter & I / have a Wright to ask for payment. I have also an other Letter / from Lehman wherein he says Colonel Nightingale had miss / laid my Bill, & if I send an other Bill he would sent me an order / for payment, & I hop [sic] you will find it to be so, I am sue your

humble servant
John Kohler

[recto, inverted]

The Camb^s Militia jan^y 12. 1798

	£	s	d
To a pair of best Steel Cymbals	8	8	0
To Repairing Varnishing & Bending a pair of Concert horns	3	13	6
To a Dozon of horn shanks	0	15	0
To Repairing a Concert Trumpet & Crooks	1	4	0
To 2 New Trumpet Mouth pecies	0	7	0
To Carriage & porterage for horns & Trumpet	0	6	0
To a New Sett of Weeths Marches & x x	1	11	6
	£16	5	0

Bo[ugh]^t of John Köhler

[verso]

M^r R : Mann Leuet^t / adjut Camb^s Militia /
at / Harwich Camp

Figure 6

Letter from John Köhler to Mr R. Mann, Lieutenant Adjutant of the Cambridgeshire Regiment of Militia (12 July 1798). British Library, Ms 35,670, p. 210 (handwritten in black ink on paper).

John Köhler (II)

Following the death of John Köhler (I) in 1801, the successor to the business at 89 St. James's Street was his namesake, John Köhler (II), who, according to the affidavit aforementioned, had been apprenticed to Köhler in the early 1790s. Since John Lewis Köhler died before the administration of his father's will, it is unlikely that the succession was father to son, but it may have been uncle to nephew.

Although the continuity of names makes the task of distinguishing records pertaining to John Köhler (I) and (II) difficult, John Köhler (II) probably maintained the business for just four years,¹⁶ from 1801 until his death in April 1805.¹⁷ His untimely demise, several decades before that generally assumed, is important from an organological perspective since it means that his partnership with Percival is discredited and he cannot have been responsible for the manufacture of Thomas Harper's 'Improved Chromatic Trumpet.' It also explains the lack of primary evidence documenting the commercial activity of a John Köhler at 89 St. James's Street between the years 1806 and 1848. Unfortunately, Köhler's will (dated 6 February 1805, proved 5 April 1805) is rather unhelpful with regards our understanding of the Köhler family history. Not only does it make no reference to an heir, but it also indicates that, like John Köhler (I), his wife's name was Elizabeth.¹⁸

Elizabeth Köhler and Thomas Percival

Circumstantial evidence suggests that during the period ca. 1806–09, Elizabeth Köhler, the widow of either John Köhler (I) or John Köhler (II), took over the running of the firm. Described as a musical instrument maker, Elizabeth Köhler occurs in *The Post Office Annual Directory* from 1807 until 1810, and she is recorded as the ratepayer for 89 St. James's Street in 1806 and 1808.¹⁹ Perhaps it was the widow of John Köhler (II), who, giving birth to John Augustus Köhler just five months after the death of her husband,²⁰ would have been keen to ensure the firm's financial success.

Whether Elizabeth Köhler died, moved away from the area, or married again is not known, but from about 1810 until 1848, Thomas Percival, perhaps a former employee, appears to have been in charge of the business. Certainly Thomas Percival was the leaseholder²¹ and the ratepayer of 89 St. James's Street (re-classified as 1 Cleveland Row in 1816) throughout this period,²² payment of the local taxes qualifying him to vote in the Westminster Elections of 1818, 1837, and 1841.²³ However, the firm was generally listed in *The Post Office Annual Directory* from 1809 until 1833 as "Percival & Kohler" or "Kohler & Percival," indicating that Percival was either in partnership with Elizabeth Köhler or that he wished to maintain Köhler's name for marketing purposes.²⁴ It is also a reminder that 89 St. James's Street / 1 Cleveland Row was probably the home of the young John Augustus Köhler, but it is important to stress, too, that during the 1820s, Percival, often described as a "trumpet and bugle maker," also occurs singly in a number of directories.²⁵ The models

produced in this period appear to have been the common types of brasswind instrument of the pre-valve era.

After 1830 there is perhaps less ambiguity: while Percival and his family remained at the same address until 1848,²⁶ John Augustus Köhler established his own home and workshop in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. However, the matter is complicated by the fact that, during the 1830s and '40s, a John Conrad Köhler (an oilman and Italian warehouseman who resided at 1 Marylebone Street) and a John David Köhler (a furrier and dealer in household furniture who resided at 14 Cheapside) often occur in the London archives as “John Köhler.” Although there is no evidence to suggest that either John Conrad or John David Köhler were involved in the manufacture of musical instruments, John David Köhler was a named executor in Herman Wrede’s will,²⁷ and John Conrad Köhler may have been one of the witnesses at John Augustus Köhler’s wedding (see below).

John Augustus Köhler

John Augustus Köhler, the son of John and Elizabeth Köhler (II), was born on 10 September 1805 and baptized in St. James Piccadilly on Michaelmas Day. Details concerning his early life are not known, but it is possible that he was apprenticed to Thomas Percival and continued to work with him until 1830. From 1830 onwards John Augustus Köhler ran a separate business at 35 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, which incorporated 33 Henrietta Street from 1854 until 1878. Although his name is recorded in various rate books,²⁸ census enumerations,²⁹ and tenancy agreements³⁰ simply as “John Köhler,” it is important to stress that all the records refer to John Augustus Köhler. The matter is complicated by the fact that his wife was also named Elizabeth,³¹ but the offspring specified in the census returns as the children of “John Köhler” are recorded as the children of “John Augustus Köhler” in the baptismal registers of St. Paul Covent Garden.³² Moreover, a graphological study of two Köhler signatures—one of “John Köhler” (1833) and the other of “John Augustus Köhler” (1875)—has concluded that they were “very likely to have been penned by the same individual.”³³

Contrary to the accepted tradition, therefore, the manufacturing rights to Thomas Harper’s ‘Improved Chromatic Trumpet’ and ‘Newly Invented Walking Stick Trumpet’ (1833) and to John Shaw’s ‘Patent Swivel Valves’ (1838) were all agreed by the same person, John Augustus Köhler. When combined with the dates of Köhler’s arrival in Henrietta Street (1830), his signing of a 21-year property lease (1833), his marriage (1835), and the entering of his silver hallmark at Goldsmiths’ Hall (1835),³⁴ it underlines the significance of the 1830s as the period during which Köhler established himself as a leading wind musical instrument manufacturer. It also means that Köhler instruments inscribed “35 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden” were made by or under the leadership of John Augustus Köhler. Instruments marked “Köhler & Son” and the address “35 Henrietta Street” can in most cases be ascribed to the workshop of John Augustus Köhler and his son Augustus Charles (born 1841), and date from no earlier than 1862 (the year of Augustus Charles’s majority), but probably from 1863 onwards. For some 12 years after the death of John Augustus Köhler

in 1878,³⁵ including the firm's three remaining years at Henrietta Street, instruments marked "Köhler & Son" must have been made under the leadership of Augustus Charles only, since his son and eventual successor, John Buxton Köhler (born 1869), was still a boy.

All the innovative models by which the firm is remembered were introduced in the period of leadership of John Augustus Köhler. Since 1830 to 1878 included the period of greatest change in brass instrument design, customer demands, and enterprise by competitors, the firm could not have survived by standing still. The Henrietta Street workshop never expanded to occupy a factory with French-style industrialized production like those set up in London by Gustave Besson and Henry Distin,³⁶ nor did it focus on the production of brass band instruments in large numbers like the firm of Joseph Higham in Manchester. Rather, to judge by surviving instruments, the workshop relied on a high standard of hand craftsmanship—according to the census returns of 1861 and 1871, John Augustus Köhler employed just six men³⁷—to produce instruments of often intricate design. The surviving price list (see Appendix 1) shows that Köhler's prices were high compared with those of other firms such as James Jordan.³⁸ The brasswind instruments offered were for the military and orchestral market.³⁹

The earliest instruments to survive from the Henrietta Street workshop include two fine silver keyed bugles hallmarked for London in 1835 (Boston Museum of Fine Arts 1986.23 and a private collection), a trumpet in F with two Stölzel valves (Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow 112064), and cavalry trumpets. It appears that no member of the Köhler family ever took out a patent or registered a design for any kind of instrument. However, various models were made in conjunction with players or inventors with whom we can assume John Augustus Köhler entered into a financial arrangement for the use of the invention and the name. These are the most numerous models (at least among surviving examples), and only these instruments bear serial numbers (in separate sequences).

Instruments from the Köhler workshops

MacFarlane cornopeans

Several instruments are marked "MACFARLANE'S IMPROVED / Cornopean" and with serial numbers (lowest identified is 660, the highest, 1178). They are all standard cornopeans with three Stölzel valves and clapper key. Additionally, numbers 1268 and 1897 are marked "Improved / Cornopean," but without reference to MacFarlane, suggesting that the agreement expired while there was still demand for this model of instrument.

'Harper's Improved' slide trumpets

Many slide trumpets are extant marked "T. HARPER'S IMPROVED," their survival no doubt helped by their primary use being in oratorio rather than bands. The agreement between Köhler and Harper also survives (see Appendix 2). Although the agreement stipulated that instruments were to be numbered (commencing at 28), many survive without serial numbers.⁴⁰ Serial numbers of extant trumpets range from 79 to 165 (clockspring) and from 149 to 196 (elastic or tension spring). The last slide trumpets (195

and 196) are marked with the 61 Victoria Street address and thus date from ca. 1890 (see below). In the opinion of Crispian Steele-Perkins,⁴¹ who has played numerous examples, the earliest Köhler slide trumpets can be as fine as any, but later examples are less well in tune and responsive. According to John Webb and Scott Sorensen,⁴² no improvement to the design can be positively associated with Thomas Harper, and the contribution made by Harper may have been primarily the use of his name for marketing purposes. The total production of slide trumpets, spread over nearly sixty years, successfully met the needs of a diminishing niche market, but cannot have made a big contribution to providing the livelihoods of the Köhler family and their employees.

