

# LADIES IN THE WHEATSTONE LEDGERS: THE GENDERED CONCERTINA IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND, 1835–1870<sup>1</sup>

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The heart of this study is the inventory of women whose names appear in the nineteenth-century sales ledgers of Wheatstone & Co., the period's most prestigious manufacturer of the English concertina.<sup>2</sup> More specifically, the inventory is based on the nine extant sales ledgers, now housed at the Horniman Museum, London, that list Wheatstone's day-to-day sales from 4 April 1835 to 23 May 1870.<sup>3</sup> In all, the ledgers record a total of 15,056 transactions,<sup>4</sup> of which no fewer than 1,769 (just under 12%) refer to and account for 978 women who either purchased, rented, exchanged, or borrowed concertinas for their own use or, as with those who taught the instrument (see Tables 8 and 11), had such transactions carried out in their name with the intention of passing the instrument on to someone else. Clearly, these figures come with an important caveat with respect to things that we cannot know: (1) how many transactions entered under a woman's name involved instruments ultimately destined for men; (2) how many transactions signaled movement in the opposite direction; and (3) how many concertinas sold to dealers ended up in the hands of women? In the end, we can only tally up the transactions, take them at face value, and take note of those that specifically involve women.

<sup>1</sup> It is with great pleasure that I dedicate this article to and acknowledge the help and support received from my fellow members of the informal (internet-connected) Concertina Research Forum: Chris Algar, Stephen Chambers, Robert Gaskins, Randall Merris, and Wes Williams, all of whom share my interest in the history of the concertina in Victorian England and were always ready to supply information, challenge interpretations, and keep up a constant stream of stimulating discussion. Thanks also to Judith Barger, Christina Bashford, Margaret Birley, Julie Cunningham, Paul De Silva, Therese Ellsworth, William Glenn, Halina Goldberg, Rachel Goodman, Robert Harvey, Foster Henry, Blake Howe, Ian Graham-Orlebar, Sylvia Kahan, Charity Lofthouse, Adrienne Munich, Julia Grella O'Connell, Peg Rivers, Douglas Rogers, Deborah Rohr, Pat Shipman, Lawrence Shuster, E. Bradley Strauchen, Wim Wakker, Jennifer C.H.J. Wilson, Robert J. Wood, and the *Research Chronicle's* anonymous reader, each of whom helped and contributed in diverse and important ways.

<sup>2</sup> The company was variously known as: (1) C. Wheatstone & Co., after the family's most famous member, the physicist Sir Charles Wheatstone (see below); (2) W. Wheatstone & Co., first after Sir Charles's father, William (1775–1854), and then after his brother, William Dolman (1804–62), with the two Williams seemingly having run the day-to-day affairs of the business during their lifetimes; (3) Messrs. Wheatstone & Co; and (4) simply Wheatstone & Co. To what extent Sir Charles took an active role in the business from the time of his brother's death in 1862 until the firm was sold to the Chidley family (related to the Wheatstones through marriage) around 1870 is uncertain. In addition to manufacturing concertinas, Wheatstone's also produced flutes (at least early on in its history) and seraphines/harmoniums, and published a voluminous amount of music, mainly for the English concertina. On the history of the firm, see Peter Kidson, William C. Smith/rev. Peter Ward Jones, 'Wheatstone', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), xxvii, 334–5 (hereafter *New Grove 2*); William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London, 1993), 426; Neil Wayne, 'The Wheatstone English Concertina', *Galpin Society Journal*, 44 (1991), 117–49 (also online at <<http://www.free-reed.co.uk/galpin>>); *idem*, 'Concertina Book—Final Edit' (1986), 29–51 (an unpublished manuscript of which there is a copy in the Horniman Museum, London); Stephen Chambers, 'Some Notes on Lachenal Concertina Production and Serial Numbers', *Papers of the International Concertina Association*, 1 (2004), 19–20, n. 18 (also online at both <<http://www.concertina.org/pica.php>> and <<http://www.concertina.com/chambers/lachenal-production>>). Unless otherwise noted, all references to the concertina are to the type known as the English concertina, though I sometimes use that name in full; for other types, see note 12.

<sup>3</sup> The ledgers are described in some detail below (see the section entitled 'The Ledgers', following the Introduction). Ledger C104a, 18, contains a late, pencil entry dated 3 May 1834 in connection with the sale of Wheatstone no. 352 (all Wheatstone concertinas have a serial number); however, this date is surely incorrect, as no other instrument numbered in the 300s antedates 1839. There is a gap in the records from 5 April 1849 through 31 December 1850, as the ledger for that period is now missing. In addition, records from 4 April 1835 to 4 April 1839 and from 6 April 1848 to 5 April 1849 are patchy and probably incomplete. The ledgers are in the Horniman Museum's Wayne Archive, and are available online at <<http://www.horniman.info>>.

<sup>4</sup> This does not include the 875 instances of duplicate entries shared by C1046 and C104a; on the often-puzzling relationship between these two ledgers, see the description of the latter in 'The Ledgers', below. Note that, throughout this study, the word 'transactions' can refer to sales, rentals, returns, loans, or exchanges.

The Introduction, which analyses and provides the context for the data in the Inventory, is divided into six sections: I. ‘Matters of Propriety’, II. ‘The English Concertina’, III. ‘The Clientele: An Overview’, IV. ‘Ladies in the Ledgers’, V. ‘Marketing Strategies’, and VI. ‘Concluding Comment’. It is followed by two brief sections: ‘The Ledgers’, which describes the nine sales ledgers and offers a short note on one ‘production’ book (without the names of customers) and two salary books, and the ‘Preface to the Inventory’, which explains how the Inventory is organised and lists the sources (and their sigla) cited therein.

## INTRODUCTION

### I. Matters of Propriety

As is well known, Victorian England held firm convictions about which instruments were appropriate for women, whether professionals or well-bred amateurs of the middle and upper classes (titled aristocracy included). Indeed, conventional wisdom holds that, until the early 1870s, when the informal ban on women playing the violin began to loosen,<sup>5</sup> only three instruments were deemed suitable for women: piano, harp, and—as Dora reminds us throughout Dickens’s *David Copperfield*—guitar.<sup>6</sup>

Yet this seemingly neat assessment needs to be fine tuned a bit, for the popularity of the guitar seems to have peaked by the middle of the century,<sup>7</sup> while the harp was already relegated to the status of ‘a splendid Mythus’ by 1849.<sup>8</sup> Thus the piano reigned supreme (if not, as we shall see, entirely alone). Perhaps no one spelled out the situation with greater charm—and perhaps with a whiff of nostalgia for the ‘good old days’—than that prolific writer of ‘how-to-do-it’ books for women, Mrs C. S. Peel: ‘Singing and playing the piano, and during the thirties and forties, upon the harp and guitar, were approved feminine accomplishments. Gentlemen also sang and duets were in high favour,

<sup>5</sup> The story of the violin’s adoption by women is told superbly by Paula Gillett, *Musical Women in England, 1870–1914: “Encroaching on All Man’s Privileges”* (New York, 2000), 77–140. Though founded in 1822, and always non-discriminatory with respect to gender, the Royal Academy of Music did not admit its first female violin students until January 1872. Prior to that time, female students could, in addition to taking up voice, study only piano and harp; see W.W. Cazalet, *The History of the Royal Academy of Music* (London, 1854), 146; Frederick Corder, *A History of the Royal Academy of Music from 1822 to 1922* (London, 1922), 10.

<sup>6</sup> The literature on the domestic use of the piano in Victorian England and its gendered associations with women (particularly in the world of literary fiction) is extensive; see, among others: Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History* (New York, 1954), 267–83; Nicholas Temperley, ‘Domestic Music in England, 1800–1860’, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 85 (1958–9), 35; Dieter Hildebrandt, *Pianoforte: A Social History of the Piano*, trans. Harriet Goodman (New York, 1988), 171–8; Mary Burgan, ‘Heroines at the Piano: Women and Music in Nineteenth-Century Fiction’, in *The Lost Chord: Essays on Victorian Music*, ed. Nicholas Temperley (Bloomington IN, 1989), 42–67; Richard Leppert, ‘Sexual Identity, Death, and the Family Piano’, *19th-Century Music*, 16 (1992), 111–12; James Parakilas, *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano* (New Haven, 1999), 96–103; Laura Vorachek, “‘The Instrument of the Century’: The Piano as an Icon of Female Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century”, *George Eliot-George Henry Lewes Studies*, 38–9 (2000), 26–43; Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, 3–4; and ‘Entrepreneurial Women Musicians in Britain: From the 1790s to the Early 1900s’, in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington IN, 2004), 199–200; Derek B. Scott, ‘The Sexual Politics of Victorian Musical Aesthetics’, in *From the Erotic to the Demonic: On Critical Musicology* (Oxford, 2003), 35–7; Jodi Lustig, ‘The Piano’s Progress: The Piano in Play in the Victorian Novel’, in *The Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction*, ed. Sophie Fuller and Nicky Losseff (Aldershot, 2004), 84–8. On the similar situation in the United States, see Judith Tick, ‘Passed Away is the Piano Girl: Changes in American Musical Life, 1870–1900’, in *Women Making Music*, ed. Jane Bower and Judith Tick (Urbana, 1986), 325–48, and Julia Eklund Koza, ‘Music and the Feminine Sphere: Images of Women as Musicians in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, 1830–1877’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 75 (1991), 103–29. On the guitar, see Stewart Button, *The Guitar in England, 1800–1924*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York, 1989), *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Button, *The Guitar in England*, 123, who sees the decline in popularity having already begun in the mid-1830s; see also, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, 9th edn, ed. Percy A. Scholes (Oxford, 1955), 434; Gillett, ‘Entrepreneurial Women Musicians in Britain’, 211.

<sup>8</sup> See the essay by John Oxenford, ‘Music in the Drawing-Room’, in *Gavarni in London: Sketches of Life and Character*, ed. Albert Smith (London, 1849), 18, which also refers to the fate of the guitar.

but play the piano they did not, that being considered a task fit only for ladies and professional musicians'.<sup>9</sup>

But even this more nuanced version of the story stands in need of revision, for there was still another instrument of which ladies—old and young, middle class and aristocratic, professional and amateur—could avail themselves: the English concertina. Indeed, as attested by a 'lady of talent' in an advertisement for a Kensington Park finishing school in *The Times* on 26 July 1860, playing the concertina—like playing the piano or speaking French—was reckoned among a well-bred young lady's 'accomplishments':

EDUCATION (superior) for YOUNG LADIES: inclusive terms 40 guineas a year.—In an old-established finishing school, of high standing, conducted by a lady of talent, assisted by English and foreign governesses and eminent masters daily for all accomplishments. The instruction comprehends all the higher branches of English, modern languages, piano, singing, *concertina* [my emphasis], guitar, drawing, dancing, and calisthenics. The domestic arrangements are on a most liberal scale. The residence is a spacious mansion, delightfully situate, with extensive garden, and the locality not to be surpassed for salubrity. Address A.B. 9, Stanley-gardens, Kensington-park. (p. 4)

## II. The English Concertina

### 1. Musical Characteristics

Developed by the soon-to-be-famous physicist Sir Charles Wheatstone (1802–75) in the late 1820s,<sup>10</sup> the English concertina is a bellows-driven, free-reed instrument (the reeds made of one or another type of metal),<sup>11</sup> on which each button produces the same pitch regardless of the direction in which the bellows are moving.<sup>12</sup> And though the earliest concertinas varied widely in terms of their number of buttons and, therefore, their range, a standard type emerged by about the mid-1840s: a forty-eight-button treble, with a completely chromatic range that extended from *g* to *c'''*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Mrs C.S. Peel, 'Homes and Habits', in George Malcolm Young, *Early Victorian England, i: 1830–1865* (Oxford, 1934), 98; she emphasizes the harp's fall from popularity by citing a passage from a letter written by the daughter of a vicar in 1850: 'The harp was popular in my mother's youth'.

<sup>10</sup> Wheatstone was best known for his work with electricity and telegraphy; the standard biography is that by Brian Bowers, *Sir Charles Wheatstone, FRS 1802–1875*, rev. edn. Institution of Electrical Engineers History of Technology Series, 29 (London, 2001); see also, Sigalia Dostrovsky, 'Wheatstone, Charles', in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. Charles Coulston Gillispie (New York, 1976), xiv, 288–91. On the confusion concerning the date of the original patent—1829 or 1844 (it is the earlier of the two)—see Allan Atlas, 'Historical Document: George Grove's Article on the "Concertina" in the First Edition of *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1878)', *Papers of the International Concertina Association*, 2 (2005), 62 (also online at <<http://www.concertina.org/pica.php>>).

<sup>11</sup> On the various types of metals and their effect on the timbre of the instrument, see my article, 'The Victorian Concertina: Some Issues Relating to Performance Practice', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 3/2 (2006), forthcoming; Wayne, 'The Wheatstone English Concertina,' 137–9.

<sup>12</sup> In this respect, it differs from the so-called 'Anglo' (or, more formally, 'Anglo-German' or 'Anglo-Continental') concertina, on which each button produces two different pitches, one with the bellows pulled out, another with the bellows pushed in; it is the 'Anglo' that one most often finds among concertinists who play folk music, and it is always the concertina of choice in the Irish folk tradition. Analogous to the exhaling and inhaling on the harmonica, the system of two pitches per button also appears on such related instruments as the melodeon and the bandoneón (the latter of tango fame). Still another type of concertina to gain popularity was the so-called 'Duet', which found an especially welcome home in the music halls and, by century's end, with the bands of the Salvation Army. For descriptions of the various types of concertinas, see Atlas, 'Concertina', in *New Grove 2*, iv, 236–40; and *idem*, *The Wheatstone English Concertina in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1996), 12–15. Again, unless otherwise noted, we are concerned only with the English concertina.

<sup>13</sup> Wheatstone's and other manufacturers produced a complete consort of concertinas; in addition to the treble, there were (and still are) tenor (with lowest note on *c*), baritone (*G*), and bass (*C*) concertinas available. We should also note that until the late 1850s or early 1860s, concertina manufacturers utilized a meantone tuning and divided the octave into fourteen notes, with separate buttons for A flat/*G* sharp, on the one hand, and E flat/*D* sharp, on the other, with the A flat and E flat being tuned forty-one cents higher than the *G* sharp and *D* sharp, respectively; on this point, see especially, Atlas, 'The Victorian Concertina', and *idem*, 'A 41-Cent Emendation: A Textual Problem in Wheatstone's Publication of Giulio Regondi's *Serenade* for English Concertina and Piano', *Early Music*, 33/4 (2005), 609–17 (also online at <<http://www.concertina.com/atlas>>).

Many factors contributed to the popularity of the concertina, not least of which was the instrument's versatility in terms of its technical capabilities. With a tone that Berlioz described as 'mordant et doux',<sup>14</sup> the concertina could sing, fly through scale and arpeggio passages at breakneck speed, and—if the composer knew the instrument well—handle both thick chords, strings of parallel thirds and sixths, and true contrapuntal textures. Example 1a–e illustrates some of these characteristics:

(a) **Andante con moto**

(b) **Andante**

(c) **Maestoso**

(d) **(Brillante)**

<sup>14</sup> Hector Berlioz, *Grand Traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes*, 2nd edn (Paris, 1855), 287; Berlioz came to know the concertina when he served as a judge of musical instruments at the Great Exhibition of 1851; see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 39–40. On the concertinas displayed at the Exhibition, see *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations, 1851. Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* (London, 1851), 469–70, and the supplement to the *Illustrated London News*, xix/512 (23 August 1851); see also, Peter and Ann Mactaggart, *Musical Instruments in the 1851 Exhibition*, (Welwyn, Herts, 1986), 60.

(e) **(Andantino)**

solo  
pf. tacet  
dolce

45 50 55 60 65

cresc. dim.

EX. 1: (a) George Alexander Macfarren, *Romance* (1856), bars 9–16; (b) John Barnett, *Spare Moments: Three Sketches* (1859), No. 2, bars 94–104; (c) George Case, *Serenade*, Op. 8, for unaccompanied concertina, bars 1–8; (d) Joseph Warren, *Introduction with Variations and Coda on The Last Rose of Summer*, variation 2, bars 9–16; (e) Giulio Regondi, *Morceau de salon: Andantino et Capriccio-Mazurka* (1856), bars 45–65 (concertina parts only, with all but Case’s *Serenade* being for concertina and piano).<sup>15</sup>

To be sure, this was not the stuff on which beginners—or perhaps amateurs in general—cut their teeth.<sup>16</sup> But in terms of providing an incentive to learn and stick with the instrument, the concertina’s musical versatility must have proved a strong attraction for both ladies and gentlemen. Writing in the late 1870s, George Grove echoed the often-heard praise for the instrument:

Much variety of tone can be obtained by a skilful player, and it [the concertina] has the power of being played with great expression and complete *sostenuto* and *staccato*. Violin, flute, and oboe music can be performed on it without alteration; but music written specially for the concertina cannot be played on any other instrument, except the organ or harmonium. Nothing but the last-named instruments can

<sup>15</sup> Some notes on the pieces in Ex. 1: (a) Macfarren’s *Romance* was originally the first movement of a now-lost, two-movement *Romance and Allegro agitato* for concertina and strings (violin, viola, ‘cello, and bass), in which form it was premiered by Richard Blagrove in 1854; the *Romance* alone was reworked for concertina and piano, in which version it is edited in Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 115–21 (with commentary on 79–89); (b) Barnett’s *Spare Moments* was premiered by Blagrove in 1857 (Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 63); (c) Case’s *Serenade* is reprinted in the series Concertina Connection Music Publications (Helmond NL, n.d.); (d) Warren’s variations on *The Last Rose of Summer* dates from no later than 1837, when Giulio Regondi performed it at the Birmingham Festival (Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 76); whether this is the same as—or even similar to—*The Last Rose* for concertina and guitar that he played in Ireland in June 1835 is not clear; on this performance, see Tom Lawrence, ‘Giulio Regondi and the Concertina in Ireland’, *Concertina World: International Concertina Association Newsletter*, 411 (July 1998), 22–3 (also online at both <<http://www.ucd.ie/pages/99/articles/Lawrence/pdf>> and <<http://www.concertina.com/Lawrence>>); (e) another section of Regondi’s *Morceau*, bars 24–34, appears in Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 21, while the entire concertina part of the ‘Andantino’ section can be patched together from Atlas, *Contemplating the Concertina: An Historically-Informed Tutor for the English Concertina* (Amherst CT, 2003), Exx. 5.19 (p. 56) and 6.12 (pp. 68–9). Finally, in connection with the instrument’s ability to play contrapuntal lines, we might note that Regondi included the opening fugue from Bach’s unaccompanied Violin Sonata, No. 3, BWV 1005, in his tutor *Rudimenti del Concertinista, or A Complete Series of Elementary & Progressive Exercises for the Concertina* (London, 1844).

<sup>16</sup> On the repertory played by one amateur concertinist, Miss Isabella Maria Herries of Sevenoaks, Kent (Inv. 422), see the discussion in §IV, 6, below. References to women in the Inventory are accompanied by their Inventory number.

produce at once the extended harmonies, the *sostenuto* and *staccato* combined, of which the concertina is capable.<sup>17</sup>

As we shall see, Wheatstone's and others did not miss the opportunity to remind women that, with the concertina—on which one can, in fact, handle large portions of the repertory for the violin and winds (certainly those from the Baroque, Classical, and early-Romantic periods)—they could play music that was otherwise off limits to them (see below, §V, 1).

## 2. Repertory

By around 1860, the then-thirty-year-old concertina had amassed a repertory both large and diverse. And though the vast majority of pieces for the instrument consisted of concertinist-composed arrangements of and variations and 'fantasias' on popular melodies of the day—arias from operas and oratorios,<sup>18</sup> traditional/folk tunes, etc.—and the usual array of galops and waltzes,<sup>19</sup> the concertina also caught the ears (perhaps helped along by the jingling of guineas that came with commissions from the likes of Giulio Regondi and Richard Blagrove, the two leading virtuosos of the period—see below, §II, 3) of such non-concertinist, 'mainstream' composers as Macfarren (Ex. 1a), Barnett (Ex. 1b), Julius Benedict, and Bernhard Molique, as well as those of such lesser lights as Frédéric D'Alquen, Franz Bosen, James Harcourt, and the Dutch emigré Edouard Silas, who, as a group, turned out two sonatas for concertina and piano, chamber works for concertina and various ensembles, four concertos (with two more by Regondi), and a wonderful series of character pieces for the instrument.<sup>20</sup> In all, the English concertina—and only the 'English' among the various concertina types—found a home alongside the long-established 'canonic' instruments in both the recital hall and the cultivated salon.

## 3. Two Virtuoso Popularizers: Regondi and Blagrove

That the concertina would have gained its immense popularity with the public—especially with the high-culture upper crust—simply on its own merits is at least questionable. It needed spokesmen and –women who could command the stage, had connections in the 'right' musical and social circles, and

<sup>17</sup> Grove, 'Concertina', in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, i (London, 1878); I discuss Grove's comments about the instrument in 'Historical Document', 61–5.

<sup>18</sup> Favourite sources were the operas of Meyerbeer, Gounod, Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Verdi, and Balfe, and the oratorios of Handel.

<sup>19</sup> See the *Catalogue of Ewer & Co's Universal Circulating Music Library* (London, 1860), 232–7, nos. 31395–842, which lists 477 works by thirteen composers/arrangers for the instrument. To put that figure into perspective: (1) it lists and numbers multiple pieces in a set or collection as separate items; (2) the catalogue as a whole accounts for 51,801 items, so that the 477 pieces for concertina constitute but .086% of the total; and (3) there are 17,687 items for the piano. We can widen that perspective—now in the concertina's favour—by comparing its numbers with those for two other instruments deemed suitable for women, guitar and harp, both of which had much longer histories: guitar = 442 items (nos. 5655–6097, pp. 46–50); harp = 296 items (nos. 31013–309, pp. 229–31). Finally, the harmonium, another of the new free-reed instruments of the period that enjoyed some success in cultured circles, is represented by 258 items (nos. 30754–31012, pp. 227–9). On the Ewer catalogue, see Nicholas Temperley, 'Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music', in *The Romantic Age, 1800–1914*, ed. Nicholas Temperley, *The Athlone History of Music in Britain* (London, 1981), 113.

<sup>20</sup> For information on these works (some of which were never published and are now seemingly lost), see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 58–68, especially Tables 1 and 2, which offer relevant bibliographical information; to the works mentioned there should be added (1) a fourth, recently-discovered work by Macfarren, *Geraldine, Romance*, which should also be added to the Worklist in Temperley, 'Macfarren, Sir George (Alexander)', *New Grove 2*, xv, 473; credit for the discovery of *Geraldine* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, belongs to Ms Pauline De Snoo; see her notice in *Concertina World: International Concertina Association Newsletter*, 410 (April, 1998), 16–17; and (2) Harcourt's Sonata for Violin (or Concertina) and Piano Forte, Op. 2, published by Addison, Hollier & Lucas in 1861; on Harcourt, who was organist at St Peter's, Mancroft, Norwich, see James D. Brown and Stephen S. Stratton, *British Musical Biography: A Dictionary of Musical Artists, Authors and Composers, Born in Britain and its Colonies* (London, 1897; reprint New York, 1971), 182.

could convince others that the instrument was worthy of respect. Fortunately for the concertina, Wheatstone's found two such musicians: Giulio Regondi and Richard Blagrove, with the latter, at least, functioning as something of a 'house' concertinist.

The Swiss-born Regondi (1822–72) received most of the acclaim.<sup>21</sup> Having arrived in London in 1831 with a reputation as a child-prodigy guitarist, Regondi must soon have turned to Wheatstone's new 'Patent Concertina', as it was called, for he was concertizing on the instrument in Ireland by June 1834, at which time the announcement for his debut referred to the concertina as already 'esteemed by fashionable circles of London, the most elegant novelty in the list of musical instruments played upon by ladies'.<sup>22</sup>

Back in England by the summer of 1835, one success quickly followed another: an appearance at the Birmingham Festival in 1837, where he put the concertina 'on the map', as it were, and likely met Mendelssohn; a tour of Vienna, Prague, and various cities in Germany in Fall 1840–Spring 1841, the highlight of which was a performance at the Leipzig Gewandhaus on 31 March 1841, where he performed on the program that featured the premiere of Schumann's Symphony in B flat (the 'Spring');<sup>23</sup> and the successful debut of the Concertina Quartet (with Blagrove, George Case, and Alfred B. Sedgwick) at the Hanover Square Rooms on 12 June 1844.<sup>24</sup> And throughout his career there were the laudatory reviews:

Signor Regondi has now brought his execution on the concertina to such perfection that it is probably impossible to go beyond him. He has attained such wonderful dexterity, his command over his instrument is so great, that it seems a mere plaything in his hands. But therein does not lie his greatest merit . . . That which raises Signor Regondi above other performers, is the sentiment and expression by which

<sup>21</sup> The brief biographical sketch draws upon what is a growing literature about Regondi: Douglas Rogers, 'Giulio Regondi: Guitarist, Concertinist or Melophonist? A Reconnaissance', *Guitar Review*, 91 (Fall 1992), 1–9; 92 (Winter 1993), 14–21; 97 (Spring 1994), 11–17; Lawrence, 'Giulio Regondi and the Concertina in Ireland', 21–5; Helmut C. Jacobs, *Der junge Gitarren- und Concertinavirtuose Giulio Regondi: Eine kritische Dokumentation seiner Konzertreise durch Europa, 1840 und 1841* (Bochum, 2001); *idem*, 'Giulio Regondi', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, rev. edn, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel, 2005), Personenteil, xiii, cols. 1443–5; Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 48–54; *idem*, 'Giulio Regondi: Two Newly Discovered Letters', *The Free-Reed Journal*, 4 (2002), 70–84; *idem*, 'Collins, Count Fosco, and the Concertina', *Wilkie Collins Society Journal*, n.s., 2 (1999), 56–60 (the last two articles also available online at <<http://www.concertina.com/atlas>>); and *idem*, 'A 41-Cent Emendation', 609–17; Susan Wollenberg, 'Giulio Regondi at Oxford', *Papers of the International Concertina Association*, 3 (2006), forthcoming (also online at <<http://www.concertina.org/pica.php>>); *eadem*, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (New York, 2003), 171. On Regondi as guitarist, see Button, *The Guitar in England*, 100–13, 126–33; Alessandro Boris Amisich, *Giulio Regondi (1822–1872): concertista e compositore del romanticismo—documentazione* (Milan, 1995), and a series of six articles by him: two in the Italian guitar journal *GuitArt*: 'Giulio Regondi', ii/8 (1997), 24–49, and 'La prima tournée europea di Giulio Regondi. Nuovi elementi', viii/29 (2000), 32–9; and four in *Il Fronimo*: 'Giulio Regondi: Un bambino prodigio', xi/45 (October 1983), 32–4; 'Giulio Regondi: La carriera concertistica negli anni '40', xv/58 (January 1987), 34–43; 'Giulio Regondi: Compositore e concertista', xvi/62 (January 1988), 28–40; and 'Giulio Regondi: Dieci studi ed una foto', xix/76 (July 1991), 38–45. There is a modern edition of Regondi's works for guitar in *Giulio Regondi: The Complete Works for Guitar*, ed. Simon Wynberg (Monaco, 1981), which, however, must be supplemented by *Giulio Regondi: Ten Etudes for Guitar*, ed. John Holmquist (Columbus OH, 1990); unfortunately there is no such edition of his much more substantial output for English concertina.

