PAPERS of the INTERNATIONAL CONCERTINA ASSOCIATION

Volume 8, 2011

International Concertina Association

Center for the Study of
Free-Reed Instruments
(The Graduate Center,
The City University of New York)

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Papers of the International Concertina Association (*PICA*) is a peer-reviewed journal, published annually by the International Concertina Association (ICA) and The Center for the Study of Free-Reed Instruments (CSFRI, a member of the Barry S. Brook Center for Musical Research and Documentation) of The Graduate Center, The City University of New York. Publication and distribution of hardcopy format to ICA members (as well as to non-members who wish to subscribe to it at a cost of £5 per issue) is followed by electronic publication on the websites of both the ICA and the CSFRI:

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PICA publishes articles on all aspects of the concertina: the development and history of the instrument; its sociology, iconography, repertories, and performance practices; biographies of concertinists; etc. It also includes reviews of books and CDs, as well as notes about important concertina-related events.

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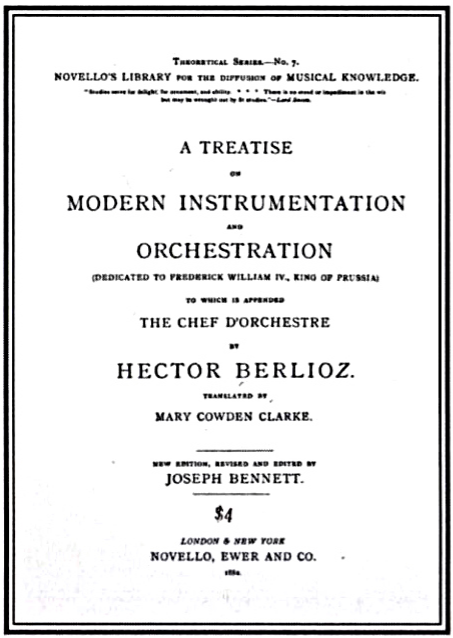
Volume 8, 2011

The English Concertina as an Instrument of Science

ANNA GAWBOY

If an 1851 visitor to London's Great Exhibition entered the Crystal Palace, ascended to the upper floor, and proceeded to the North Gallery, she would have been surrounded by an overwhelming array of objects listed in the catalogue under Class X, "Philosophical instruments and miscellaneous contrivances." Class X included "telescopes, microscopes, barometers, thermometers, areometers, scales, balances, nautical instruments, and various others used to illustrate the laws of mechanics, optics, light, heat, and electricity,"[1]but also included the subclasses of timepieces and musical instruments. If our visitor made her way to exhibit 526, she would have beheld Charles Wheatstone's 48-key English treble concertina, as well as baritone, concert tenor, concert bass, and double models.[2]

The English concertina did not win a medal at the exhibition.[3] In fact, one musical juror took an exceptional dislike to the concertina, as he later revealed in print. This juror was the composer Hector Berlioz, who published a critique of the concertina in the second edition of his orchestration treatise (see Fig. 1). Berlioz objected to the concertina's quarter-comma meantone temperament, which he believed would cause grating discords with an equally-tempered pianoforte or with the expressive intonation of a violin. [4] Quarter-comma meantone prioritized major thirds in pure (or nearly pure) 5:4 ratio, which meant that the concertina's A-flats and E-flats were tuned slightly higher than its corresponding G-sharps and D-sharps.[5] Berlioz noted that these inflections diametrically opposed those commonly used by string players, who tended to play sharped leading tones (such as G-sharp to A) slightly higher and flat upper neighbors (such as A-flat to G) slightly


THEORETICAL SERIES.—No. 7.

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A TREATISE

ON

MODERN INSTRUMENTATION

AND

ORCHESTRATION

(DEDICATED TO FREDERICK WILLIAM IV., KING OF PRUSSIA)

TO WHICH IS APPENDED

THE CHEF D'ORCHESTRE

BY

HECTOR BERLIOZ.

TRANSLATED BY

MARY COWDEN CLARKE.

NEW EDITION, REVISED AND EDITED BY

JOSEPH BENNETT.

$4

LONDON & NEW YORK

NOVELLO, EWER AND CO.

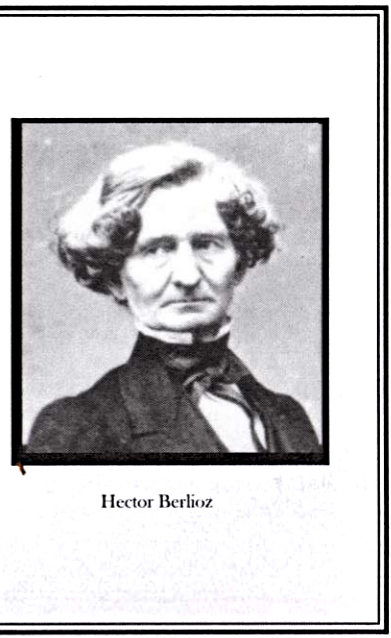

Hector Berlioz

FIG. 1

lower. But these difficulties were merely symptoms of a greater problem that Berlioz identified with the concertina: the fact that it had been invented by a scientist, Charles Wheatstone. Berlioz heard the concertina's pure major thirds as a hallmark of the speculative acoustic tradition, which he characterized as the domain of mathematicians, obsessed with musical ratios and out-of-touch with a living musical practice. "[The concertina] thus conforms to the doctrine of the acousticians, a doctrine entirely contrary to the practice of musicians," Berlioz wrote. "This is a strange anomaly."[6]

Berlioz objected to the idea that musical consonance was defined by mathematics and was limited to intervals expressed by ratios involving the first six whole numbers, such as the pure 5:4 major third. But in real musical practice, musicians often performed intervals that deviated from the acoustic ideal by varying amounts. These minimal deviations were still largely considered consonant, even though the ratios of tempered intervals were considerably more complex. Berlioz continued,

> This ancient endeavor of the acousticians to introduce at all risks the result of their calculations into the practice of an art based especially on the study of the impression produced by sounds upon the human ear, is no longer maintainable now-a-days. So true is it, that Music rejects it with energy; and can only exist by rejecting it.[7]

In just a few sentences, Berlioz placed the concertina at the center of the ancient debate regarding the relationship of musical theory and musical practice. In his view, there was a fundamental incompatibility between the acoustician's music of the mind and the musician's music of the senses. But, at the time of Berlioz's writing, a debate was heating up within the field of

Leonhard Euler

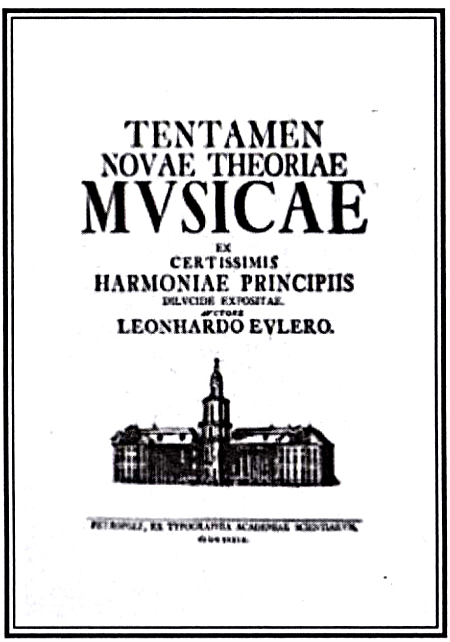


FIG. 2

theoretical acoustics over incongruities between what calculation predicted and what the senses perceived in experiments.[8] The dispute would eventually result in a reconsideration of the definition of consonance, and would energize the emerging field of physiological acoustics, leading to new theories regarding how the ear processed sound. And interestingly, among fellows of British Royal Society, Wheatstone's English concertina gained a reputation as a tool for experimental investigation and the public demonstration of these new theories. As an instrument of musical science, the English concertina blurred the boundary between subclasses of instruments exhibited in Class X at the Crystal Palace.

Wheatstone, Euler, and the concertina's just major thirds

Berlioz correctly intuited that Wheatstone's preference for 5:4 major thirds stemmed from his studies of theoretical acoustics, particularly the work of the eighteenth-century Swiss mathematician Leonhard Euler.[9] In an 1864 paper delivered before the Royal Society, Wheatstone's colleague Alexander John Ellis revealed that "the concertina, invented by Prof. Wheatstone, F.R.S., has 14 manuals to the octave, which were originally tuned as an extension of Euler's 12-tone scheme."[10]

Ellis was referring to a particular tuning that Euler had presented in his 1739 treatise, *Tentamen novae theoriae musicae* (*An attempt at a new theory of music*—see Fig. 2).[11] Euler's main objective in the *Tentamen* was to "present a comprehensive mathematical definition" of musical consonance, or, as he called it, musical "agreeableness." According to Euler, the human mind delighted in simplicity and order. It followed, then, that music was most agreeable when the relationships among tones were easiest for the mind to intuit. Since Euler believed that simple ratios involving small whole numbers were easier to grasp than complex ratios, he posited that musical relationships expressed by ratios involving the numbers 2, 3, and 5, their powers and their multiples, were the most pleasing.[12]

Of course, the idea that musical consonance had something to do with ratios involving small whole numbers was an ancient one, but Euler's approach to the subject was unique. In the *Tentamen,* he devised a formula to calculate the unique "degree of consonance" for any group of musical tones, as well as a system to rank the degree of consonance based on the least common multiple of the integers comprising the collection's ratio. Altogether Euler calculated eighteen separate pitch collections containing the most pleasing combinations of tones, according to his theory. These collections, or "genera," ranged from the first genus containing just two notes, a pitch and its octave, to the diatonic-chromatic genus, which corresponded to a twelve-note chromatic scale in just intonation.[13]The diatonic-chromatic genus represented the culmination of Euler's calculations and was his primary focus in the *Tentamen.* It was this scale that Ellis referred to as "Euler's 12-tone scheme."