Walking-stick trumpets

Walking-stick trumpets were covered by the same agreement with Harper as the 'Improved Slide Trumpet.'⁴³ Demand for this fashion accessory must have been tiny, however, for only one (at the Royal College of Music) has survived.⁴⁴

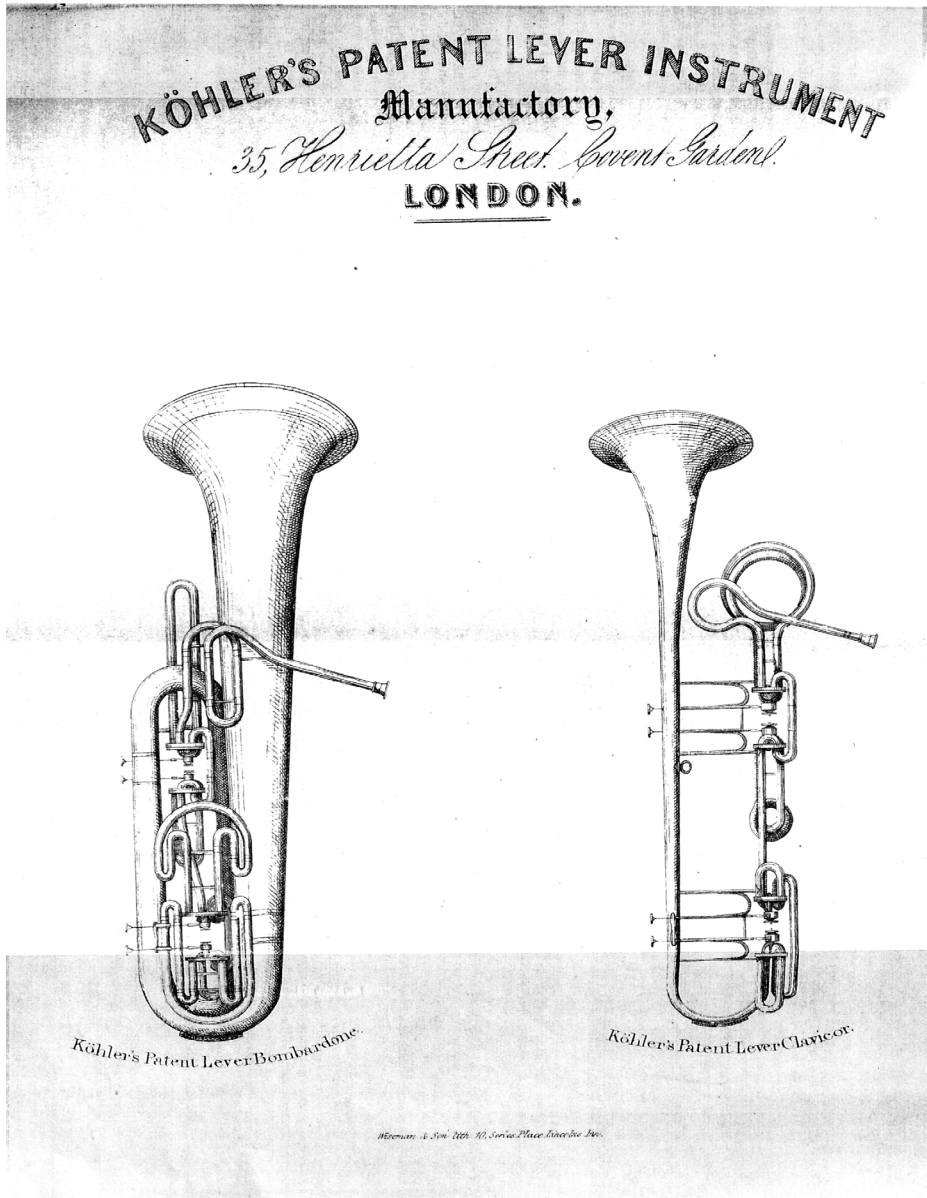
Shaw disc 'Patent Lever' instruments

More than forty disc-valve instruments have survived, reflecting the appeal of the quaint to collectors rather than a large production. John Shaw agreed in 1838 that Köhler could use his valve design: an ingenious attempt to solve what was perceived at the time as a problem, sharp bends in valve passages. Crispian Steele-Perkins⁴⁵ attests that a well-regulated disc-valve cornet responds well and has a big sound. The verdict of the 1851 Great Exhibition Jury was that instruments made on the 'patent lever action' plan were "of a decidedly superior character; and the ingenious contrivance for obtaining a free wind course to the valve instrument is highly successful."⁴⁶

'Patent Lever' instruments

Two of the models offered by 'Köhler's Patent Lever Manufactory,' a bombardone and a clavicor, are shown in Figure 7.⁴⁷ Among surviving examples, cornets are the most numerous, some of the earlier examples with clapper key. There are also a handful of trumpets, a brace of clavicors in 8-ft. C (Horniman M50-1992 and Brighton Museum R5773/48), one French horn (Boston Museum of Fine Arts 17.2003 ex-Galpin), and one trombone (a G bass, Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries 45-47y, at present on display in Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments).

According to C.R. Day,⁴⁸ Messrs. Köhler and Son lent several instruments to the 1890 Royal Military Exhibition. These include items 374, a modern 'Harper's Improved Slide Trumpet' ("shown as an example of a slide trumpet of the present day"⁴⁹) and 405, a pair of trumpets, in E \flat with John Shaw's 'Patent Lever' valves. Day reported that "the valves were found to leak eventually, and soon became useless, and the principle was therefore abandoned."⁵⁰ The favorable reports of both present-day players and the 1851 jury support the conclusion that instruments with disk valves were soon given up not because they never worked well, but because they were difficult to maintain.

**Figure 7**

Köhler's 'Patent Lever Bombardone' and 'Patent Lever Clavicor,' reproduced from *Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations 1851. Prospectuses of Exhibitors* (collected under the authority of the Royal Commissioners), vol. 9, unpaginated.

British Library shelfmark 7956E. By permission of The British Library.

Herbert Heyde⁵¹ describes and illustrates two very early Shaw valve trumpets, the only examples known of Shaw's original model where the player moves the tubing directly rather than by push-rod touchpieces. Köhler's first improvement was to replace the swivel with a disc, which would have been much better for lubrication, and secondly to add the push rod and watch-springs. The date of this improvement is not known, but was probably soon after the 1838 agreement. Köhler's final improvement was to replace the watch springs with helical compression springs in the push-rod guide cases. Figures 8 and 9 show instruments with watch springs and compression springs respectively. Writing in *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* (and reprinted in the Mactaggarts' *Musical Instruments in the 1851 Exhibition*), he states,

The modes in which the valves are worked has recently been much improved; the watch-spring formerly used is now entirely superseded by a spiral [*sic*] brass spring, placed under the shoulder of the lever, and inside the guide box of the rod or lever, which acts on the valve. The spring is thus entirely removed from all danger of corrosion, besides being much more lasting than the old watch spring; neither is any skill required to replace it with another. The valves are all now easily accessible for the purpose of cleaning, and their structure is such that they will never wear out.⁵²



Figure 8

Cornet in B \flat by Köhler, ca.1845, with watch-spring action (private collection, photograph © Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments).



Figure 9

Cornet in B \flat by Köhler, ca.1852, with compression spring action
(Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, No. 4266).

It is certainly the case that the printed instructions glued inside the cases of patent lever instruments were much shorter and simpler for the later model with the tricky procedures for the replacement of watch-springs eliminated. The surviving instruments with serial numbers 858 and higher have compression springs; most of them with serial numbers 789 and lower have watch-springs (the few exceptions probably having been early instruments subsequently refitted with later mechanism). Since Köhler wrote in 1851 that the change was recent, we can estimate that serial number 800 was reached ca. 1850. The highest serial number the authors have found for a 'Patent Lever' instrument is 1092, which would suggest that production ceased in the mid 1850s.

'Patent Harmonic Cornopeans'

John Augustus Köhler may also have been a pioneer in introducing the echo cornet to Britain in 1859. The authors are grateful to Robert Eliason for drawing attention to the notice of the 'Patent Harmonic Cornopean' in the *London Sunday Times* of 11 September 1859.⁵³ The patent referred to was not Köhler's, but may have been the 1859 German patent of Friedrich Adolf Schmidt. One example, marked "Köhler's Patent Harmonic Cornopean /

Köhler & Son, Makers / 35 Henrietta St. / Covent Garden, London” survives in a private collection.⁵⁴

‘Bayley’s Acoustic Cornets’ and ‘Handelian Trumpets’

The most radical models to come from the Köhler workshop were the subject of a Registered Design in 1862.⁵⁵ The principle common to both cornet and trumpet was to have a fixed mouthpipe rather than terminal crooks, the mouthpipe carefully tapered to receive a cornet mouthpiece. Tuning-slide crooks were provided or, in the case of the late (1890s) B♭ trumpet, a rotary change to A. The ‘Acoustic Cornets’ were an important step toward the modern fixed-mouthpipe cornet at a time when terminal-crook cornets were ubiquitous (though this was not the first British model: Charles Matthew Pace’s ‘Albion Cornopean’ design registered in 1847 combined a fixed mouthpipe and a long slide pull for change to A, A♭, and G). Providing a trumpet in F with a cornet mouthpiece was a bold departure, and gave an instrument with a unique bore profile (see Figure 10). Taxonomists might prefer to classify such an instrument as a tenor cornet, but each surviving F instrument has inscribed on the bell either “Bayleys Improved / Acoustic Handelian Trumpet” or “The Handelian Trumpet.” (Compare with Rudall Carte’s Patent ‘Conical Bore’ trumpet model, also built to receive a cornet mouthpiece, which had “Webster Trumpet” inscribed).⁵⁶ The model may have been intended to provide an instrument accessible to cornet players who were occasionally asked to play an oratorio trumpet part.