<sup>22</sup> *Dublin Evening Post* (12 June 1834); cited after Lawrence, 'Giulio Regondi and the Concertina in Ireland', 22.

<sup>23</sup> The Continental tour is documented in detailed fashion in Jacobs, *Der junge Gitarren- und Concertinavirtuose Giulio Regondi*; the Gewandhaus program is reproduced in both Jacobs, 89–92, and Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, Pl. 10.

<sup>24</sup> For the review in the *Musical World*, xix/25 (21 June 1844), see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 52. The Quartet continued to perform (with some changes in personnel) at least through the mid-1850s, with the *Musical World*, xxxiii/25 (23 June 1855), describing its performance of the Beethoven Quartet in F, Op. 18, No. 1, as 'very satisfactory . . . maintaining throughout the most perfect ensemble' (quoted in Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 52). On Blagrove, see below; on Case (1823–92), who turned out many compositions and no fewer than five method books for the concertina and was also active as a violinist; see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 56–7, and Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 81; on Sedgwick, who emigrated to the United States by late 1851 and enjoyed a successful career as a composer of theatre music in New York, see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 57, and Michael Meckna, ed., *The Collected Works of Alfred B. Sedgwick* (New York, 1994).

he assimilates his instrument to the human voice, and sings in a manner to rival the effects of the greatest singers. The cantabile passages remind us, by their breadth of tone and feeling, of Rubini, or Paganini or Ernst in similar passages on the violin.<sup>25</sup>

If the career of Blagrove (1826/7–95) as a concertinist was not quite as glamorous, it was no less important, especially in terms of building a repertory for the instrument.<sup>26</sup> Brother of the violinist Henry Gamble Blagrove and himself a violist of the first rank—he taught viola at the Royal Academy of Music and was first violist at the Philharmonic Society concerts—Blagrove worked tirelessly to promote the concertina and build its repertory. After making his debut on the instrument in 1842, it was Blagrove, no doubt taking advantage of his access to the inner circles of the London chamber music scene, who premiered (and likely commissioned) such works as Macfarren’s *Romance and allegro agitato* (see note 15 and Ex. 1a), Molique’s Sonata in B flat, and Barnett’s *Spare Moments* (see Ex. 1b) in the 1850s, and it was he who, in 1876, launched an annual series of concerts for the purpose of, as George Bernard Shaw noted, ‘devoting the profits . . . to a fund for providing original compositions . . . for several concertinas’.<sup>27</sup> Finally, as we shall see below (§IV, 3 and 6), both Regondi and Blagrove were active as teachers, and thus played a major role in developing a clientele for the instrument.

#### 4. Reception

Just how one assesses the reception of the concertina depends upon one’s perspective. On the one hand, neither Mendelssohn, who likely heard Regondi perform at the 1837 Birmingham Festival, nor Schumann, who certainly heard him at the Gewandhaus in March 1841, rushed off to write for the instrument. Nor was Henry Chorley, music critic for the *Athanaeum*, speaking only for himself when he wrote:

We must pass by the concert of Signor Regondi and Mr Case, with an expression of regret that one so richly gifted as the former should step from the poverties of the guitar (as a vehicle of musical expression) to the yet greater poverties of the concertina . . .<sup>28</sup>

On the other hand, Macfarren, Molique, and Silas each returned to the concertina repeatedly (those jingling guineas?), while Chorley’s was not the only voice in the musical press:

Mr. and Mrs. Richard Blagrove’s annual morning concert in the Beethoven Rooms on the 21st ult. drew a large and fashionable audience. The principal features in this programme were the pianoforte playing of Mrs. Blagrove and the concertina playing of Mr. Blagrove, which, it is needless to say, were of the highest order of merit . . . Something more than conventional words of commendation should be bestowed upon the concertina performance of Mr. Blagrove, for in his hands it [the concertina] appeals to us with a power of which we hardly believed it to be capable. It must be remembered that this is an instrument for which Molique has written, and at this concert we had a work cast in the truly classical

<sup>25</sup> *Musical World*, xxix/25 (24 June 1854), 43; quoted in Rogers, ‘Giulio Regondi’, Pt. I, 4; Atlas *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 53.

<sup>26</sup> On Blagrove, see Christina Bashford, ‘Blagrove. English Family of Musicians. §3. Richard (Manning) Blagrove’, in *New Grove 2*, iii, 670–1; Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 54–6; Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 50–1.

<sup>27</sup> George Bernard Shaw, ‘Music for Connoisseurs’ (31 January 1877), in *Shaw’s Music*, 3 vols, ed. Dan H. Laurence (New York, 1981), i, 86; cited in Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 55.

<sup>28</sup> *Athanaeum*, 20 (30 May 1846), 562; quoted in both Rogers, ‘Giulio Regondi’, Pt 1, 2, and Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 73–4. Chorley’s negative review prompts the following question: is it possible that at least some of the negative reaction in the press (and further instances are cited in Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 73–5) was caused by the association of the instrument with women, both, as we shall see, on the concert stage (see §IV.2.c, below) and in domestic settings? My own view is that it was not. I read the negative reaction as having nothing to do with gender and everything to do with what the individual critic thought about the *musical* nature of the instrument itself. We might even note that Chorley softened his criticism a decade later, and actually praised the concertina in another review of Regondi (Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 74).



form by Mr. Silas—a Quintett for pianoforte, violin, viola, violoncello and concertina—evidently composed with a part for the concertina under the full conviction that it has qualities which deserve a more extensive recognition. Perhaps the expressive powers of the instrument were most successfully revealed in a MS. “Duo Concertante” for concertina and pianoforte on airs from Gounod’s “Mirella,” by Sydney Smith (exquisitely played by the two [Blagrove’s] . . .<sup>29</sup>

Shaw, too, praised the instrument (and though tempting, it would be wrong to read anything condescending into the following):

[There] are those who desire to enjoy music socially: to play together, to explore the riches of concerted chamber music . . . they are too old to learn the fiddle, or, having learnt, cannot do it well enough to produce a tolerable concord. Their difficulty is, fortunately, quite easy to solve. The instrument for them is the concertina: not the Teutonic instrument of the midnight Mohock, but the English concertina of Wheatstone . . . you can play any instrument’s part on a concertina of suitable compass.<sup>30</sup>

Finally, there is another yardstick by which we might measure. Though the second quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed the development of a slew of free-reed instruments—harmonica, accordion, harmonium, mélophone,<sup>31</sup> harmoniphon,<sup>32</sup> and even Wheatstone’s own symphonion,<sup>33</sup> to name just a few—only the English concertina (and the harmonium) among them succeeded, as the Dublin notice for Regondi’s concert puts it, in gaining entry into the ‘fashionable circles of London’. And in the end, then, while some will judge the cup half full and others half empty, it seems fair to say that Wheatstone’s concertina probably succeeded beyond his wildest expectations, with its greatest success, at least until the final quarter of the century, coming among England’s cultivated, socio-economic elite.

### III. The Clientele: An Overview

‘Fashionable circles of London’—that is, indeed, the clientele for which Wheatstone’s aimed. And since we will look at the female concertinists in some detail in §IV, our overview of Wheatstone’s clientele in general will concentrate mainly on the men, to whom, after all, approximately 88% of the transactions refer.<sup>34</sup> In addition, I conclude with a note about prices and a very summary-like sketch of the pattern of manufacture and sales.

<sup>29</sup> Anonymous review in *The Musical Times*, xvi/364 (1 June 1873), 109; on Silas’s now-lost chamber music for the concertina, see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 68; Sydney Smith collaborated with Blagrove on at least three occasions; see the *British Library Integrated Catalogue*, online at <<http://catalogue.bl.uk>>.

<sup>30</sup> *Shaw’s Music*, i, 575–6; also quoted in Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 75; the ‘Teutonic’ instrument to which Shaw refers is the ‘Anglo-German’ concertina (see note 12), while the ‘midnight Mohock’ refers to the street musicians with whom that instrument became associated in the middle of the century. For a profile of such a musician, a teenage ‘Anglo’ player who performed on the steamboats along the Thames, see the interview in Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, iii (London, 1861; reprint New York, 1968), 182–5; the interview is reproduced in its entirety in Atlas, ‘Historical Note: Mayhew’s “Concertina Player on the Steamboats” from *London Labour and the London Poor*, vol. 3 (1861)’, *Papers of the International Concertina Association*, 1 (2004), 31–7 (also online at <<http://www.concertina.org/pica.php>>).

<sup>31</sup> Through one of those unfortunate instances of terminological confusion, the German-language reviews of Regondi’s 1840–1 tour consistently refer to the concertina as a ‘melophon’; on that instrument, which was patented by Pierre Charles Leclerc at Paris in 1837 and is shaped somewhat like a deep-bellied guitar, see Arthur W.J.G. Ord-Hume/Josiane Bran-Ricci, ‘Mélophone’, in *New Grove* 2, xvi, 376.

<sup>32</sup> Developed in Dijon in the late 1830s, this was a mouth-blown instrument with a piano-like keyboard; see *Musical World*, xiii/188, new ser., v/95 (24 October 1839), 410.

<sup>33</sup> This too was a mouth-blown instrument, but with buttons on two sides arranged somewhat like those on the English concertina; see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 29–31 and Pl. 6.

<sup>34</sup> But see the necessary qualification of that percentage in note 67, below. In addition, that percentage includes transactions for male-run commercial enterprises, which I have not separated from those for ‘private’ individuals.

### 1. *Some Demographics: Social Class and Occupations*

The most fashionable of Wheatstone's customers were no doubt the members of the titled aristocracy (both men and women), whose names dot the ledgers generously from the mid-1830s to 21 October 1859, after which date the ledgers generally omit titles (or were there simply precious few to include?) and, more seriously, first names/initials and indication of gender.<sup>35</sup> All told, there are transactions for 186 titled customers (many of whom appear more than once), with the titles ranging from dukes and duchesses at the top of the hierarchy to 'Lady' and 'Sir' at the bottom (I have not included here those with the designation 'Honourable').<sup>36</sup> And though women form a distinct minority in the ledgers as a whole, titled women outnumber their male counterparts by more than two-to-one (129 to 57), which is, perhaps, in keeping with the Victorian notion that music, especially at the cultivated amateur level, belonged to the 'female sphere' and that its dissemination was a 'woman's mission'.<sup>37</sup>

Three of these transactions warrant attention, for they demonstrate nicely how one transaction might have led to another and, in the process, sometimes widened the instrument's social range. The earliest transaction to cite a member of the titled aristocracy—and one of the earliest transactions in general—refers to the sale of Wheatstone no. 69 to the Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyme, on 26 August 1835 (C104a, 4).<sup>38</sup> Eight years later, on 10 April 1843, one of his six children, Lady Caroline (Inv. 171), bought the first of her five concertinas (C1046, 19; C104a, 34), while one of her brothers—designated only as 'Lord Clinton'—is recorded in an undated entry that can probably be fixed at shortly after 17 January 1848 (C104a, 51); finally, Caroline's twin sister, Lady Henrietta (Inv. 172), acquired an instrument on 23 November 1852 (C1048, 9). Thus, as often happened, the purchase of a concertina by one member of a family soon led to further transactions, a process that often made the instrument something of a 'family affair'.<sup>39</sup>

Another sale to a duke, William George Spencer Cavendish, 6th Duke of Devonshire, on 1 January 1846 (C1046, 2), may have set off a somewhat more far-reaching web. In 1864, the duke's nephew, Lord Frederick Charles Cavendish (1836–82)<sup>40</sup> married Lucy Caroline Lyttelton, niece of the future Prime Minister Gladstone and friend of the latter's daughter, Mary (1847–1927). Significantly, both Lucy Lyttelton and Mary Gladstone left diaries that describe evenings—and sometimes full days—of concertina playing with friends, among whom, in Mary's diary, is the future Prime Minister, Arthur, Lord Balfour.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>35</sup> See the discussion in §IV, 1, and the section headed 'The Ledgers'.

<sup>36</sup> There is one notice for a 'Prince', the German Prince Leiningen (on 11 November 1859, C1052, 3), which could refer either to Ernst Leopold, Prinz zu Leiningen (1830–1904), or to his brother, Eduard Friedrich Maximilian Johann, Prinz zu Leiningen (b. 1833); see Marlene A. Eilers, *Queen Victoria's Descendants* (Baltimore, 1987), 148. There is also a transaction for 'His Highness Duleep Singh' (1838–93) on 17 November 1857 (C1051, 2); on Duleep Singh, the Maharajah of Lahore and King of the Sikh Empire, who arrived in England in 1854, see Peter Bance, *The Duleep Singhs: The Photographic Album of Queen Victoria's Maharajah* (Stroud, 2004).

<sup>37</sup> I borrow both terms from Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, Chapters 1 and 2.

<sup>38</sup> I cite ledgers and page numbers therein when appropriate; the Inventory provides this information for every entry. On the ledgers' 'C'-number signatures, see note 160, below.

<sup>39</sup> For a detailed examination of family relationships among the ledgers' women, see §IV, 4, and Table 12.

<sup>40</sup> He was murdered on 6 May 1882 by Fenian sympathizers in Dublin; see Angus N. Wilson, *The Victorians* (New York, 2003), 453.

<sup>41</sup> For the entry in Lucy Lyttelton's diary, which is dated 11 August 1854 and describes an evening spent with Mr Girdlestone, see John Bailey ed., *The Diary of Lady Frederick Cavendish* (New York, 1971), vol. 1, xii–xiii and 71; also cited in Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 3, and Ronald Pearsall, *Victorian Popular Music* (Newton Abbot, 1973), 70; for Mary Gladstone and Balfour, see Lucy Masterman ed., *Mary Gladstone (Mrs. Drew): Her Diaries and Letters* (New York, 1930), *passim*; on Balfour and the concertina, see Percy Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844–1944* (Oxford, 1947; reprint, Freeport NY, 1970), ii, 814; Stuart Eydmann, 'The Life and Times of the Concertina: The Adoption and Usage of a Novel Musical Instrument with Particular Reference to Scotland', Ph.D. dissertation, The Open University (1995), 62–3 (also online at <<http://www.concertina.com/eydmann>>); Blanche E.C. Dugdale, *Arthur James Balfour* (London, 1936), 38; and my

Finally, perhaps the sale of the second-hand instrument no. 314 to Alexander George Fraser, 16th Lord Saltoun of Abernethy (1785–1853), on 17 January 1840 (C1046, 3; C104*a*, 16),<sup>42</sup> turns the dynamic—that of the titled aristocrat setting the trend—on its head. Lord Saltoun was the founder of the Società Lirica (also known as the ‘Saltoun Club’), a group of amateur musicians who met on a regular basis at his London home from 1826 to 1846 with John Ella as its music director.<sup>43</sup> Now, as it turns out, Ella himself was personally acquainted with Charles Wheatstone<sup>44</sup> and bought a concertina on 7 September 1838 (C104*a*, 13), though, as Christina Bashford has kindly informed me, clearly with the intent of selling it.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps, then, Saltoun was reacting to his music director’s acquisition, that is, perhaps Ella’s purchase of a concertina—even if on behalf of someone else—conferred a degree of legitimacy upon the instrument, and thus encouraged him (Saltoun) to buy one for himself. Whatever Saltoun’s motives, the concertina gained entry to what might be called the Saltoun-Ella circle (when Ella founded the chamber music series known as the Musical Union in 1845, Saltoun became a member of the administrative ‘Committee’),<sup>46</sup> and the ledgers record sales to the French-émigré violinist Prosper Sinton (1813–90), his future wife, the contralto Charlotte Dolby (Inv. 248), and the Viscount Falmouth, cousin of another of Ella’s Musical Union Committee members, George Henry Boscawen, 2nd Earl of Falmouth.<sup>47</sup> And certainly, the concertina’s cause with the group can only have been helped by the frequent presence among the Union’s core string players of Henry Gamble Blagrove,<sup>48</sup> older brother of the concertinist Richard.

forthcoming article, ‘Lord Arthur’s “Infernals”: Arthur James Balfour and the Concertina’ (the ‘Infernal’ was Mary Gladstone’s nickname for the concertina).

We should note that the sales ledgers contain notices that likely relate to the participants: C1052, 77–8, records transactions for ‘Girdlestone’ (probably Lucy’s friend) on 11 November and 9 December 1862, while C1053, lists sales for ‘Balfour’ on both 15 June and 20 December 1865 (pp. 15, 20), possibly with reference to Lord Arthur, who would have been seventeen years old at the time; on the other hand, the transaction recorded for ‘Balfour Esq’ on 2 March 1853 (C1048, 26) is undoubtedly for an older member of the family, perhaps for his father, James Maitland Balfour (1820–56). On 2 February 1841, C1046, 7, records a sale to Miss Gladstone (see Inv. 358), who, however, cannot be the future prime minister’s daughter, who was born only in 1847. See also the entries in the Inventory for Miss Gascoyne (Inv. 345) and Miss Maitland (Inv. 560).

<sup>42</sup> The instrument had originally been sold to Lady Montford (Inv. 613) one month earlier, on 17 December 1839 (C1046, 2).

<sup>43</sup> On Saltoun, the Società Lirica, Ella, and the latter’s Musical Union, see Christina Bashford, ‘Ella, John’, *New Grove 2*, viii, 145; *eadem*, ‘John Ella and the Making of the Musical Union’, in *Music and British Culture, 1785–1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford, 2000), 193–214; and *eadem*, ‘Learning to Listen: Audiences for Chamber Music in Early-Victorian London’, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 4 (1999), 25–51.

<sup>44</sup> He and Wheatstone had called upon the royal family at Kew Palace at some point between 1833 and the death of William IV in 1837 in order to make a present of a Wheatstone seraphine to George IV, future Crown Prince and King of Hanover, who was then residing in England; Wheatstone also took the opportunity to demonstrate his harmonica-like symphonion (see note 33); see Ella, *Musical Sketches, Abroad, and at Home*, 3rd edn, rev. and ed. John Belcher (London: 1878), 314–15.

<sup>45</sup> Communication of 10 August 2004; Ella expresses his intent to sell the concertina in an entry in his diary dated the very same day: ‘Received of Wheatstone a new Concertina Price 16 Gs:—to sell’. Ella would buy another concertina on 1 January 1851 (C1047, 1), once again, however, with the intent of selling it.

<sup>46</sup> Bashford, ‘John Ella and the Making of the Musical Union’, 200.

<sup>47</sup> On Sinton, see George Grove/R.J. Pascal, ‘Sinton, Prosper’, in *New Grove 2*, xxii, 113–14; on Dolby, see below, §IV, 2, c. The transaction for the Viscount Falmouth occurs on 9 September 1853 (C1048, 52) and refers to him as the ‘Earl’ of Falmouth. However, when George Henry Boscawen, 2nd Earl of Falmouth, and Ella’s committee member, died on 29 August 1852, the title of Earl became extinct and that of Viscount was adopted by the Earl’s cousin, Evelyn (the Falmouth of C1048). On the Earl’s activities in the Musical Union, see Bashford, ‘John Ella and the Making of the Musical Union’, 200, 208; *eadem*, ‘Learning to Listen’, 32.

<sup>48</sup> Bashford, ‘John Ella and the Making of the Musical Union’, 203, n. 30.

Table 1 lists all the male members of the titled aristocracy who are cited in the ledgers (titled women appear in Table 7 in §IV, 2):

**TABLE 1:** Titled males in the Wheatstone ledgers listed by rank and alphabetically therein (only those who already had their titles at the time of the transaction are included); an asterisk indicates that the ledgers record a transaction for a titled female relative (see Table 7).

Rank	Name	Date	Ledger(s)
Duke	of Devonshire	1 Jan 46	C1046, 42; C104a, 54
	of Newcastle*	26 Aug 35	C104a, 4
Earl	Brownlow*	13 Feb 43	C1046, 18; C104a, 33
	of Coventry	30 Dec 40 (2 transactions)	C1046, 6; C104a, 21
	of Hardwick	22 Aug 54	C1049, 14
Viscount	Barrington	1 June 55	C1049, 56
	Brackley	no date	C104a, 54
	Falmouth	12 Feb 53	C1048, 23
		9 Sept 53	C1048, 52
	This entry records him as Earl (see note 47).		
	Raynham	19 Mar 59	C1051, 65
	Silvoni	21 Oct 37	C104a, 9
	Templeton	3 Feb 58	C1051, 14
Baron	Des Grang	16 Mar 52	C1047, 55
	Ranson	20 May 52	C1047, 62
	The instrument was picked up for him by the Chevalier Neukomm.		
Lord	Abinger*	28 Apr 42	C1046, 13; C104a, 27
	Burghley	3 Oct 44	C1046, 30; C104a, 43
		9 Feb 47	C1046, 55; C104a, 67
		15 Feb 48	C1046, 66; C104a, 73
		19 Nov 52	C1048, 9
	Bangor	26 Aug 52	C1050, 24
	Buttershaw	25 Oct 56	C1050, 35
	Carrick	26 Dec 56	C1050, 47
	Chilsen	24 Dec 56	C1050, 47
	Clinton*	shortly after (?) 17 Jan 48	C104a, 51
	DeRoss	1 Apr 56	C1049, 96
	R. Ellis	21 Feb 56	C1049, 90
	Falmouth	8 Nov 46	C1048, 62
	This is the third different title with which he has been designated (see above and note 47).		
	Otto Fitzgerald	3 Oct 46	C1046, 50; C104a, 62
	Folkestone	4 Sept 40	C1046, 5; C104a, 20
		20 Apr 42	C1046, 13; C104a, 27
	J. Hay	22 Nov 55	C1049, 78
	Hencker	11 Jan 56	C1049, 84
	Howe	29 Jan 40	C1046, 3
	H. Kerr*	15 Feb 44	C1046, 25
	Keane	3 Feb 46	C1046, 42; C104a, 55
	Leveson-Gower	16 June 52	C1047, 66
		15 Oct 52	C1047, 79
	Rodney	5 Mar 53	C1048, 27
		16 Apr 53	C1048, 36
		19 Sept 53	C1048, 54
	Raglan*	26 May 59	C1051, 73
	Saltoun	17 Jan 40	C1046, 3; C104a, 16
	Villiers	7 Oct 54	C1049, 25
	Verulam*	18 Dec 55	C1049, 81

Rank	Name	Date	Ledger(s)
Sir	F. Astley	20 Nov 57	C1051, 3
	W. Ball	27 Dec 45	C104a, 54
	The entry was subsequently crossed out.		
		27 July 46	C1046, 49; C104a, 47
		22 Nov 53	C1048, 64
		20 Dec 53	C1048, 67
		23 July 57	C1050, 84
		20 Feb 58	C1051, 16
		18 June 58	C1051, 29
		29 May 66	C1053, 25
	George Bishop	8 Dec 53	C1048, 66
	William Clay*	3 Mar 52	C1047, 52
	Henry Calder	25 Oct 53	C1050, 35
	Hesketh Fleetwood	2 May 43	C1046, 19; C104a, 18
		2 Mar 52	C1047, 52
	J. Forbes	16 May 47	C1946, 58; C104a, 47
	H.B. Houghton	22 July 44	C1046, 28
	Charles Isham*	11 Sept 52	C1047, 74
	C. Lamb	6 Feb 40	C1046, 3; C104a, 18
	W. Leighton*	[no date]	C104a, 54
	James[?] Liddell	10 Mar 58	C1051, 18
	J. Mackenzie	9 June 43	C1046, 20; C104a, 35
		8 Aug 46	C104a, 60
	Charles McLean	25 Nov 57	C1051, 5
	James Melvill[e]	29 Sept 58	C1051, 41
	H. Narnay	1 Jan 57	C1051, 10
	Frances Shuckburghe*	30 Nov 40	C1046, 6
		27 Aug 47	C1046, 61; C104a, 70
	J. Staples*	11 May 41	C1046, 8
	E. Travers	27 Nov 43	C1046, 23; C104a, 23
	Hugh Wheeler	26 Sept 55	C1049, 70
<b>Non-English</b>			
Maharajah/King	Duleep Singh	17 Nov 57	C1051, 2
	See note 36.		
Prince	Leiningen	11 Nov 59	C1052, 3
	See note 36.		

In all, the English concertina was no stranger to the West End.

There are a number of other well-defined groups among Wheatstone's male clientele, two of which are easily identified thanks to the titles that the ledgers are careful to include: military officers (from generals to lieutenants, with the occasional admiral and commodore thrown in) and members of the clergy. Three of the military men deserve a word. First, there is General Henry Beauchamp Lygon (1784–1863), who would inherit the title 4th Earl of Beauchamp, and who purchased instruments on 1 November and 28 December 1844 (C1046, 31–2),<sup>49</sup> as did, a decade later, his daughter, the future Lady Georgina Raglan (Inv. 708), whose father-in-law, Baron Raglan, commanded the English forces in the Crimea. Far better known to us today—at least by name—is the Colonel Everest for whom C104a, 49, records a transaction on 9 July 1846; he is likely the military engineer

<sup>49</sup> On Lygon, see George E. Cokayne *et al.*, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant*, rev. edn, 13 vols in 14 (London, 1910–59; reprint, Stroud, 2000, in 6 vols), ii, 42; Dorothy E. Williams, *The Lygons of Madresfield Court* (Worcester, 2001), *passim*.