In the *Tentamen*, Euler showed how the diatonic-chromatic genus could be generated from a very basic tuning method using only 3:2 perfect fifths and 5:4 just thirds. Beginning with a key's subdominant—for example, F in the key of C major—Euler first tuned a just 5:4 third, yielding A, and a fifth in 3:2 ratio, yielding C. His second step was to tune just thirds and fifths from A and C respectively, generating the pitches C-sharp, E, and G. Step three involved tuning just triads from E and G, adding G-sharp, B, and D. Euler continued the process to achieve twelve pitches, adding D-sharp, F-sharp, and A-sharp.[14]

Euler called his diatonic-chromatic genus "the most perfect genus, the genus best suited for producing harmony," claiming that it possessed "as many tones as harmony requires, no more and no less, and all the tones will have among themselves the relationship determined from the laws of harmony."[15] Given Euler's elevated rhetoric, it is perhaps not surprising that Wheatstone chose to tune his early instruments to the diatonic-chromatic genus.

But Euler's claims were not exactly true, at least not for all chords in all keys. Just intonation was beloved by acousticians because of its high percentage of pure triads, but such perfection cannot be achieved uniformly for all scales if the instrument has fixed tones and a limited number of keys per octave.[16] Euler's diatonic-chromatic genus, containing twelve tones, possessed only six pure major triads (on E, F, A, B, and C) and six pure minor triads (on G-sharp, A, B, C-sharp, D-sharp, and E). Other triads in his system could differ from their pure forms by as much as a diesis (41 cents) or a syntonic comma (21.5 cents), which was enough to make the triad sound noticeably different.[17]

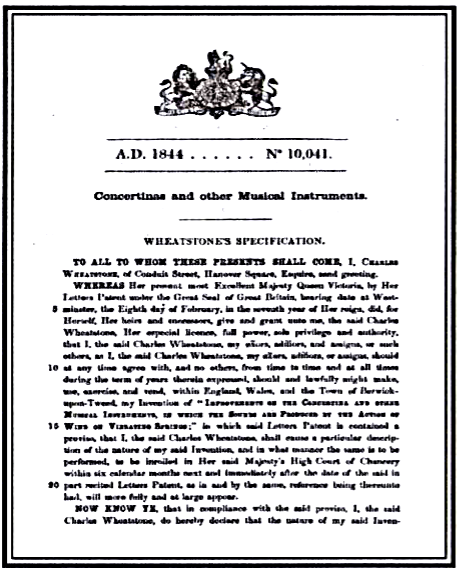
Wheatstone recognized these limitations on Euler's diatonic chromatic genus. In order to increase the number of pure thirds available on the concertina, he extended Euler's twelve-note scale to fourteen notes, subtracting the A-sharp and adding A-flat, E-flat, and B-flat, presumably each tuned in pure 5:4 thirds down from the C, G, and D, respectively. This procedure resulted in separate buttons for the pairs A-flat/G-sharp and E-flat/D-sharp. A concertinist could then play pure major triads rooted on A-flat, E-flat, F, C, G, A, E, B, and pure minor triads rooted on C, G, F, A, E, B, C-sharp, and G-sharp.

Ellis wrote that the justly-tuned concertina "possessed the perfect major and minor scales of C and E," but there were still problems. The roughness of chords on B-flat, D, and F-sharp—with fifths a syntonic comma too narrow—"led to the abandonment of this scheme, and to the introduction of a tempered scale."[18] The first temperament to replace just intonation was, according to Ellis, quarter-comma meantone.[19] This temperament entailed splitting the problematic syntonic comma into four parts and narrowing each fifth on the concertina by that amount, roughly equal to five cents.[20] Ellis reported that quarter-comma meantone expanded the concertina's useable major keys to E-flat, B-flat, F, C, G, D, A, and E, and its useable minor keys to C, G, D, A, and E.[21]

But the concertina's thirteen useable keys in meantone temperament were not enough to impress Berlioz at the Great Exhibition of 1851. The concertina's thirds were still tuned very close to their pure forms, which Berlioz detested. Furthermore, meantone temperament generated wolf intervals that were very harsh indeed. If a player tried to substitute B-flat for A-sharp in an F-sharp major triad, the third of the chord would be too high; if a player tried to substitute C-sharp for D-flat in a D-flat major triad, the fifth between C-sharp and A-flat would be too wide. Berlioz was an advocate for equal temperament for instruments with fixed tones, such as the piano and concertina.[22] Not only would equal temperament eliminate the wolves, allowing the concertina to modulate freely to all twenty-four major and minor keys, it would also slightly widen the major thirds and narrow the minor thirds, which Berlioz heard on the meantone concertina as respectively too narrow and too wide.[23]

Wheatstone was fully aware of the advantages of equal temperament, especially in respect to modulation. In fact, seven years before the Crystal Palace exhibition, Wheatstone had registered

a patent for the Double concertina, an instrument specifically designed for equal temperament and easy modulation to all 24 keys. Equal temperament allowed Wheatstone to reduce the Double's accidentals from seven to just five: B-flat, E-flat, F-sharp, C-sharp, and G-sharp. In addition, his



A.D. 1844 . . . . . N° 10,041.

Concertinas and other Musical Instruments.

WHEATSTONE'S SPECIFICATION.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, I, CHARLES WHEATSTONE, of Conduit Street, Hanover Square, Esquire, send greeting.

WHEREAS Her present most Excellent Majesty Queen Victoria, by Her Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, bearing date at Westminster, the Eighth day of February, in the seventh year of Her reign, did, for Herself, Her heirs and successors, give and grant unto me, the said Charles Wheatstone, Her especial license, full power, sole privilege and authority, that I, the said Charles Wheatstone, my executors, administrators, and assigns, or such others, as I, the said Charles Wheatstone, my executors, administrators, or assigns, should at any time agree with, and no others, from time to time and at all times during the term of years therein expressed, should and lawfully might make, use, exercise, and vend, within England, Wales, and the Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, my Invention of "IMPROVEMENTS ON THE CONCERTINA AND OTHER MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, IN WHICH THE SOUNDS ARE PRODUCED BY THE ACTION OF WIND ON METALLIC REEDS;" in which said Letters Patent is contained a proviso, that I, the said Charles Wheatstone, shall cause a particular description of the nature of my said Invention, and in what manner the same is to be performed, to be inrolled in Her said Majesty's High Court of Chancery within six calendar months next and immediately after the date of the said in part recited Letters Patent, as in and by the same, reference being thereunto had, will more fully and at large appear.

NOW KNOW YE, that in compliance with the said proviso, I, the said Charles Wheatstone, do hereby declare that the nature of my said Inven-

Charles Wheatstone

FIG. 3

innovative arrangement of the keys allowed scales related by major thirds to be fingered in precisely the same way, thereby limiting the number of scale fingerings a player would actually have to learn.[24] An early advertisement stated that "the Double Concertinas are tuned to the equal temperament, as Pianofortes are now tuned; this not only dispenses with the extra notes (viz. the difference between G sharp and A flat, and D sharp and E flat), which are absolutely required to make the principal chords sound agreeably on the usual Concertina, but also makes the tune in all the keys on the Double Instrument more equally perfect."[25]

Because equal temperament has become ubiquitous today, it is tempting to see the equally-tempered Wheatstone Double as a progressive, forward-looking instrument. Wheatstone registered his patent in 1844 (see Fig. 3), two years before the English piano manufacturer Broadwood and Sons converted all their instruments to equal temperament.[26] But for two decades (or possibly longer), equal temperament was merely an option at Wheatstone & Company, as they—and other manufacturers—continued to produce and market instruments in meantone temperament well into the 1860s, alongside equally-tempered models.[27]

An aspiring mid-nineteenth century concertinist was thus faced with a dilemma. Meantone or equal temperament? Both systems had their advantages and disadvantages. Like just intonation, mean-tone temperament yielded better-sounding triads, but these were limited to certain chords in certain keys. Equal temperament allowed free modulation to every key, but the triads sounded arguably worse. The choice of temperament also depended on the type of ensemble in which the concertinist hoped to perform. It was thought that just intonation and meantone temperament

were better suited to vocal ensembles, and equal temperament was better suited to performances with the piano.[28] In 1865, the amateur concertinist William Cawdell presented the dilemma as a matter of taste, writing, "[the concertina] may be tuned to equal or unequal temperament and to any pitch that may be desirable; indeed, connoisseurs frequently have several instruments of different pitch and quality of tone, and sometimes more than one set of notes to the same instrument, an arrangement which affords advantages unattainable by any other means and of incomparable value under certain circumstances."[29]