Five cornets survive, all inscribed with the Henrietta Street address and serial numbers between 10 and 77, as do five trumpets, mostly later and without serial numbers. Figure 11 shows the earliest surviving example of the ‘Acoustic Cornet.’ The earliest instruments to display this registered design are by Köhler as sole maker, so the change to ‘Köhler & Son’ must have occurred after 8 April 1862, probably 1863. Although ‘Bayley’s Acoustic Cornet’ was in some ways a precursor of the modern fixed-mouthpipe cornet, it made no impact on the market already dominated by Courtois, Besson, Distin, and their copiers. The ‘Handelian Trumpet’ was the most innovative model in terms of bore profile to emerge from the Köhler workshop: an attempt to build a cornet at trumpet pitch to provide a valved alternative to the slide trumpet, and which was made over a long enough period not to be written off as a failure. Walter Hargreaves reported that the trumpet shown in Figure 12 responded and sounded well.⁵⁷ However, such instruments did not enjoy the success of the so-called ‘Bach’ trumpets in the next generation, which were produced by various makers in different sizes over several decades. The latest surviving instrument marked ‘Handelian Trumpet’ (Figure 13) retains only the overall layout of the original design: it is pitched in B♭ and takes a standard trumpet mouthpiece.

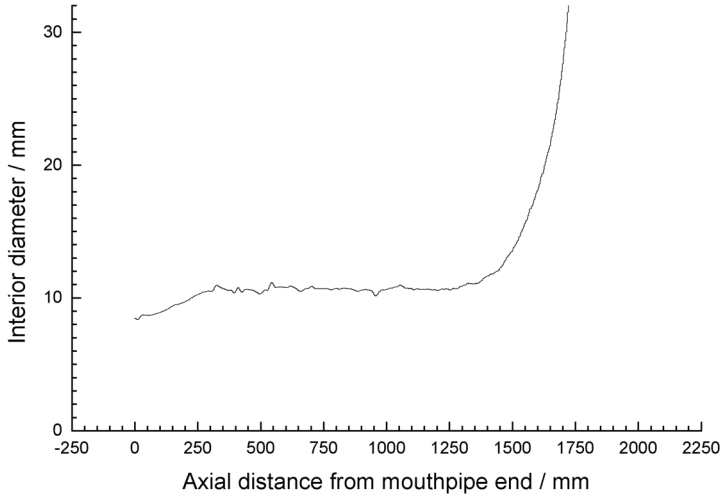


Figure 10

Internal bore profile of a Trumpet in F / E \flat shown in Figure 11, inscribed “Köhler’s
HANDELIAN Trumpet / 1851/1862 / KÖHLER & SON / MAKERS / 116
VICTORIA STREET / WESTMINSTER / LONDON / 1ST E.R.V.,” ca.1885
(Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, No. 227).

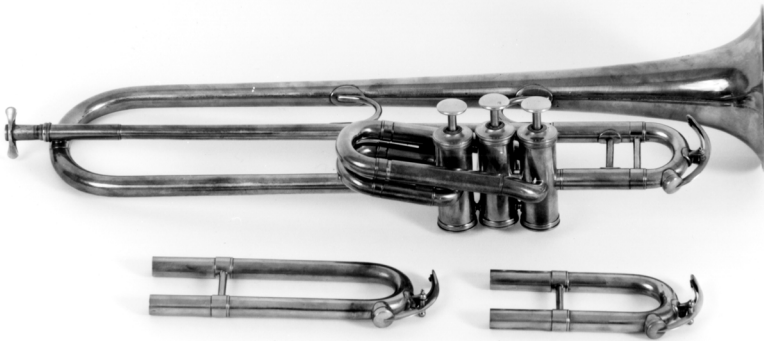


Figure 11

Cornet in B \flat by Köhler, serial number 10, ca.1862-63 (private collection, photograph
© Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments).

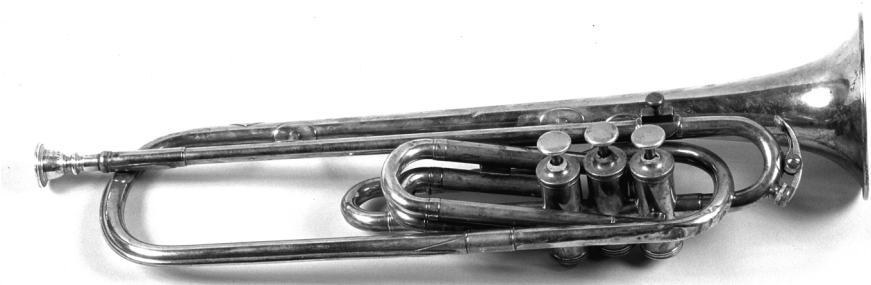


Figure 12

Trumpet in F / E \flat by 'Köhler & Son,' ca.1885 (Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, No. 227).

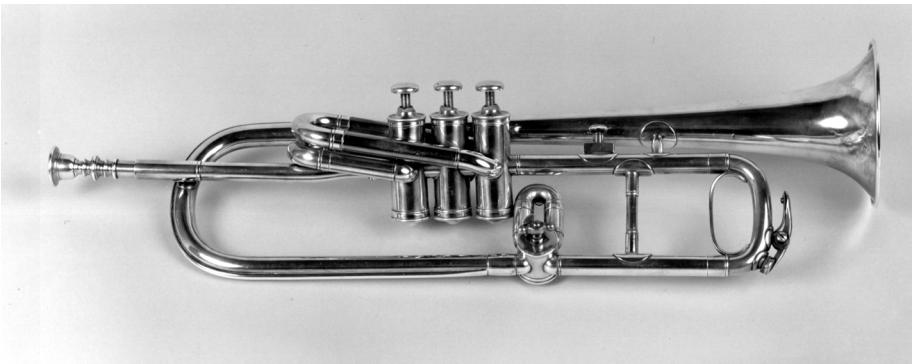


Figure 13

Trumpet in B \flat / A by "Köhler & Son," ca.1888-1896 (private collection, on loan to Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, No. 4407).

Augustus Charles Köhler

Augustus Charles Köhler, the first son of John Augustus and Elizabeth Sarah Köhler to survive into adulthood,⁵⁸ was born 1 March 1841 and baptized almost one month later in St. Paul Covent Garden on 31 March 1841.⁵⁹ He joined his father's business in about 1862, and made the wise choice of marrying a bank manager's daughter, Eliza Buxton, on 17 August 1865.⁶⁰ At the time of his marriage he was living with his father at 33 [*sic*] Henrietta Street, but, like many manufacturers of the period, quickly departed from the traditional practice of residing near to or at the firm's business address. When his first son, John Buxton,

was born in 1869, the family was living at Rosebank Road, Bow.⁶¹ Later, the family resided successively at ‘Oak Villa,’ Canterbury Road (Forest Hill)⁶² and at ‘Belle Vue,’ 72 Thurlow Hill (West Norwood).⁶³

The death of John Augustus Köhler in 1878 coincided with a crisis in the firm’s history, and within a few years it had to leave its established premises in Covent Garden. Although the reason why ‘Köhler & Son’ left Henrietta Street is not entirely clear, according to the firm’s own explanation, “the exigencies of the times, to say nothing about the increased rent of 50 per cent demanded by the Ducal landlord at the termination of the lease [1876], rendered a removal to Victoria Street, Westminster, advisable, if not compulsory.”⁶⁴ In fact, the firm suffered the higher rent demanded by the Duke of Bedford until 1881, although after 1878 it reverted to renting solely 35 Henrietta Street.⁶⁵

In 1882, under the leadership of Augustus Charles Köhler, the firm moved to 116 Victoria Street, on the corner of Victoria Street and Strutton Ground,⁶⁶ a move that continued to be advertised in *The London Post Office Trades Directory* five years later. Although the apparent move again in about 1888, to 61 Victoria Street, is due to the re-numbering of the street rather than a physical change of premises (see Figure 14), any attempts at stability were cut short by the relatively early death of Augustus Charles in 1890.⁶⁷

The Post Office London Directory for 1889 (London: Kelly & Co., 1889), 676		The Post Office London Directory for 1890 (London: Kelly & Co., 1890), 683	
Britannia Bank Limited	114	67	Britannia Bank Limited
Sanitary Engineering & Ventilation Co.	115	65	Sanitary Engineering & Ventilation Co.
Carter Henry, civil engineer	115	65	Carter Henry, civil engineer
Carter Horace, civil engineer	115	65	Carter Horace, civil engineer
Greenwood & Co., window sash holder makers	115	65	Greenwood & Co., window sash holder makers
Meteorological Office	116	63	Meteorological Office
Baillie Lieut. Charles W.	116	63	Baillie Lieut. Charles W.
Köhler & Son	116	61	Köhler & Son

Figure 14

The re-numbering of the south side of Victoria Street as shown by *The London Post Office Directories* for 1889 and 1890. This is one year later than that indicated in the Rate Books of St. Margaret & St. John Westminster.

As evidenced by the price list issued for the 1851 Great Exhibition (see Appendix 1), the firm also produced the commoner standard models of brass instrument. Unfortunately, hardly any such instruments have survived, either from period when the father and son worked together or from the short period of Augustus Charles Köhler’s leadership. Latterly production seems to have concentrated increasingly on natural instruments such as coach horns and English hunting horns.