Lieutenant-General (after promotion) George Everest (1790–1866), Surveyor General of India from 1830 to 1843 and the man after whom Mt. Everest is named.<sup>50</sup>

Finally, there is the otherwise unidentified Captain Charles Stanley who purchased no. 1161 on 12 September 1846 (C1046, 50; C104a, 60). What is interesting about the transaction is this: the instrument, which is now housed at the Horniman Museum (M378a-1996), seems to have come with two cases, one made of the usual rosewood or mahogany, the other, slightly bigger (and into which the wooden case was inserted), made out of bug-resistant metal; and there can be little doubt that the instrument was so outfitted because Captain Stanley was likely heading for India.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, enough military men must have whiled away the time there with concertina in hand that, writing in the mid-1860s, William Cawdell could state that the concertina ‘has been regarded as fit only for a parting present to some cadet fresh from Sandhurst about to embark for India who might in the retirement of his bungalow at Muddle-a-poor-head, learn to draw out the notes of “Home! Sweet Home,” while yearning for the realization of the idea’.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, the ‘India-trade’ in concertinas must have been sufficient enough to entice the firm of Harraden & Co., which shipped musical instruments through their offices in Calcutta, to buy concertinas from Wheatstone’s often and in large quantities,<sup>53</sup> while the Dublin-based manufacturer Joseph Scates called special attention to his willingness and ability to deal with orders for India in his advertisement in the *Musical Directory, Register and Almanack for 1862*: ‘Orders from India and the Colonies, With Remittances made payable at the Royal Bank, Dublin, will be Despatched within Seven Days. J.S. [Joseph Scates] provides a safe Packing Case lined with tin for 15s; and the extra Charges for Carriage and Insurance Overland to India are 40s’.<sup>54</sup>

Among the clergy cited in the ledgers, none was more illustrious than John Bird Sumner (1780–1862), who was, when he bought his concertina on 6 October 1851 (C1047, 30), in the third year of his tenure as Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>55</sup> He had, however, been preceded as a concertinist by Edward Stanley (1779–1849), the liberal Bishop of Norwich (consecrated in 1837)—should we see a connection with James Harcourt (see note 20)?—for whom there is a transaction on 14 September 1844 (C1046, 29). One clergyman seems to have had a love affair with the instrument: the Reverend E. Kitson makes his first appearance in the ledgers on 18 February 1847 (C1046, 56), and is still buying instruments two decades later, when he is recorded for the last time on 7 May 1866 (C1053, 24). Significantly, perhaps, his very first purchase was a tenor concertina, for the low-pitched instruments, especially the baritone, found their way into many a parish church. With its range of *G* to *c*′′, the baritone, as the concertinist George Case explained, ‘is much used in the performance of Sacred Music, to which it is admirably adapted, and it is frequently used, not only to teach Choirs, but likewise to lead Voices in small country churches that do not possess an organ’.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>50</sup> On Everest, see Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843* (Chicago, 1997), 147, 475 (my thanks to Robert Gaskins for this reference); *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 vols, ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (Oxford, 1885–91), vi, 950–1.

<sup>51</sup> For photos of the concertina, the metal case, and the entry in C1046, see Margaret Birley, ‘Introduction: A Project to Digitize the Ledgers of the C. Wheatstone & Co. Concertina Factory at the Horniman Museum, London’; online at <<http://www.horniman.info/documnts/info.htm>>.

<sup>52</sup> William Cawdell, *A Short Account of the English Concertina: Its Uses and Capabilities, Facility of Acquirement, and other Advantages* (London, 1865), 13–14; further on Cawdell, see §V, 3.

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, the entries in C1050 for 13 and 22 October 1856, on each of which days they purchased twelve concertinas (pp. 12, 34–5).

<sup>54</sup> Scates’s notice appears in the unpaginated ‘Advertiser’ section; it is available online at <<http://www.concertina.com/pricelists/scates/Scates-MDRA-1862.pdf>>, as part of a series of such documents. The *Directory*, henceforth cited as *MDRA* plus year, was published annually by Rudall, Rose and Carte. On Scates, who moved from London to Dublin in 1851, see Wayne, ‘Concertina Book’, 103–7.

<sup>55</sup> On Sumner, see Edward Carpenter, *Cantuar: The Archbishops in their Office* (London, 1971), 300–11.

<sup>56</sup> George Case, *The Baritone Concertina: A New Method* (London, 1857), 2; cited in Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 6–7; see also, Scholes, *The Mirror of Music*, ii, 814.

Still another well-defined group of customers consisted of those in the wider world of music: Professors of Concertina (listed as such in, for example, *MDRA/1855*), other professional musicians, instrument dealers, and music publishers, though none of these groups is specifically identified as such in the ledgers. To be sure, most of the ‘Professors’ were relatively small fry on the musical scene, though they included the likes of the highly-regarded pianist-organist Frederick William Bridgman (1829–92), who studied with Moscheles and was active in Edinburgh for the last three decades of his career,<sup>57</sup> and the organist-violinist-composer John Charles Ward (1835–1919), who studied concertina with George Case and served as organist and assistant conductor of the well-known Henry Leslie Choir from 1856 to 1885.<sup>58</sup> Notably, all but four of the forty-two Professors of Concertina—men and women—listed in *MDRA/1855* taught one or more other instruments or voice (for a list of the female Professors, see below, §IV, 2, c, and Table 8), while Regondi is conspicuously absent from the list.

The ledgers also name a number of musicians who were mainstays of the London music scene and, at the very least, presumably dabbled with the instrument: the violinist Sinton and his wife Charlotte Dolby (cited above); the flutist R. Sidney Pratten, listed on 3 March 1857 (C1050, 57), by which time he had married the concertinist-guitarist Catherina Josepha Pelzer (Inv. 672);<sup>59</sup> the pianist George Frederick Kiallmark, who occasionally accompanied Regondi and who bought a concertina on 24 April 1838 (C104a, 11);<sup>60</sup> and, perhaps, the pianist and director of the Philharmonic Society, Charles Neate, if this is the Mr Neate to whom the transaction on 16 April 1842 (C1046, 13) refers.<sup>61</sup>

Wheatstone’s found a particularly lucrative market among instrument dealers/makers, who often bought in bulk. Thus the three-month period of January–March 1851 (C1047, 1–13) saw the sale of thirteen instruments to the London firms of Cramer, Beale and Chappell; Cocks; Hale & Son; and Keith, Prowse; another thirteen to the Glasgow/Edinburgh dealers Hume; Wood; and Paterson & Roy; and nine more to the Manchester-based manufacturer of brass instruments Joseph Higham.<sup>62</sup> Transactions with dealers grew steadily throughout the 1850s, and it was not unusual for sales to reach a dozen or more instruments at once: thus on 29 November 1856, Joseph Scates (see above) bought a dozen instruments, quite possibly with the idea of selling them under his own label,<sup>63</sup> while the firm of Muir & Wood took sixteen on 1 December 1855 at a cost—likely discounted—of £88.13.0 (C1049, 79–80). One other transaction in these circles is worthy of note: the powerful and influential J. Alfred Novello purchased nos. 677 on 18 October 1843 (C1046, 23) and 5771 on 28 November 1853 (C1048, 65), respectively.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>57</sup> On Bridgman, see Eydmann, ‘The Life and Times of the Concertina’, 51–4; Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 61.

<sup>58</sup> On Ward, see Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 438; Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina, passim*, and pp. 139–41 for his *Menuet and Trio*, Op. 19 (1883), for ‘Two Treble Concertinas, with an accompaniment (*ad libitum*) for Bass Concertina, Violoncello or Pianoforte’.

<sup>59</sup> On Pratten (1824–68), see Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 326; Pratten wrote a concertina tutor, *Complete Instruction for the Concertina* (1856), and a short piece for concertina and piano, *Francesca: Romance* (1859). C1046, 67, records a transaction for a Mr W. S. Pratten on 13 March 1848; perhaps the first initial is incorrect, or perhaps this is a relative.

<sup>60</sup> There is a notice about one of their concerts in *The Musical World*, xxvi/25 (21 June 1851), 397; on Kiallmark (1804–87)—not too be confused with his similarly-named violinist-composer father (1781–1835)—see Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 230.

<sup>61</sup> On Neate (1784–1877), who enjoyed a friendship with Beethoven, see W.H. Husk/Bruce Carr, ‘Neate, Charles’, in *New Grove 2*, xvii, 728.

<sup>62</sup> See Atlas, ‘Who Bought Concertinas in the Winter of 1851? A Glimpse at the Sales Accounts of Wheatstone & Co.’, in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, i, ed. Bennett Zon (Aldershot, 1999), 60; on the various dealers, see D.W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie, eds., *Music Printing and Publishing*, The Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music (New York, 1990), 203, 208, 307, 359, 482; J.A. Parkinson, *Victorian Music Publishers: An Annotated List*, Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography, 64 (Warren MI, 1990), 55–6, 114, 213, 300–1.

<sup>63</sup> The practice of one manufacturer/dealer placing his own label on another manufacturer’s instrument was by no means uncommon.

<sup>64</sup> On Novello (1810–96), see Victoria Cooper, *The House of Novello: Practice and Policy of a Victorian Music Publisher, 1829–1866* (Aldershot, 2003).

Wheatstone's also drew clientele from the world of letters and the sciences. And perhaps this pool of buyers is best epitomized by a single customer: Alexander John Ellis—musician, acoustician, mathematician, philologist, and translator of Hermann Helmholtz's *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen*—who treated himself to Wheatstone concertinas on at least two occasions, 1 November 1838 and 10 September 1847 (C104a, 13, 67). Indeed, Ellis seems to have found the concertina useful in his work on tuning and temperaments, and describes a 'just English Concertina' that he had specially tuned for his purposes by the firm of Lachenal.<sup>65</sup>

Finally, the concertina seems to have found a home at Oxford University. Writing in 1856 to the Chancellor of the university (the Earl of Derby), the Rev. P. M. Maurice, a chaplain at All Souls, noted that, together with some 125 pianos, the various Oxford colleges had thirty concertinas, these perhaps reflecting Regondi's personal popularity at Oxford.<sup>66</sup>

Beyond the clientele whose fortune or fame permits ready identification, there was, of course, a mass of now-faceless customers—many of whom belonged to the ranks of landed gentry or inhabited the worlds of politics and commerce—whose names no longer resonate with the immediacy that they probably once did, while still others likely dwelt in anonymity even during their own lifetimes. And while I have done my best to identify as many of the ledger's 978 women as possible (often with reference to better-known gentlemen to whom they are likely related), it would take nothing less than a team effort—once the ledgers are fully indexed—to do an equally thorough job for the 13,000-plus transactions that pertain to gentlemen.<sup>67</sup> For now, at least, I must be content with having identified as many of the women as I have.

## 2. Prices

While the English concertina's musical qualities, the relative ease with which it could be learned (at least in the initial stages), and the likes of such 'spokesmen' and '-women' as Regondi, Blagrove, and, as we shall see, Catherina Josepha Pelzer (later Madame R. Sidney Pratten), Isabelle Dulcken (Inv. 265), and members of the Binfield family of Reading (Inv. 81), no doubt played important roles in endearing the instrument to the socio-economic upper crust—and to its women in particular—another factor virtually guaranteed that, at least early on (certainly through most of the 1840s), it would not seep down very much below that level: its relatively hefty price. Fortunately, we are rather well informed about prices thanks to the combination of mid-century price lists issued by various manufacturers and the prices entered in the Wheatstone ledgers beginning on 1 January 1851 (in C1047).

<sup>65</sup> Ellis's translation of Helmholtz was published as *On the Sensations of Tone as a Psychological Basis for the Theory of Music* (London, 1875); the reference to the specially-tuned instrument appears in the 2nd edition (1885), 470; there may well be further references to Ellis among the entries for that surname on 21 October 1858 and 23 March 1859 (C1051, 45, 65), though these lack first names or initials. My reference to a transaction for Ellis on 1 January 1851 (C1047, 1) in 'Who Bought Concertinas', 63–4, 73, 86, is incorrect; the name there listed is 'Ella' (see note 45).

<sup>66</sup> P.M. Maurice, 'What Shall we Do with Music? A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Earl of Derby, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, 1856'; Maurice's letter is cited in Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford, 1985), 43; Eydmann, 'The Life and Times of the Concertina', 72; my thanks to Susan Wollenberg for Maurice's correct initials; on Regondi at Oxford, see Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford*, 171, and *eadem*, 'Giulio Regondi at Oxford'.

<sup>67</sup> Assuming that the ratio of individual gentlemen named to the number of transactions that they generated is approximately the same as that for the women (1,769 transactions for 978 women), we might expect to find the names of—very roughly—about 7,000 individual males, though we might wish to lower that number somewhat owing to the large number of bulk sales to instrument dealers.



The earliest known Wheatstone price list—in effect, a two-page advertisement titled *The Concertina: A New Musical Instrument*—dates from 1848; its information about prices is summarized in Table 2.<sup>68</sup>

TABLE 2: Wheatstone’s price list of 1848.

Type	Buttons	Range	Single Action <sup>(a)</sup>	Double Action <sup>(b)</sup>	
			Plain <sup>(c)</sup>	Plain	Best
Treble	32	<i>b – d'''</i>	£5.15.6	£8.8.0	£11.0.0
	40	<i>b – a'''</i>	£7.0.0	£11.0.0	£14.0.0
	48	<i>g – c'''</i>	£8.8.0	£14.0.0	£16.16.0
Tenor	[?]	<i>c – c'''</i>			£16.16.0
Bass	[?]	<i>C – c''</i>	£16.16.0 <sup>(d)</sup>		

**Notes:**

(a) ‘single action’ means that the instrument produces a sound with the bellows moving in one direction only (while being pushed in); (b) ‘double action’ indicates that the sound is produced no matter which way the bellows are moving; (c) ‘plain’ refers to the lack of decorative, carved fretwork in the wooden ends; (d) bass concertinas were produced only as single-action instruments, since to have included two reeds per note (one for each direction of the bellows’ movement) would have made the instrument even bigger and heavier than it already was (see below, §V, 3).

Thus the price of a double action, forty-eight-button instrument—the kind needed to manage more than a beginner’s repertory—ran from £14.0.0 to £16.16.0, a range that stood well beyond working-class purses, which, as one calculation estimates, was filled with an average of but fifteen shillings per week.<sup>69</sup> Even the least expensive instrument, a single-action treble with thirty-two buttons—and thus limited in what it could play—cost £5.15.6 and was likely beyond the reach of the working-class labourer.<sup>70</sup>

The late 1840s also provide a list of prices from Wheatstone’s only competitor at the time, Joseph Scates, who ran the following advertisement during the final weeks of 1847:

The Concertina. Joseph Scates, Manufacturer of the Concertina, begs to inform the Musical Public that he . . . continues to supply this fashionable and charming instrument . . . with all the late improvements, from £5 to £15 each.<sup>71</sup>

Unfortunately, we cannot compare these prices with those that customers actually paid at the time, since, as noted above, only with C1047, which begins on 1 January 1851, do the Wheatstone sales ledgers (we have no such records for Scates or any other manufacturer) start to record prices for the instruments sold. Yet both Wheatstone’s and Scates’s price list seem to ring true, as the highest price quoted, £16.16.0 (sixteen guineas), squares precisely with that paid ten years earlier by John Ella

<sup>68</sup> There is a copy in the Horniman Museum, Wayne Archive, C824; it is reproduced in its entirety in Chambers, ‘Louis Lachenal: “Engineer and Concertina Manufacturer”’, *The Free-Reed Journal*, 1 (1999), 16–18 (also online at <<http://www.concertina.com/chambers>>; the price list alone is also online at <<http://www.concertina.com/Wheatstone-Pricelist-1848-C824.pdf>>.

<sup>69</sup> J.F.C. Harrison, *The Early Victorians: 1832–1851* (New York, 1971), 66; see also, P. Howarth, *The Year 1851* (London, 1951), 83.

<sup>70</sup> Members of the working class who wished to play the concertina would have turned to the cheap German imports or their British imitations, that is, to the ‘Anglo’ (see note 12). Thus Henry Mayhew’s teenage concertina player (see note 30) paid only 16s for his instrument. An advertisement by Rudall, Rose & Carte in *MDRA/1855* lists a German import for as little as a half guinea (10s/6d).

<sup>71</sup> *The Musical World*, xxii/47 (20 November 1847), 749, and subsequent issues.

when he recorded his purchase of a Wheatstone concertina—though without specifying the range of the instrument—on 7 September 1838 (see note 45). Despite the questions left unanswered,<sup>72</sup> the following seems unarguable: though the price of even a top-of-the-line concertina was a mere pittance in comparison with, say, that for a piano of similar quality—in 1848 a Broadwood grand in rosewood sold for 155 guineas, while William Stoddart & Son was charging 160 guineas for its top model<sup>73</sup>—good concertinas, capable of playing the repertory that would flood the market in the 1850s, were clearly marketed toward those who were at least relatively affluent and had both the leisure time and the cultivation to enjoy them.

The 1850s–60s bring us numerous price lists, and I will cite just a few as examples. Both George Case (who purchased Joseph Scates's firm) and Rock Chidley (a former Wheatstone employee) offer prices in the 'Prospectuses' for the instruments that they exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851: double-action treble concertinas with forty-eight buttons cost from five to eight guineas, while baritones and basses went for twelve and fourteen, respectively.<sup>74</sup> Chidley maintained that range in an advertisement that he ran in *MDRA/1853*, but noted that he had 'reduced the price of this favourite Instrument to . . . within the reach of everyone', and went on to list 'cheaper instruments from £1:11s:6d'.<sup>75</sup> In 1855, Boosey & Sons, acting as 'sole dealers' for Case's instruments, had a range of four to twelve guineas,<sup>76</sup> a spread that still appears in Wheatstone's advertisement in *MDRA/1859*.<sup>77</sup> Finally, there is Louis Lachenal & Co's extremely informative price list for the International Exhibition of 1862.<sup>78</sup> Here, forty-eight-button trebles (instruments with fewer buttons now had to be specially ordered) range from the two-guinea 'People's Concertina', as Lachenal called it, to an eighteen-guinea instrument with ivory ends, silver or glass buttons, and reeds made of gold, while top-of-the-line baritones and basses are listed at twenty-two guineas. What is particularly valuable about Lachenal's list is the way it spells out in detail the differences in price for the same basic instrument (a forty-eight-button treble, for example) according to the type of wood or other material used for the ends (mahogany, rosewood, ebony, amboyna, or ivory, to cite them in the order from least to most expensive), reeds (unspecified metal, silver, tempered steel, or gold), and the number of folds and type of finish on the bellows (four or five, with or without Moroccan leather). Depending upon how one mixed and matched, then, there were twenty-one differently priced trebles, thirteen different tenors/baritones, and seven different basses. In fact, prices could even vary depending upon the wooden case in which the instrument came. Thus in 1855 Case-Boosey advertised the same forty-eight-button rosewood instrument at both £6.6.0 and £8.8.0: the former came in a mahogany case, the latter in matching rosewood.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>72</sup> For instance, why does the Wheatstone list fail to account for instruments with, say, thirty-eight, forty-four, or forty-six buttons, transactions for which are numerous in the early ledgers C1046 and C104a? Even if they were no longer being produced, Wheatstone's must surely have had at least some such instruments in stock.

<sup>73</sup> See David Wainright, *Broadwood by Appointment: A History* (London, 1982), 164; Rosamond E.H. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History Traced to the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Cambridge, 1933; reprint New York, 1973), 383–4. We might also compare the cost of concertinas with that of flutes and clarinets. Thus in 1854, Rudall, Rose and Carte sold their least expensive flutes for £3, while their clarinets fell within a range of £4–12; see Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain*, 101; Eydmann, 'The Life and Times of the Concertina', 66–7.

<sup>74</sup> See Mactaggart and Mactaggart, *Musical Instruments in the 1851 Exhibition*, 47. Though Wheatstone's also exhibited, they did not advertise their prices in the exhibition catalogue.

<sup>75</sup> The advertisement appears on the inside of the back cover.

<sup>76</sup> *MDRA/1855*, unpaginated.

<sup>77</sup> Tucked in at the end of an advertisement for harmoniums, prices for concertinas with fewer than forty-eight buttons are listed from £1.16.0 to £3.3.0; this advert appears online at <<http://www.concertina.com/pricelists/wheatstone-english/Wheatstone-MDRA-1859.pdf>>.

<sup>78</sup> The list appears in *The International Exhibition of 1862, Illustrated Catalogue of the Industrial Department*, ii, 'Class XVI—Musical Instruments' (London, 1862), 112; it is reproduced in Chambers, 'Some Notes on Lachenal Concertina Production', 6 (as is, on p. 5, a Lachenal advertisement from *MDRA/1859*), and online at both <<http://www.concertina.org/pica/php>> and <<http://www.concertina.com/pricelists/Lachenal/Lachenal-Intl-Exhibition-1862.pdf>>.

<sup>79</sup> *The Musical World*, xxxiii/39 (29 September 1855), 639.

In all, the 1850s and early 1860s saw the price range of concertinas expand in both directions, thus providing would-be purchasers with an ever-greater choice of instruments and with the low end no doubt beginning to make the instrument available to those who might previously have been priced out of the market (especially that for the forty-eight-button instrument). In the long run, though, this ‘democratization’ was something of a double-edged sword, as the concertina seems to have begun losing some of its attraction among the most fashionable of Wheatstone’s clientele. After all, we can well imagine that, having recently purchased a Wheatstone for twelve or more guineas, ‘Lord This’ or ‘Lady That’ may well have been less than happy—perhaps even dismayed—to see the market flooded by a two-guinea ‘Peoples’ version of the concertina or one that sold for even less than that, even if made by a rival manufacturer. In fact, we may do more than just imagine. From 1 January 1862 (C1052, 64) through 23 May 1870 (C1053, 67), at which point the sales ledgers break off, there are but three transactions that are explicit in naming members of the titled aristocracy: Lady Le Marchant, on 30 September 1863 (Inv. 525), Sir W. Ball, on 29 May 1866, and the Countess of Denbigh, on 19 January 1869 (Inv. 240).<sup>80</sup> Table 3 summarizes the overall sales pattern to the titled aristocracy, and shows just how precipitous the decline in sales was.

**TABLE 3:** Sales to the titled aristocracy (including multiple transactions for some of them) in the Wheatstone sales ledgers.

Period	Male	Female	Total
1835–40 <sup>(a)</sup>	9	9	18
1841–5	11	26	37
1846–9 (5 April)	10	19	29
1851–5 <sup>(b)</sup>	24	81	105
1856–60	19	51	70
1861–5	0	1	1
1866–70 (23 May)	1	1	2

**Notes:**

(a) Transactions are sketchy prior to 30 April 1839;

(b) there are no records for the period 6 April 1849–31 December 1850.

To take an even longer- and wider-range view: it was no doubt the availability of mass-produced, less expensive instruments (pioneered by Lachenal & Co.) that, during the final quarter or so of the century, seems to have led the concertina from the drawing room and the recital hall to such working-class venues as the music hall, Salvation Army street bands, and the concertina bands of the northern industrial towns.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, by the end of the century, the concertina—and here I refer to all three types: English, Anglo, and Duet—would become ‘perhaps the most favoured instrument of the working people’.<sup>82</sup>

Finally, having seen the prices that Wheatstone’s and other manufacturers advertised for their instruments, we may turn to those that Wheatstone’s customers actually paid for them. Appendix III lists the prices for 903 transactions in the Inventory that provide prices (again, transactions prior to 1 January 1851 lack prices, and I have excluded those instances in which a single price clearly refers to two or more instruments, since we cannot always be certain that each instrument was equal in cost). Table 4 summarizes the information.

<sup>80</sup> But see the discussion about these two ledgers below (‘The Ledgers’).

<sup>81</sup> About the concertina in these venues, see especially Eydmann, ‘The Life and Times of the Concertina’, 151–211.

<sup>82</sup> Pearsall, *Victorian Popular Music*, 97.



Price range	Total no.	Percentage	Predominant price	Ex/SH	Further breakdown	Percentage for men
£0.0.0–0.16.0	20	2.2%	8 @ 0.0.16 8 @ 0.0.0	7/0		0%

**Note:**

(a) I chose the first twenty men in the five ledgers C1047–C1051 for whose transactions prices are recorded; as I did for the women, I omitted those prices that clearly pertained to more than a single instrument; I also excluded instrument dealers on the grounds that they may have purchased batches of instruments at a discount.

Clearly, the most popular instruments among Wheatstone's female customers were those that sold for £12.0.0+ (13.5%), 10.0.0+ (10.8%), 7.0.0+ (11.7%), and 4.0.0+ (11.5%), these four price ranges (out of a total of sixteen), accounting for almost half the instruments for which the ledgers provide prices. Just as clear is the tendency for women to spend a bit more for their concertinas than did the one-hundred randomly selected men, for whom the same price ranges account for 6%, 6%, 10%, and 28%, respectively. Though certainly drawn to the instrument in great numbers, men, it seems, were more apt to choose a less expensive concertina.