Wheatstone's concertina patents do not make any direct reference to tuning or temperament, but they do show his awareness of the practical issues arising from the various intonation systems. He grappled with the problem of making the concertina as adaptable to as many tastes and performance situations as possible. One of Wheatstone's proposed solutions was a mechanism by which the performer could alter the pitch of any note by lengthening or shortening the vibrating spring by means of a sliding plate controlled by a screw.[30] According to Wheatstone, this enabled "the notes of the concertina to be tuned at pleasure, by which its pitch may be adapted to that of any other musical instrument which it may be required to accompany, or certain notes may be altered at will to render the instrument more perfectly in tune for the key in which a piece of music is to be performed."[31] Such mechanisms proved to be awkward to use in practice, and were not put into commercial production.[32]

Although the Double concertina had been introduced to the public around 1850 as an equally-tempered instrument, Wheatstone's 1844 patent also includes a Double keyboard layout that would have enabled it to be tuned in meantone temperament. The layout includes seven accidentals, with separate keys for E-flat /D-sharp and A-flat /G-sharp. Each face included eight rows of buttons, as if the layout of the treble model had been doubled and laid side-by-side.[33]

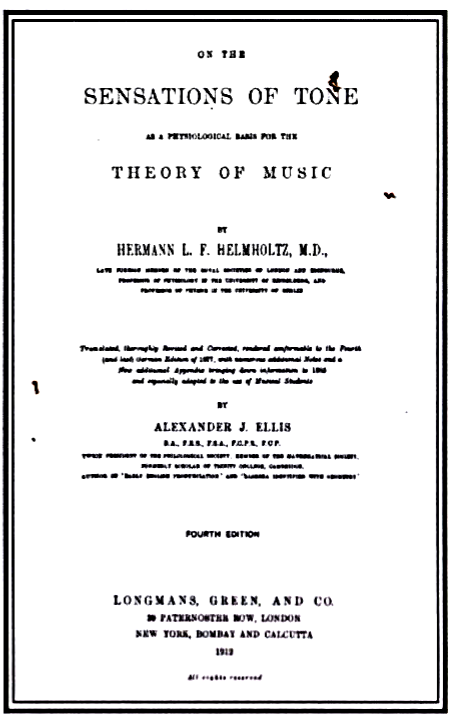
So why didn't Wheatstone and Company model its tuning practices on Broadwood and uniformly tune all their concertinas to equal temperament by mid-century? There are several possible explanations. First, equal temperament presented considerable practical difficulty for tuners. Tuners of the time plied their trade by ear, and achieving a good equal temperament was considerably more difficult than achieving a good meantone temperament.[34] In 1864, Ellis wrote that equal temperament was "so difficult to realize by the ordinary methods of tuning, that [it] has probably never been attained in this country, with any approach to mathematical precision."[35] Second, despite the conversion of Broadwood and Sons to equal temperament during the 1840s, other British instrument builders and tuners followed suit only gradually between 1850 and 1890. Ellis's survey of British organs, completed in 1880, revealed that many instruments were still in meantone temperament.[36] Third, the superiority of equal temperament was by no means a settled issue in the mid-nineteenth century. When George Herbert ordered the organ in Berkeley Square Roman Catholic Church to be retuned equally in 1854, he reported, "I was totally alone, everyone was against me, and I was about the best abused man in London for some time."[37] Fourth, as we have seen, the concertina was particularly adapted to unequal tunings. The concertina's fourteen pitches to the octave hid the wolf intervals of meantone temperament further among its "remote" chords than was possible on the piano. Additionally, the concertina's free-reed timbre with many audible partials actually caused tempered intervals, especially thirds, to sound slightly harsher than they would on a piano.[38] Finally, there is one other factor which likely influenced Wheatstone and Company's decision to retain meantone temperament at least through the 1860s: the concertina's ties to the British scientific community.

Helmholtz, the concertina, and the debate over equal temperament

By the mid-nineteenth century, temperament had become an issue of debate in musical and academic circles. One side argued that equal temperament made every key equally good, allowing free modulation. The other side argued that equal temperament made every key equally bad, as every interval (aside from octaves) was slightly mistuned from its pure form.[39] The dispute came down to differences of opinion regarding how musical consonance should be defined and what the ear could hear. Many acousticians who favored just intonation were committed to a definition of consonance based on simple ratios, which excluded the more complex ratios involved in equal temperament. Berlioz, a proponent of equal temperament, ridiculed this position on the ground that the acousticians' calculations had little relevance to practical music making, and that the musicians' ears should be the final arbiter of consonance:

> Whence it results that the sounds so-called irreconcilable by the acousticians are perfectly reconciled by musical practice; and that those relations declared false by calculation, are accepted as true by the ear, which takes no account of inappreciable differences, nor of the reasonings of mathematicians. . .
>
> These ridiculous arguings, these ramblings of men of letters, these absurd conclusions of the learned, possessed—all of them—with the mania of speaking and writing upon

Hermann von Helmholtz



ON THE

SENSATIONS OF TONE

AS A PHYSIOLOGICAL BASIS FOR THE

THEORY OF MUSIC

BY

HERMANN L. F. HELMHOLTZ, M.D.,

BY

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS

FOURTH EDITION

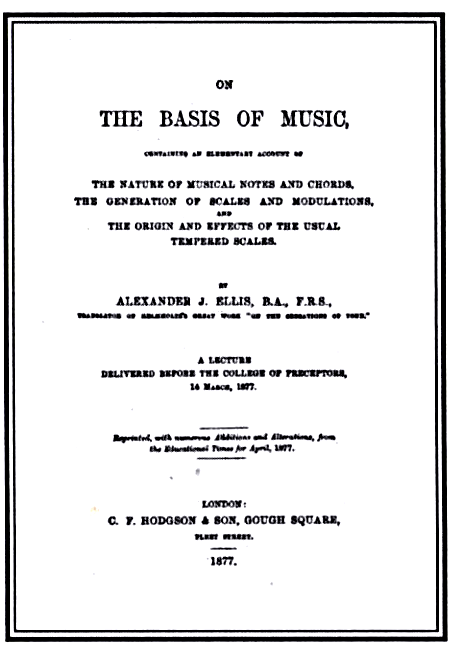
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
NEW YORK, BOMBAY AND CALCUTTA
1912

FIG. 4

an art of which they are ignorant, can have no other result than that of making musicians laugh.[40]

One problem facing acousticians was that they could not agree on a satisfactory explanation of why intervals expressed by simple ratios using the first six numbers were perceived as consonances. Euler had argued that the mind intuited the hidden order of the simple ratios and delighted in it at a subconscious level, but this theory could not account for the fact that a pure consonance sounded only slightly more smooth than an equally-tempered interval, despite equal temperament's greater complexity of ratio. Other problems vexed early nineteenth-century acousticians as well. What accounted for differences in timbre? What made a tone's fundamental more perceptible than its overtones? What accounted for the phenomena of combination tones? How, precisely, did the ear process sound?

In 1863, Hermann von Helmholtz published *On the Sensations of Tone (Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen*, see note 19 for the full German title—see also, Fig. 4), a book that would revolutionize the field of acoustics.[41] Helmholtz synthesized previous research and data collected from nearly a decade of his own experiments to produce a comprehensive theory of musical perception which embraced its physical, physiological, and psychological dimensions. Helmholtz began by establishing that sound waves caused the internal structures of the ear to vibrate sympathetically at the same frequency. These inner-ear vibrations were then translated into impulses carried from the auditory nerve to the brain. Helmholtz proposed that the ear acted as a resonator, and that the ear's capacity to analyze the upper partials of a tone accounted for the perception of timbral difference as well as its perception of consonance and dissonance.



ON

THE BASIS OF MUSIC,

CONTAINING AN ELEMENTARY ACCOUNT OF

THE NATURE OF MUSICAL NOTES AND CHORDS,
THE GENERATION OF SCALES AND MODULATIONS,
AND
THE ORIGIN AND EFFECTS OF THE USUAL
TEMPERED SCALES.

BY

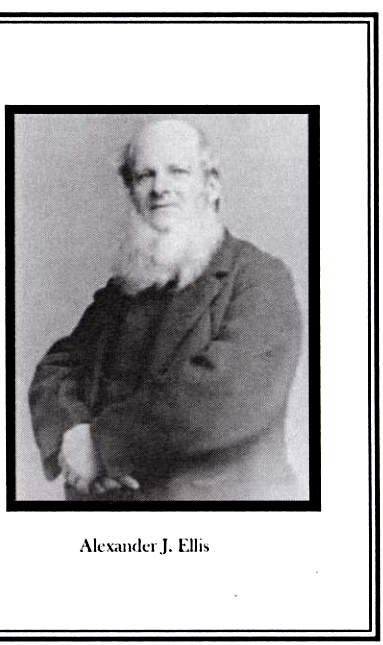
ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, B.A., F.R.S.,
TRANSLATOR OF HELMHOLTZ'S GREAT WORK "ON THE SENSATIONS OF TONE."

A LECTURE
DELIVERED BEFORE THE COLLEGE OF PRECEPTORS,
14 MARCH, 1877.

Reprinted, with numerous Additions and Alterations, from
the Educational Times for April, 1877.

LONDON:
C. F. HODGSON & SON, GOUGH SQUARE,
FLEET STREET.