Principal member	Business		Home		Dates
	Address	Dates	Address	Dates	
<i>John Köhler (I)</i> (c.1754– 1801)	9 Whitcomb Street	1786– 93	Despite the major structural changes taking place in industry elsewhere, domestic production remained characteristic of Köhler's mode of manufacture throughout this period.	1786– 1848	
		1794– 1801			
		1801– 05			
		c.1806– 09			
<i>John Köhler (II)</i> (d.1805)	89 St. James's Street	c.1810– 48	35 Henrietta Street	1830– 53	
		89 St. James's Street, re-classified as 1 Cleveland Row in 1816			33 Henrietta Street
<i>Elizabeth Köhler</i>	89 St. James's Street	1878– 81	Rosebank Road, Bow	1869	
		1882– 90	Oak Villa, Canterbury Road, Forest Hill	1881– 8	
<i>Thomas Percival</i>	89 St. James's Street	c.1810– 48	Belle Vue, 72 Thurlow Hill, West Norwood	1890	
			48 Cheriton Square, Upper Tooting	1891	
<i>John Augustus Köhler</i> (1805– 78)	35 Henrietta Street	1830– 78	1 Chenton Square, Upper Tooting	1893– 95	
		1878– 81	* Lyncott', 101 Ritherdon Road, Upper Tooting	1894– 96	
<i>Augustus Charles Köhler</i> (1841– 90)	116 Victoria Street, re-classified as 61 Victoria Street in c.1888	1882– 90	19 Streathbourne Road, Upper Tooting	1895– 97	
		61 Victoria Street SW	9 Albert Mansions, South Lambeth Road	1896– 99	
<i>John Buxton Köhler</i> (1869– 1907)	12 St. Ermin's Mansions, Great Chapel Street (or 12A Great Chapel Street Westminster SW)	1896– 1901	26 Shandon Road, Clapham	1898– 1901	
		?1890– 6	19 Bonnevile Gardens, Bonnevile Road, Clapham	1902– 4	
		?1902– 4	1 West Hill, Downe, Kent	1905	
		?1905– 7	62 Belmont Road, Beckenham, Kent	1907	

Figure 15
A Summary of principal names and addresses for the Köhler family of wind musical instrument makers

John Buxton Köhler

John Buxton Köhler, the eldest son of Augustus Charles and Eliza Köhler, was born on 19 October 1869, probably succeeding to the family business soon after the death of his father. He was married twice: first to Cecilia Stewart (on 28 March 1891)⁶⁸ and subsequently to Gertrude Marion Hughes (on 13 August 1895).⁶⁹ Köhler's first wife died in Great Malvern, Worcestershire,⁷⁰ rather than in London, and, since he married again just six weeks later, it is likely that his first marriage was not a success. His three children—Chrystabel, John Augustus Cecil and Geoffrey Buxton—were all products of his second marriage.⁷¹

Although it has not been possible to verify the exact date John Buxton Köhler took over the leadership of 'Köhler & Son,' he is described as a "Military Band Instrument Maker" as early as 1891—on his marriage certificate to Cecilia Stewart—and he is generally recorded as the ratepayer for the firm's business premises from 1896 onwards. In that year 'Köhler & Son' moved from 61 Victoria Street to 12 St. Ermin's Mansions, Great Chapel Street (described in *The Post Office London Directory* as 12A Gt. Chapel Street Westminster SW), where they remained until 1901.⁷² Presumably due to problems with these premises, the firm relocated again in 1902, to 167 Ebury Street SW, this time for just two years.⁷³ Interestingly, these changes of business address were matched by an extraordinarily large number of house moves. Indeed, using information contained within trades directories and Electoral Registers, as well as marriage and birth certificates, it is possible to conclude that Köhler had at least seven different London homes during the period 1891–1904 (see Figure 15).⁷⁴ Whether the frequent changes of address reflect Köhler's attempts to exploit the property market or to avoid paying creditors is not known, but it is likely that the firm's final move to Bromley, Kent, in about 1904, was for financial reasons.⁷⁵ All surviving instruments, which can be identified from the address as having been made by John Buxton Köhler, are simple coach and hunting horns, displaying a sad decline from the enterprise, ingenuity and fine craftsmanship of his grandfather.

Details concerning the final years of John Buxton Köhler are difficult to unravel. However, he appears to have lived at 1 West Hill, Downe (1904) and then at 62 Belmont Road, Beckenham, Kent (1907).⁷⁶ Furthermore, according to two contemporary newspaper reports of his suicide (see Figure 16), it seems that Köhler sold the firm of 'Köhler & Son' to Messrs. Swaine and Adeney, whip manufacturers, in February 1907. This development, announced by both parties in the fifth edition of *The Coach-Horn: What to Blow and How to Blow it* (see Figure 17), involved a final move to 185 Piccadilly, London, and marked the end of the Köhler dynasty. Ten months later, on Tuesday, 10 December 1907, Köhler committed suicide, aged just 38. His widow, Gertrude, testified at the inquest into her husband's death that, following the sale, "he gave way to drink." Apparently Köhler was unable to find further employment and was in financial difficulties, yet it is also worth noting that he had twice married into families connected with the alcohol trade: Cecilia Stewart was the daughter of a brewer; Gertrude Hughes was the daughter of a wine merchant. He may also have been suffering from mental illness, since the newspaper reports of the Coroner's

Inquest also show that he had previously threatened to shoot his wife on more than one occasion. The Coroner stated that “it was a clear case of suicide” and the jury returned a verdict of “Suicide while of unsound mind.”⁷⁷

ANOTHER BECKENHAM TRAGEDY

On Thursday afternoon last [12 December 1907] an inquest was held in St. George’s Church House, Beckenham, on the body of John Buxted [*sic*] Kohler, of 62, Belmont-road, Beckenham, whose death we reported in our previous issue.

Mrs. Kohler, of 62, Belmont-road, Beckenham, widow of the deceased, said her husband was 38 years of age, and formerly was a military band instrument maker. Last February he sold his business. Since then his health had been very bad and he suffered from his head. He had not been attended by a doctor since Easter, when he was in a hospital. He had been worse since then, and gave way to drinking. She tried to prevent him. Last Sunday [8 December] he complained of his head being bad. He was out all day Monday and she did not know where he was. He came back about half-past seven and was raving mad. He threatened to shoot her with a revolver which, however, he put back in his pocket. She was not frightened, as she was used to him, and he had often threatened her before. Besides themselves there were only the babies in the house, but she did not go for assistance. He has also ill-used her at times. After threatening her he went upstairs. Just previous to this he took out his bicycle. He met the little girl up the road and told her to tell witness he was going to sell it. Just before that he had sold the piano, and they came for it first thing on Monday morning. On Tuesday morning [10 December] she got up soon after eight. Her son came and told her his daddy had got up a long time ago. She was very surprised, but she did not do anything because he had gone away so often. She did not hear of his death till the police came, which was about eleven o’clock. Deceased kept the revolver in his room, and always had it loaded. She did not know he had a revolver till two months ago, when he threatened her. She went to the police, and they advised her to go to a doctor and have her husband certified that he was not safe to carry a revolver. She did not act on this advice. Her husband was in financial difficulties, but he was not on bad terms with her, because he could not help threatening to shoot her. She treated him as being mad. But the Jury—He was in the hospital for a chest complaint, and refused to allow her to nurse him [*sic*].

continued

Figure 16

Report in *The Beckenham & Penge Advertiser* for Thursday, 19 December 1907, p. 5, concerning the suicide of John Buxton Köhler. (An account with minor differences is given in *The Beckenham Journal, Penge and Sydenham Advertiser* for Saturday, 14 December 1907, p. 7.) Both reports are available in the Local Studies section of Bromley Central Library.

In reply to the Coroner, witness said she was not surprised to hear from the police that her husband had been found. She knew it was coming.

George Himsted, of Ham-lodge, Wickham-road, Shirley, a shepherd employed by Mr. F. Lloyd, said before eight o'clock on Tuesday morning he saw the body of a man lying in the lower park near the wood. It would be about 400 or 500 yards from the footpath leading from Elmers End to Shirley. The man was fully dressed, was dead, and looked as if he had shot himself in the mouth. There was a revolver on the man's chest. He went and gave information, and then returned and watched the body till the police came.

P.-c. Wright, 247 P, said in response to a telephone message he took the ambulance to Ham Farm. He found the body as described and sent for Dr. Blake. On searching the deceased he found in his possession £3 in gold, 13s, in silver, and 1³/₄d. in copper, and some foreign coins. There was also some correspondence.

Dr. Blake, of West Wickham, said there was a bullet wound in the back of the mouth and death was due to this. The wound was apparently self-inflicted.

The Coroner said the only question for the jury was the state of the man's mind at the time of his suicide. He thought very good advice had been given Mrs. Kohler when the police told her to consult a doctor to see if the deceased could be restrained. Notwithstanding the advice the man had unfortunately been allowed to go on.

A verdict of "Suicide whilst temporarily deranged" was returned.

Figure 16 (cont.)

Postlude

Much of the confusion surrounding the Köhler family appears to have resulted from the proliferation of those named John and Elizabeth, so a summary of the principal names and addresses is provided by Figure 15. It should also be noted that the starting point for the current work was the continuing collaborative project between the Royal College of Music and the Open University (under the leadership of Dr. David Sharp), set up to investigate the walking-stick trumpet preserved at the Royal College of Music Museum of Instruments (RCM 296).⁷⁸ Since the trumpet lacks a maker's name, possibly inscribed on the missing detachable bell, the original aim was to ascertain whether the instrument originated in the workshop of John Köhler (II) or of John Augustus Köhler. While the instrument is also undated, it is now possible to confirm that, if constructed by a member of the Köhler family, it was almost certainly John Augustus Köhler.

Bromley, Kent,
February 2nd, 1907.

Sir,

We beg to announce that we have disposed of our entire business to Messrs. Swaine & Adeney of 185, Piccadilly, London, W., the well-known Whip Manufacturers.

We should like to thank our numerous customers for their kind patronage for so many years, and trust that the same will be extended to our successors who will keep a large stock of all our specialities.