The distribution of prices also raises a number of questions. Three will suffice. (1) How do we explain the differences among the seven different prices that appear in the £7.0.0–7.17.6 range? What did the sixty-five instruments sold at £7.17.6 have that was missing on the twenty-two instruments that went for £7.7.0? What did the extra 10s/6d buy? (As noted in Table 4, we do not have for Wheatstone's the detailed kind of breakdown that Lachenal & Co. provided in their 1862 advertisement.) (2) What are we to make of the twenty-three instruments that sold for £13.0.0–15.0.0, since the most expensive treble in Wheatstone's 1859 price list is listed at twelve guineas? Are we dealing with baritone or bass concertinas, with the ledgers having failed to take note of it? (3) On 3 March 1853, a Mr Buck paid two guineas for Wheatstone no. 4094 (C1048, 26), with the ledger noting that the transaction involved an exchange. Was Mr Buck purchasing a twenty-two-button instrument with rosewood ends, a twenty-four-button instrument with the less expensive mahogany ends, a forty-eight-button instrument, for which the two guineas was a 'step-up' fee for an instrument that cost more than that being exchanged, or, given that the transaction occurs five years after the 1848 price list, which fails to account for a two-guinea instrument, but six years prior to that of 1859 (which does), does the price cited in the ledger have nothing to do with either price list? In the end, there is only one way that we will succeed in answering such questions: to the extent that we can still locate them—and the Horniman Museum together with a few private collection would be the obvious starting points—we must try to track down those instruments cited in the ledgers that are still extant; only then, will we see precisely what Wheatstone's customers got for their money.

### 3. *The Popularity Curve*

Having shown the ups and downs of the concertina's popularity with the titled aristocracy (see Table 3), I conclude this section with a birds-eye view of the sales/production curve as a whole. Table 5 shows the bell-like curve of transactions from 1840 to 1870 at (with one exception) five-year intervals, and, at the same time, correlates it with the approximate number of instruments produced and the number of concertina-related publications (compositions and/or tutors).<sup>83</sup>

<sup>83</sup> My thanks to Robert Gaskins for the suggestion of correlating sales/production with publications.

**TABLE 5:** Number of transactions recorded in the Wheatstone sales ledgers for seven different years, correlated with the highest serial number sold during that year and the number of concertina-related publications.

Year	Transactions	Highest serial no. (date sold)	Concertina-related publications <sup>(a)</sup>	Ledgers
1840 <sup>(b)</sup>	72	413 (30 Dec)	4	C1046, 3–6
1845	185	1089 (11 Dec)	3	C1046, 32–41
1851 <sup>(c)</sup>	904	4086 (13 Dec)	5 <sup>(d)</sup>	C1047, 1–42
1855	993	8452 (26 Nov)	86	C1049, 39–82
1860	649	11480 (21 Dec)	23	C1052, 7–38
1865	19	13753 (20 Dec)/ 18033 (21 Dec) <sup>(e)</sup>	13	C1053, 10–20
1870 (1 Jan–23 May)	118	18600 (5 May)	9	C1053, 61–7

**Notes:**

- (a) most of the dates have been assigned by the *British Library Integrated Catalogue*, with many being qualified with ‘circa’;  
 (b) this is the first year for which sales records are complete;  
 (c) there are no records for 1850;  
 (d) the *Integrated Catalogue* lists forty publications for 1850;  
 (e) there is an inexplicable leap of Wheatstone serial numbers from the 13700s to 18000; we see this clearly in C1053, 20, which records the sale of no. 13753 on 19 December and no. 18033 on 21 December; the ledgers fail to account for instruments with serial numbers in the 14-, 15-, 16-, and 17000s.

The following is clear: the 1850s represent something of a ‘concertina boom’ (as Robert Gaskins has dubbed it) in terms of transactions, production (to judge from the mounting serial numbers), and the publication of music and method books for the instrument (there were more of the latter published than in the two immediately surrounding decades combined). This is also the decade that (1) saw Macfarren, Barnett, Benedict, and Molique write for the instrument, (2) seems to have garnered the greatest amount of coverage and publicity for the instrument in the musical press,<sup>84</sup> and (3) likely saw Wheatstone’s make the switch from meantone to equal-tempered instruments (see note 13). It was, in terms of prestige—at least within ‘cultivated’ art-music circles—the English concertina’s proudest decade.

#### IV. Ladies in the Ledgers

The discussion of the women named in the Wheatstone sales ledgers—the main, if by now somewhat delayed, topic of our study—is divided into six sections: (1) problems of identification, (2) demographics by social class and occupation, (3) student-teacher relationships, (4) family ties, (5) known female concertinists who do not appear in the ledgers, and (6) a note about one amateur player’s repertory and technical ability.

##### 1. Problems of Identification

As noted above, the Inventory accounts for 1,769 transactions that name 978 women. In fact, though, both of these numbers may stand in need of some qualification, since there are problems of identification that, if resolved differently, would slightly—but only slightly—alter the numbers.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>84</sup> To be sure, I cannot give precise numbers; my impression is based upon searches through the indices of the *Musical World* and *The Musical Times* compiled by Répertoire international de la presse musicale (RIPM).

<sup>85</sup> I would certainly listen to arguments for conflating the following pairs of women: (1) Lady C. Courtney (Inv. 195) and Lady Caroline Somers Cocks (Inv. 815), though we would consistently have to emend the spelling of ‘Courtney’ to ‘Courtney’; (2) Miss Frankland Russell (Inv. 322) and Lady Walsingham (Inv. 907), though they could just as well be

The problems of identification exist on a number of levels. The most basic of these is orthographical. Although the scribes who compiled the ledgers are generally careful to differentiate clearly between ‘M<sup>r</sup>’ and ‘M<sup>rs</sup>’, there are occasional instances in which a flourish on the end of the superscript ‘r’ of Mr is difficult to distinguish from the hook-like ‘s’ with which Mrs often ends. Unfortunately, the presence of a given name offers no help, since, as was customary, married women are listed with their husband’s name. Thus I am still not sure of the gender of the Fox-Strangways who purchased an instrument on 27 February 1852 (C1047, 52), and I have, therefore, omitted the transaction (and others about which I am uncertain) from the Inventory.

Far more problematical—and persistent—is the danger of conflating two or more women into one (or splitting a single individual in two) in instances in which we have nothing more than a rather ‘non-descript’ surname and widely separated transactions.<sup>86</sup> Thus while no one, I think, will object to the notion that the Misses Nelson (Inv. 637) recorded on 10 December 1857 and 22 April 1859 (C1051, 7, 68), respectively, are probably one and the same, since the chronological gap of sixteen months between purchases is relatively modest and the second purchase is accompanied by a note about an exchange, what are we to conclude with respect to the entries for Mrs Campbell (Inv. 144), for whom the transactions are nine years apart, 25 April 1835 (C104a, 11) and 19 June 1844 (C104a, 41; C1046, 27): one person or two? My solution throughout in these instances has been to favour conflation, and I have treated the likes of Mrs Campbell as a single individual unless there is some compelling evidence to the contrary. (After all, my own modest collection of concertinas includes instruments purchased as many as forty years apart.)

Related to this are the many instances in which there are multiple listings for the same surname with only some—or even one—of them providing a given name or first initial. Again, I lean toward conflation, and I assume that the Mrs Walter Birch (Inv. 84) for whom there is a transaction on 18 August 1853 (C1048, 51) is identical with the woman cited only as Mrs Birch on 13 October 1856 and 19 February 1857 (C1050, 32, 50). Still another problem occurs in connection with ledgers C1052 and C1053, which introduce a new and unfortunate practice: they specify gender only occasionally, mainly, it seems, in order to distinguish between males and females in successive entries where the surname remains the same. Thus C1053, 10, records a transaction for ‘Holder’ (no gender specified) on 24 December 1864, and follows it immediately with an entry for ‘Mrs — —’ on 27 December. I assume that the latter entry is for a Mrs Holder (Inv. 431), with the dashes indicating that the surname remains the same, and I have included her and other women for whom there are similar entries in the Inventory. Likewise, there are times in which we find ‘Mr — —’, in which instances I have read the genderless entry just above it as meaning Miss or Mrs. When, on the other hand, C1052 and C1053 offer a non-gender-specific name that matches the name of a woman who has appeared securely in one of the earlier ledgers but is not so coupled, I simply note that in the comments without counting it as a transaction for her.

The problem of conflating and splitting women also exists ‘in reverse’, as it were, that is, when a woman’s surname might have changed owing to marriage. Thus we know that the twenty-four transactions (11 November 1847–8 February 1854) for Miss (Catherina Josepha) Pelzer (Inv. 672) and the

sisters; (3) the Hon. Mrs Stanley (Inv. 831) and Mrs W.O. Stanley (Inv. 832), though title and initials never come together in the ledgers; and (4) Miss Baring (Inv. 41) and Lady Suffield (Inv. 845), if we are confident that Lady Suffield was the wife of the 5th—as opposed to the 4th—Baron Suffield. Conflating these four pairs of women, lowers the total number of women to 974.

In addition, an interpretation different from my own of another matter leaves the number of women intact but could affect the total number of transactions. The ledgers contain many instances in which either the only transaction for a woman (or for a man) or the first transaction of what will turn out to be two or more bears the annotation ‘exchange’. But if there are no transactions prior to the one in question, what is being exchanged, and is there a ‘hidden’ transaction that we can no longer identify (see the discussion below)?

<sup>86</sup> The problem is equally persistent in connection with the men in the ledgers.

twelve (14 November 1854–3 June 1856) for Madame (R. Sidney) Pratten all refer to the same woman, the change in name reflecting Miss Pelzer’s marriage to the flutist Robert Sidney Pratten in September 1854 (see below and the comments in the Inventory). Likewise, the transaction for Lady Georgina Lygon (Inv. 708) on 31 December 1853 and that for Lady Raglan on 16 February 1858 also refer to a single woman, first before and then after she married Richard Henry Fitzroy Somerset, 2nd Baron Raglan, in September 1856. How many other, less notable Miss ‘Xs’ became Mrs ‘Ys’ through marriage—and how many of them we have split in two—we cannot say.

A very different kind of identification problem—one that does not affect either the number of women or the number of entries in the Inventory—concerns the identification of wife-husband (Mrs-Mr) and mother/father-daughter (Mrs/Mr-Miss) relationships among those named in the ledgers.<sup>87</sup> Three examples may suffice. That the Mr Malan and Mrs Malan (Inv. 563) who bought concertinas on the same day, 19 January 1859 (C1051, 58), are husband and wife seems rather certain, since the name is not an ‘everyday’ one, and it is unlikely that a man and woman so named who bought concertinas on the same day would be anything other than that (admittedly, they could be sister- and brother-in-law). Nor would I deny the Mrs Morris (Inv. 621) who bought the first of her four instruments on 10 July 1851 (C1047, 21) the hypothetical pleasure of having played wife-husband duets with the Mr J.D. Morris who purchased two instruments five months earlier, on 14 February 1851 (C1047, 6). Clearly, the closer the transactions are in time to one another, the more likely the family relationship.

On the other hand, what should we make of the tangle of Lloyds that stretches through the ledgers for almost twenty years (Table 6)?

**TABLE 6:** The complex of entries concerning Mr Lloyd, Mrs Lloyd, and Miss Lloyd.

Date	Entry	Ledger
19 March 1840	Mrs ‘Lloyd’	C1046, 4
8 February 1847	Miss Lloyd	C1046, 55; C104a, 22
19 April 1853	Mr F. Lloyd	C1048, 36
30 May 1853	Mrs W.J. Lloyd	C1048, 41
4 July 1855	Miss Lloyd	C1049, 59
22 January 1857	Mrs Lloyd	C1050, 51
21 June 1859	Mr Lloyd	C1051, 76
22 June 1859	Mrs Lloyd	C1051, 76

Does the entry for Mrs ‘Lloyd’ on 19 March 1840 simply spell the name incorrectly or is she distinct from the Mrs Lloyd cited in 1857 and 1859? Are either of them one and the same as the Mrs W. J. Lloyd? If not, is there a Mrs. F. Lloyd among them? Which Mrs Lloyd if any is the mother of Miss Lloyd? About the only thing certain is that the Mr and Mrs Lloyd listed without initials one day apart from one another in June 1859 are husband and wife. Such puzzles abound, and in positing family relationships among the men and women in the ledgers, I have as often as not qualified them with such hedges as ‘perhaps’ and ‘possibly’.

Still another problem consists of trying to breathe life into the women in the ledgers. And while many of the women who (1) belonged to the titled aristocracy and landed gentry, (2) had obvious family ties with or were themselves influential in the worlds of politics, commerce, and philanthropy, or (3) were professional musicians can be readily identified, the majority of our ladies remain faceless names. In the end, I have offered identifications with varying degrees of confidence. Thus while the

<sup>87</sup> Though Miss-Mr relationships could conceivably refer to sister-brother, niece-uncle, cousin-cousin, I spell out my reasons for assuming that, lacking evidence to the contrary, they refer to daughter-father in §IV, 3, c.



likes of the Duchess of Wellington (Inv. 923) or Mrs Jakob Montefiore (Inv. 612) are identified without any fuss, I have hedged as follows with respect to other identifications: (1) the rhetorical ‘surely’ means that, while I have no doubts about the matter, there may be some room for dispute; (2) ‘likely’—used interchangeably with ‘probably’—means that I am fairly confident about the identification; and (3) ‘perhaps’, which indicates that the identification is entirely speculative. Finally, there are those who will no doubt say that I have been too quick to identify the ledgers’ ladies with the ‘rich and famous’; yet that is precisely the circle at which Wheatstone’s and other concertina manufacturers targeted their instruments.

## 2. *Some Demographics: Social Class and Occupations*

### (a) The Titled Aristocracy

As I did with the more general overview in §III, I begin with the women of the titled aristocracy, now lowering the bar a bit to include women designated merely as ‘Honourable’. Table 7 provides a checklist of the 148 titled women and the 217 transactions that they generated.

**TABLE 7:** Titled women in the Wheatstone sales ledgers (not including those who gained their titles only after the transactions in the ledgers), organised by rank from highest to lowest; numbers in parentheses refer to the Inventory; numbers following the parentheses indicate the number of transactions recorded if more than one.

<b>DUCHESS</b>	Blair (88)	Fremantle (327)
Leeds, Dowager (516)	Blandford (89)	Galway (335)
Roxburghe (743)	Bloomfield (93)	Gosford (366)
Wellington (923) 3 (the first while still Marchioness of Douro)	Boscawen, [Elizabeth?] (102)	Gouch (367)
<b>MARCHIONESS</b>	Brownlow, Elizabeth (119)	Grenville (375) 2
Douro (= Duchess of Wellington)	Bulteel, E[izabeth] (126) 2	Grimstone, J[ane?] (376)
<b>COUNTESS</b>	Bulteel, [Louisa] Emily [Charlotte] (127) 9	Grimstone, Mary (377)
Breuberg (115)	Campbell, H. (142) 2	Hampton (391)
Caledon (140)	Cast (152) 2	Hanson (395) 2
Craven (199)	Claremont (165)	Hartland (402) 2
Denbigh (240)	Clinton, Caroline (171) 5	Hempson, Dowager (415)
Durham (269)	Clinton, Henrietta (172)	Hepburne (420)
Harborough (369)	Clinton Dawkins (173)	Hicks Beach (425) 2
Lifton (531)	Cocks, E[izabeth?] (175)	Hope, Frances (440)
Lowdan (544)	Combermere (185) 4	Hope, Louisa (441) 5
Macclesfield (554)	Courtney, C (195) 3	Ican, M. (459)
Verulam (894)	[= ‘Courteney’? = Lady Somers Cocks (815)?]	Isham (465)
<b>VISCOUNTESS</b>	Craven (200)	Kerr, L[ouisa?] 485) 2
Combermere (185)	Dalhousie (219) 2	Lang (502)
<b>BARONESS</b>	Davis (228)	Langford (504)
d’Isola (466)	De Brooke, W. (234)	Legg, Ann (518)
<b>LADY</b>	Denison, Charlotte (241) 3	Legg, Louisa (519)
Ashley (23) 2	Downes (255)	Leighton (523)
Ashtown (24)	Durham (270)	Le Marchant (525)
Bailey (34)	Dyke (271)	Lennox, A. (528)
Bayley, J[ohn] (55)	Eardley (273) 5	Litchfield (534) 2
Belhaven (60)	Erskine (291)	Loftus, Anna (539) 2
Beresford, John (69) 2	Essex (294)	Loftus, Catherine (540)
	Fitzwilliam, D.W. (314) 2	Manvers (567)
	Frankland Russell (321) 2	Mare, E. (568)
		Marsham (575)

TABLE 7: *Cont.*

Maxwell (580)	Scott (769)	Wells, E. (925)
Molyneux, M[aria?] (610)	Shuttleworth, [Janet] (795) 2	West (929)
Montford (613)	Smith, L. (803)	Williams, S. (944)
Moore, E. (615)	Somers Cocks, Caroline (815)	
Morant, H. (618)	[= 'Courtney' (195)?]	<b>HONOURABLE MISS/MRS</b>
Murray, Louisa (629)	Somerset, H. (816) 3	Abbott, Miss (1) 2
Murray (630)	Somerset, John (817) 2	Bagot, Mrs Lewis (33) 2
Neville, Charlotte (638)	Somerville (819)	Bing, Miss (82)
Nott (643)	South (821)	Boscawen, Miss Lucy (101) 3
Nugent (644) 2	St. Clair, H. (827)	Campbell, Mrs (145)
Osborne (654)	Stanley, M. (830)	Cast, Mrs (154)
Paget, H. (655)	Staples (833) 4	Clive, Miss (174)
Parke (660) 2	Stopford [Charlotte Elizabeth?] (840)	Edgecumbe, Mrs (276) 2
Penrhyn, Charlotte (675)	Strickland (841) 2	Elliston, Mrs (284)
Plummers (684)	Suffield (845)	Gordon, Mrs (364) 4
Portman (689)	Swinburne, J[ohn] (849)	Goulborne, Mrs E. (368)
Raglan (708) 2	Toler, Elizabeth (872)	Kerr, Miss (486)
Ramsay (711)	Trembleston (878) 2	Maynard, Mrs (583)
Rathed (716)	Vandeleur, G. (887) 2	Ramsden, Mrs H. (713)
Redington (718)	Vernon, A. (893)	Sanderson, Mrs (759) 2
Roe (733)	Walsingham (907)	Scott, Mrs (773)
Role [= Rolle?] (736)	Wellesley, Victoria (922)	Somerset, Mrs Arthur (818)
Rotheo (739)		Stanley, Mrs (831)

One of the most avid of these concertinists was Lady Louisa Emily Charlotte (called Emily) Bulteel (1839–92, Inv. 127), granddaughter of the 2nd Earl Grey (of tea fame), wife of Charles Baring (1st Baron Revelstoke and Director of both the Bank of England and Baring's Bank), and great-great-grandmother of the late Princess Diana of Wales.<sup>88</sup> A student of Richard Blagrove, who dedicated his *Fantasia on Airs from Verdi's Il Trovatore* (1856) to her, she acquired as many as nine instruments during the period July 1853–August 1860, the last of which, no. 11278 (recorded on 8 August 1860), is distinguished by its beautiful silver inlay and two silver plates, one of which identifies the owner as 'L. E. C. Bulteel'; it was surely a gift for her twenty-first birthday.<sup>89</sup>

As did many of the women in the ledgers (both with and without titles), Lady Emily sometimes rented her concertinas, the going rate generally being 10s/6d per month;<sup>90</sup> thus four of the transactions in which she is involved were rentals, while another records an outright loan.<sup>91</sup> Clearly, many women chose to rent instruments before committing themselves to a purchase. In fact, Wheatstone's seems to have reserved some instruments mainly—perhaps even exclusively—for the purposes of

<sup>88</sup> See Magdalen Ponsonby, *Mary Ponsonby: A Memoir, Some Letters and a Journal* (London, 1927), vi–viii; William H. Kuhn, *Henry and Mary Ponsonby: Life at the Court of Queen Victoria* (London, 2002), 57–60.

<sup>89</sup> Photographs of the instrument appear online at <[http://www.concertina.net/jb\\_bulteel\\_wheatstone.html](http://www.concertina.net/jb_bulteel_wheatstone.html)>, where, however, the accompanying note gives the wrong date of purchase.

<sup>90</sup> See, for example, the entries for 5 October 1863 and 13 April 1864 in C1052, 89, 96; some instruments could be rented for less, as noted in a transaction of 26 July 1864 in which the rental fee is 8s per month (C1053, 4); one could also rent by the week for 2s/6d (see the entries for 11, 13, and 27 June 1854 in C1053, 2–3); finally, on 29 July 1864, C1053, 4, records a rental for the rather pricey '5/- a night'. A rental fee of 10s/6d per month was also advertised by Keith, Prowse; see their advertisement in *The Times*, 6 October 1851, 8.

<sup>91</sup> Occasionally, Wheatstone's loaned an instrument as a courtesy while they were repairing a customer's own concertina; thus an annotation to a transaction of 21 July 1864 states that an instrument was 'lent during tuning' to one Shaw Lefevre (C1053, 4); about that family, see the discussion concerning Miss Lefevre (Inv. 517)

rental; the vicissitudes of two instruments can serve as examples: no. 5584 was rented to Miss Phillips on 23 June 1854 (Inv. 680.01), Richard Blagrove on 12 August 1856, Mrs McLean on 4 February 1857 (Inv. 588), Miss Anné Pelzer on 6 May 1857 (Inv. 671.17), and Mrs Burton on 14 July 1856 (Inv. 134.02) before it was finally sold to a Miss Lawton on 5 August 1857 (Inv. 511); similarly, no. 5587 was hired out to Mrs Hope on 13 March 1855 (Inv. 443.01), Miss Hogge on 2 June 1855 (Inv. 428.01), Miss Hogge once again on 19 September 1855 (Inv. 428.02)—so that the June rental was probably for a term of three months—Richard Blagrove on 28 November 1855, Miss Gregory on 19 February 1856 (Inv. 372.02), and Col. Geiles on 17 October 56, before it was sold to Mr Beale for £7.7.0 on 20 November 1856.<sup>92</sup> Indeed, some women (and men) were probably wise to rent before investing in an instrument, as the ledgers show that many of them must have tried the instrument and quickly have given it up, since the concertina was then sold to someone else shortly after the initial purchase. The quickest such turn around seems to have occurred within twenty-four hours in December 1846: on 24 December, Miss Holder (Inv. 430.02) bought no. 1265 (C1046, 53), which instrument was sold to Mr Charles Wilson the very next day (C104a, 65).

Four other titled women merit a few words. No doubt, Lady Emily inherited her passion for the instrument from her mother, Lady Elizabeth Bulteel (1798–1880), who bought her own first concertina on 16 September 1843 (Inv. 126.01). Considered a good musician in her own right, Lady Elizabeth hosted a fashionable salon which featured Monday evenings filled with chamber music and song.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, the Bulteels may have played at least a small role in helping to disseminate the concertina in political circles. When Mary Gladstone traveled through Germany, she was chaperoned by Lady Emily's older sister, Mary Elizabeth, while others in the retinue included Arthur Balfour and members of the Lyttelton family:<sup>94</sup> that is, the core of the participants at the Gladstone-Balfour concertina-filled evenings (see §III, 1). And perhaps it was often through such associations and the word-of-mouth talk about concertinas that likely followed that the instrument acquired much of its aristocratic following.

Another of our titled women, Lady Belhaven, Wishaw House, Lanark, Scotland (Inv. 60), can lay claim to at least a footnote in the history of nineteenth-century music on the grounds that she was personally acquainted with Chopin. Writing to his friend Wojciech Grzymała from Edinburgh on 30 October 1848, the composer noted: 'From Wishaw, from Lady Belhaven's, where I stayed before going to Hamilton . . .'.<sup>95</sup> Finally, we may single out the Duchess of Wellington (Inv. 923) and Lady John Somerset (Inv. 817) for the role that they played in promoting the career of the young Catherina Josepha Pelzer (Inv. 672), who, though probably best known in her day as a virtuoso guitarist and teacher of that instrument, was also a concertinist of note. And perhaps it was as a token of appreciation for their early support that Miss Pelzer's husband, the flautist R. Sidney Pratten, dedicated his

<sup>92</sup> All instruments cited in the Inventory for which there are multiple transactions among women are identified as such in Appendix II, which lists the instruments in serial-number order (without, however, distinguishing between purchases and rentals). The Inventory also notes instances in which an instrument circulated among both men and women, at least when I was able to catch them (they are often hundreds, even thousands of entries apart). After I completed the research for this study, Mr Wes Williams posted his exhaustive, computer-aided 'Serial Number and Date Indexes to the Wheatstone Ledgers', which lists all 'concordances' between serial numbers both within each individual ledger and across the ledgers as a whole; the index appears online at <<http://www.concertina.com/ledgers/indexes>>.

<sup>93</sup> Kuhn, *Henry and Mary Ponsonby*, 60–1; Emily's older sister, Mary Elizabeth, was also musical and developed a close friendship with the composer Dame Ethel Smyth; see Ponsonby, *Mary Ponsonby*, viii.

<sup>94</sup> Kuhn, *Henry and Mary Ponsonby*, 182.

<sup>95</sup> The letter is printed in *Chopin's Letters*, ed. Henryk Opieński (New York, 1931/reprinted New York, 1971), and appears online at <<http://www.iconportal.com/chopin.letter1848.1030>>; see also William G. Atwood, *Fryderyk Chopin: Pianist from Warsaw* (New York, 1987), 183. Perhaps Lady Belhaven is also the woman to whom Chopin refers in a letter written to Grzymała from Hamilton Palace nine days earlier: 'Lady ———, one of the first great ladies here, in whose castle I spent a few days, is regarded here as a great musician. One day, after my piano, and after various songs by other Scottish ladies, they brought a kind of accordion [a concertina?], and she began with the utmost gravity to play on it the most atrocious tunes.'

*Fantasia* on themes from Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* for concertina and piano to Lady Somerset.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, as we shall see below (§IV, 2, c), the paths followed by the guitar and the concertina often intersected.

Finally, the concertina also made its way into the inner circles of the royal court, as at least six (and possibly seven) of our titled women held positions as Lady-of-the-Bedchamber, Woman-of-the-Bedchamber, Mistress-of-the-Robes, or Maid-of-Honour to Queen Victoria: the Duchesses of Roxburghe (Inv. 743) and Wellington (Inv. 923), the Countess of Caledon (Inv. 148), Ladies Susan Georgina Dalhousie (Inv. 219), Emma Portman (Inv. 689), and Caroline Somers Cocks (Inv. 815), and, possibly (if my identification is correct), the Honourable Mrs Campbell (Inv. 145).<sup>97</sup> (As noted above, Charles Wheatstone himself had conducted musical business with the royal court of William IV in the mid-1830s.<sup>98</sup>)

#### (b) Other Women of Renown

A number of Wheatstone's other female customers were either well known in their own right or came from leading families in the fields of commerce, politics, education, science, the military, the arts, and the long-established landed gentry (on the professional musicians, see below, §IV, 2, c). Here, though, there are constant problems of identification; and while some of the identifications that I offer in the Inventory seem indisputable, others are entirely speculative.