1877.



Alexander J. Ellis

FIG. 5

Helmholtz theorized that when the wave-forms of the upper partials of two tones interacted in such a way to be coincident with one another, the ear perceived the resulting sound as smooth, or consonant. When the wave forms of two tones interacted in such a way to periodically cancel each other out, the ear heard the intermittent disruptions as "beats," or roughness. Helmholtz equated roughness with dissonance, positing a graduated spectrum between consonance and dissonance based on the rapidity of beats produced by any two given tones. The perception of relative consonance was also affected by combination tones, a faint third tone which arises when two pitches are sounded together under certain conditions.

Interestingly, Helmholtz's theory of consonance still favored the pure intervals of just intonation, but his careful empirical studies seemed to put his theory on a firmer foundation than Euler's vague hypotheses regarding the mind's ability to intuit the eternal beauty of ideal ratios. *On the Sensations of Tone* contains numerous descriptions of experiments and illustrations of instruments to aid the observation of musical phenomena. "All these beats of partial and combinational tone. . .are not inventions of empty theoretical speculation, but rather facts of observation, and can be really heard without difficulty by any practiced observer who performs his experiments correctly," Helmholtz wrote.[42]

The need to perform empirical investigations on instruments and to demonstrate the new acoustic paradigms transformed the English concertina into an instrument of science. This was primarily accomplished through the work of the philologist, mathematician, acoustician, and proto-ethnomusicologist Alexander John Ellis. Ellis had learned to play the English concertina as a boy, and so it was natural that he chose the concertina for his experiments with temperament.[43] But there was another reason the concertina made an ideal demonstration tool for Ellis. The concertina's partials were audible up to the eighth harmonic, making the instrument very sensitive to subtle changes in intonation.[44] Ellis possessed several concertinas tuned to different systems to facilitate their direct comparison. In this way, Ellis could make empirical judgments regarding the different qualities of Pythagorean intonation, just intonation, meantone temperament, and equal temperament.[45] Ellis's longstanding interest in the music of other cultures inspired him to test some non-western tuning systems on his English concertina. For example, he tuned one concertina so that he could compare slendro and pelog, two varieties of pentatonic scale used in Indonesian gamelan music.[46] On another concertina, Ellis replicated the Arabic lute tuning of Abdulqadir.[47]

In 1864, Ellis became acquainted with Helmholtz's theories and immediately saw their potential.[48] Ellis obtained a letter of introduction to Helmholtz through the philologist Max Müller, and offered to translate *Die Lehre* into English. When Helmholtz visited Ellis later that year to discuss the translation, Ellis played his experimental concertinas for Helmholtz.[49] The English translation appeared in 1875, with commentary and appendices by Ellis, who often referred to his own concertina experiments to elaborate points made by Helmholtz in the text (see Fig. 5).[50]

According to Helmholtz, the consonances of equal temperament were distinctly less smooth than those in just intonation, due to the interaction of the upper partials. He wrote, "it must not be imagined that the difference between tempered and just intonation is a mere mathematical subtlety without any practical value. That this difference is really very striking even to unmusical ears, is shown immediately by actual experiments with properly tuned instruments."[51] In 1864, Ellis presented a paper before the Royal Society in which he presented Helmholtz's theory of

consonance and an argued for the superiority of just intonation on scientific grounds, citing his concertina experiments as evidence.

> It is easy to compare the different effects of [tuning] systems as applied to the same quality of tone, for harmonies which are common to both. Having two concertinas [tuned to mean-tone and equal temperaments, respectively] and a third tuned to just intervals, I have been able to make this comparison, and my own feeling is that the Mesotonic [i.e., mean-tone] is but slightly, though unmistakably, inferior to the Just, and greatly superior to the Hemitonic [i.e., equal temperament].[52]

He later explained,

> A triad in which the major Third is perfect, but the Fifth and minor Third both too small by a quarter of a comma or 5 1/8 cents (as in meantone temperament, in which I have a concertina tuned), has a much better effect than the equally-tempered triad, where the fifth is only one-eleventh of a comma or two cents too flat, and the major Third is seven-elevenths of a comma or 14 cents too sharp, and hence the minor Third is eight-elevenths of a comma or 16 cents too flat. The effect is much more strongly felt in playing passages than in playing isolated chords.[53]

In 1877, two years after the publication of his English translation of Helmholtz, Ellis reiterated his empirical investigations on the effect of different temperaments in a public lecture delivered before the College of Preceptors.[54] The lecture introduced Helmholtz's acoustic findings to a public audience, and launched a sustained argument in favor of just intonation. During the lecture, Ellis performed several versions of "God Save the Queen" on his concertinas to acquaint his audience with the audible differences between intonational systems. He showed how the pure harmonies of just intonation were related to the overtone series, grounding just intonation upon the natural laws of music itself. "Just intonation ensures real harmony," Ellis insisted.[55] As evidence for the expressive power of just intonation, Ellis recounted his experience listening to a concert of *a capella* singers who had been specifically trained to sing in just intonation. "I may perhaps be allowed to say that the most exquisite feelings I have ever experienced in the hearing of part music have been derived from listening to Mr. Proudman's Tonic Sol-Fa College Choir, when unaccompanied. But when it was accompanied, and all the relations were torn to pieces by the [equally-tempered] piano or organ, my ears were often so pained that I could not hear the music."[56]

In the decades following Helmholtz, many musical scientists championed the use of just intonation based on the argument that it had a "natural" justification in the overtone series. Helmholtz's theory of consonance allowed acousticians to base their preference for just intonation on empirical sensations rather than calculation alone. As we have seen, the concertina's numerous audible upper partials made it an ideal instrument for Ellis to demonstrate his argument in favor of just intonation in public lectures.[57] Wheatstone's own interest in acoustics and his professional connection to Ellis must have been yet another factor in the company's retention of meantone temperament, just intonation's more practical cousin.

The eminence of Wheatstone and Ellis permanently linked the concertina to questions of temperament in the minds of the British scientific community. In 1889, the Australian Reverend W.J. Habens submitted a paper on tuning and the musical scale to the Royal Musical Association, then a newly-formed assembly of British acousticians, musical scholars, and musicians (Habens himself was not present). In it, he defended Euler's definition of consonance and argued for the

use of just intonation for the construction of a perfect musical scale. Habens's paper inspired a lively discussion among the assembled fellows, transcribed and published by the Royal Musical Association. After a consideration of whether or not ensembles of voices or stringed instruments really did perform in just intonation, George Herbert remarked, as a kind of non-sequitor,

> Did you know, by the way, that Wheatstone's concertina for twelve or fifteen years has been tuned equally? When Wheatstone brought it out he told me it was perfect [i.e., just] in 6 keys. Some years ago I had to choose a concertina for a friend by Wheatstone, and to my astonishment I found it was tuned equally. They have two keys for D-sharp and E-flat, and G-sharp and A-flat, but they give the same note. I suppose they found that they could not play with the pianoforte. Giulio Regondi, who was the finest concertina player, had two always, one for the orchestra and one for the piano.[58]

As Herbert made clear, by 1889 Wheatstone and Company had switched entirely to equal temperament for their commercial instruments, despite charges of acoustic inferiority brought against equal temperament by the scientific elite. Did Wheatstone and Company succumb to pressures of the commercial market? By the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, the piano's commercial success and domestic popularity had made equal temperament (or its Victorian approximation) ubiquitous.

Although equally-tempered concertinas were available through the 1850s and 1860s, it is possible that a complete conversion did not occur at Wheatstone and Company until much later. Herbert's off-the-cuff estimate would place the conversion point around 1875, the year Charles Wheatstone died.[59] Like all new converts, Wheatstone and Company vilified its past ways once the switch occurred. An undated (though late nineteenth-century) Wheatstone and Company catalogue described their equal tuning as a point of pride, adding that, "nearly all inferior makes of Concertinas are tuned on a plan called unequal temperament."[60]

The details of Wheatstone and Company's tuning practices and its timeline cannot be definitively established due to lack of documentation. However, it is clear that tensions arising from the concertina's dual role as an instrument for practical music making and an instrument of science left a mark on its tuning history, and an understanding of this tension sheds some light on an obscure and convoluted thread of the Wheatstone English concertina's story.

NOTES

1.*Guidebook to the Industrial Exhibition; with Facts, Figures, and Observations on the Manufactures and Produce Exhibited* (London: Partridge and Oakey, 1851), 14.

2.Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851* (London: W. Clowes & Sons, n.d.), 72.

3.The most prestigious medal, the Council Medal, was awarded to Sebastien Érard for pianos, Adolph Sax for brass instruments (including the saxophone), Jean-Baptiste Vuillaume for stringed instruments, and Alexandre Ducroquet for organs. Charles Wheatstone did earn a less prestigious Prize Medal for his portable harmonium.

4.Hector Berlioz, *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes*, 2nd ed. (Paris: 1855), translated by Mary Cowden Clarke as *A Treatise Upon Modern Instrumentation and Orchestration* (London: Novello, Ewer and Co., 1856), 235-236. Although there are more recent and reliable translations of Berlioz's treatise, I have chosen Clarke's original English translation because Wheatstone would have had access to it.