Yours faithfully,
KÖHLER & SON

185, Piccadilly, London, W.
February 2nd, 1907

Sir,

We beg to announce that as stated on the opposite side we have purchased the old-established business of Messrs. J. Köhler & Son, Bromley, Kent, Hunting, Coaching and, Signal-horn Manufacturers.

The factory will be retained as before, and customers can therefore rely on obtaining the unique tone and excellent qualities that have made their specialties so famous for over a century.

All orders and communications should be addressed to 185, Piccadilly, London, W., where customers wishing to choose a Horn personally will find a great variety of all the well-known patterns; also of all other of Messrs. J. Köhler & Son's specialties.

We are,
Your obedient Servants,
SWAINE & ADENEY

Figure 17

Two open letters, from “Köhler & Son” and “Swaine & Adeney” (1907) from An Old Guard, *The Coach-Horn: What to Blow and How to Blow it*, 5th edn. (London: Köhler & Son, undated [ca.1907]), 20. According to the copyright records held at the National Archives, *The Coach Horn: What to Blow, How to Blow it*, by an old guard, was first published by Köhler & Son on 5 June 1879. See *Registry Book of the Stationers' Company beginning November 13th 1878 ...*, The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO) COPY 3/26, p. 129. Although not confirmed by the copyright records, the Addenda to the third edition of *The Coach Horn* make it clear that the author was Augustus Charles Köhler.

List of surviving instruments

A list of instruments made by the Köhler family, together with inscriptions and the locations of those in public collections, is provided as a Web page at:

<http://www.galpainsociety.org/gdkl.html>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Lance Whitehead studied music at the University of Edinburgh, gaining a PhD for his thesis, "The Clavichords of Hieronymus and Johann Hass." Since leaving Edinburgh, he has taught music at a prep school and worked at the Royal College of Music as Research Fellow in Organology. As well as specializing in eighteenth-century keyboard instruments, he is a keen amateur horn player and is currently training to become an Assistant Forensic Practitioner with the Metropolitan Police.

Arnold Myers completed his doctorate at the University of Edinburgh with research into acoustically based techniques for taxonomic classification of brass instruments. He has contributed articles to The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments, The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, and The New Dictionary of National Biography. He is one of three authors of the Oxford University Press book Musical Instruments: History, Technology and Performance of Instruments of Western Music. He is the Director of the Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, and edits an ongoing catalogue of the collection.

Appendix 1

Price list of Köhler instruments, submitted to the royal commissioners of the 1851 Great Exhibition. See *Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations 1851*.

Prospectuses of Exhibitors (collected under the authority of the Royal Commissioners), volume 9, unpaginated.

		<i>L</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
Köhler's Patent Lever Trumpets (3 Valves)	Each	12	12	0
Köhler's Patent Lever Cornopean (3 Valves)	do	12	12	0
Köhler's Patent Lever Cornetto (3 Valves)	do	10	10	0
Köhler's Patent Lever Clavicord [sic] (4 Valves)	do	14	14	0
Köhler's Patent Lever French Horns (2 Valves)	Per Pair	33	12	0
Köhler's Patent Lever Trumpets (2 Valves)	Each	10	10	0
Köhler's Patent Lever Trombones, in F, G, Ab, Bb, or C (3 Valves)	do	12	12	0
Valve French Horns (2 Valves)	Per Pair	31	10	0
French Horns, with Master crooks to every Key	do	31	10	0
Slide French Horns	do	21	0	0
phicleid [sic], a newly-invented Bass Instrument, with 11 keys, Bb or C	Each	15	15	0
Valve Trumpets (2 Valves)	do	8	8	0
Harper's Improved Chromatic Trumpet	do	9	9	0
Concert Trumpet with Tuning Slide	do	5	5	0
Cavalry Trumpets	do	2	12	6
Valve Trombones, in F (3 Valves) Bass	do	11	11	0
Valve Trombones, in G (3 Valves) Bass	do	10	10	0
Valve Trombones, in C (3 Valves) Tenor	do	9	9	0
Cornetto in D (3 Valves)	do	7	7	0
Trombone, in F made in the usual way	do	9	9	0
Trombone, in G do	do	8	8	0
Trombone, in C or Tenor do	do	6	6	0
Trombone, in F or Alto do	do	5	5	0
Bass Horns, complete	do	10	10	0
Kent Bugles, with 8 keys	do	4	14	6
C Bugle, with Bb crook and shanks	do	2	10	0
Harper's new-invented Walking-stick Trumpet	do	4	4	0
McFarlane's Improved Kent Bugles, 10 keys	do	8	0	0
McFarlane's Improved Cornopean, with Crooks to put in Bb, A, Ab, G and F (3 Valves)	do	9	9	0
Steel Cymbals	Per Pair	5	5	0
Turkish Cymbals	do	10	10	0
Turkish Crescents, to any pattern	Each	14	14	0
Best Bassoons, with 9 keys	Per Pair [sic]	10	10	0
Best Clarionets, with 13 keys	Each	4	14	6
Patent Box Flutes, with 8 Elastic Plug Keys, Silver Keys	do	5	5	0
1 Set of Flutes, 4 Keys (8 Instruments) Brass Keys	do	7	7	0
1 Set of Flutes, 1 Key (8 Instruments) Brass Keys	do	4	14	6
Best Serpent, with 5 Keys	do	8	8	0
Bass Drums, with Queen's Arms	do	9	9	0
Military Tambourine	do	3	3	0
Military Tambourine, with Bells	do	4	10	0
Side Drums (Brass) with Queen's Arms	do	4	14	6
Side Drums (Wood) with Queen's Arms	do	3	13	6
Kettle Drums, for infantry, with Queen's Arms	Per Pair	14	14	0
Kettle Drums, for infantry, with Queen's Arms	do	16	16	0
The mouth-pieces to the Brass Instruments will be Silver-plated, or Ivory, as required.				
Bands supplied with Military Music.				

Appendix 2

Agreement between Thomas Harper and John Köhler concerning Harper's 'Improved Chromatic Trumpet' and 'Newly Invented Walking Stick Trumpet' (dated 21 February 1833). Royal College of Music Ms 4071 (handwritten in black ink on parchment).

editorial conventions

<> Deleted in original

{ } Inserted in original

/ New line

[folio 1 recto]

Memorandum of Agreement made between Thomas / Harper of Chads Row
 Grays Inn Road Middlesex Musician / and John Kohler of Henrietta Street
 Covent Garden / Middlesex Musical Instrument Maker whereby it is agreed
 / between them that in consideration of said Thomas / Harper placing in the
 hands of said John Kohler / certain models for manufacturing an improved
 chromatic / Trumpet the invention and property of said Thomas Harper /
 and said Thomas Harper agreeing that said John Kohler shall / be the sole
 manufacturer thereof during the continuance of this / agreement and in
 consideration of said Thomas Harper / allowing said John Kohler to use his
 said Thomas Harper's / name in the manufacture and sale of said Improved
 Chromatic / Trumpet he said John Kohler agrees to allow and pay to / said
 Thomas Harper thirty shillings for every one / so made and sold by the said
 John Kohler independently of / the allowance made to professors of Music
 when said Thomas / Harper or any one by his recommendation shall be a /
 purchaser—and the said John Kohler hereby agrees / and binds himself not
 to sell or dispose of any such / improved Chromatic Trumpet without the
 approval of the / said Thomas Harper first had and obtained and without /
 accounting to him said Thomas Harper as aforesaid and / paying to him the
 aforesaid sum of thirty shillings / for every such instrument so made and sold
 by said John / Kohler independently of the usual allowance made to professors
 / of music when said Thomas Harper or any one by his / recommendation
 shall be a purchaser under a penalty / of Twenty pounds {for every Instrument}
 so sold without the approval of / the said Thomas Harper or without
 accounting and / paying as aforesaid—And the said Thomas Harper in /
 consideration of the said John Kohler accounting to and / paying him the said
 Thomas Harper as aforesaid agrees / to leave in said John Kohler's hands the
 said models / and that he will not employ any <ot> person other than the /
 said John Kohler to manufacture the said improved /

[folio 1 verso]

Chromatic Trumpet without the consent in writing of the said / John Kohler first had and obtained under a penalty of Twenty / Pounds for every such instrument manufactured or sold by any / other person under the authority of the said Thomas Harper / and it is agreed that in the event of any difference arising / between the said parties and the said John Kohler's <and> / discontinuing to manufacture the said improved Chromatic / Trumpet, the said John Kohler shall redeliver to the said / Thomas Harper the before mentioned models.—And the said / John Kohler hereby agrees and binds himself not to cast / any model or models from those placed in his hands by / the said Thomas Harper and from {which} the aforesaid improved / Chromatic Trumpet is manufactured under a penalty of / Five hundred pounds for every model which he shall {make or} cast or / procure to be made or cast from the models the property of / the said Thomas Harper now in the possession of the said / John Kohler—and that he the said John Kohler will / not nor shall directly or indirectly manufacture or cause / or procure to be manufactured after the termination of this / agreement any such improved Chromatic Trumpet under a / penalty of Twenty pounds for every one he shall manufacture / or cause or procure to be manufactured after the termination / thereof.—And it is further agreed between the parties hereto / that in the event of either of them acting in any manner contrary / to the true meaning of this agreement, the party so acting / shall forfeit for every such act and pay to the other the sum / of Twenty pounds or Five hundred {pounds} the amount of the / penalty attached to the particular breach and that the / sums so forfeited and to be paid shall be considered as / liquidated damages. And it is agreed in the event of the / Death of the said Thomas Harper during the continuance of / this agreement that the said John Kohler shall account to and / pay the legal representative or representatives of the said Thomas / Harper as he had done to the said Thomas Harper in his / life time—and that the said John Kohler shall in the event / of a termination being put to this agreement by the representative / or representatives of the said Thomas Harper or {by him} the said John / Kohler deliver up to the said Representative or Representatives / the aforesaid Models and it is further agreed between the / parties that the said John Kohler shall be the sole Manufacturer /