One of the most notable women in the ledgers—and about this identification there can be little doubt—was Angela Georgina Burdett Coutts (1814–1906, Inv. 129), who purchased her four concertinas in 1854 and 1858. Upon inheriting the family banking fortune (amassed by her maternal grandfather, Thomas Coutts) in 1837, she became one of the wealthiest women in England, and used her wealth to support such causes as the Ragged School Union, the Temperance Society, and the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (of which she was the founder), to name just a few. She may well have come to the concertina through her personal acquaintance with Charles Wheatstone, who frequented her Friday get-togethers after the lectures at the Royal Institution.<sup>99</sup> Other women with family connections to the worlds of commerce and banking were Mrs Jacob Montefiore (Inv. 612), cousin-by-marriage of the famous Moses Montefiore, and Miss Julia Goldsmid, grand-daughter of the Dutch-born Benjamin Goldsmid, who, with his brother Abraham, was a major force in determining the ups and downs of the London Stock Exchange.<sup>100</sup>

Wives and daughters of political families—beyond those with titles—likely include: Mrs W.O. Stanley (Inv. 832), surely the wife of William Owen Stanley, MP,<sup>101</sup> and both Miss Carnac (Inv. 151) and Mrs Ellice (Inv. 281), perhaps the daughter of Sir James Carnac, Director of the East India Company and Governor of Bombay,<sup>102</sup> and the wife (or daughter-in-law) of Edward Ellice, who

<sup>96</sup> On their patronage, see Stewart Button, *The Guitar in England*, 113, 115, 117; on the role of women as patrons of music, see Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, 34–76.

<sup>97</sup> See William Alexander Lindsay, *The Royal Household* (London, 1898), 64–5, 73, 81, 160, 164, 186.

<sup>98</sup> See note 44.

<sup>99</sup> On Burdett Coutts, see Edna Healy, *Lady Unknown: The Life of Angela Burdett-Coutts* (New York, 1978), especially pp. 60–2 on her acquaintance with Wheatstone; *Dictionary of National Biography*, iii, 297–9; Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, 35, 43. The entries for Miss Burdett Coutts underscore a constant problem in reading the ledgers: she is listed as 'Coutts', 'B. Coutts', and 'Coutts Burdett', thus only alluding to the compound surname in one instance and getting it backwards in another. Finally, although the entries could refer to Angela's one sister who was still unmarried at the time, Joanna Frances, the association with Wheatstone himself points strongly to Angela, who eventually married William Lehman Ashford Bartlett in 1881.

<sup>100</sup> On Jacob Montefiore, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16 (Jerusalem, 1971), cols. 270, 274; on the Goldsmids, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, viii, 81.

<sup>101</sup> See *Boyle's Fashionable Court and Country Guide and Town Visiting Directory Corrected for April 1847* (London, 1847), 767, and see note 85, above.

<sup>102</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, iii, 1042–3.

served the government as Joint Secretary of Treasury (1830–2) and Secretary of War (1833–54),<sup>103</sup> respectively. The field of education is represented by, among others, Lady Janet and Miss Janet Kay-Shuttleworth (Inv. 795, 478), wife and daughter, respectively, of Sir James Phillips Kay-Shuttleworth, physician, social reformer, architect of the Education Bill of 1839, and associate of the music-educator John Hullah.<sup>104</sup> The visual arts may include—at the risk of two very tenuous identifications—Miss Ince (Inv. 460), perhaps related to the artist Joseph Murray Ince (1806–59),<sup>105</sup> and Miss Sass (Inv. 761), perhaps related to Henry Sass, best known today as the teacher of George Cruickshank, who illustrated a number of Dickens’s novels,<sup>106</sup> while the literary world might be represented by—even more speculatively—Miss Mary Roberts (Inv. 729), author of the popular *Annals of My Village* (1831).<sup>107</sup> As for the women of the landed gentry: the ledgers record transactions for Miss Benyon (Inv. 68), Mrs Cholmeley (Inv. 163), Miss Herries (Inv. 422, about whom see below, §IV, 6), Miss Holdsworth Hunt (Inv. 432), Mrs Legh (Inv. 520), Miss Lushington (Inv. 548), and Miss Scudamore (Inv. 775).<sup>108</sup> In all, the Wheatstone sales ledgers offer a glimpse into one aspect—the musical-recreational—of the private lives of some of Victorian England’s most privileged women.

Finally, we may single out another woman not because she was famous (though her brother was), but because she seems to be the only one of our ladies whom we can see with concertina in hand. On 31 October 1854, C1049, 29, records the sale of no. 6628 to one Miss Baker for the price of twelve guineas. I would suggest that she is Miss Mary Baker (Inv. 38)—sister of the explorer Sam Baker, who searched for the source of the Nile and discovered Lake Albert in 1864—shown with her concertina in a daguerreotype from the London studio of Antoine Claudet, circa 1857 (Fig. 1).<sup>109</sup>

### (c) Professional Musicians and Professors of Music

What was a private recreational pursuit for the overwhelming majority of the women in the ledgers constituted a very public one for the twenty-seven women in the ledgers who can reasonably be identified as professional musicians and/or Professors of Music. Thus Miss Rushforth (Inv. 747) announced to one and all in *MDRA/1855*:

Miss Rushforth respectfully informs the Nobility and Gentry, that she continues to give LESSONS on the PIANOFORTE, CONCERTINA, and GUITAR, at her own Residence, and at the Residences of her Pupils. Address—44, UPPER NORTON STREET, Portland Place.<sup>110</sup>

On the other hand, Mrs Arthur Stone advertised in the more widely read *Times* that same year: ‘MRS. ARTHUR STONE begs to announce she continues to give LESSONS in SINGING, the Guitar, and Concertina.—88, Great Portland-street, Portland-place’.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>103</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, vi, 665–6.

<sup>104</sup> See Bernarr Rainbow, ‘The Rise of Popular Music Education in Nineteenth-Century England’, in *The Lost Chord*, ed. Temperley, 20–6.

<sup>105</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, x, 423.

<sup>106</sup> See Robert L. Patten, *George Cruikshank’s Life, Times, and Art*, 2 vols (New Brunswick NJ, 1992), ii, 2; *Dictionary of National Biography*, xvii, 799–800.

<sup>107</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, xvi, 1274–5.

<sup>108</sup> The families are accounted for in Bernard J. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, 6th edn, 2 vols (London, 1879), i, 113, 309, 833–4; ii, 945, 1002, 1432; *Dictionary of National Biography*, ix, 706–8; xii, 290–4; xvii, 1095–6; on the Lushingtons, see Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, 101–2, which includes a wonderful family portrait of two later generations of the family participating in a performance of chamber music.

<sup>109</sup> Further about the image, see <<http://freepages.family.rootsweb.com/~victorianphotographs/visitors/sent.htm>>; on Mary’s brother Sam, see Pat Shipman, *To the Heart of the Nile: Lady Florence Baker and the Exploration of Central Africa* (New York, 2004); see also, Shipman, ‘The Picture Gallery: Ms Mary Baker with Concertina, c. 1857’, *Papers of the International Concertina Association*, 3 (2006), forthcoming.

<sup>110</sup> *MDRA/1855*, unpaginated advertisement.

<sup>111</sup> *The Times*, 20 January 1855, 14.



**FIG. 1:** Miss Mary Baker with concertina, *c.*1857; reproduced with the kind permission of the Rev. Ian Graham-Orlebar, a descendent of the Baker family.

Table 8 lists the twenty-seven women (plus a few others), and divides them into four groups: (A) those referred to as Professors of Music in one or another issue of *MDRA*; (B) those known to be professional musicians but who are not listed in any of the three issues of *MDRA* consulted; (C) those listed specifically as Professors of Concertina in *MDRA/1855* but who fail to appear in the ledgers; and (D) those who can likely (or at least possibly) be identified as the wife, daughter, or other relative of a professional musician listed in one or another issue of *MDRA*.

**TABLE 8:** Professors of Music and other Professional Musicians.

A. Women listed both in the sales ledgers and as Professors of Music (though not necessarily of the concertina) in *MDRA/1853*, *1855*, *1857*; an asterisk indicates that the identification is at least somewhat speculative on the grounds that either the ledgers, *MDRA*, or both fail to provide first name or initial; first names that appear in brackets (whether whole or as the resolution of a first initial) are missing in the ledgers but appear in *MDRA*; note that *MDRA/1853* does not specify instrument or subject taught.

Name/Inv. No.	Transactions	Residence	1853	1855	1857	Instruments/Subjects Taught
Badger, Miss [Emily] (32)*	4	London	x			
Berkenhead, Miss (72)* <sup>(a)</sup>	5	London	x			
Binfield, Miss [Hannah Rampton and/or Louisa] (81)* <sup>(b)</sup>	101(!)	Reading	x			
Brandon, Miss (111)* <sup>(c)</sup>	1	London	x			
Campbell, Mrs (144)*	1	Norwich (1853) Nottingham (1857)	x		x	piano, harp
Collins, Miss [Medora] (180)*	3	London	x		x	voice
Compton, Miss Kate (186)	2	Totness		x		piano, concertina, voice
Cooper, Miss [E.F.] (190)* <sup>(d)</sup>	3	Holborn	x			
Dulcken, Miss [Isabelle or Sophia] (265)	36	London	x			
Geary, Miss [E.] (348) <sup>(e)</sup>	2	London	x			
Hammond, Miss [J.] (390)	5	Liverpool		x		piano, concertina, voice
Hasell, Miss (405)	8	Cheltenham	x			
Kaye, Miss M.L. (479)*	3	London	x			
Pelzer, Catherina Josepha (= Mrs R.S. Pratten) (672)	36	London		x		concertina, guitar
Poole, E[lizabeth] (686)	2	London		x		voice
Rowe, Miss C. (742)	8	Hammersmith		x		piano, concertina, voice
Rushforth, Miss (747)	1	London		x		piano, concertina, guitar
Stone, Mrs A[rthur] (839)	9	London		x		concertina, guitar, voice
Taylor, Miss [Lavinia Mary] (857)*	3	London		x		concertina

**Notes:**

- (a) *MDRA* reads ‘Birkenhead’;
- (b) *MDRA* cites two Misses Binfield, to which we will add a third below;
- (c) *MDRA* lists two Misses Brandon;
- (d) *MDRA/1857* lists a Mrs Cooper at the same address;
- (e) though *MDRA* includes two Misses Geary, the concertinist was definitely the one whose first initial was ‘E’.

B. Other professional musicians recorded in the ledgers, but not cited in any of the issues of *MDRA* consulted (bibliographical information appears either in the Inventory or in the discussion that follows Table 8).

Name/Inv. No.	Transactions	Professional activities
Andrews, Miss (13)	1	likely one of the sisters, both professional singers, of Richard Hoffman Andrews, who enjoyed a successful career as a pianist after emigrating to New York (and dropping the name Andrews)
Caradori Allan, Madame [Maria Rosalba] (148)	1	noted Alsatian singer; appeared on stage with the concertinist George Case, 6 February 1854
Dolby, Miss [Charlotte Helen] (248)	2	well-known contralto; a founding member of the Royal Society of Female Musicians; she and her husband, the violinist Prosper Sainton (see §III, 1), appeared with George Case, 25 April 1851
Hall, Miss [Anna Maria?] (384)	2	perhaps the composer of the <i>Fantasia from Robert le Diable</i> , Op. 1, for concertina (1848); appeared as concertinist with Blagrove and Case, 3 May 1848
King, Mrs [Rosina?] (491)	2	perhaps the composer of <i>Original Melodies for the Concertina</i> , Op. 1 (1855)
[Macirone, Miss Clara Angela?] (553)	1	the entry in C1049 reads 'Macceronie'; if my speculation about the true spelling of the name is correct, she is the well-known pianist and composer
Mounsey, Miss E[lizabeth] (624)	4	pianist, composer, guitarist, and organist at St Peter's, Cornhill; sister of the singer Ann Shepherd Mounsey Bartholomew
Pelzer, Miss A[nné] (671)	28	sister of Catherina Josepha Pelzer; pianist and composer for the concertina; dedicatee of Macfarren's <i>Barcarole</i> (1859)
Thornton, Miss (865)	2	perhaps the singer who participated in Blagrove's concert, 20 June 1851

C. Women listed as Professors of Concertina in *MDRA/1855*, but not recorded in the ledgers.

Name	Residence	Instruments/Subjects Taught
Allen, Miss M.	London	concertina
Allison, Mrs M.	London	concertina, piano
Blake, Miss A.	London	concertina, piano, voice
Blake, Miss R.	London	concertina, piano, voice
Jacobs, Miss	Brighton	concertina, piano, harp, guitar, voice
Oliver, Miss Annie	Devonport	concertina, piano, harp (see Table 13)

D. Women listed in the ledgers who may be the wives or daughters of (or otherwise related to) Professors of Music recorded both in *MDRA* and in the Wheatstone ledgers (though without being identified as such in the latter).

Name/Inv. No.	Male Relation	Residence	Activity	MDRA
Bell, Mrs Ja[me]s (61)	T.R. Bell	Leamington	concertina, flute, flageolet, cornet-à-piston	1855
Fentum, Miss	Robert Fentum <sup>(a)</sup>	London	concertina	1855
Harrison, Mrs [J.?] (400) <sup>(b)</sup>	J. Harrison	Horncastle, Lincolnshire	concertina, organ, piano, harmonium	1855
Holst, Mrs [G?] von (437)	Gustavus von Holst	Cheltenham	piano	1855
Hope, Miss (442) <sup>(c)</sup>	E. Hope	London	—	1853
Knowles, Mrs [T?] (497)	T. Knowles	Windsor	concertina, piano, voice	1855
Lee, Miss (515)	J. Lee	Armagh	concertina	1855
Ling, Mrs [J.?] (533)	J. Ling	Taunton	piano, voice	1855
Railton, Miss (709)	H. Railton	Brighton	—	1853



**Notes:**

- (a) *MDRA/1853*, 142, also accounts for a London instrument maker named John Fentum;  
 (b) the ledgers also record a Miss Harrison (399);  
 (c) the ledgers also list a Mrs Hope (443), though she is a decade and a half removed from the transactions for Miss and Mr E. Hope.

We may view the ledgers' professional female musicians from a number of angles (though always with the caveat that some of the identifications are speculative at best). First, there are the relatively 'big names', musicians who would have been well known to London audiences: the singers Charlotte Dolby, Maria Rosalba Caradori Allen, and Elizabeth Poole; the pianist Clara Angela Macirone, and the organist Elizabeth Mounsey;<sup>112</sup> they probably did little more than dabble on the concertina, though Dolby and Mounsey may have had at least an occasional student (see Table 11, below). Second, even for those who did more than that, the concertina was likely a 'second instrument', or, at the very least, simply one among many. Thus among the Professors for whom *MDRA* is specific about instruments or subjects taught, all but one of those who taught concertina also gave instruction in some combination of piano, harp, guitar, and voice, that is, the complete range of instruments that were deemed proper for women; only Miss Taylor is listed as teaching nothing but the concertina. Finally, the list provides further evidence of the connection between concertina and guitar circles. And while Giulio Regondi might have been the model for those who doubled on concertina and guitar, one of our women, Catherina Josepha Pelzer, was a leading proponent of both instruments in her own right (see below). In addition, the concertina-guitar circle included the likes of the Duchess of Wellington and Lady John Somerset, both of whom helped support the early stages of Pelzer's career and were themselves concertina players (see above, §IV, 1), and the woman listed in C1051, 26, as 'Mlle Panorma' (Inv. 659), whose name should surely read 'Panormo' and who would, then, be a member of that distinguished guitar-making family.<sup>113</sup>

Four of our professional concertinists warrant further attention: the sisters Catherina Josepha and Anné W. Pelzer, Isabelle Dulcken, and what might be a tangled web of as many as three Misses Binfield. Though Catherina Josepha (1821–95, Inv. 672), known as Madame R. Sidney Pratten after her marriage to the flutist of that name in 1854, was surely the better known of the Pelzer sisters—like Regondi, she was a child prodigy guitarist and an influential teacher of that instrument<sup>114</sup>—it was, to judge from their respective publications for the concertina, seemingly Anné (Inv. 671) who was more closely associated with the instrument.<sup>115</sup> Example 2 provides the opening bars of the final variation from her set of four on Paisiello's popular 'Nel cor più' from his opera *L'amor contrastato* 1789 (also known as *La Molinara*, 1790).

<sup>112</sup> On Dolby: Sophie Fuller and Nigel Burton, 'Sainton-Dolby, Charlotte (Helen)', in *New Grove* 2, xxii, 114; Deborah Rohr, 'Women and the Music Profession in Victorian England: The Royal Society of Female Musicians, 1839–1866', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 18 (1999), 338; Sophie Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers, Britain and the United States, 1629–Present* (London, 1994), 278–9; Gillett, 'Entrepreneurial Women Musicians in Britain', 206; on Caradori Allen: Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *Strong on Music: The New York Music Scene in the Days of George Templeton Strong, 1836–1875*, 3 vols (Chicago, 1995–9; vol. 1 originally published New York, 1988), i, 16, 47, iii, 69; *Dictionary of National Biography*, iii, 939–40; on Poole: Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 324; Rohr, 'Women and the Music Profession in Victorian England', 337; on Macirone: Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 263; Derek Hyde, *New-Found Voices: Women in Nineteenth-Century English Music*, 3rd edn (Aldershot, 1998), 168; on Mounsey: Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 291; Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers*, 50–2; Button, *The Guitar in England*, 98–9.

<sup>113</sup> On the Panormo family, see Button, *The Guitar in England*, 211–29 and appendices 3–4.

<sup>114</sup> On the careers of Catherina Josepha—who is said to have taught more than fifteen hundred pupils, including the Princess Louise—her father Ferdinand, and a third sister, Giulia, both of whom were important guitarists in their own right, see Button, *The Guitar in England*, 78–86, 113–16, 133–7, 144–8; Gillett, 'Entrepreneurial Women Musicians in Britain', 211–14.

<sup>115</sup> See, for example, the publications listed in the *British Library Integrated Catalogue*.



Ex. 2: Pelzer, *Morceau de Salon. Introducing the favorite Air Nel cor più*, variation 4, bars 1–8 (concertina part only).

The excerpt shows that Anné had fully absorbed one of the characteristic features of the virtuosic style found in the music of Regondi and Blagrove: embellishing a melody with arpeggiated figuration while sustaining the melody note itself.

Like the Pelzer sisters, Isabelle Dulcken (Inv. 265) came from a family of musicians. Her aunt was the well-known pianist Louise Dulcken (d. 1850), piano teacher to the royal household;<sup>116</sup> her sister, Sophia, was also a pianist and served as her accompanist. A student of Regondi (see below), Isabelle toured widely during the late 1840s and early 1850s. The earliest notice about her as a concertinist reports on a concert that she gave in Frankfurt in May 1848, when she was twelve years old.<sup>117</sup> Two years later there is a favourable review of a performance that the sisters gave at Munich in November 1850:

Mdlle Isabelle approaches, as nearly as possible, her excellent preceptor Regondi. We have not heard the concertina since played with so much real cleverness. The young ladies are frequently compared by their friends to the Milanollos.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>116</sup> See Therese Ellsworth, 'Women Soloists and the Piano Concerto in Nineteenth-Century London', *Ad Parnassum: A Journal of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music*, 2 (2003), 21–49. Ledger C1048, 62, records three transactions for a Madame Henry Dulcken (Inv. 264) on 5 November 1853; and while Louise Dulcken was married to a gentleman named Henry, the transactions postdate her death; see the comments in the Inventory.

<sup>117</sup> Jacobs, *Der Junge Gitarren- und Concertinavirtuose Giulio Regondi*, 94; Maria Dunkel, *Akkordeon—Bandoneon—Concertina im Kontext der Harmonikainstrumente*, Texte zur Geschichte und Gegenwart des Akkordeons, 6, ed. Helmut C. Jacobs and Ralf Kaupenjohann (Bochum, 1999), 69; M.G. Friedrich, 'Gesamtüberblick die hervorragendsten Erscheinung auf dem Felde der ausübenden Kunst des In- und Auslandes', *Caecilia*, xxvii/108 (1848), 240.

<sup>118</sup> *The Musical World*, xxv/47 (23 November 1850), 762; on the sisters and violin prodigies Teresa and Maria Milanollo, see Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, 23, 86.

Finally, another review, from Paris in October 1853 (the sisters were on their way back to England after appearances in Moscow and St Petersburg), refers to Isabelle’s playing as ‘expressive’.<sup>119</sup> In all, Isabelle seems to be the only one of our women concertinists who, like Regondi, toured as far afield as Central Europe (and points east).

Over the course of twenty-one years and seven months—12 January 1838 to 23 August 1859—the ledgers record 101 transactions for a Miss Binfield (Inv. 81). This is a staggering number, dwarfing by far the thirty-six entries each for Catherina Josepha Pelzer (first under that name and then as Madame R. Sydney Pratten) and Isabelle Dulcken and the twenty-eight for Anné Pelzer. We can widen the perspective a bit—at the expense of momentarily setting aside the problem of identifying Miss Binfield—by comparing these numbers with those for the two leading virtuosos and teachers of the period: Giulio Regondi = sixty-seven transactions; Richard Blagrove = 174 transactions. Table 9 widens it even more by showing the number of women who are represented by various numbers of transactions in the ledgers.

**TABLE 9:** Numbers of transactions and the number of women in each category; women with five or more transactions are listed individually, with comments about the nature of the transactions (ex = exchange; rent = rental; ret = returned, and instruments other than a treble); an asterisk indicates that a woman was a professional musician (see Table 8).

No. of Transactions	No. of Women	Women/Inv. No./Transactions	Comments
One	675		
Two	179		
Three	60		
Four	27		
Five	11	Miss Berkenhead (72)* Lady Caroline Clinton (171) Lady Eardley (273) Miss Gascoyne (345) Miss J. Hammond (390)* Lady Louisa Hope (441) Miss E. Neighbour (634) Mrs L. Paget (656) Miss Mary Roberts (729) Miss Rooke (737) Miss West (930)	1 ex; 1 ret 1 ex 1 rent 1 rent; 1 tenor 2 ex 1 ex 1 rent 3 rent 1 rent — — — 3 rent; 1 ex
Six–Ten	20	Lady Louisa Emily Charlotte Bulteel (127) = 9 Miss Campbell of Kilorock (143) = 9 Miss M. Cooke (189) = 6 Miss Crawshay (201) = 7 Miss Caroline Dorville (252) = 6 Mrs Therwitt Drake (256) = 9 Miss C. Hammersley (389) = 9 Miss Hasell (405)* = 8 Mrs O. Hunt (453) = 6 Miss M.A. Jones (472) = 7 Miss Kenrick (484) = 10 Miss C. Mildmay (600) = 8 Miss C. Rowe (742)* = 8 Mrs Ernest Scott (772) = 7 Miss Severight (783) = 9	1 ex; 4 rent; 1 loan; 1 tenor 3 ex; 2 rent 1 ex; 1 loan 4 ex 3 ex 5 ex; 3 rent 6 rent; 1 ex; 1 bass — — — 2 ex; 1 rent 2 ex; 1 rent 5 ex; 1 ret 6 rent; 1 ex; 1 small bass 3 rent 4 ex; 1 rent 5 ex

<sup>119</sup> *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, xx/43 (23 October 1853), 374.

TABLE 9: *Cont.*

No. of Transactions	No. of Women	Women/Inv. No./Transactions	Comments
		Miss M. Shelley (787) = 7	1 ex; 1 tenor
		Mrs Henry Shelton (788) = 7	1 rent
		Mrs Smith (814) = 9	2 rent
		Mrs Arthur Stone (839)* = 9	1 ex; 1 rent
		Miss Wilson (952) = 9	2 ex
More than Ten	7	Miss Binfield (81)* = 101	7 ex; 5 rent; 4 for for someone else
		Madame Isabelle Dulcken (265)* = 36	— — —
		Mrs Ling (533) = 11	— — —
		Miss Anné Pelzer (671)* = 28	3 ex; 3 rent; 1 loan
		Miss Catherina Josepha Pelzer/ Mrs R.S. Pratten (672)* = 36	3 ex; 3 rent; 11 for for someone else
		Mrs Scaife (764) = 13	— — —
		Mrs Newman Smith (810) = 12	5 rent

What Table 9 shows (and we continue to put the question of Miss Binfield's identity on hold) is this: quite aside from indicating that just under 70% of the women—675 of 978—figure in but a single transaction, the number of transactions for a particular woman (or man) does not necessarily represent the number of concertinas that she (or he) had at any given time, as instruments were exchanged, rented, returned, merely borrowed, and, among the professionals, sometimes picked up for someone else, likely a student (see below, §IV, 3). Thus while there are nine transactions for Lady Emily Bulteel, it is possible that, upon leaving Wheatstone's shop on 8 August 1860 (the date of the ninth transaction) with the instrument that bore her name on an inlaid silver plate (see above), she owned no more than three instruments. Or consider Miss Hammersley: there are nine transactions, of which six were rentals and one an exchange; if the rented instruments were returned at the end of the rental period, she may, by the time all was said and done, have had no more than two concertinas in her possession.

Yet it is only the number of transactions for any particular person that we can count accurately, as witness the following situation (among many of its type): on 12 August 1859, a Mrs Melner (Inv. 591) paid £5.5.0 for no. 10942; the entry goes on to note that there was an exchange involved (C1051, 80). But what was being exchanged? This is the only entry in the ledgers for Mrs Melner; nor do there seem to be any for a Mr Melner who might have purchased an instrument for her prior to that time and which Mrs Melner was now exchanging for one in her own name. On the other hand, it is possible that someone else entirely—a teacher, for example—had picked up an instrument for her prior to the transaction recorded in C1051, with the ledger having failed to enter the information. We do, after all, come across entries in which we find the likes of '[George] Case for Miss Cooke' (Inv. 189.01), which, I think, can only be understood as meaning that Case was picking up an instrument for the said Miss Cooke. Or perhaps Mrs Melner was exchanging a Wheatstone concertina purchased from another instrument dealer (to whom Wheatstone's had sold it), or even a concertina made by another manufacturer or one purchased at an auction.<sup>120</sup> And if any of these scenarios describes what happened, was the instrument that Mrs Melner exchanged on 12 August 1859 the only one she had?