5.For example, if C and E are tuned in pure 5:4 ratio (386 cents), and G-sharp was tuned as a 5:4 major third *up* from E, and A-flat was tuned as a 5:4 major third *down* from C, the resulting A-flat transposed up an octave would be about a diesis (41 cents) higher than the G-sharp.

6.Berlioz/Clarke, *A Treatise Upon Modern Instrumentation and Orchestration,* 235.

7.Ibid., 236.

8.See R. Steven Turner, "The Ohm-Seebeck Dispute, Hermann von Helmholtz, and the Origins of Physiological Acoustics," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 10/1 (March 1977): 1-24.

9.See Anna Gawboy, "The Wheatstone Concertina and Symmetrical Arrangements of Tonal Space," *Journal of Music Theory* 53/2 (2009): 176-79.

10.Alexander J. Ellis, "On the Conditions, Extent, and Realization of a Perfect Musical Scale on Instruments with Fixed Tones," communicated by Charles Wheatstone, 7 January 1864, in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 13 (1863-1864): 103.

11.The *Tentamen* was highly esteemed and frequently cited by scientists of Wheatstone's generation, and Wheatstone himself referred to Euler's formula for the calculation of vibrational motion in two articles: Charles Wheatstone, "On the Figures obtained by strewing Sand on Vibrating Surfaces, commonly called Acoustic Figures," (1833); "Note relating to M. Foucault's new Mechanical Proof of the Rotation of the Earth" (1851), both in *The Scientific Papers of Sir Charles Wheatstone* (London: Physical Society, 1879), 64-83 and 303-6.

12.These are Euler's preferred numbers in the *Tentamen;* later, he would expand the set to 7. For ratios expressing intervals, this seems to make intuitive sense. For example, the perfect octave 1:2 is perceived as more consonant (or "agreeable") than the major second, 9:8. But with larger collections of tones such as chords and scales, Euler was forced to do additional calculations to determine agreeableness. Euler first defined a group of tones according to their ratio. For example, the major triad would be defined as 4:5:6, consisting of a major third (4:5) and a perfect fifth (4:6, or 2:3). Euler then found the least common multiple of the numbers in the ratio—in this case, 60—and then expressed this number through prime factors and exponents: 2^2x3x5. He then used the formula $(s - n + 1)$ to determine the degree of consonance, where s is the sum of the prime factors of the exponent and n is the number of these factors. For the major triad, s=12 and n=4, so 12-4+1=9. In other words, the major triad belongs to the ninth degree of agreeableness.

13.Wheatstone's interest in just intonation can be seen in his "Harmonic Diagram" of 1824, a didactic tool used to explain scales and key signatures. A copy held at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology may be viewed at *http://libraries.mit.edu/archives/exhibits/harmonic/index1.html#top.* Wheatstone's explanation of the diagram does not specifically mention just intonation, and some of his discussion is a big vague concerning the sizes of different intervals. It is clear, however, that he has some sort of unequal tuning (such as just intonation) in mind. His division yields thirty-five distinct pitches within the octave, and enharmonic equivalence is not assumed. The diagram not only includes key signatures for major scales on A-flat, E-flat, B-flat, and F, but also absurd enharmonic key signatures for major scales on G-sharp, D-sharp, A-sharp, and E-sharp. While these features of the harmonic diagram point to just intonation, Wheatstone's description of the diatonic scale is rather loose. He writes that it is comprised of tones and major semitones, but a diatonic scale in just intonation

actually has two differently-sized whole steps in the ratios 9:8 (204 cents) and 10:9 (182 cents). See "Explanation of the Harmonic Diagram," in *The Scientific Papers of Sir Charles Wheatstone,* 16-17.

14.See Charles Smith, "Leonhard Euler's *Tentamen novae theoriae musicae*: a translation and commentary," Ph.D. diss., Indiana University (1960), 201-2.

15.Ibid., 188.

16.Ellis proposed that a true just intonation required 72 separate pitches, but only 48 of these were absolutely necessary if one allowed schismatic substitution; see "On the Conditions, Extent, and Realization of a Perfect Musical Scale on Instruments with Fixed Tones," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 13 (1864): 98-101.

17.An equally-tempered half-step is 100 cents. If a concertinist were to play C-sharp, F, and G-sharp for a D-flat major triad, the "third" between C-sharp and F would be wider than the pure third between D-flat and F by a diesis. Similarly, if the concertinist substituted C, D-sharp, and G for a C minor triad, she would find that the "third" between C and D-sharp was narrower than the pure third between C and Eb by a diesis.

18.Ellis, "On the Conditions," 103.

19.Ellis identifies quarter-comma meantone with the concertina in his translation of Hermann von Helmholtz, *On the Sensations of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music,* 4th ed. (London: Longman, Green and Co. 1912), 321n (originally published as *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der Musik* [Brunswick (D), 1863).

20.A pure 3:2 fifth equals about 702 cents. The tempered fifth in quarter-comma meantone is about 697 cents.

21.Ellis in Helmholtz, *On the Sensations of Tone,* 321n.

22.Berlioz/Clarke, *Treatise Upon Modern Instrumentation and Orchestration,* 325.

23.A pure 5:4 major third is 386 cents, while an equally-tempered major third is 400 cents; a pure 6:5 minor third is 315 cents, while an equally-tempered minor third is 300 cents.

24.Joseph Warren, *Instructions for the Double Concertina* (London: Wheatstone & Co. n.d. [ca. 1850]), 2.

25."The Double Concertina, (C. Wheatstone, Inventor) a New Musical Instrument," (Wheatstone & Company, ca. 1850), online at: *www.concertina.com/pricelists/wheatstone-duet/Wh-Pricelist-Duet-c1850.pdf.*

26.Ellis, in Helmholtz, *On the Sensations of Tone,* 548-549.

27.It is not known precisely when Wheatstone & Company switched entirely to equally-temperament. Allan Atlas considers several scholarly opinions in *The Wheatstone Concertina in Victorian England.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 44-47.

28.Ellis, "On the Temperament of Musical Instruments with Fixed Tones," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 13 (1864): 420-21.

29.William Cawdell, *A Short Account of the English Concertina, Its Uses and Capabilities, Facility of Acquirement, and Other Advantages* (London: St. Johns, 1865), 6; online at: www.concertina.com.

30.Wheatstone, "Improvements on the Concertina and Other Musical Instruments, in which the Sounds are

Produced by the Action of Wind on Vibrating Springs," (British Patent no. 10041, 8 February 1844).

31.Ibid., 7.

32.Neil Wayne, "The Wheatstone English Concertina," *Galpin Society Journal* 44 (March 1991) 125-26.

33.Wheatstone, "Improvements to the Concertina" (1844), Figure 9.

34.Owen Jorgensen, *Tuning: Containing the Perfection of Eighteenth-Century Temperament, the Lost Art of Nineteenth-Century Temperament, and the Science of Equal Temperament* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1991), 1-7. Jorgenson identifies William Braid White's *Modern Piano Tuning and Allied Arts* (1917) as the first tuning method to ensure a true equal temperament.

35.Ellis, "Temperament," 419.

36.Ellis, "On the History of Musical Pitch," *Journal of the Society of the Arts* 27/1424 (March 5, 1880). 295.

37.George Herbert, in W. J. Habens, "On the Musical Scale," *Proceedings of the Musical Association* (1889-1890): 16. None of the English organs exhibited at the Crystal Palace was in equal temperament. The first commercial organ to be tuned equally was built by Gray and Davidson for the Congregational Chapel at Blackburn in 1854. See Ellis, in Helmholtz, *On the Sensations,* 549.

38.Ellis, "Temperament," 420. Ellis claimed that equal temperament was tolerable on the piano because its partials were only audible up to the 5th harmonic.

39.Ellis, *On the Basis of Music, Containing An Elementary Account of The Nature of Musical Notes and Chords, The Generation of Scales and Modulations, and The Origin And Effects of the Usual Tempered Scales* (London: C.F. Hodgson & Son, 1877), 37.

40.Berlioz/Clarke, *Treatise on Modern Instrumentation and Orchestration,* 236-37.

41.See David Cahan, *Hermann Helmholtz and the Foundations of Nineteenth Century Science* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993).

42.Helmholtz/Ellis, *On the Sensations,* 227.

43.Ellis bought concertinas from Wheatstone & Company on 1 November 1838 and 10 September 1847, according to Wheatstone & Company Sales ledgers; see Allan W. Atlas, "The Victorian Concertina: Some Issues Relating to Performance," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review,* 3/2 (2006): 48-49, note 28. One of Ellis's concertinas is held by the Horniman Museum, catalogued as instrument M9a-1996. Ellis's markings on the instrument indicate that it was used in experiments with temperament; see Alice Little, "Free and Squeezy: The New Web Catalogue at the Horniman Museum," *Papers of the International Concertina Society* 5 (2008): 92. For more information on Ellis and the concertina, see also Atlas, "Who Bought Concertinas in the Winter of 1851? A Glimpse at the Sales Accounts of Wheatstone and Co.," in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies* 1, edited by Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 63-64.

44.Ellis, "Temperament," 420; see note 37.

45.See Ellis, *On the Basis of Music,* 17.

46.Ellis, in Helmholtz, *On the Sensations of Tone,* 526.

47.Ibid., 281n.