[folio 2 recto]

of a newly invented Walking stick Trumpet the property and / invention of the said Thomas Harper in consideration / that the said John Kohler shall

allow to said Thomas / Harper one pound and one shilling for every one so
 manufactured / and sold by him the said John Kohler—And the said / John
 Kohler hereby binds himself not to sell any such / newly invented walking
 stick Trumpet without the approval / of the said Thomas Harper first had and
 obtained under / a penalty of Twenty Pounds—And it is agreed between / the
 said parties that every improved Chromatic Trumpet / and every newly
 invented Walking stick Trumpet manufactured / by the said John Kohler
 shall {be numbered and} bear the name of the / said Thomas Harper thereon
 and that the number of / the first improved Chromatic Trumpet manufactured
 after / the execution of this agreement shall be numbered 28 / and that each
 one subsequently manufactured shall bear / its consecutive number—and
 that the <first> number of the first / newly invented walking stick Trumpet
 manufactured after the / execution of this agreement shall be numbered 28
 and that / each one subsequently manufactured shall bear its consecutive /
 number—and lastly it is agreed that in the event of / the death of the said
 Thomas Harper <shall> during the / continuance of this agreement the said
 John Kohler / shall account to the Representatives of the said Thomas /
 Harper and pay to them the same amount on every newly / invented walking
 stick Trumpet manufactured and sold by / the said John Kohler as he had
 {done} to the said Thomas / Harper during his life time. In Witness whereof
 the said / parties have hereunto set their hands this twenty first / day of
 February one thousand eight hundred and / thirty three.

Thomas Harper [signature]

John Köhler [signature]

Witness, Joseph Nath[anie]l Wells [signature]

[folio 2 verso]

Dated the 21st day of Feb^{ry} 1833 /

Agreement between /

Thomas Harper

and

John Kohler

}
 }
 }

NOTES

¹ See *The Beckenham & Penge Advertiser and West Kent & Surrey Reporter* for Thursday, 12 December 1907, p. 4. Microfilm copies of this and other Kent newspapers are available at the Local Studies section of Bromley Central Library.

² In a letter first published in *The Magazine of Science, and Artist's, Architect's and Builder's Journal* 14 (1851): 266–68, reproduced in *Musical Instruments in the 1851 Exhibition*, ed. Peter and Ann Mactaggart (Welwyn: Mac & Me Ltd, 1986), 63–64, John Augustus Köhler indicated that his instruments were “in use in her majesty’s private band, 1st and 2nd Life Guards, Royal Horse Guards, Coldstream Guards, Scots’ Fusilier Guards, Royal Artillery, 60th Royal Rifles.” Although correspondence with the current Directors of Music of these regiments (or their modern equivalents) has failed to unearth any documentary evidence, the inscription on at least one surviving Köhler instrument provides circumstantial evidence to substantiate this claim. A keyed bugle (Catalogue No. 380) exhibited in Edinburgh in 1968 bears the inscription, “Presented by the Officers of the 1st Battalion Rifle Brigade to Mr. William Miller . . . Bandmaster of the Battalion. Canterbury Oct. 5th 1850.” See catalogue, *The Galpin Society: European Musical Instruments: Edinburgh International Festival 1968*, ed. Graham Melville-Mason (Edinburgh: The Galpin Society, 1968), 52.

³ John Webb, “The English Slide Trumpet,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 5 (1993): 262–79; see also Scott Sorenson and John Webb, “The Harpers and the Trumpet,” *The Galpin Society Journal* 39 (1986): 35–57.

⁴ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), s.v. “Valve,” by Philip Bate and Edward H. Tarr; see also Reginald Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 2nd edn. (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1973), 25–54.

⁵ See *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Press Limited, 1984), s.v. “Köhler,” by Horace Fitzpatrick; William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), s.v. “Köhler”; also *New Grove*, 2nd edn., s.v. “Köhler,” by Horace Fitzpatrick and John Webb.

⁶ The National Archives of the UK (NA): PROB 11/1356, pp. 241–43.

⁷ Information from Helmut Klingelhöfer, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Marburg (personal correspondence with Lance Whitehead); our grateful thanks to Dr. Paul Banks for his assistance in translating this correspondence.

⁸ The Royal Lancashire Volunteers Register of Recruits, Greater Manchester County Record Office, E4/95/1, together with other information concerning the Regiment, is available on the Office’s website at <http://www.gmcro.co.uk/sources/militia/milframes.htm> and <http://www.gmcro.co.uk/sources/mindex.htm>. Our grateful thanks to Emily Burningham (archivist at the GMCRO) for her assistance in this matter.

⁹ See the papers relating to the return to Manchester and disbanding of the Militia, Greater Manchester County Record Office, E4/95/27.

¹⁰ Interestingly, Köhler’s trade card is printed at the top of a “Bill to Equip the Earl of Egremont’s Troop of Sussex Yeoman Cavalry with a trumpet” (West Sussex Record Office, Petworth House Archives 6638).

¹¹ Generally spelled “Jn^o Kholer,” he occurs in the Rate Books of St. Martin-in-the-Fields (Suffolk Street Ward) for Hedge Lane in 1786 (City of Westminster Archives Centre mf 1607 & 1608, vol. F588, p. 26) and for Whitcomb Street from 1787 (City of Westminster Archives Centre mf 1607 & 1608, vol. F590, p. 26) until 1793 (City of Westminster Archives Centre mf 1611, vol. F602, p. 27),

when his name is scored out. Despite the change of street name between 1786 and 1787, this is probably not a real change of address, since Whitcomb Street is a continuation of Hedge Lane. Spelled “John Köhler” or “John Koghler,” he then occurs in the Rate Books of St. James Piccadilly (Pall Mall Ward) for St. James’s Street from 1794 (City of Westminster Archives Center, mf 722, vol. D743, p. 41) until his death in 1801 (mf 734, vol. D756, p. 41).

¹² Confusingly, Köhler’s place of residence on 1 March 1790, when he entered his silver hallmark (No.1449) at Goldsmiths’ Hall, is recorded as 9 Charing Cross. See Arthur G. Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697–1837: Their Marks & Lives from the Original Registers at Goldsmiths’ Hall and Other Sources* (London: Faber and Faber, 3rd edn., 1990), 573. However, this is possibly a scribal error, since Whitcomb Street is in the vicinity of Charing Cross and the authors have not come across this address for Köhler in any other primary source.

¹³ See the Surveyor General of Land Revenues and Successors: Constat [*sic*] Books, volume W4 (The National Archives of the UK (NA): PRO CRES 6/92, pp. 82–87).

¹⁴ In addition to building new instruments, for instance, the Dublin-based keyboard instrument maker Ferdinand Weber (1715–84) supplemented his income by tuning, repairing, and hiring instruments, as well as selling Meissen porcelain. It was also not unusual for him to have to wait several years for payment. See Jenny Nex and Lance Whitehead, “A Copy of Ferdinand Weber’s Account Book,” *The Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 33 (2000): 89–150.

¹⁵ See City of Westminster Archives Centre, Parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, mf vol. 17, p. 61.

¹⁶ Usually spelled “Koghler,” the references to John Köhler (II) in the Rate Books of St. James Piccadilly (Pall Mall Ward) for St. James’s Street, date from 1801 (City of Westminster Archives Centre mf 734, vol. D756, p. 41) until 1805 (mf 744, vol. D892, p. 41). The last trades directory reference to a “John Köhler” at 89 St. James’s Street occurs in *The Post Office Annual Directory* for the year 1806 (p. 156).

¹⁷ A “John Köhlar” [*sic*] is recorded in the Burial Register of St. James Piccadilly for 6 April 1805 (City of Westminster Archives Centre, Parish of St. James Piccadilly, mf vol. 22, unpaginated).

¹⁸ See The Family Records Centre, PROB 11 / 1424, pp. 98–99.

¹⁹ Elizabeth Köhler occurs in the Rate Books of St. James Piccadilly (Pall Mall Ward) for the years 1806 and 1808 (City of Westminster Archives Centre mf 744, vol. D895, p. 41, and mf 743, vol. D1487, p. 42).

²⁰ Described as the “son of John and Elizabeth,” John Augustus Köhler was born on 10 September 1805 and baptized nearly three weeks later on 29 September 1805 in St. James Piccadilly (City of Westminster Archives Centre, Parish of St. James Piccadilly, microfilm volume 6, unpaginated).

²¹ Thomas Percival is recorded on two deeds of title relating to 89 St. James’s Street during this period, the earliest being a 21-year lease between John Nelthorpe of Scawby and Thomas Percival, musical instrument seller, dated 25 February 1811 (Lincolnshire Archives, Nelthorpe VI/33/5). Following a serious fire in 1813 and consequent re-building of the property, a second indenture was drawn up. This was a 29-year lease between John Nelthorpe of South Ferriby and Thomas Percival, musical instrument seller, dated 21 May 1814 (Lincolnshire Archives, Nelthorpe VI/33/7). Interestingly, the rent was raised from £75 (in 1811) to £80 (in 1814). The authors gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Adrian Wilkinson (archivist, Lincolnshire Archives) for providing them with details of these two documents.

²² Generally recorded as “Tho’ Percival & Co,” “Percival,” or “Percival Thos,” Thomas Percival occurs in the Rate Books of St. James Piccadilly (Pall Mall Ward) for St. James’s Street from 1810 (City of Westminster Archives Centre mf 751, vol. D898, p. 45) until 1815 (mf 756, vol. D905, p. 44) and, following re-classification, for Cleveland Row from 1816 (mf 756, vol. D907, p. 40) until 1848 (mf

793, vol. D199, p. 33), when his name is scored out.