<sup>120</sup> That Wheatstone's accepted instruments manufactured by others is attested by their advertisement in *The Daily News*, 21 November 1851, 8: 'The Concertina.—The Patentees, Messrs. Wheatstone & Co., to render evident the great inferiority of cheap instruments made externally in imitation of their own, particularly solicit the attention of purchasers to a dissected model at their depot, this being a specimen of all concertinas manufactured by them, which, in consequence of great resources, added to 20 years' experience, are brought to a perfection unattainable otherwise. A large assortment of inferior instruments, full compass, double action, taken in exchange, some quite new, from £5.—20, Conduit-street, Regent-Street'. For concertinas being sold at auction, see the notice of Puttick & Simpson in *The Musical World*, xxvi/32 (9 August 1851), 510, in which they offer the music library of the late J.P. Street, Esq., which included, among other things, a 'first rate Concertina by Wheatstone'.

How many instruments might she have obtained by one or another of the above means? In all, it is possible—even likely—that the overwhelming majority of transactions in which Miss Binfield (or Blagrove and Regondi) was involved had to do with instruments that ultimately found their way into other hands: perhaps Miss Binfield was picking up instruments for students; perhaps she was even playing the role of music-instrument dealer in her native Reading (see below). There is much about which the ledgers are silent; and there is much, therefore, about which we simply cannot be certain.

To turn (finally!) to the identity of Miss Binfield: the relationship between the Binfield family of Reading and the concertina—and Giulio Regondi in particular—extends back to 1839, when, likely at the Binfields' invitation, Regondi performed at the Berkshire 11th Triennial Musical Festival, an event that, organised by the Binfield family, had long played a major role in the musical and cultural life of Reading.<sup>121</sup> Indeed, the Binfield's relationship with Regondi would remain close throughout the latter's life, and it was Thomas Sears Binfield, the dedicatee of Regondi's *Remembrance* for unaccompanied baritone concertina, who served as the executor of Regondi's will.<sup>122</sup>

There are three possible candidates for the ledgers' Miss Binfield: (1) Hannah Rampton Binfield (1810–97), pianist, harpist, organist, and concertinist, who, after the death of her father, Richard Binfield, in 1839, took over both his post as organist at Reading's St Laurence Church and the family music business and wrote about about a half dozen works for the concertina;<sup>123</sup> (2) Louisa Binfield (also called Rosa), who was active as a concertinist in and around Reading;<sup>124</sup> and (3) Marguerite Binfield, daughter of pianist William Binfield (who himself appears frequently in the ledgers) and sister of Henry and Auguste Binfield, both of whom were musicians: Henry, a harpist, and Auguste, a pianist and concertinist.<sup>125</sup> This branch of the family toured widely, and we have reviews of at least four Paris concerts, the first of which, in the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* for 20 February 1853, singled out Marguerite's playing, saying that she sang 'sur sa CONCERTINA comme un voix humaine ...'<sup>126</sup>

Which Miss Binfield—Hannah Rampton, Louisa, or Marguerite—ran up the 101 transactions in the ledgers? If we insist that all the transactions refer to a single individual, perhaps Hannah is the most likely candidate on the grounds that she ran the family music business, and might, therefore, have been buying and selling instruments in bulk; in addition, she seems to have taught the instrument. Or perhaps the ledgers' Miss Binfield is a composite of at least two or even all three of the Binfield women, though the ledgers' failure to distinguish among them over so long a period of time runs contrary to their treatment of the Pelzer sisters.

<sup>121</sup> On the Binfields, see Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 47; on Regondi's performance in 1839, see Rogers, 'Giulio Regondi', Pt. II, 16–17, and Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 80.

<sup>122</sup> Rogers, 'Giulio Regondi', Pt. II, 17; there is a fine recording of *Remembrance*, one of the instrument's virtuoso showpieces, by Douglas Rogers on *The Great Regondi: Original Compositions by the 19th Century's Unparalleled Guitarist & Concertinist*, vol. ii. The Giulio Regondi Guild, Bridge Records, BCD 9055 (1994); the piece is reprinted in the series Concertina Connection Music Publications, No. 80312 (Helmond NL, n.d.).

<sup>123</sup> Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 47; Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 80.

<sup>124</sup> Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 47; she is the dedicatee of Regondi's *Serenade*, which names her as 'of Cheltenham'; the piece has been recorded by Douglas Rogers, *The Great Regondi*, vol. 1 (1993); there is an edition in Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 124–39, with notes on pp. 80–1, 86, and a reprint in Concertina Connection Music Publications, No. 80308; see also, Atlas, 'A 41-Cent Emendation'.

<sup>125</sup> Marguerite's family relationships are spelled out clearly in reviews of the family's concerts in Paris in 1853, 1856, and 1861: *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, xx/8 (20 February 1853), 69; xxiii/17 (27 April 1856), 131; xxviii/7, 52 (17 February 1861).

<sup>126</sup> The review (p. 69) appears under the rubric 'Auditions Musicales: La Famille Binfield' and is signed by the music critic Henri Blanchard.

## (d) Dedictees

A number of the ladies in the ledgers (and in some instances their likely relatives) had pieces for concertina dedicated to them. Table 10 provides what is no doubt a woefully incomplete list of both the women and the pieces.<sup>127</sup>

**TABLE 10:** (A) Women in the ledgers who had pieces for concertina dedicated to them; (B) likely relatives (male and female) named in dedications (on the identifications, see the Inventory); (C) one woman in neither of those categories.

## A. Women in the ledgers

Woman/Inv. No.	Composer and Piece
Baillie, Helen Miss (37)	Blagrove, <i>Fantasia on Airs from Schira's Opera Niccolò de' Lapi</i> (1863)
Belhaven, Lady (60)	Blagrove, <i>Morceaux</i> (c.1850)
Benyon, Miss Julia (68)	Blagrove, <i>Fantasia on National Airs</i> (c.1886)
Binfield, Miss Hannah Rampton (81)	Regondi, <i>Introduction and Variations on an Austrian Air</i> , Op. 1 (1855)
Binfield, Miss Louisa (81)	Regondi, <i>Serenade</i> (1859—see note 124)
Breedon, Mrs (114)	Blagrove, <i>Fantasia on Airs from Mozart's Grand Opera Don Giovanni</i> (1853)
Bulteel, Lady Louisa Emily Charlotte (127)	Blagrove, <i>Fantasia on Airs from Verdi's Il Trovatore</i> (1856)
Connop, Mrs Henry (187)	Blagrove, <i>Fantasia on Airs from Rossini's Grand Opera Guillaume Tell</i> (1855)
Dulcken, Madame Isabelle (265)	Blagrove, <i>Fantasia on Airs from Donizetti's La Favorite</i> (?)
Gardner, Miss H.E. (340)	Blagrove, <i>Fantasia on Airs from Flotow's Opera Martha</i> (1859)
Herries, Miss Isabella Maria (422)	Blagrove, <i>Fantasia on Airs from Donizetti's Opera Lucrezia Borgia</i> , 2nd edn (1855)
Lefevre, Miss (517) <sup>(a)</sup>	Hannah Rampton Binfield, 'The Marvellous Work', from Haydn's <i>Creation</i> (1854); and see Lady St John Mildmay, below
Magniac, Miss Isabella (558)	Blagrove and Sidney Smith, <i>Potpourri on Airs from Wallace's Opera Amber Witch</i> (1862)
Maskelyne, Miss Agnes Story (579)	Anné Pelzer, <i>Morceau de salon, Introducing the Favourite Air, Nel cor più</i> (1855)
Pelzer, Miss Anné (671)	Macfarren, <i>Barcarole</i> (1859)
Penrhyn, Lady Charlotte (675)	Blagrove, <i>Duet for Concertina and Piano on Welsh Airs</i> (1867)
Poynder, Miss Isabella (695)	Regondi, <i>Morceau de salon: Andantino et capriccio-mazurka</i> (1855)
Robertson, Miss Isabella (730)	Blagrove, <i>Fantasia on Airs from Gounod's Faust</i> (1863)
Scates, Miss Linda (766)	Regondi, <i>Leisure Moments</i> (1857)
Smith, Mrs Newman (810)	Benedict, <i>Andantino</i> (1858); Moliq, <i>Flying Leaves: Six Pieces for Concertina</i> , Op. 50 (1856); Moliq, <i>Six Characteristic Pieces for Concertina</i> , Op. 61 (1859)
Somerset, Lady John (817)	R. Sidney Pratten, ' <i>Les Huguenots</i> ', <i>Fantasia on Meyerbeer's Grand Opera</i> (1855)
Staples, Lady (833)	Regondi, 'Tis the Harp in the Air', from Wallace's <i>Maritana</i>
Thomas, Mrs (863)	R. Sidney Pratten, <i>Francesca: A Romance</i> (1859)

<sup>127</sup> A more complete list would require examining the title page of at least every published work in the repertory, something that goes beyond the scope of this study.

Woman/Inv. No.	Composer and Piece
Villiers, Mrs (897)	Regondi, <i>Melange on Airs from [Auber's] Les Diamants de la couronne</i> (c.1850)

**Note:**

(a) this assumes that the ledgers' Miss Lefevre is one of the Misses Shaw Lefevre named in the dedication (see the discussion in the Inventory).

**B. Relatives (male and female) of women in the ledgers**

Binfield, Mr Thomas Sears (see 81)	Regondi, <i>Remembrance</i> (1872—see note 122)
Chambers, Mr Edmund (see 158)	Blagrove, <i>Favorite Melodies, Arranged for the Concertina</i> , No. 1 (1847)
Mrs W. Gibbs (see 352)	Blagrove, <i>Classical Extracts arranged for the Concertina</i> , No. 4 (1888)
Montefiore, Miss Annie (see 612)	Blagrove, <i>Fantasia on Airs from Meyerbeer's Opera L'Etoile du nord</i> (1864)
Peel, Mr Robert (see 669)	Blagrove, <i>Souvenirs de Donizetti</i> (1867)
Prole, Miss Lydia, (see 702)	Blagrove, <i>Fantasia on Airs from Donizetti's Opera La Figlia del Reggimento</i> (1848)
St John Mildmay, Lady (see 828)	Hannah Rampton Binfield, 'The Marvellous Work', from Haydn's <i>Creation</i> (1854)
Theed, Mr Arthur G. (see 862)	Blagrove, <i>Fantasy on English Airs</i> (?)

**C. A woman in neither of the above categories**

Schuster, Mademoiselle	Regondi, <i>Introduction et caprice</i> (1861) <sup>(a)</sup>
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**Note:**

(a) as Douglas Rogers has pointed out to me, this is most likely the fourteen-year-old Isabelle Schuster, granddaughter of the voice teacher Mme Mary de Fauche, who was a close personal friend of Regondi and the author of a moving obituary notice—based on information from the Binfield family—for him in *Musical World*, 50 (1 June 1872), 345.

No doubt, both Blagrove and Regondi were sprinkling at least some of these dedications—perhaps most or even all of them—on their students, to whom we now turn.

*(3) Student-Teacher Relationships*

With the exception of a particular pair of student-teacher relationships involving Regondi (discussed below), the evidence that points—or may point—to all other such relationships falls neatly into three categories that range from the unarguable to the merely suggestive. The only evidence that leaves no room for doubt about such relationships consists of those dedications in which the dedicatee is explicitly named as the composer's student. Beyond this all other evidence is conjectural. We have already seen that the ledgers contain instances in which a well-known concertinist is specifically cited as picking up an instrument for someone else or at least has his or her name entered in a transaction for another customer; thus there is the note that reads '[George] Case for Miss Cooke' (cited above), while the entry in C1046, 37, for Lady Anna Loftus (Inv. 539) on 9 July 1845 adds the name 'Blagrove'. In both instances—and in others like them—I would argue that the conjunction of names (Case/Cooke and Blagrove/Loftus) probably points to a student-teacher relationship. I would even go so far as to argue that a female relative of a gentleman who is known to have studied with a particular teacher may herself have studied with the same teacher. The most striking instance of such a relationship concerns the Miss Andrews (Inv. 13) who purchased Wheatstone no. 368 on 19 September 1840 (C1046, 5). As noted above (Table 8, B), she is likely one of the two sisters (both singers by profession) of Richard Hoffman Andrews (1831–1909), who, though best known as a successful pianist after emigrating to the United States in 1847 (he dropped the name Andrews, no doubt to cash in on

the German-sounding Hoffman), also played the concertina, which he had studied with Regondi prior to leaving England.<sup>128</sup> I would, then, include Miss Andrews among Regondi's students.

More problematical, perhaps, are those dedications that do not name the dedicatee as a pupil. Does the omission of an explicit statement argue against a student-teacher relationship, or can we read even those dedications as a likely indication of such? Yet just how risky it is to assume the latter is attested by the situation surrounding Isabelle Dulcken: though she is the dedicatee of a piece by Blagrove (see Table 10, A), the notice in the *Musical World* about her 1850 performance in Munich clearly identifies her as a student of Regondi (see above, §IV, 2, c). On the other hand, perhaps she studied with both of them, as did, perhaps, Miss Benyon (Inv. 68) with both Blagrove and Elizabeth Mounsey.

Finally, what are we to make of the following letter from Giulio Regondi to a Miss Knight (Inv. 496)?

To Miss Knight—

Dear Damoiselle[:] My stupidity is beyond expression—I forgot that I have a lesson at 12 but please to wait untill [*sic*] ½ past one & I'll be with you or if you prefer coming again as you please[.] Yours in haste[.]

Giulio Regondi.<sup>129</sup>

Clearly, the lesson to which Regondi refers was with someone else. And yet perhaps Miss Knight, too, was one his concertina students. Using the criteria just outlined, Table 11 provides a list of all possible student-teacher relationships.

Three things stand out: (1) of the eighty definite or possible student-teacher relationships, no fewer than fifty-five involve Blagrove and Regondi—not surprising given their immense reputations; (2) among Catherina Josepha Pelzer's proposed students are Lady John Somerset and the Duchess of Wellington, both of whom had supported her early career as a guitarist (see above, §IV, 2, c); and (3) the somewhat mysterious absence among the teachers of the many men and women who are specifically listed as Professors of Concertina in *MDRA* (see Table 8).

#### (4) *Family Ties*

Among the most striking features of the sales ledgers are the many instances—I count 337 (and I have probably missed a few that are separated by a few hundred or thousand intervening entries)—in which two or more people, differentiated by gender or, if the same gender, by marital status share the same surname. The four combinations that occur most frequently are: Mrs-Mr (131), Miss-Mr (110),<sup>130</sup> Miss-Mrs (71), and Miss-Mrs-Mr (31), this last category overlapping with the first three. Of

<sup>128</sup> That Miss Andrews is surely Hoffman's sister is evidenced, I think, by her having purchased the very same instrument (no. 368) that Hoffman—as Mr R. Andrews—had bought six months earlier, on 13 February 1840 (C1046, 3). On Hoffman as a concertinist and his close, even heartfelt relationship with Regondi, see Richard Hoffman, *Some Musical Recollections of Fifty Years* (New York, 1907), 82 and the plate facing p. 98, which reproduces the program for his New York concert of 25 November 1847, which claims that the concert will introduce Wheatstone's 'Patent Concertina' to the American public; see also Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 8, 54.

<sup>129</sup> The letter is reproduced in facsimile and transcribed in Jacobs, *Der junge Gitarren- und Concertinavirtuose Giulio Regondi*, 270–2.

<sup>130</sup> There are two women, Harrel (Inv. 398) and Heywood (Inv. 424), whose marital status—Mrs or Miss—is not clear; I have included them in both categories, so that either one or another of the categories is inflated by a count of two or each by a count of one. The ledgers also fail to make the marital status of a third woman explicit: Scates (Inv. 766), but here we may well be dealing with Miss Linda Scates, dedicatee of Regondi's *Leisure Moments* (see Table 10) and the daughter of the publisher and concertina manufacturer Joseph Scates (see §III, 2).



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**TABLE 11:** Possible student-teacher relationships for the women in the ledgers (Inventory numbers in parentheses); an asterisk indicates that the woman is specifically named as a pupil in the dedication of a piece to her; italics indicate a definite student-teacher relationship (based on the same evidence) for a woman who is not included in the ledgers; all other relationships except those between Dulcken/Regondi and Herries/Blagrove (see §IV, 6, below) must be regarded as tentative.

MISS BADGER (32): Miss Joyce (475)

MISS BINFIELD (81): Miss Lefevre (517), *Lady St John Mildmay* (see 517 and 828), Miss Emily St John Mildmay (828)

RICHARD BLAGROVE: Mrs Addison (5), Lady Ashley (23), Lady Belhaven (60), Miss Julia Benyon\* (68), Miss Berkeley (70), Miss Bert (75), Mrs Breedon (114), Lady Emily Bulteel (127), Mrs Chambers (158), Mrs Henry Connop\* (187), Mrs Davy (232), Mrs De Butts (235), Miss Drummond (260), Mrs Drummond (261), Miss H.E. Gardner\* (340), *Mrs W. Gibbs\** (see 352), Hon. Mrs E. Goulbourn (368), Miss Gertrude Hale (382), Miss Isabella Maria Herries (422), Mrs Inglis (461), Miss Kirkby (494), Lady Louisa Legg (519), Lady Leighton (523), Mrs Lewis (529), Lady Anna Loftus (539), Miss Isabella Magniac (558), Miss McKenzie (587), *Miss Annie Montefiore\** (see 612), Mrs Jakob Montefiore (612), Miss Moore (616), Mrs Moore (617), Lady Charlotte Penrhyn (675), Miss Phelps (679), *Miss Lydia Prole\** (see 702), Miss Isabella Robertson\* (731), Miss Sebastian Smith (777), Lady Janet Shuttleworth (795), Mrs Thead (862), Miss Wilson (952)

GEORGE CASE: Miss M. Cooke (189), Miss Copley (191), Mrs Cruickshank (209), Miss Goodman (363)

CHARLOTTE DOLBY (248): Miss Stuart (842)

ELIZABETH MOUNSEY (624): Miss Benyon (68)

ANNÉ PELZER (671): Miss Maskelyne (579)

CATHERINA JOSEPHA PELZER (672): Lady Elizabeth Brownlow (119), Mrs Elphinstone (286), Miss Holford (433), Mrs Lyon (550), Mrs Smith (814), Miss Reid (720), Lady John Somerset (817), Mrs Thomas (863), Miss Tilney Long (869), Lady Elizabeth Toler (872), Miss Tracy (878), Duchess of Wellington (923)

GIULIO REGONDI: Mrs Alexander (8), Miss Alger (9), Miss Andrews (13), Miss Berry (74), Lady Blair (88), Miss Binfield (81), Madame Isabelle Dulcken (265—see above), Mrs Hamilton Grey (388), Miss C. Hammersley (389), Miss Knight (496—see above), Miss Isabella Poynder (695), Miss Fanny Ree (719), Miss Linda Scates (766), *Mademoiselle Schuster\** (see Table 10, C), Mrs Newman Smith (810), Lady Staples (833); Mrs Villiers (897)

MRS ARTHUR STONE (839): Mrs Robert Gowry (369)

JOHN CHARLES WARD: Miss Ross (738)

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these, Mrs-Mr and Miss-Mrs surely define themselves: wife-husband and daughter-mother, while the combination of Mr-Mrs-Miss just as likely points to a family threesome of father-mother-daughter. On the other hand, Miss-Mr is at least somewhat ambiguous. As we have already seen, at least one such combination probably refers to Richard Hoffman Andrews and one of his sisters, while there is another sister-brother pair involving the Ladies Caroline and Henrietta Clinton (Inv. 171–2) and one or another of their four brothers. In most instances, though, the Miss-Mr pair likely points to a daughter and father, in which relationship music often played an important—even therapeutic—role. As Marianne Farningham put it in her 1869 book on the proper comportment of young girls:

‘This has been a tiring day’, says the hard-worked often perplexed father; ‘Come Annie, let me have a little music to rest me. I am so glad you have not gone out this evening. We are getting selfish about you, I am afraid, but don’t know how to spare you, even for an evening’.<sup>131</sup>

And for the ‘hard-worked’ father who wished to unwind by joining his daughter in an evening of music-making, the concertina was, in terms of instruments that were acceptable for both genders, one of the few possible points of musical common ground.

<sup>131</sup> Marianne Farningham, *Girlhood* (London, 1869), 15; quoted after Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (Bloomington IN, 1982), 38; on the dynamics of the relationships between various members of the family, including father-daughter, see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Chicago, 1987), 321–56.

Table 12 summarizes the various family relationships recorded in the ledgers, though once again it comes with the caveat that many of the identifications—and therefore the relationships—remain speculative. Thus while we would probably all agree that a similarly-named Mrs and Mr who purchased instruments on the same day are very likely to be wife and husband (there are ten such instances), the likelihood of such a relationship may grow slimmer as the transactions are separated by a few years or even decades. Yet that a wife-husband relationship cannot be ruled out even in those circumstances is evidenced by the entries for Mrs and Mr Le Marchant (Inv. 526): though Mr Le Marchant did not purchase his concertina until 29 January 1863 (C1052, 80), almost twenty-three years after Mrs Le Marchant's name is recorded on 12 November 1840 (C1046, 6), both entries give the Christian name as Thomas, and the likelihood of a wife-husband relationship seems strong. Moreover, even when a wife-husband relationship based on a shared surname seems likely, we do not always know to which of a number of possible gentlemen the woman was married. Thus the ledgers offer no fewer than three plausible candidates as the possible husband for the Mrs Marshall (Inv. 574)—no first name or initial given—who bought three concertinas in 1842–3 (C1046, 17, 20): Mr E. Marshall on 21 November 1840 (C1046, 6), Mr W.P. Marshall on 12 May 1842 (C1046, 13), and Mr J.S. Marshall on 4 December 1845 (C1046, 41). The threesome is too tightly packed chronologically to favour one or the other, and perhaps we even have a husband and two sons (or a brother-in-law might be thrown in). This confusion notwithstanding, it is possible that the first member of the family (and that we have one seems unarguable) to buy a concertina was the Miss Marshall (Inv. 573)—whom I propose to be the daughter of Mrs Marshall and one of the Messers Marshall just cited—who is recorded as having purchased an instrument on 4 April 1839 (C1046, 1).<sup>132</sup>

**TABLE 12:** Proposed family relationships for the women in the ledgers (numbers in parentheses refer to the entries in the Inventory).

**A. Mrs-Mr = 131** (an asterisk indicates that the transaction for the woman either definitely or probably antedates that for the gentleman; a double asterisk indicates that the transactions were recorded on the same day).

Adams (4), Addison\* (5), Alexander (8), Archer-Houblon\* (21), Avard (29), Bagot (33), Bailey (36), Baker\* (39), Barron\*\* (46), Bellaers (62), Boucher (104), Brandon (112), Breedon (114), Brownrigg (120), Burdon\* (130), Burton\*\* (134/135), Butler\* (136), Champion\* (146), Cholmeley\* (163), Clarke\* (167), Clay (168), Connop\* (187), Coventry (197), Cruickshank\* (209), Cunningham\*\* (211), Cunyngham (212), Dalrymple (220), Danbency\* (222), Davis\* (230), Davy\* (232), D'Egville (238), Drake\* (256), Dulcken (264), Evans\* (297), Farhis (301), Farmer (302), Field\*\* (305), Fisher\* (310), Gallway\*\* (334), Gordon (364), Grogan\* (378), Haldamcard\*\* (381), Harding (397), Harrel\*(a) (398), Harrison (400), Hastrick (407), Haynes\* (411), Heywood\*\*(b) (424), Holder (431), von Holst (437), Hope (443), Hopkins (444), Hoskins (447), Hunt (454), Hunter\* (455), Hutchinson\* (456), Inglis\* (461), Isham\* (465), Jones\* (473), Judge\* (476), Kaye\* (480), Kerr (485), Kingdon (492), Knowles\* (497), Lamere\* (500), Law\* (519), Legh\* (520), Leighton (523), Le Marchant\* (526), Lewis\* (529), Ling\* (533), Lowndes (546), Mackenzie (556), Madeley (557), Malan\*\* (563), Marshall\* (574), Martin (576), McCarroll\* (584), McLean (588), Mellich\* (590), Melville\* (593), Meriwether (595), Miller (603), Moore\* (617), Morant (618), Morris ((621), Myers\* (632), Neill (636), Neville (639), Norman (642), Oddie (648), Paget (656), Pelzer/ Pratten\* (672), Petre\*\* (677), Pope (687), Portman\* (691), Powell\* (694), Purdy (706), Raglan\* (708), Richardson (725), Robarts\* (728), Rogers\* (735), Round (741), Saunders (763), Scaife (764), Scott\* (772), Sedgwick (778), Shelton\* (788), Sherwood\*\* (790), Smith (808), Smith (811), Smith (813), Sotheron\* (820), Staples (833), Stewart (837), Tennant (860), Thead (862), Townley (875), Turner\* (885), Venables (889), Verner (892), Villiers (897), Watkins (911), Watson (913), Watts\* (915), Webster\* (918), Wentworth (927), Wilberforce Bird\* (940), Willis (947), Wily\*\* (954), Woodcock\* (962)

**Notes:**

- (a) though the gender may be deduced as being female, we cannot be sure if she is Mrs or Miss;  
 (b) the same (see the Inventory for the explanation).

<sup>132</sup> Given Regondi's connections with Oxford, it is tempting to speculate that all the Marshalls just named could be members of the Marshall family that formed something of a musical dynasty there in the nineteenth century; see Wollenberg, 'Giulio Regondi at Oxford'.

**B. Miss-Mrs** = 71 (unless, as occasionally happens, daughter and mother are separated in the Inventory, I give only the first serial number of each pair, that of the daughter).