48.Ellis referred to Helmholtz's work as "the first satisfactory theory of consonance and dissonance" in "On the Conditions, Extent, and Realization of a Perfect Musical Scale on Instruments with Fixed Tones," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 13 (1863-1864): 94n.

49.Benjamin Steege, "Material Ears: Hermann von Helmholtz, Attention, and Modern Aurality," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University (2007), 251. Ellis's correspondence with Helmholtz is collected in the archives of the Berlin-Brandenburger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bestand NL Helmholtz, No. 131. Although Helmholtz very much wanted to meet Charles Wheatstone and sought out the older physicist on two occasions, they apparently missed each other in 1864; see Leo Königsberger, *Hermann von Helmholtz,* translated by Frances A. Welby (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 111-13.

50.See Gawboy, "The Wheatstone Concertina," 182ff. Ellis's lengthy and detailed description of his just concertina appears in Helmholtz, Appendix 20, section F, "Experimental Instruments for Exhibiting the Effects of Just Intonation," 471-72, as well as descriptions of other instruments for experimental acoustics, such as Helmholtz's specially designed harmonium, Colin Brown's voice harmonium, Henry Poole's organ, and Robert Bosanquet's Generalized keyboard and harmonium.

51.Helmholtz/Ellis, *On the Sensations of Tone,* 320.

52.Ellis, "Temperament," 421.

53.Ellis, in Helmholtz, 320n.

54.Ellis, *On the Basis of Music;* see also Gawboy, "The Wheatstone Concertina," 182-84.

55.Ellis, ibid., 34.

56.Ellis, "On the Basis of Music," 35. The "Tonic Sol-Fa" method was specifically designed by John Curwen (1816-1880) to instruct singers in just intonation; see Steege, "Material Ears," 253-70.

Interestingly, however, Ellis and Alfred J. Hipkins invented the "cent," a unit of measurement used to compare minute differences between various tuning systems based on twelve equal divisions of the octave. Ellis introduced the cent as a practical way to compare the musical scales of different cultures; see Ellis and Hipkins, "Tonometrical Observations on Some Existing Non-Harmonic Musical Scales," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 37 (1884): 368-85.

58.Herbert, in Habens, "On the Musical Scale," 23.

59.Some scholars have argued that the switch occurred much earlier. For example, Pat Robson suggested that the switch occurred in 1861, as a result of the collaboration between Wheatstone and the German acoustician Johann Matthias Stroh, although this suggestion lacks strong documentary support; see Robson, "Mainly About Concertinas," *English Folk Dance and Song Society* (1983): 4-5. Atlas's survey of concertina music composed in the 1850s and 1860s suggests that some works were specifically composed for an equally- tempered instrument, but

that does not rule out the possibility that meantone instruments were also commercially available during the same period; see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina,* 45-46.

60.*Instruction Books and Methods for the Concertina* (Wheatstone & Company, n.d.), quoted in Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina,* 46.

The Center for the Study of Free-Reed Instruments,

The Graduate Center of the City University of New York

Housed at The Graduate Center of The City University of New York, the Center for the Study of Free-Reed Instruments (Allan Atlas, Director) fosters research and discussion about all aspects of all free-reed instruments. To that end, the Center sponsors a concert/colloquium each Spring semester, maintains a library/archive of materials pertaining to free-reed instruments (the jewels of which are a large collection of Victorian music for the English concertina and the Deiro Archive, which preserves the documentary and recorded legacy of the legendary accordionists Guido and Pietro Deiro), has published four volumes of The Free-Reed Journal (1999-2002), and now co-publishes with the ICA Papers of the International Concertina Association. Among past events: 'Tango-Bandoneón-Piazzolla' (2000), 'The Accordion as an Icon of Italian-American Culture' (2001), 'The Incredible Concertina: A Concert in Honor of Sir Charles Wheatstone--A Bicentennial Celebration' (2002), 'Free Reeds of Asia' (2003), and 'Viva Regondi' (2006).

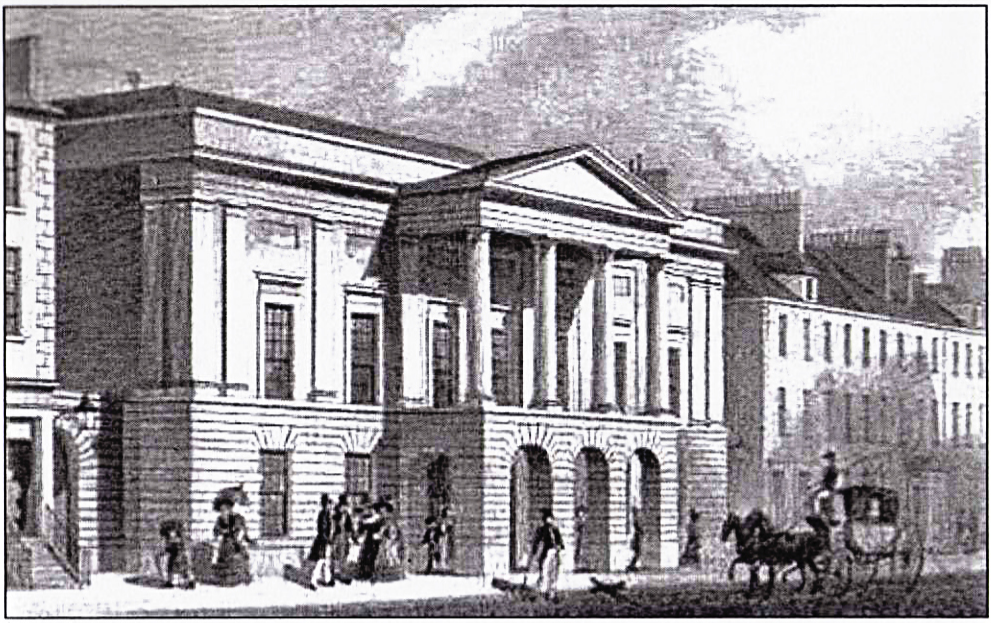


Fig. 1. Edinburgh's Assembly Rooms, later containing the Music Hall, as drawn by Thomas H. Shepherd and engraved by A. McClatchie, 1829.

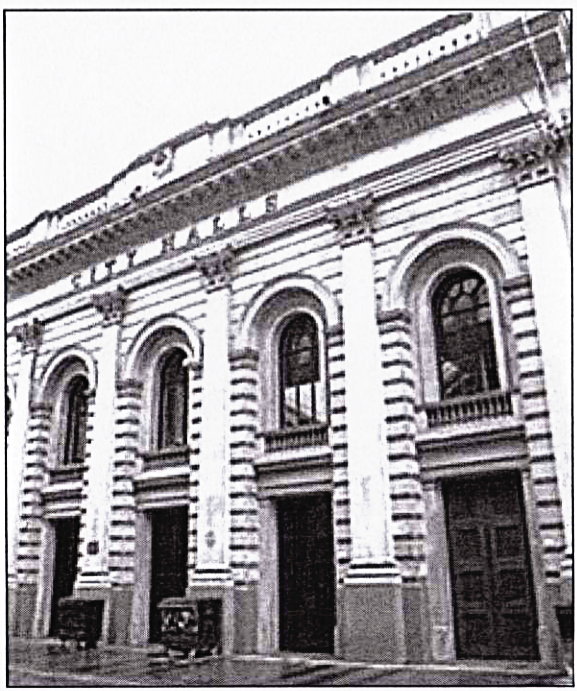


Fig. 2. The City Hall in Glasgow's Merchant City, as seen today.

Frederick W. Bridgman and the Concertina

RANDALL C. MERRIS

Introduction: On 22 and 24 March 1890, respectively, Glasgow's City Hall and Edinburgh's George Street Music Hall (see Figs. 1 and 2) mounted "Jubilee" concerts in honor of Frederick William Bridgman (1833-1892), who had been performing on Scottish stages for fifty years. A pianist, concertinist, organist, and harmonium player, Bridgman also taught the first three of those instruments as well as voice, and also lectured about music, conducted orchestras and choruses, and served as the manager of an opera company. What follows constitutes a sketch of Bridgman's career, with emphasis on his activities as a concertinist.

Bridgman's education and early career: Born in Marylebone, London, on 16 January 1833, Frederick William Bridgman was the only child of Thomas and Susannah Bridgman. Thomas Bridgman (1797-1837), a writer by profession, and Susannah Lucy Eager (1801-1882) were married in Saint Anne's Parish, Soho, Westminster, in July 1823. Susannah Lucy and her sister Charlotte Coe (b. 1803) were the daughters of John (1782-1853) and Charlotte Eager; and when, in 1839, John Eager divorced his first wife, he married Euphemia Lowe (1801-1872), a music teacher. In 1837 Thomas Bridgman passed away, and the young widow Susannah married one Thomas Wade (1805-1876), a writer and editor.