²³ Thomas Percival occurs in the following Poll Books: *The Westminster Poll Book 1818*, reproduced from an original in the Library of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London (Exeter: S.A. and M.J. Raymond, 1996), Parish of St. James Piccadilly, p. 33; *Westminster Election. A Poll taken on Wednesday the 26th of July, 1837, for the Election of Two Members to represent the City of Westminster in Parliament* (London: Cookes and Ollivier, 1837), Parish of St. James Piccadilly, p. 16; and *The Westminster Poll Book 1841*, reproduced from an original in the Library of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London (Exeter: S.A. and M.J. Raymond, 1996), Parish of St. James Piccadilly, p. 15.

²⁴ The possibility that Elizabeth Köhler married Thomas Percival must be ruled out, since the Parish Register of St. James Piccadilly records the marriage of one Thomas Percivall [*sic*] to Elizabeth Brown on 26 December 1809 (City of Westminster Archives Centre, Parish of St. James Piccadilly, mf vol. 37, unpaginated). Together they had at least four children: Caroline Elizabeth, b. 24 June 1810 (mf vol. 6, unpaginated); Ann, b. 28 March 1812 (mf vol. 6, unpaginated); George William, b. 10 February 1814 (mf vol. 7, p. 182); and Frances, b. 28 December 1824 (mf vol. 11, p. 87). The family is also recorded as resident at 1 Cleveland Row in the 1841 Census, where the ages of Thomas and Elizabeth are given as 62 and 50 years respectively (see Family Records Centre, mf HO 107/736/1, p. 4). Bearing in mind that Census Returns often contain incorrect information concerning people's ages, this suggests that Thomas Percival was born about 1779. He may, therefore, be the same Thomas Percival who was born 4 October 1781 and baptized as the son of Matthew and Sophia Percival in St. Marylebone, Marylebone Road, on 12 October 1781. See City of Westminster Archives Centre, St. Marylebone, Marylebone Road, mf vol. 7, unpaginated.

²⁵ Particularly in directories published by 'Pigot and Co.,' for instance: *Pigot and Co.'s London & Provincial New Commercial Directory* (1822), *Pigot and Co.'s Commercial Directory of London* (1825), and *Pigot and Co.'s Metropolitan New Alphabetical Directory* (1827 and 1828).

²⁶ In September 1846 and March 1847, Percival sold instruments to Thomas Macbean Glen (1804–73) of Edinburgh. See *The Glen Account Book 1838–1853*, ed. Arnold Myers (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, 1985), 101, 106. It is likely that Percival died or moved away from the area in 1848, but it has not been possible to verify either of these possibilities. Interestingly, the 1851 census records the fact that 1 Cleveland Row was temporarily occupied by the family of Adam Joseph Schott (Family Records Centre, mf HO 107/1484, pp. 307–8), a bandmaster in the guards, who registered "a section of protective rectangular casing enclosing the base of the valves" for the 'Royal Cambridge Valve Bugle' in 1852. See John Webb, "Designs for Brass in the Public Record Office," *The Galpin Society Journal* 38 (1985): 52.

²⁷ The will of the wind musical instrument maker Herman Wrede (The National Archives of the UK (NA): PRO PROB 11/1943, p. 300) was proved in London on 6 March 1841. Following Wrede's death, John David Kohler took out three insurance policies on Wrede's property with the Sun Fire Office: Insurance Policy Nos. 1352857 and 1352865, both dated 19 April 1841, for a period of three months (Guildhall Library Ms 11936/574) and Policy No. 1360053, dated 19 July 1841, for a period of one month (Guildhall Library Ms 11936/575).

²⁸ John Köhler occurs in the Rate Books of St. Paul Covent Garden for 35 Henrietta Street from 1830 (City of Westminster Archives Centre, mf 1968, vol. H191, p. 3) until 1853 (mf 1973, vol. H236, p. 6) and for both 33 and 35 Henrietta Street from 1854 (mf 1973, vol. H238, p. 5) until 1878 (mf 1984, H357, pp. 2–3).

²⁹ John Köhler and family occur in the Census Returns for Henrietta Street, St. Paul Covent Garden in 1841 (The Family Records Centre, mf HO 107/741/3, p. 9), 35 Henrietta Street in 1851 (mf HO

107/1511, p. 17) and 33 Henrietta Street in both 1861 (mfRG9/177, p. 8) and 1871 (mfRG10/362, p. 9).

³⁰ The tenancy agreements for 35 Henrietta Street are as follows: a 21-year lease dated 10 December 1833 (London Metropolitan Archives, E/BER/CG/L78/35); a 21-year lease dated 16 February 1855 (E/BER/CG/L81/10a); a three-month lease dated 21 December 1875 (E/BER/CG/L81/10b); a one-year lease dated 18 April 1876 (E/BER/CG/L81/10c); a one-year Lease dated 16 May 1877 (E/BER/CG/L81/10e); a one-year lease dated 8 March 1878 (E/BER/CG/L81/10f); a one-year lease dated 4 February 1879 (E/BER/CG/L81/10g); a one-year lease dated 27 February 1880 (E/BER/CG/L81/10h); and a three-month lease dated 9 March 1881 (E/BER/CG/L81/10i). The tenancy agreements for 33 Henrietta Street are as follows: a 21-year lease dated 15 February 1855 (E/BER/CG/L81/8b); a six-month lease dated 21 December 1875 (E/BER/CG/L81/8c); a one-year lease dated 23 June 1876 (E/BER/CG/L81/8d); and a one-year lease dated 16 May 1877 (E/BER/CG/L81/8e). Documents for the periods 1833–55, 1875–78, and 1879–81 are signed John Köhler, John Augustus Köhler, and Augustus Charles Köhler respectively.

³¹ John Augustus Köhler married Elizabeth Sarah Mitthofer in St. Paul Covent Garden on 22 April 1835, in the presence of John C Mitthofer, Louisa Percival, and John Conrad Köhler (City of Westminster Archives Centre, St. Paul Covent Garden, mf vol.14, p. 218).

³² According to the Baptismal Registers of St. Paul Covent Garden, John Augustus and Elizabeth Sarah Köhler had nine children: Elizabeth Ann, b. 1837 (City of Westminster Archives Centre, St. Paul Covent Garden, mf vol. 7, p. 253); John George, b. 1838 (mf vol. 7, p. 276); Amelia Victoria, b. 1839 (mf vol. 7, p. 290); Augustus Charles, b. 1841 (mf vol. 8, p. 3); Louisa Isabella, b. 1843 (mf vol. 8, p. 33); Thomas Charles, b. 1845 (mf vol. 8, p. 52); Christopher Henry, b. 1847 (mf vol. 8, p. 64); Harriett Maria, b. 1850 (mf vol. 8, p. 90); and Alfred Feisé, b. 1851 (mf vol. 8, p. 106).

³³ The authors are extremely grateful to Caroline Taylor for undertaking this examination (personal correspondence with Lance Whitehead).

³⁴ See Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697–1837*, 573.

³⁵ John Augustus Köhler died on 20 June 1878, his will being proved by his widow Elizabeth Sarah Köhler on 31 July 1878. His personal estate was valued at less than £2,000. See The Family Records Centre, National Probate Calendars, 1878, microfiche 22/50.

³⁶ From the “Survey and Valuation of the Parish of St. Paul Covent Garden” made in 1839 (City of Westminster Archives Centre, mf2031, Ms H 900, p. 29), we know that 35 Henrietta Street consisted of a “House[,] Shop and Yard.” Furthermore, according to the 1833 lease (London Metropolitan Archives, E/BER/CG/L78/35), it appears that the property measured just 20 by 33½ feet.

³⁷ John Augustus Köhler employed “6 men & 4 boys” in 1861 (The Family Records Centre, mfRG9/177, p.8) and “6 men 1 boy” in 1871 (The Family Records Centre, mf RG10/362, p. 9).

³⁸ See James Jordan’s price list filed in *Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations 1851. Prospectuses of Exhibitors* (collected under the authority of the Royal Commissioners), vol. 9, unpaginated; reprinted in *Musical Instruments in the 1851 Exhibition*, Appendix.

³⁹ In addition to instruments, the firm probably sold a variety of musical accessories. We know, for instance, that Köhler sold manuscript paper, since the parts of Elgar’s Piano Trio of 1882 are written on paper marked “Köhler & Son, Military Musical Instrument Makers, 35 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.” We would like to thank Dr. Paul Banks for bringing this manuscript to our attention.

⁴⁰ Including examples dated 1835 and 1860, both illustrated in John Webb, “The English Slide Trumpet,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 5 (1993): 262-79, here 265.

⁴¹ Personal communication with Arnold Myers, 2003.

⁴² Sorenson and Webb, "The Harpers and the Trumpet," 35–57.

⁴³ Royal College of Music Ms 4071.

⁴⁴ This instrument, inscribed on a brass collar "T. Harper's New Invented / TRUMPET," was given to the RCM by Thomas F. Harper in 1924. For further information see E.A.K. Ridley, *The Royal College of Music Museum of Instruments Catalogue Part I: European Wind Instruments* (London: The Royal College of Music, 1982), 57.

⁴⁵ Personal communication with Arnold Myers, 2003.

⁴⁶ See *Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851. Reports by the Juries* (London: published by the authority of the Royal Commission: Spicer Brothers, wholesale stationers; W. Clowes and Sons, printers, 1852), 1:723.

⁴⁷ The 'Patent Lever Trumpet,' 'Patent Lever Cornopean,' 'Patent Lever French Horn,' and 'Patent Lever Trombone' are reproduced in *Musical Instruments in the 1851 Exhibition*, plate 12.

⁴⁸ C.R. Day, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Instruments recently exhibited at the Royal Military Exhibition, London, 1890* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1891).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁵¹ Herbert Heyde, "The Brass Instrument Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 11 (1999): 113–48.