Adams (3), Alexander (7), Bailey (35/34 or 36), Baker (38), Barton (47), Baxter (52), Berkeley (70), Berry (73), Blunt (94), Brandon (111), Bulteel (126), Caledon/Verulam (140, 894), Campbell (143), Cast (152/154–153), Caswell (155), Clay (168), Coventry (196), Craven/Verulam (199, 894), Cunningham (210), Currie (213), Drewry (257), Drummond (260), Dundas (267), Elphinstone (285), Fisher (309), Frankland Russell (321), Hale (382), Hamilton (386), Harrison (399), Haynes (410), Hampson (415), Hope (442), Jones (472), Kay-Shuttleworth/Shuttleworth (478, 795), Kaye (479), Kerr (485), King (489), Lang (502), Law (508), Leach (512), Lloyd (535), Loftus (539), Lowndes (545), Lyon (549), Magniac (558), Majoribanks (561), Mare (568), Melville (592), Moore (616/615 or 617), Murray (629), Nugent (645), Patterson (663), Pennant (673), Portman (690), Powell (693), Ramsden (712), Richardson (724), Robertson (730), Round (740), Scott (770), Smith (806, 811), Talbot (852), Tattersall (854), Turner (884), Watson (912), Watts (914), White (934), Willis (946), Willoughby (949), Wood (959), Woodcock (961), Wynn (967)

**C. Miss-Mr** = 110 (in those instances in which the daughter-father relationship is noted elsewhere than in the entry for the daughter—when, for instance, a family of three is involved, and the relationship is noted in the entry for the mother—a second serial number is given.

Adams (3), Alexander (7), Atwell (27), Austin (28), Bailey (35–6), Baillie (37), Baker (38–9), Bayley (56), Bennett (64), Benning (66), Blunt (94–5), Brandon (111–12), Brandt (113), Cook (188), Coventry (190), Crawshay (201), Cunningham (210), Dawkins (233), Donne (250), Dove (254), Du Cane (262), Earle (274), Elars (280), Ellis (283), Essex (295), Everest (298), Eyre (299), Fentum (304), Fielder (306), Fisher (309), Gape (338), Gardener (339), Gardner (340), Gasse (347), Godding (359), Goldsmid (361), Gore (365), Greenwood (373), Hamburg (385), Hammersley (389), Harrel<sup>(a)</sup> (398), Harrison (399), Harvey (404), Hatton (408), Haynes (410), Heywood<sup>(b)</sup> (424), Hills (426), Hodges (427), Hoghton (429), Holdsworth Hunt (432), Holland (434), Holme (435), Holmes (436), Hood (438), Hope (442), Hopkinson (445), Houghton (448), Johnson (470), Jones (472), Kaye (479–80), Kerr (486), Kirkby (494), Lang (503), Law (508), Lowndes (545), Marrison (572), Marshall (573–4), Martinez (578), Meacocks (589), Melville (592), Mills (605), Moore (616–17), Parker (661), Pearson (666), Phillips (680), Pigott (683), Portman (690–1), Powell (693), Price (700), Ree (719), Rich (723), Richardson (724–5), Roberts (729), Rooke (737), Round (740), Rudall (744), Russell (748), Severight (783), Shipley (791), Scates<sup>(c)</sup> (766), Schuckburgh (794), Smith (806), Stuart (842), Thompson (864), Townsend (876), Turner (884), Vyse (902), Walpole (906), Watson (913), Watts (914), Weeks (920), West (930), Wheatley (931), Wilkinson (943), Williams (945), Willis (946–7), Wills (951), Wilson (952), Wingfield (956), Woodcock (961–2)

**Notes:**

(a) and (b) see the notes in Part A;

(c) though the term Miss is lacking, there can be little doubt about the marital status (see the Inventory and note 130, above).

**D. Miss-Mrs-Mr** = 31 (in each case, the single serial number refers to the daughter only).

Adams (3), Alexander (7), Bailey (35), Baker (38), Blunt (94), Brandon (111), Clay (164), Coventry (196), Cunningham (210), Fisher (309), Harrison (399), Haynes (410), Hope (442), Jones (472), Kaye (479), Kerr (485), Law (508), Lowndes (545), Marshall (573), Melville (592), Moore (616), Portman (690), Powell (693), Richardson (724), Round (740), Smith (806, 811), Turner (884), Watson (912), Watts (914), Willis (946), Woodcock (961)

**E. Other relationships** = 21

(1) Sisters: Binfield (81)?, Boscawen (33, 101, 103, 818), Caledon/Craven (140, 199), Clinton (171–2), Dorville (252–3), Frankland Russell/Walsingham (322, 907), King (489–90), Legg (518–19), Pelzer (671–2)

(2) Sister-Brother: Andrews (13), Clinton (171–2)

(3) Sisters-in-Law: Combermere (184–5), Davies (226–7), Isted/Stopford (467, 840)

(4) Mother-Son: Vandeleur (887)

(5) Mother-Daughter-Son: Wells (925–6)

**TABLE 12:** *Cont.*

- (6) Aunt-Nieces: Boscawen (33, 101, 102, 103, 818)  
 (7) Granddaughter-Grandmother: Craven/Verulam (140, 894)  
 (8) Cousins(?): Binfield (81)  
 (9) Uncertain: Benyon (68), Brownlow (119), Lefevre (517)/St John Mildmay (828)

Among concertina-playing families, the Boscawen women were second to none. Four sisters—Anne (Inv. 103), Catherine (Inv. 33), Frances (Inv. 818), and Lucy (Inv. 101)<sup>133</sup>—bought a total of six concertinas during the period from September 1854 to June 1859; and by June 1856, they were joined by their aunt, Lady Elizabeth Boscawen (Inv. 102). Perhaps it was Catherine’s husband, the Rev. Lewis Bagot, who initiated the buying spree when he acquired the first of his two instruments on 1 November 1853 (C1048, 61), while Frances’s husband, the Hon. Arthur Edward Somerset, rented a concertina on 13 June 1855 (C1049, 59).

If the Boscawen’s involvement seems to have been initiated by a male member of the family, there were many instances in which it was the woman who set things in motion. Thus among the 131 instances in which we may posit a wife-husband relationship (but see note 130, where that number is qualified), it was the wife who made the first purchase in no fewer than fifty-two instances, while ten other occasions saw wife and husband leave Wheatstone’s shop with instruments on the very same day.

Finally, there are a number of instances in which there can be no doubt that the family members involved intended to form a concertina ensemble with instruments of different ranges. Thus the Alexanders (Inv. 8), Binfields (Inv. 81), Bouchers (Inv. 104), Bulteels (Inv. 126–7), Butlers (Inv. 136), Combermeres (Inv. 184, 185), Cruickshanks (Inv. 209), Earles (Inv. 274), and Hammersleys (Inv. 398) all had, in addition to one or more trebles, tenor and/or bass concertinas in their collections; and in 1847 alone, a Mr Hammersley Esq., surely Miss Hammersley’s father, purchased a treble (12 January), a bass (29 April), and a tenor (15 December).<sup>134</sup> Given that there is seemingly no repertory for the bass concertina alone, there can be little doubt that he intended to form a concertina quartet. In fact, on 1 April 1863, *The Musical Times* carried a notice from a gentleman who identified himself only as ‘J.J., East Temple-chambers, Whitefriars-street, E.C.’: ‘An amateur, playing the Bass concertina, wishes to join some other Amateurs of the Concertina for the practice of concerted music’.<sup>135</sup> In all, there is hardly a better indicator of the existence of a concertina ensemble than the presence of a bass concertina.<sup>136</sup>

#### (5) *Beyond the ledgers*

Although the Wheatstone sales ledgers no doubt cite a large proportion of the women who purchased, played, or at least had a concertina during the period 1835–65, they do not account for all of them. Table 13 lists eighteen women who do not appear in the ledgers but are known to have either played the instrument or at least had one in the house.

<sup>133</sup> They are the daughters of the Rev. John Evelyn Boscawen, Canon of Canterbury, and the former Catherine Elizabeth Annesley; on the Boscawen family, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, ii, 876–84.

<sup>134</sup> Recorded in C1046, 54, 58, 64.

<sup>135</sup> *The Musical Times*, xi/242 (1 April 1863), 1.

<sup>136</sup> Note, however, that the single transactions recorded for Mrs Astree (Inv. 26) and Lady Galway (Inv. 335) involve the bass concertina; did other family members (or circle of friends)—as yet unidentified—round out a quartet? On the Concertina Quartet made up of Regondi, Blagrove, Case, and Sedgwick, see above, §II, 3.

**TABLE 13:** Female concertinists who do not appear in the Wheatstone ledgers.

Name	Comments
Allen, Miss M.	see Table 8, C.
Allison, Mrs M.	see Table 8, C.
Attwater, Miss Ellen	sister of Richard Blagrove; she appeared with the Lachenal sisters at their Islington concert of 14 June 1865 (see the entry for Marie Lachenal).
Blake, Miss A.	see Table 8, C.
Blake, Miss R.	see Table 8, C.
Gaskell, Elizabeth	the famous novelist (1810–65); though I cannot say if she herself played the instrument, that there was a concertina in the house is attested by a letter to her daughters, Marianne and Margaret Emily, dated ‘Saturday morning’ [late 1855?]: ‘Now they’re singing “Pop goes the Weasel” to the concertina. “The Ratcatcher’s daughter” is made into a Quadrille. Now it’s “Tinkle Tankle Titmouse”’; given the repertory, she might well be referring to an ‘Anglo’. <sup>(a)</sup>
Jacobs, Miss	see Table 8, C
Lachenal, Miss Eugenie	see the entry for Marie Lachenal.
Lachenal, Miss Josephine	see the entry for Marie Lachenal.
Lachenal, Miss Marie	the sisters Lachenal are the daughters of the concertina manufacturer Louis Lachenal; they made their professional debuts on 14 June 1865, at Myddelton Hall, Islington, and followed this with a successful series of concerts in Edinburgh in the Fall of that year; Marie Lachenal enjoyed a ‘second’ career as a performer and teacher beginning in the 1880s. <sup>(b)</sup>
Maccann, Mrs Sarah Hill	1842–96; to quote from the obituary notice that appeared in <i>The Era</i> , 21 November 1896: ‘Mrs Maccann was in her time a celebrated performer on the English concertina, and played at Aston Park, Birmingham, on the occasion of the visit of the Queen and Prince Consort in 1858’; she was the mother of John Hill Maccann, who played an important role in the development of the Duet concertina. <sup>(c)</sup>
Montefiore, Miss Annie	daughter of Mrs Jakob Montefiore (Inv. 612); dedicatee of Blagrove’s <i>Fantasia on Airs from Meyerbeer’s Opera L’Etoile du nord</i> (1864), which names her as his student (see Table 10, B).
Oliver, Miss Anne	a native of Canada; after appearing in New York on 30 October 1852, she immigrated to England and made her London debut, age ten years old, on 10 April 1854 in ‘Mr Allcroft’s Grand Promenade Concert’ at the Lyceum Theatre, performing a ‘Fantasia’ for concertina, and followed that with another performance two days later. <sup>(d)</sup>
Prole, Miss Lydia	likely the daughter of Mrs Prole (Inv. 702); dedicatee of Blagrove’s <i>Fantasia on Airs from Donizetti’s Opera La Figlia del Reggimento</i> (1848), which names her as his student (see Tables 10, A, and 11).
Rickman, Mrs	<i>The Times</i> ran the following notice on 17 December 1860 (p. 1): ‘Mrs Rickman, R.A.M., will play, this evening, at the Improvement Society’s Concert . . . a brilliant Fantasia on airs from Don Pasquale [Blagrove’s?], on Case’s Improved concert concertina, manufactured by Boosey and Sons. For engagements and terms address Mrs. Rickman, 17, Grove-place, Brixton-rd’.
Schuster, Mademoiselle	Regondi names her as his student in his dedication to her of his <i>Introduction et Caprice</i> (1861; see Table 10, C).
Tomlin, Miss	she ran the following advertisement in <i>The Times</i> , 30 April 1855 (p. 2): ‘Organist.—Wanted, by a young lady, of musical talent, an appointment as organist. Unexceptionable testimonial. Address, post paid, to Miss Tomlin, 9, Albion Villa, Albion-road. Hammersmith, Middlesex, stating emolument, &c. Would be happy to extend her connexion for pupils in pianoforte, concertina, singing, and harmony. Terms moderate’.
Wright, Miss Sophia C.	performed at Mrs G. Waite Vernon’s ‘Grand Evening Concert’ at the Music Hall, Hastings, on 27 September 1860; advertised in <i>The Times</i> , 27 September 1860 (p. 1).

**Notes:**

(a) The letter is printed in *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, ed. J.A.V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard (Manchester, 1966), 375, No. 273; also quoted in Alisa Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs, Subversive Songs: Music as Social Discourse in the Victorian Novel* (Athens OH, 2002), 51;

(b) see Faye Debenham and Randall C. Merris, 'Marie Lachenal: Concertinist', *Papers of the International Concertina Association*, 2 (2005), 1–17 (also online at <<http://www.concertina.org/pica.php>> and <<http://www.concertina.com/merris>>); see also, Robert Gaskins, 'The Lachenal Sisters Visit Edinburgh', online at <<http://www.concertina.com/gaskins/lachenal-sisters>>;

(c) My thanks to Robert Gaskins for sharing the notice with me (communication of 4 September 2003); Mr Gaskins is preparing a study on John Hill Maccann;

(d) the New York performances are documented in Lawrence, *Strong on Music*, ii, 304, n. 95; for the performances at the Lyceum Theatre, see the concert bills preserved in the John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford; summaries of these are online at <<http://www.backstage.ac.uk>>; my thanks to Robert Gaskins for calling them to my attention.

The obvious question: why do these women not appear in the Wheatstone ledgers? Three answers come to mind. First, some of them played instruments made by other concertina manufacturers. Once Wheatstone's original patent of 1829 ran out in 1844, other manufacturers—some of whom were former Wheatstone employees—began to spring up.<sup>137</sup> Thus, as we would expect, the Lachenal sisters played instruments manufactured by their father,<sup>138</sup> while Mrs Rickman preferred those with the George Case label manufactured by Boosey & Sons (see Table 13). Second, even if they played Wheatstones, they may have purchased them from an independent dealer. And third, perhaps we should read the ledgers' entries for Mrs Montefiore (Inv. 612) and Mrs Prole (Inv. 702)—and who knows how many others?—not as indications that they themselves played the concertina, but as a sign that they were buying presents for their daughters.

#### 6. *Miss Isabella Maria Herries: Amateur Concertinist*

What did our female concertinists—particularly the vast number of amateurs—play? How well could they play? Surely, the answers to both questions must cover a wide spectrum of tastes and abilities. Yet in one instance we can do a little more than just guess, since we can, at least in part, reconstruct the repertory played by—and perhaps get some idea (if admittedly fuzzy) of how well she played it—one of the women whose name appears in the Wheatstone ledgers: Miss Herries (Inv. 422), who purchased her first concertina on 17 October 1845 (C1046, 39), and who, I propose, is Isabella Maria Herries (c.1789–1870) of St Julian's, Underriver, Sevenoaks, Kent, sister of the economist-statesman John Charles Herries (1778–1855), and student of Richard Blagrove, who dedicated to her his *Fantasia on Airs from Donizetti's Opera Lucrezia Borgia* (2nd edn, 1855).<sup>139</sup> And perhaps Miss Herries came to appreciate the concertina upon coming into contact with Blagrove for the first time when he and his brother, the violinist Henry Gamble Blagrove, performed at Sevenoaks on 30 August 1843, just two years prior to her first appearance in the ledgers.<sup>140</sup> Finally, she would buy two more instruments a decade later, on 18 June and 27 June 1856 (C1050, 13–14), and perhaps she was also the recipient of the instrument listed simply as destined for 'coachman 7 Oaks' on 9 April 1857 (C1050, 65).

We can reconstruct her repertory thanks to Mr Stephen Chambers, who, some twenty years ago, purchased a caché of Miss Herries's concertina music—many of the pieces bear the inscription 'I.M. Herries' on the title page—from an antiquarian bookseller in Worthing, West Sussex, and has

<sup>137</sup> The first of these was Joseph Scates, who started his business that very year.

<sup>138</sup> On Lachenal & Co., which was established in 1859, see Chambers, 'Louis Lachenal', 7–18, and 'Some Notes on Lachenal Concertina Production', 3–23; on Marie Lachenal's use of instruments made by the family, see Debenham and Merris, 'Marie Lachenal', 5.

<sup>139</sup> On the Herries family, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, ix, 706–8.

<sup>140</sup> The performance is noted in *The Musical World*, xviii/36 (7 September 1843), 304.

generously shared its contents with me. Table 14 provides a list of the pieces in Mr Chambers's collection and, therefore, at least the partial contents of Miss Herries's concertina library.

**TABLE 14:** Concertina music known to have belonged to Miss Isabella Maria Herries; all music published by Wheatstone & Co., unless otherwise noted.

RICHARD BLAGROVE

- Concertina Journal*, Nos. 1–2 (January–February, 1853)
- Fantasia on Airs from Donizetti's Opera 'Don Pasquale'* (1855)
- Fantasia on Airs from Donizetti's Opera 'La Figlia del Reggimento'* (1848)
- Fantasia on Airs from Donizetti's Opera 'Lucrezia Borgia'* (1855)
- Fantasia on Airs from Gounod's Opera 'Faust'* (1863)
- Fantasia on Airs from Meyerbeer's Opera 'Roberto il Diavolo'* (1852)
- Fantasia on Scotch Airs* (1854)
- Favorite Melodies*, No. 1 (1847)
- Morceaux*, Nos. 1–4 (c.1850)
- Rode's Celebrated Air, with Variations for the Concertina* (1846)

GEORGE CASE<sup>(a)</sup>

- Exercises for Wheatstone's Patent Concertina* (1855)

[ANTON] DIABELLI AND [SAMUEL] GÖDBÉ<sup>(b)</sup>

- Reminiscences of Rossini*, No. 4, 'Vieni! Vieni fra questa braccia', and No. 5, 'Oh che giorno fortunate!' (after 1841?)

GEORGE HARGREAVES<sup>(c)</sup>

- Fantasia on a Rondo by Mayseder*

ALEXANDER HOWSHIP<sup>(d)</sup>

- Fantasias for Wheatstone's Patent Concertina*, No. 1 (c.1850)

JOHN LESLIE<sup>(e)</sup>

- Les Premier Pensées musicales, comprising a collection of original waltzes and polkas composed for the concertina* (c.1850)

CARLO MINASI<sup>(f)</sup>

- Favorite Songs, arranged for the concertina*, No. 10, 'Kathleen Mavourneen' (c.1860)

PAULO SPAGNOLETTI<sup>(g)</sup>

- A Favorite Romance for the Violin* (n.p., c.1820)

JOSEPH WARREN<sup>(h)</sup>

- The Airs from Rossini's Il Tancredi* (1855)
- Extracts from Classical Composers*, Nos. 1–2 (c.1860)
- Fantasias for Wheatstone's Patent Symphonion or Concertina, arranged from the Operas of Rossini, Auber, Bellini &c*, No. 4 (c.1850)
- The Favorite Minuet de Cour [by Virginia(?) Gabriel] with the Celebrated Gavotte* (c.1850)
- Favorite Airs . . . from Bellini's . . . I Puritani*
- Favorite Airs . . . from Rossini's . . . Il Barbiere de Siviglia* (c.1850)
- Favorite Airs . . . from Mozart's Il Don Giovanni* (1855)
- Favorite Airs . . . from Mozart's Le Nozze di Figaro*
- Preludes, Modulations & Cadences for Wheatstone's Patent Concertina* (c.1850)
- Select Airs from the Operas of Bellini & Donizetti*, No. 3, 'Norma' (1845)
- Select Melodies adapted for the Concertina . . .*, No. 40, 'Dead March' from Handel's *Saul*
- A Selection of Favorite Melodies, arranged for Wheatstone's Patent Concertina*, Nos. 17, 19, 21, 46, 47 (c.1850)
- A Selection from Haydn's Creation*
- A Selection of Operatic Airs*, Nos. 2–3
- A Selection of Sacred Melodies*, No. 3
- Slow Movements from the Masses of Mozart & Haydn*

**Notes on the composers/arrangers:**

(a) on CASE, see §II, 3, note 24;

(b) the well-known DIABELLI (1781–1858) came to know Giulio Regondi when the latter performed in Vienna in 1841; see Jacobs, *Der junge Gitarren- und Concertinavirtuose Giulio Regondi, passim*; the collaboration with

TABLE 14: (Cont.)

Gödbé on this set of twelve transcriptions of Rossini seems to be Diabelli's only connection with the concertina; GÖDBÉ arranged music for piano and translated the treatise *Kurzgefasste Generalbass-Schule* (erroneously attributed to Mozart) as *Mozart's Practical Elements of Thorough Bass* (London, c.1850); see the *British Library Integrated Catalogue*;

(c) HARGREAVES (1799–1869) was best known for his glees; he also arranged for the flute; see Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 183;

(d) HOWSHIP, too, arranged for the flute; see the *British Library Integrated Catalogue*;

(e) LESLIE is likely the John Leslie Esq. who is recorded in the Wheatstone sales ledgers on 10 March 1853 and 5 December 1855 (C1048, 28, and C1049, 80, respectively); *Les Premiers Pensées musicales* is reprinted in the series Concertina Connection Music Publications, No. 80304 (n.d.);

(f) MINASI, who may occasionally have used the pseudonym Franz Nava, published more than forty tutors, tune books, and arrangements for concertina and other instruments; see Merris, 'Instruction Manuals for the English, Anglo, and Duet Concertina', 95; *British Library Integrated Catalogue*; *MDRA/1855*, 65, lists him as a Professor of pianoforte, voice, and concertina;

(g) on the Italian-born violinist SPAGNOLETTI (1768–1834), see E. Heron-Allen, 'Spagnoletti, Paolo (Ludovico)', in *New Grove 2*, xxiv, 113–14;

(h) on WARREN (1804–81), who played a major role in popularizing the concertina, see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 57; W.H. Husk/Bruce Carr, 'Warren, Joseph', in *New Grove 2*, xxvii, 93–4; Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 434; *The Dictionary of National Biography*, xx, 874; Alec Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music c.1600–1960* (Cambridge, 1963), *passim*.

Three things are noteworthy about Miss Herries's known repertory: (1) there is not a single item either by Regondi (whether original or transcription) or by any of the mainstream composers such as Macfarren, Barnett, Benedict, or Molique, though some of the pieces in her collection are certainly of equal difficulty; (2) with the exception of Blagrove's *Morceau*<sup>141</sup> and John Leslie's *Les Premiers Pensées musicales*, everything that Miss Herries played was either an arrangement/transcription of or a fantasia/variations on pre-existent music, which, of course, accords well with the overall output for the concertina; and (3) the two most heavily represented composers are Blagrove and Joseph Warren, who were, respectively, Miss Herries's teacher and the single most prolific mid-century arranger of music for the concertina.<sup>142</sup> These observations prompt two questions: (1) is the absence of Regondi the result of even a little competitive tension between him and Blagrove, and did the latter customarily bypass Regondi's music in teaching his own students, and (2) was the concertina music of the mainstream composers entirely—or at least mainly—the province of the professionals?

We can go beyond just what Miss Herries played. Thanks to a slew of handwritten alterations and other annotations in many of the pieces in Miss Herries's collection—these surely effected by her teacher, Blagrove—we can begin to form some rough ideas about her technical ability, though different alterations seem to point in contrary directions, and our conclusions must ultimately be speculative.

We can see the occasional difficulty in interpreting the evidence in connection with a seemingly minor alteration at the opening of the third variation of Blagrove's adaptation of *Rode's Celebrated Air*.<sup>143</sup> Example 3 offers bars 1–8, with the altered version of bar 1 superimposed above the original version.

<sup>141</sup> The entire set of four pieces appears in facsimile in Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 109–13 (with commentary on pp. 77, 79, 85).

<sup>142</sup> In the Ewer catalogue of 1860, Warren is represented by 124 items, the runner-up being George Case with seventy-nine; see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina*, 57.

<sup>143</sup> The title refers to Pierre Rode's (1774–1830) *Air varié in G*, Op. 10.



Ex. 3: Blagrove, *Rode's Celebrated Air*, variation 3: (a) bars 1–8 as printed, (b) bar 1 as altered.

We can interpret the alteration in bar 1 in various ways: (1) Blagrove intended to thin out the opening chords in order to make them easier to play; but why, then, did he let precisely the same sequence of chords stand as printed when they return at bar 5? (2) Blagrove instructed Miss Heggies to thin out the chords at bar 5 as he had done in bar 1, but the alteration was simply not entered; or (3) Blagrove did not thin out the chords in bar 1 in order to make them easier, but rather to add more weight to their return in bar 5. And perhaps this last interpretation gains support from Blagrove's decision to let the still thicker—and more difficult-to-play—chords at bars 6 and 7 stand as printed.

There is no such ambiguity in two other sets of alterations, both of which make the music more difficult to play and would, no doubt, have challenged Miss Heggies's technique. Example 4 offers bars 17–20 of Joseph Warren's arrangement of the 'Dead March' from Handel's *Saul*.

Ex. 4: Handel, 'Dead March', *Saul*, arranged Warren, *Select Melodies adapted for the Concertina*, bars 17–20: (a) concertina and piano as printed; (b) concertina part as altered.

In effect, Warren has lifted the bass part of the piano and added it—together with an occasional note that serves as chordal 'filler'—as a counterpoint to the single-note melody in the concertina, thus making the concertina part both virtually self-sufficient and more difficult to play. Finally, Example 5

shows Blagrove altering the concertina part of his own *Fantasia on Airs from Meyerbeer's Grand Opera 'Roberto il Diavolo'*.

Ex. 5: Blagrove, *Fantasia on Airs from Meyerbeer's Grand Opera 'Roberto il Diavolo'*, bars 129–36, concertina part (a) as printed, (b) as altered.