Following Thomas Bridgman's death in 1837, the widowed Susannah moved with Frederick to her father's (Frederick's grandfather's) home at 48 Frederick Street, Edinburgh. A notice in *The Scotsman* of 22 September 1838 informed its readers (p. 1):

> Mr Eager having retired from the situation of Director and Teacher of the Theory of Music and of the Piano in the Scottish Institution, has the honour to announce to Pianists, whether studying as Teachers or as Amateurs, that he now not only intends to increase the number of his Classes, and devote his attention and exertions chiefly to the Pupils attending his academy—conducted on Mr Logier's System of Musical Education—but has resolved to meet the public wish, by extending his services on liberal terms. . . .
>
> Mr Eager has the additional pleasure of announcing to his friends and the public, that his daughter, MRS BRIDGMAN, (from London) has pledged herself to afford him her valuable assistance in the arduous labours of his Academy, in the course of the season. . . .

And it was in Edinburgh that Frederick Bridgman made his debut as a pianist at age seven in March 1840, assisted by his grandfather, John Eager, about whom a few words are necessary.

Bridgman's basic keyboard training was provided mainly by his mother, Susannah,[1] and grandfather, John Eager, himself an organist, pianist, and violinist, as well as a teacher who included among his pupils the children of the royal family when they were in residence at Balmoral.[2] Instructed in the rudiments of music by his own father, a manufacturer of musical instruments, Eager had shown musical promise early on. After a period of patronage by the Duke of Dorset, Eager moved to Yarmouth, where he established himself as a music teacher and, in 1803, was

appointed town organist. Before moving to Scotland, he opened an academy for music and dance in Norwich, where his daughters Susannah and Charlotte assisted with the instruction.

His teaching resulted in controversy owing to his promotion of a method of piano playing that had been devised by J. Bernard Logier (1777-1846) in 1814. The Logier system utilized a mechanical device called the "chiroplast"—a laterally sliding, hand-guidance template that was fitted above the piano keyboard. Eager's writings and public demonstrations of the Logier system sparked heavy doses of abuse in the Norwich press and elsewhere, but his reputation was restored before he left Norwich for Edinburgh in 1833.[3]

To return to Frederick: his name first appeared in *The Scotsman* in association with a concert held on 27 November 1843 (p. 1) in Edinburgh's recently opened Music Hall on George Street. The concert featured the well-known violinist Henry Gamble Blagrove (brother of Richard of concertina fame), with participation by the Misses and Mr. Williams, vocalists; Mr. Lindley, cellist; and Master F. Bridgman on piano. Bridgman and Blagrove joined forces for a "Duo Concertante—Pianoforte and Violin—on Scotch Airs, dedicated to Moscheles, Master F. Bridgman (Pupil of Mr Eager) and Mr Blagrove" (on the famous pianist Ignaz Moscheles, see below).

As for performing on the concertina: it seems that Bridgman made his debut on the instrument at a Musard concert[4] in Edinburgh's Waterloo Rooms on 21 May 1845. The advertisement in *The Scotsman* for that day stated ". . .by MASTER BRIDGMAN, a FANTASIA on the CONCERTINA. . . "(see Fig. 3).

In his advertisements for piano and concertina pupils in the September 1854 issues of *The Scotsman*, Bridgman indicated that he had been a pupil of Giulio Regondi (1822-1872), the unrivaled classical concertina virtuoso, prolific composer and arranger for the instrument, and a master classical guitarist. Perhaps Regondi gave the young Bridgman concertina lessons during his visit to Edinburgh in 1840, when, on 13 March, he performed on both concertina and guitar at the Hopetoun Rooms.[5] Here is the review that appeared in *The Scotsman* on 18 March (p. 1):

> Signor Giulio Regondi made his début in De Beriot's violin concerto, which he executed on the *concertina* in the most exquisite style. The *concertina* may be briefly described as the *accordion* suddenly brought to perfection. The wild breathings of the Eolian harp—to imitate which was the *ne plus ultra* of the *toy* in its previous state—mingle and alternate in this wonderful little instrument, with the dulcet notes of the flute, the reedy swell of the hautboy, and the clear liquid tones of the violin; and the most rapid passages of execution are performed with scarcely any apparent exertion on the part of the performer.

We can imagine an enthralled seven-year-old Frederick in the audience—little wonder that he was attracted to the instrument.[6]

During the period 1846-1851, Bridgman performed in Edinburgh on both concertina and piano, and often as a piano accompanist. And it was during this period that he introduced his arrangements of medleys of Scottish melodies for concertina, which became something of a "signature" vehicle for him, one that he played for the rest of his career, not only on concertina, but also on piano and organ. (For the Scottish tunes on which he drew, see the Appendix.) His other concertina selections included popular compositions that Giulio Regondi, Richard Blagrove,

MUSARD CONCERT.

FOR ONE NIGHT ONLY

MR. R. B. STEWART, LEADER MUSARD CONCERTS, respectfully announces that his ANNUAL CONCERT Will take place in the *Waterloo Rooms*, THIS EVENING (WEDNESDAY 21st May), on which occasion he will have the able assistance of MISS E. WEDDELL, *Vocalist*, being her First Appearance; of HERR KOENIG; of MASTER BRIDGMAN; AND A MOST EFFICIENT ORCHESTRA.

LEADERS—*Messrs R. B. Stewart & A. M'Kenzie.*

Two favourite BALLADS will be sung by Miss WEDDELL; SOLOS will be performed on the CORNO by HERR KOENIG,—on the VIOLIN by Mr A. M'KENZIE; and, by MASTER BRIDGMAN, a FANTASIA on the CONCERTINA; an OVERTURE by AUBER, first time in Scotland; &c. &c.

*** *For farther particulars see Programme.*

Tickets, ONE SHILLING—Reserved Seats in Orchestra, TWO SHILLINGS—to be had at the Music-sellers, or of Mr R. B. Stewart, 49 Princes' Street.

*** THE GENERAL ASSEMBLIES.—*The attention of Clergymen and others in town to attend the Assemblies is respectfully called to the above Concert.*

Fig. 3. Notice for Bridgman's first concertina performance, *The Scotsman*, 21 May 1845 (p. 1).

and George Case had performed at their London concerts.[7] Bridgman sometimes was accompanied by his step-grandmother, Euphemia Eager (billed as "Miss E. Lowe"), on piano. Still another success was gained with a work for concertina and harp, "L'Italie et l'Irelande," which he performed together with Henry Edward Dibdin[8] in the Hopetoun Rooms in 1850.

Bridgman's solo performances on the concertina continued to garner respect in *The Scotsman*, as shown by comments in the 11 December 1847 and 2 February 1850 issues, respectively:

> Master Bridgman's concertina solo was beautifully played, and gave great pleasure to the audience. He is an exceedingly clever and promising young musician (p. 3).

> The solo on the concertina was played with the fine expression which always distinguishes Mr Bridgman's performances on the instrument (p. 2).

In 1849, "Mr Bridgman" (as he was now billed at age sixteen) began teaching piano and concertina under the auspices of his grandfather's academy, which also offered programs in violin and music theory:

> Mr and Mrs Eager, assisted by Mr Bridgman, have the honor to announce that their Academy, 54 FREDERICK STREET, for the MUSICAL EDUCATION of YOUNG LADIES, and the ART of PIANOFORTE PLAYING, will Re-open on Monday 1st of October.
>
> MR BRIDGMAN will be happy to give Private Instructions on the Pianoforte and concertina, at the residence of his Pupils... (*The Scotsman*, 15 September 1849, p.1).

Bridgman remained on the job for only two years before striking out for Leipzig in 1851 in order to study with the famous Czech-born composer and pianist Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870), himself the former teacher of a young prodigy named Felix Mendelssohn. Indeed, a German sojourn to acquire polish was commonplace at the time for those English (and American) musicians who wished to gain real credibility.

Maturity: By late 1853, Bridgman had completed his studies in Leipzig and was temporarily living on the Isle of Jersey, birthplace of his new bride, Harriet Whitter (b. 1833), and the place of residence of his mother Susannah and her second husband, Thomas Wade. Throughout their marriage, Harriet Bridgman traveled to Jersey for extended visits with her family, and Frederick would take summer holidays there.

In October 1854 Bridgman returned to Edinburgh, in advance of which he placed notices in *The Scotsman* on 23 and 30 September (both p. 1):

PIANOFORTE AND CONCERTINA

> MR FREDERICK BRIDGMAN (Pupil of Moscheles and Regondi) begs to announce that, after an absence of two years, he intends returning to Edinburgh in early October. Mr BRIDGMAN will form CONCERTINA CLASSES during the Season. 16 GEORGE STREET

Now listed as "Professor of Concertina" in the *Musical Directory, Register and Almanack for the Year 1855*,[9] Bridgman also published two versions of his Scottish music arrangements: *Nine Scotch Airs for the Concertina* (Edinburgh: J. Purdie, 1855), one with and one without piano accompaniment.

Once again, Bridgman cut his Edinburgh sojourn short, for in early 1857 he set out for London, where he became pianist, conductor, and one of the managers of the Metropolitan English Opera Company, all the while continuing to perform on both concertina and piano in London and its environs. In 1862, he also offered what we might refer to today as a lecture-recital, which was advertised in *The Times* on 29 September (p. 1):

> Mr. F. W. Bridgman [pianist, concertinist, vocalist, and lecturer], in his EVENINGS with the GREAT COMPOSERS, at Islington, TO-NIGHT and To-morrow night; High-gate Oct. 1st and 2nd; Dalston, Oct. 3 and 4. London Address at Mr. W. Brettell, 336a, Oxford-street, W.