⁵² *Musical Instruments in the 1851 Exhibition*, 64

⁵³ Cited on pp. 47–48 of Robert E. Eliason, "Rhodolph Hall: Nineteenth-Century Keyed Bugle, Cornet, and Clarinet Soloist," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 29 (2003): 5–71.

⁵⁴ Robert E. Eliason, "More on Echo-Cornets," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 30 (2004), in press.

⁵⁵ London, Public Record Office, BT45/23/4464 April 8 1862, "Bayley's New Musical Acoustics for Musical Instruments." Bayley registered two designs on 8th April 1862: "Bayley's Improved Acoustic Cornet," Registered design 1862 (No. 4463), and "Bayley's Improved Acoustics for Musical Instruments" (No. 4464). Registered Design No. 4463 is similar to the cornet Bayley developed in conjunction with B.F. Richardson in Boston in 1861, with Allen valves and the bell positioned at the bottom of the instrument. An example is illustrated in Robert Garofalo and Mark Elrod, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands* (Charleston, West Virginia: Pictorial Histories Publishing, 1985), p. 31. There is no evidence that this model (or indeed any instrument with Allen valves) was ever made in Britain. The new feature claimed for this design was the layout with few bends in either the main tubing or the valve tubing. Registered Design No. 4464 with Berlin valves is the model actually manufactured by Köhler, and the design in this case is not restricted to the cornet. The overall layout was similar to that of Design No. 4463, but with the bell at the side. Since this basic layout could no longer be claimed as novel, the text draws attention to the fact that the whole instrument can be drained with a single water key, and that a change of key can be made with the tuning-slide, the mouthpipe remaining stationary. Very little is known about John Bayley, or why he came to Britain during the American Civil War. He may possibly be identified with the J. Bayley who bought a Lied Horn from Boosey and Company on 21 December 1883.

⁵⁶ See Frank Tomes and Arnold Myers, "Rudall Carte's Patent Conical Bore Brasswind and Webster Trumpets," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 7 (1995): 107–22.

⁵⁷ Personal communication with Arnold Myers ca. 1989.

⁵⁸ John Augustus and Elizabeth Sarah Köhler's first son, John George (b.1838), was buried on 22 March 1840, aged one year, five months. City of Westminster Archives Centre, Burial Register of St. Paul Covent Garden, mf vol.28, p. 252.

⁵⁹ City of Westminster Archives Centre, Baptismal Register of St. Paul Covent Garden, mf vol.8, p. 3.

⁶⁰ According to a certified copy of their marriage certificate, obtained from the General Register Office, the marriage was solemnized at All Souls Hampstead in the presence of Henry Humphrey Buxton and John Augustus Köhler, the bride's and groom's fathers.

⁶¹ Information from a certified copy of John Buxton Köhler's birth certificate (19 October 1869), obtained from the General Register Office.

⁶² Augustus Charles and Eliza Köhler, together with their seven children (Florence, Maud, John Buxton, Constance, Henry, Augustus, and Arthur) are recorded at this address in the 1881 census; Augustus Charles Köhler is described as a "military mus[ical] instrument maker employing 8 men." See The Family Records Centre, RG11/735, p. 123. The latest verifiable date for this address is 1888, from the *Register of Voters for the Parliamentary Borough of Westminster for the year 1888*, rev. Algernon Bathurst esq. (London: Woodfall and Kinder), 52. Unfortunately, it appears that the Rate Books for Forest Hill do not survive, since they are not preserved at either Lewisham Local History Centre or the London Metropolitan Archives.

⁶³ This is the address where Köhler was living at the time of his death in 1890.

⁶⁴ An Old Guard, *The Coach-Horn: What to Blow and How to Blow it*, 5th edn. (London: Köhler & Son, undated, ca.1907), 14. According to various leases, Köhler paid £50 rent for 33 and for 35 Henrietta Street per annum to the Duke of Bedford during the period 1855–76, the rent being increased to £75 for each property per annum in 1876. See the London Metropolitan Archives, E/BER/CG/L81/8b (1855) and E/BER/CG/L81/8d (1876) for 33 Henrietta Street, E/BER/CG/L81/10a (1855) and E/BER/CG/L81/10c (1876) for 35 Henrietta Street.

⁶⁵ Augustus Charles Köhler occurs in the Rate Books of St. Paul Covent Garden for 35 Henrietta Street from 1879 (City of Westminster Archives Centre, St. Paul Covent Garden, mf 1985, vol. H362, p. 3) until 1881 (mf 1985, vol. H369, p. 2).

⁶⁶ Augustus Charles Köhler occurs in the Rate Books of St. Margaret and St. John Westminster for 116 Victoria Street from 1882 (City of Westminster Archives Centre, St. Margaret & St. John Westminster, vol. E758A, p. 122) until 1887 (vol. E763A, p. 32). Following the re-numbering of the street and, despite dying in 1890, he is recorded as the ratepayer for 61 Victoria Street from 1888 (vol. E764A, p. 130) until 1895 (vol. E775, p. 143).

⁶⁷ Augustus Charles Köhler died on 14 June 1890, his will being proved by his widow Eliza Köhler and his brother Christopher Henry Köhler on 28 July 1890. His personal estate was valued at £2,771 18s 8d. See The Family Records Centre, National Probate Calendars, 1890, microfiche 34/61.

⁶⁸ According to a certified copy of their marriage certificate, obtained from the General Register Office, the marriage was solemnized at Holy Trinity, North Malvern, Worcestershire, in the presence of Thomas George Dobbs and Mary Ann Allen (Cecilia Stewart's mother).

⁶⁹ According to a certified copy of their marriage certificate, obtained from the General Register Office, the marriage was solemnized at Wandsworth Register Office, in the presence of Jane Lockwood and Augusta Hilda Taylor.

⁷⁰ A certified copy of Cecilia Köhler's death certificate, obtained from the General Register Office, indicates that she died aged 25 years, on 2 July 1895, at 'The View,' Worcester Road, Great Malvern.

⁷¹ According to certified copies of their birth certificates, obtained from the General Register Office, Chrystabel was born on 13 July 1896 (at 9 Albert Mansions, South Lambeth Road), John Augustus Cecil was born on 26 May 1902 (at 19 Bonneville Gardens, Bonneville Road, Clapham) and Geoffrey Buxton was born on 7 October 1905 (at 1 West Hill, Downe, Kent).

⁷² John Buxton Köhler occurs in the Rate Books of St. Margaret & St. John Westminster for 61

Victoria Street in 1896 only (City of Westminster Archives Centre, St. Margaret & St. John Westminster, vol. E776A, p. 145) and for 12 St. Ermin's Mansions, Great Chapel Street from 1896 (vol. E776A, p. 111) until 1901 (no volume number, p. 35), when his name is scored out.

⁷³ Although 167 Ebury Street SW is the firm's address as recorded in *The Post Office London Directory* for the period 1902–04, John Buxton Köhler did not pay the rates on these premises, and does not occur in the Rate Books of St. George Hanover Square (District No. 5) for this address throughout the period 1902–08.

⁷⁴ John Buxton Köhler resided in Upper Tooting during the period 1891–97. His addresses in Upper Tooting were 48 Cheriton Square in 1891 (Family Records Centre, 1891 Census, RG12/455, p. 46); 1 Cheriton Square from 1893 (1893 Electoral Register of the Borough of Wandsworth, Balham Ward, p. 397) until 1895 (1895 Electoral Register of the Borough of Wandsworth, Balham Ward, p. 325); 'Lyncott,' 101 Ritherdon Road from 1894 (Kelly's Balham, Tooting and Merton Directory for 1894, p. 139) until 1896 (Kelly's London Suburban Directory, Southern Suburbs for 1896, p. 406); and 19 Streathbourne Road from 1895 (Marriage Certificate, 13 August 1895) until 1897 (1897 Electoral Register of Westminster, St. Margaret Ward No. 2, Petty France, 12 Great Chapel Street). Köhler is known to have lived at three further addresses in London: 9 Albert Mansion, South Lambeth Road from 1896 (Birth Certificate of his daughter Chrystabel, 13 July 1896) until 1899 (Register of Parliamentary Voters for the Parliamentary Borough of Westminster for the year 1899, p. 34); 26 Shandon Road from 1898 (Kelly's Brixton, Clapham and South Lambeth Directory for 1898–99, p. 405) until 1901 (Family Records Centre, 1901 Census, RG13/467, p. 114); and 19 Bonneville Gardens, Bonneville Road, Clapham from 1902 (birth certificate of his son John Augustus Cecil, 26 May 1902) until 1904 (Kelly's Brixton and Clapham Directory for 1903–04, p. 416).

⁷⁵ Although in an open letter to the readers of *An Old Guard*, *The Coach-Horn: What to Blow and How to Blow it*, 20, the address of 'Köhler & Son' is given as "Bromley, Kent," the firm is not recorded in *Bush's Bromley Budget and Almanack ... with Directory of Bromley* (Bromley: S. Bush & Son) for the period 1900–07. Perhaps the firm was located in Beckenham, Chislehurst, Orpington, or Penge, rather than Bromley itself, but a search of *Kelly's Directory of Kent, Surrey and Sussex* (London: Kelly's Directories) for the same period (i.e., 1901–07) has also failed to confirm the presence of 'Köhler & Son' in any of these settlements. Sets of both Trades Directories are available for consultation at the Local Studies section of Bromley Central Library.

⁷⁶ 1 West Hill, Downe, is the address given on the birth certificate (1904) of John Buxton Köhler's son, Geoffrey Buxton; 62 Belmont Road is the address recorded on his death certificate (1907).

⁷⁷ See the report of the Coroner's Inquest into Köhler's death in *The Beckenham Journal, Penge and Sydenham Advertiser* for Saturday, 14 December 1907, p. 7. A microfilm copy of the paper was examined at the Local Studies section of Bromley Central Library.

⁷⁸ See note 44.