Here Blagrove has added a vamp-like accompaniment to the printed single-note melody, though not without reconsidering his original intention on the final crotchets of bars 130–1, which he no doubt crossed out owing to the somewhat clumsy nature of the chord *f' sharp – a' – b''*, all three notes of which must be played entirely by the widely stretched right hand (in bar 134, he changed the *f' sharp* to *d' sharp*, which permits the player to use the enharmonic *e' flat* in the left hand).<sup>144</sup>

Yet lurking behind these seemingly clear-cut alterations are questions related to Blagrove's—and Miss Herries's—intentions. Could Miss Herries manage these alterations? Did Blagrove really intend that she should play them? Or are we 'merely' getting a glimpse into the way in which Blagrove himself played these passages?

Perhaps there is an answer in two handwritten notes that Miss Herries herself entered at the top of the first and bottom of the second pages of her copy of the concertina part of Blagrove's *Fantasia on Airs from Donizetti's Opera 'Don Pasquale'* (the handwriting matches that found in her name on various pieces of music):

To be sent when copied to Mr R Blagrove/71 Mortimer St/Cavendish Square/The two pages to be copied one note/lower [Miss Herries's underscore] than the printed music. The notes/to be large and easily read as/the player has a/very bad sight. (p. 1)

\* None of the fingering to be copied in the/manuscript[.] (p. 2)

<sup>144</sup> This, of course, assumes an equal-tempered instrument, to which temperament Wheatstone's probably began to move in the mid- to late 1850s (see note 13, above), and perhaps, then, we may presume that this and other alterations date from around or after Miss Herries's transactions of 1856.

Now, if the player for whom the music was to be transposed down a step from D major to C major—thus making the copious amount of fingering in the original useless—was Miss Herries herself,<sup>145</sup> she would seem to be admitting that she could not play the music as written. Perhaps it was a passage like that shown in Example 6 that Miss Herries hoped she could manage more easily if the piece were written a whole step lower.



Ex. 6: Blagrove, *Fantasia on Airs from Donizetti's Opera 'Don Pasquale'*, bars 17–26 (note that the low *g* in bar 24 cannot be transposed down, since that is the lowest note on the instrument).

In the end, the alterations may well tell us more about Blagrove than they do about Miss Herries. Yet if she and other amateurs could handle the likes of *Don Pasquale*, the standard of amateur music-making on the concertina was quite high.

## V. Marketing Strategies

### 1. Publicity

The notion that the concertina was a suitable instrument for women was often trumpeted in the publicity for the instrument: it appears in advertisements for and notices about the instrument in both the press—particularly the musical press and trade publications—and the introductions with which many of the published method books begin, and it was disseminated both by Wheatstone's and by other manufacturers,<sup>146</sup> as well as by their concertina-playing 'spokesmen'. Three themes would constitute leitmotifs of sorts: the instrument was suitable for women because (1) it was portable, (2) it was relatively easy to learn (the implication being that the player did not have to worry about intonation, since each note on the instrument was fixed in pitch, as it was on the piano, this, obviously, being just as much a selling point for men), and (3) it permitted women to play music that had originally been written for strings or woodwinds, instruments that were otherwise off limits to them.

The campaign was already underway in the 1830s, when, following Giulio Regondi's success at the Birmingham Festival (see §II, 3), *The Musical World* for 12 May 1837 ran an unsigned notice about the instrument:

This instrument is a vast improvement on the accordion, and is the invention of the ingenious Professor Wheatstone . . . The mellifluous synphonion [*sic*—see note 33] is constructed on the same principles; but the tone is produced by breathing into the latter; whereas on the concertina it is brought out by the

<sup>145</sup> Though if Miss Herries was referring to herself, we may wonder how she managed to read all the other music in her collection. Perhaps the copy with the large notes was intended for someone else.

<sup>146</sup> Wayne, 'Concertina Book', 1–79, accounts for a total of thirty-six concertina manufacturers up to 1890. Of these, two were women: (1) Elizabeth Lachenal (widow of Louis Lachenal), who ran the family business from the time of her husband's death in December 1861 until she sold the firm in 1873; see Chambers, 'Some Notes on Lachenal Concertina Production', 8; and (2) a Miss Jane Alexander, who is listed as a concertina maker at 45 Burlington Arcade in *Post Office Directory London/1856*, 1815 (Inv. 7); it is unlikely, however, that she ran her own business (and she is not among the manufacturers cited by Wayne).

bellows, which renders it far more agreeable for ladies to play upon. Any flute accompaniment to pianoforte pieces may be performed on the concertina . . .<sup>147</sup>

The instrument is female-friendly, then, because one doesn't blow into it, and it thus makes music for the flute (and other woodwinds) accessible to women.

An 1855 advertisement in that same journal for George Case's concertinas (distributed by Boosey & Sons) goes into greater detail:

The Concertina possesses considerable compass, having a greater range than the Flute, and (excepting the very highest notes only used in very difficult and elaborate compositions), the same as the Violin . . . [It has the] capacity to play any music written for the Violin, Flute, etc. . . . From its intonation being always correct, the tone is easy to produce, and the keys lying entirely under the command of the fingers, it can be learned with much greater facility than other instruments. On this account it is particularly valuable to the amateur. The Concertina may be used as a substitute for the Violin or Flute; and from its being the only portable instrument . . . which conventionalism allows to Ladies, its value is materially increased. From these facts, and the facility of its acquirement, amateurs are enabled to take a part in concerted music of the highest order, which they would otherwise never have an opportunity of doing. Tenor and Bass Concertinas are likewise manufactured, upon which any music for the Viola or Violoncello may be performed . . . They are frequently combined, and in Quartets, Septets, or even larger numbers, they produce a beautiful effect.<sup>148</sup>

Case has raised the ante. Not only can women now play music originally composed for wind instruments, but they can also appropriate that written for violin, viola, and 'cello, and, if access to the full consort of concertinas is possible, enjoy the pleasures of playing string quartets, a theme that was still being echoed in the early 1880s, when Richard Blagrove, writing in *The Girl's Own Paper*, noted that 'A very fair rendering of classical chamber music can thus be given, in which ladies can take part'.<sup>149</sup>

Case's reference to the ease with which the instrument can be learned expresses the third recurrent theme. In fact, the Wheatstone price list of 1848 (see above, §III, 2) had made the point emphatically:

From the remarkable simplicity of its fingering, and the great facility with which its tones are produced and sustained, it is very easily learnt; and as it cannot be sounded out of tune, the most perfect crescendos and diminuendos may be obtained, without the practice requisite on other instruments . . .

Still another angle—in the form of a personal testimony that must have been the concertina manufacturers' dream come true—appears in two advertisements that were placed in *The Times* in 1855 by a woman (English?) then residing in Paris; here the ploy seems to be that playing the concertina adds to a young lady's 'accomplishments':<sup>150</sup>

16 February (p. 2): PARIS.—A private family can receive two or three YOUNG LADIES who are desirous of perfecting themselves in the French language. The study of the piano, concertina, and singing can be followed under the most able professors. Address to M.P., Marshall's British and Foreign Library, 21 Edgeware-road.

28 September (p. 11): PARIS.—A married lady, residing in Paris, professor of the piano and concertina, will shortly be in London for the purpose of taking back with her one or two YOUNG

<sup>147</sup> *The Musical World*, v/61 (12 September 1837), 135–6.

<sup>148</sup> *The Musical World*, xxxiii/39 (29 September 1855), 636. The passage was lifted virtually verbatim from Case's *Instructions for Performing on the Concertina* (London, 1849), 3.

<sup>149</sup> Blagrove, 'How to Play the Concertina', *The Girl's Own Paper*, ii (1880–1), 488.

<sup>150</sup> My thanks to Mr Robert J. Wood, a candidate for the Ph.D. in Musicology at The Graduate Center of The City University of New York, for reading beyond the word 'Paris'—printed in large capital letters—and spotting the references to the concertina. They would no doubt have escaped my own eye.

LADIES wishing to complete their EDUCATION, or study the French language, music, &c. Apply to A.M., 68, Boulevard [*sic*] Beaumarchais; or A.M., Marshall's library. 21 Edgeware road.

What distinguishes these notices are their personal nature and origin in and reference to Paris. Of the slightly more than 15,000 transactions listed in the Wheatstone sales ledgers, there are seventeen in which the prices paid for the instruments are expressed in terms of French francs, all of them dated 8 November 1855 (C1049, 75–6). There are two transactions for a Mr Latetin,<sup>151</sup> one for a M. Duschene, ten for Messers Brandus(?) & Co., and four for a woman named Maria Mayer (Inv. 975).<sup>152</sup> And perhaps she is the woman (or at least one of the women) who placed the advertisements in *The Times*, her need for four concertinas in November 1855 squaring nicely with her statement on 28 September that she was recruiting young ladies whom she would transport to Paris and to whom she would offer the opportunity to study the concertina. (On the other hand, her initials do not coincide with either the 'M.P.' or the 'A.M.' of the notices.)

We might also look at the manufacturers' advertisements that appeared in the daily press, since these were intended for a large, general readership. Here, though, we come away disappointed; for while this would seem to be the most obvious place to pitch the instrument at women, a survey of advertisements placed by four manufacturers/distributors—Case (Boosey & Sons), Rudall, Wheatstone, and Keith, Prowse—in *The Times* over the course of 1855 fails to turn up even a hint about the matter. In fact, the main point of the advertisements seems to be the claim that that particular manufacturer/distributor's instruments are better than those made by any other. Wheatstone's oft-repeated advertisement in particular verges on the 'defensive' and even displays a tinge of anger:

PATENT CONCERTINA IMPROVED.—WHEATSTONE & Co. again find it necessary to state that the sole patent for the invention [1829], as also the subsequent one for improvement [1844], was granted only to them. They therefore caution the public against those who assume to be patentees or manufacturers, who only use this subterfuge to sell inferior instruments. All concertinas manufactured by the above firm bear their label . . .<sup>153</sup>

Yet if the general press was strangely silent about concertinas and women, the published method books were not, though it would seem that, for the woman who had already acquired an instrument—and surely, this must have generally preceded the purchase of a method book—this was rather like preaching to the converted. Two examples will suffice: Sedgwick's *Complete System of Instructions for the Concertina* (Levesque, Edmeades & Co., 1854): 'To Ladies [the instrument] is particularly recommendable from its extreme elegance and portability, as also on account of its being the only *wind* instrument at their command' (unpaginated); and Blagrove's *Instruction Book for the Study of the Concertina* (Cramer, Wood & Co., 1864): 'Tenor and Bass Concertinas are also manufactured[,] qualified for performing music originally intended for the Viola and Violoncello affording Ladies the peculiar advantage of enabling them to perform quartetts written for two violins, viola and violoncello' (p. 1). And if words were not enough, two of the method books—Joseph Warren's *Instructions for the Concertina* (Wheatstone & Co., c.1844)<sup>154</sup> and Edward Chidley's *Chidley's Instructions for the Concertina*, 3rd edn (R. Chidley, 1854)—included images of an elegantly dressed man (standing) and woman (seated) playing the concertina in what are obviously plush surroundings (see Figures 2–3).

<sup>151</sup> One of these, the steel-reed, equal-tempered no. 6760, is now in my personal collection.

<sup>152</sup> She is listed in the Addenda to the main body of the Inventory.

<sup>153</sup> *The Times*, 9 January 1855, 11.

<sup>154</sup> The ninth edition of Warren's *Instructions* has been published in a facsimile edition by Jenny Cox for Hands on Music (Bristol, 1998).

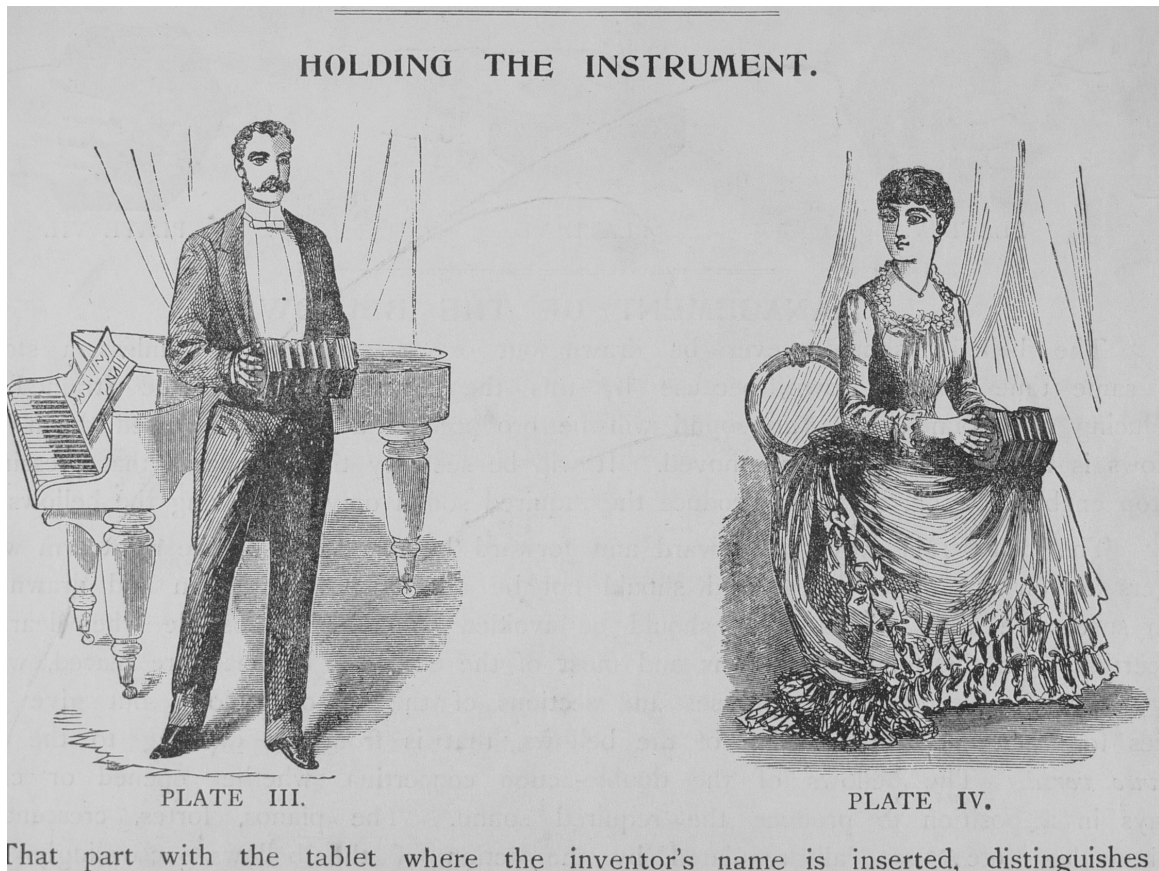


FIG. 2: Warren's *Instructions*, 9th edn (n.d.), 3.

Finally, there was the publicity provided by the women who performed on the concertina in public: role models, as it were. Indeed, we may view the 1865 concerts of the Lachenal sisters as an attempt both to further the careers of the three teenage sisters and to promote the family's concertina-making business.<sup>155</sup>

## 2. Specially Designed Instruments

If Wheatstone's and other manufacturers hoped to attract women by persuading them that the consort of concertinas made it possible for them to participate in the hitherto forbidden string quartet repertory, they faced a practical problem: the 'cello part would have been taken by the bass concertina, which—with a low note of *C* and even with only a single set of reeds, which sound with the bellows being pushed in—is a cumbersome instrument. Consider the following: a 'standard' mid-century treble concertina (as shown in Figures 1–3) has a circumference (around its six sides) of 21 inches, measures  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches across with its bellows tightly closed, and weighs approximately one pound (figures gleaned from Wheatstone treble, no. 6760, with forty-eight buttons and wooden ends of rosewood, 1854/1855), while the same vital statistics for a baritone concertina (admittedly,

<sup>155</sup> On the concerts, see Table 13 and, for a detailed discussion, Debenham and Merris, 'Marie Lachenal', 1–4; Gaskins, 'The Lachenal Sisters Visit Edinburgh' (cited in Table 13, note (b)).

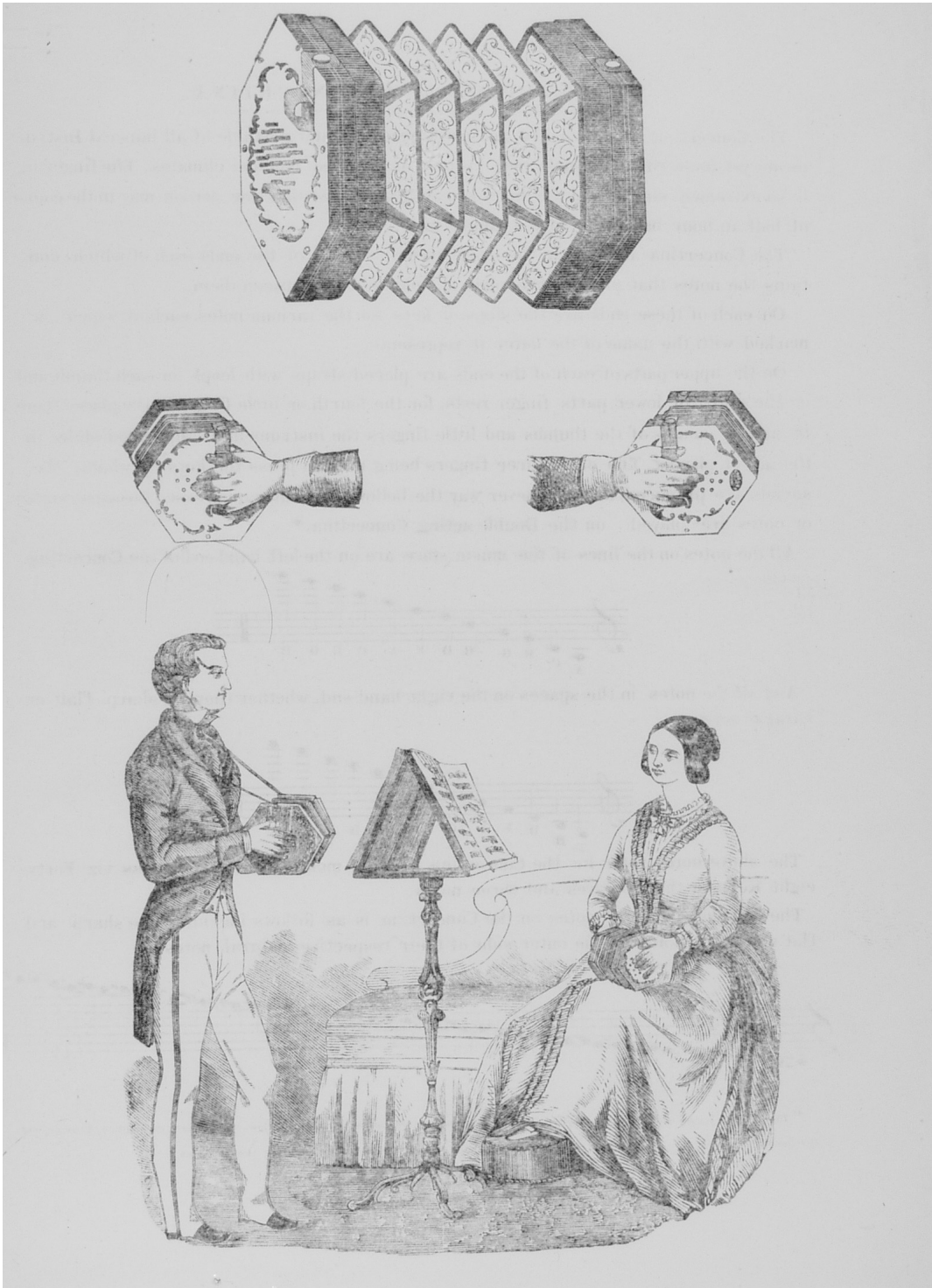


FIG. 3: Chidley's *Instructions*, 3rd edn (1857), frontispiece.

baritones could vary a bit in size) are 25 inches, 5¾ inches, and close to three pounds (Wheatstone, no. 18216, forty-eight buttons, amboyna ends, 1864). Like the baritone, the bass concertina could also vary in size and weight; and I therefore give the dimensions of two such instruments: Edward Chidley, no. 224 (fifty-one buttons with mahogany ends): 35½ inches in circumference, 7½ inches across, 7¾ pounds; Joseph Scates (serial number missing, forty-two buttons, with mahogany ends): 34 inches in circumference, 8 inches across, 8 pounds.<sup>156</sup>

Wheatstone's tried to overcome the unwieldiness of the instrument by making a smaller version specifically for ladies. Thus among the concertinas that they displayed at the Great Exhibition of 1851 was a 'concert bass concertina, with 56 keys, for violoncello or bassoon music, singly or in concert; the same, of a smaller size, *for the use of ladies* [my emphasis]'.<sup>157</sup>

Yet attractive as the idea might have seemed, it was not a commercial success: of the 1,419 transactions in the Inventory that date from after the Exhibition opened on 1 May 1851, only one explicitly refers to a 'small bass': Miss C. Mildmay rented one on 3 January 1870 (Inv. 600.08). As for the other occasions on which women either purchased, rented, or borrowed a bass concertina—2 September 1852, Miss Binfield, no. 1997 (Inv. 81.52); 7 June 1853, Lady Galway, no serial number (Inv. 335); 7 July 1853, Lady Combermere, no serial number (Inv. 184.04); 21 January 1854, Miss Hammersley, no. 1549 (Inv. 389.06), who thus followed in her father's footsteps; and 9 August 1859, Mrs Astree, no. 1311 (Inv. 26)—there is no indication if the instruments were ladies' basses or not.

### 3. *William Cawdell*

Published by the author in December, 1865, William Cawdell's *A Short Account of the English Concertina* may be considered the first 'history'—perhaps 'defence' is a more suitable word—of the English concertina.<sup>158</sup> Cawdell lists the advantages of the concertina: it is easy to learn, it takes up little room and is easily portable, and it can be played

in any position, standing, sitting, walking, kneeling or even lying down. If confined to the house by a sprained ankle, you may play whilst reclining on the sofa . . . and when you are convalescent, you may take your instrument into the fields where the Piano can never be (p. 13).

Cawdell also distinguishes between music for Church, Concert-Room, and Home, noting that it is in the last of these, which 'appeals to the heart[,] fostering the affections and encouraging noble sentiments', that the concertina

<sup>156</sup> My thanks to Wim Wakker and Robert Harvey for the measurements of the Chidley and Scates concertinas, respectively. Both instruments are known as 'stretch' concertinas, that is, rather than all six sides of the hexagon being equal in length (as on the treble and baritone), the top and bottom sides are a little longer than the other four; on the Scates, the dimensions are 7 inches on top and bottom, 5 inches on each of the other four sides.

<sup>157</sup> See Mactaggart and Mactaggart, *Musical Instruments in the 1851 Exhibition*, 60. This seems to be one of the earliest references to a concertina with fifty-six buttons, preceded only by a notice that Regondi played on such an instrument at Dresden in 1846. It was not until the Spring of 1871 that Wheatstone's began to offer a fifty-six-button model as a regular option; see Atlas, 'The Victorian Concertina'.

<sup>158</sup> The full title is *A Short Account of the English Concertina, Its Uses and Capabilities, Facility of Acquirement, and Other Advantages*. The date of publication can be fixed in December, 1865, on the grounds that (1) Cawdell, who refers to himself as an amateur concertinist, cites a lecture that he himself gave on 2 December, and (2) the publication was reviewed in *The Musical Times* on 1 January 1866 (see below). The pamphlet (it runs twenty-four pages) was reprinted in 1866 without substantive change. I know of two contemporary reviews: a moderately favourable one in *The Musical Times*, xii/275 (1 January 1866), 211, and a devastating one in *The Musical Standard*, iv/90 (10 February 1866), 260: 'We can quite believe Mr. Cawdell when he says that in expressing his thoughts in print he has not sought assistance of any kind. It would have been better if he had; for a less skilful literary performance than his *brochure* it would be difficult to conceive'. Cawdell's *Short Account* can be read online at <<http://www.concertina.com/cawdell>>, where there is an informative note by Robert Gaskins about the differences between the title pages of 1865 and 1866.



will be found a most useful co-operator in the cultivation of an elevating recreation that will enlarge the mind, purify the affections and strengthen the intellect. It is more directly as a domestic instrument that it is and ever will be appreciated and admired, although it will also be found with more cultivation, equally eligible for other uses such as concerted and orchestral pieces (p. 11).

Eventually Cawdell turns to the concertina and women. Though he does not prescribe the concertina for women, he rapturously describes the effect that an ensemble of female concertinists had on him:

I must not omit to speak of lady concertinists; I have heard of the dangers of *Croquet* to young men of a susceptible turn of mind, but I think that those perils cannot be compared to the fascination of a group of young ladies in a magic semicircle practicing selections on several concertinas. I remember once being present at such a scene, and I went home suffering from heart affection and Concertina on the brain combined. I recovered entirely from the first, but the effects of the latter have not quite disappeared (p. 17).<sup>159</sup>

There is, I suppose, a question that begs to be asked: did Cawdell prompt women to take up the instrument, or did he scare them away?

## VI. Concluding Comment

To be brief: during the period from the 1830s to some imprecisely defined point around 1870, the English concertina played a unique role in Victorian England's upper- and middle-class amateur music circles. With the piano frowned upon as an instrument for men, with violin and winds still off-limits to women, and with such ladies' instruments as the guitar and harp having faded in popularity by the middle of the century, the concertina was the one 'domestic' instrument on which husband and wife, father and daughter, and brother and sister could meet on musical common ground. (Indeed, that the concertina's fall from 'social grace' during the final quarter of the century coincides with the loosening of strictures with respect to women playing such instruments as violin and flute can hardly be a coincidence.) Surely, it is the concertina's role as a family instrument—with women and men on perfectly equal footing—that the illustrations in the Warren and Chidley method books (see Figures 2–3) sought to emphasize. And in the end, there is no better testimony to the success with which concertina manufacturers—Wheatstone's and others—pitched the instrument in these terms than the 1,769 transactions for 978 women in the Wheatstone sales ledgers.

<sup>159</sup> Could his 'group of young ladies' be the Lachenal sisters, whose Islington and Edinburgh concerts of June and October 1865, respectively, he discusses on pages 15, 22–3 (see Table 13, above)?