To return to the Metropolitan English Opera Company: at best Bridgman garnered only modest success with the project. Though English opera was gaining popularity in mid-century, it still lived in the shadow of Italian opera—by the likes of Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, and Verdi, to name only the giants—which was much in vogue among the fashionable set in both London and the provinces. In the end, the high point of Bridgman's association with the Company was likely his role as conductor in its production of Friedrich von Flotow's opera *Martha*, or *The Market of Richmond*, as the English version was known, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, in 1858.

In 1862, Bridgman again moved back to Edinburgh, and this time made it his home base for the rest of his life. *The Scotsman* of 15 November 1862 (p. 1) advertised his upcoming appearance that evening at Howard's Operetta-House in the Waterloo Rooms: "Solo Concertina on Scottish Airs.....Mr F. Bridgman (his First Appearance in Edinburgh for the last six years)." Finally, Bridgman's career as a performer can safely be said to have reached its peak during the years 1863-1870, during which time he appeared frequently at the George Street Music Hall, Glasgow's City Hall, and other venues throughout Scotland, sharing the stage with fellow musicians of national and international repute.

Bridgman and the Lachenal Sisters: Although there can be no doubt that Bridgman was best known in his own day as a pianist—perhaps particularly as a piano accompanist—it is his career as a concertinist that most interests us here. We have already mentioned his lessons with Regondi, his debut on the instrument in 1845, his activities as a teacher, and his contribution to the repertory with his medleys of Scottish melodies and *Nine Scotch Airs for the Concertina*.[10] Yet perhaps it was his appearance with the Lachenal Sisters that marked his most notable moment as a concertinist.

Having made their debut in London at the International Exhibition in 1862, the three Lachenal sisters—Marie, Eugenia, and Josephine, daughters of the well-known concertina manufacturer Louis Lachenal—came to Scotland during the 1865-1866 season, at which time they were seventeen, sixteen, and thirteen years old, respectively.[11] Though Bridgman's main task at the girls' début at the George Street Music Hall on 21 October 1865 was to serve as their piano accompanist, he also contributed as a concertinist, joining forces with the sisters to form a quartet that played selections from Rossini's *Semiramide*, Bellini's *Sonnambula*, and Donizetti's *Lucrezia Borgia,*

as well as such popular numbers as "Rule Britannia," "Home, Sweet Home," and "God Save the Queen." In subsequent appearances at the Music Hall—one in November 1865, two in December 1865, and one in January 1866—the quartet also included performances of operatic airs from Donizetti's *L'Elisir d'Amore*, while Bridgman once again assumed his role as accompanist for Marie Lachenal in arrangements of airs from three of Auber's operas, "*Le Domino Noir,*" "*Fra Diavolo,*" and "*Masaniello.*" Between Music Hall engagements, on Christmas Night 1865, the sisters and Bridgman performed at a "grand musical soiree" in the Corn Exchange in Dalkeith, near Edinburgh. Reviews in *The Scotsman* and elsewhere were full of praise for the performances, as we can see from the one that appeared in *The Scotsman* on 13 November 1865 (p. 2):[12]

> The concertina playing of the Mdlles Lachenal and Mr Bridgman formed a most important feature of the concert. The quartet on airs from *L'Elisir d'Amore* was exceedingly effective. It is cleverly arranged, and tastefully interpreted by Mr Bridgman and his fair co-executants. . .

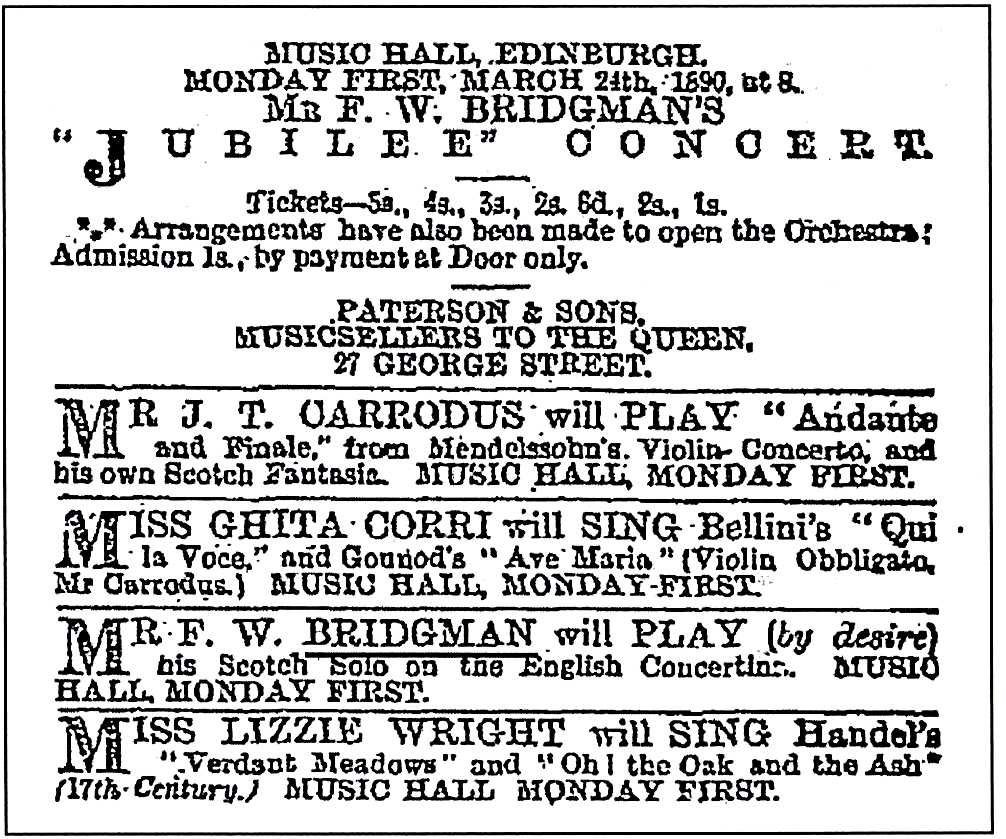
Two landmarks: Two final aspects of Bridgman's career deserve mention: his work at the Ladies' College and the jubilee concerts of 1890.

The Ladies' College: In 1870, the Merchant Maiden Hospital was renamed the Edinburgh Educational Institution for Girls. At about the same time, F. W. Bridgman joined the school's faculty as Music Master. Founded by Mary Erskine in 1694,[13] the school's mission was to provide education for orphaned and other impoverished girls, who were boarded within the "hospital." Its reputation for high-quality education eventually prompted a push for more open admissions, and the school evolved from being strictly a charity-boarding school to one that also welcomed day-school pupils. The student body grew dramatically and soon included girls from all income strata of the Edinburgh area. The school's success opened up choice positions for faculty members, with one of the best being that of "Music Master." In 1889, the school was renamed the Edinburgh Ladies' College.[14]

Bridgman's lucrative teacher's salary was a boon to his fortunes. By 1873, his contract stipulated a quite handsome £320 annual salary, plus ". . . each Music Master gets £8 for giving a weekly lesson in the Theory of Music during [the] last two quarters."[15] His association with the Ladies' College lasted for more than twenty years.

The Jubilee Concerts: As noted above, Glasgow and Edinburgh honored Bridgman with "Jubilee" concerts to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his career, on 22 March and 24 March 1890, respectively. Bridgman himself participated, accompanying a number of stellar soloists and performing on the concertina (see Fig. 4).

Final years: After the Jubilee Concerts, Bridgman continued to perform, at least occasionally on the concertina. Thus he appeared as a concertinist at the George Street Music Hall in January 1891, playing his "Scotch Airs" at the Railway Guards' 21st Annual Benefit Concert in Aid of Permanent Sick and Injured and Widows and Orphans Fund, while a month later he was on stage at Edinburgh's Albert Hall, once again with concertina in hand. In fact these were his final appearances as a concertinist at major concert venues.[16] He also continued to teach at the Ladies'


MUSIC HALL, EDINBURGH.
MONDAY FIRST, MARCH 24th, 1890, at 8.
Mr F. W. BRIDGMAN'S
"JUBILEE" CONCERT.

Tickets—5s., 4s., 3s., 2s. 6d., 2s., 1s.
*** Arrangements have also been made to open the Orchestra; Admission 1s., by payment at Door only.

PATERSON & SONS,
MUSICSELLERS TO THE QUEEN,
27 GEORGE STREET.

MR J. T. CARRODUS will PLAY "Andante and Finale," from Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto, and his own Scotch Fantasia. MUSIC HALL, MONDAY FIRST.

MISS GHITA CORRI will SING Bellini's "Qui la Voce," and Gounod's "Ave Maria" (Violin Obbligato, Mr Carrodus.) MUSIC HALL, MONDAY FIRST.

MR F. W. BRIDGMAN will PLAY (*by desire*) his Scotch Solo on the English Concertina. MUSIC HALL, MONDAY FIRST.

MISS LIZZIE WRIGHT will SING Handel's "Verdant Meadows" and "Oh! the Oak and the Ash" (*17th Century.*) MUSIC HALL MONDAY FIRST.

Fig. 4 Notice for Bridgman's Jubilee Concert,
***The Scotsman*, 22 March 1890 (p. 1).**

College and went on performing, mainly as a piano accompanist, until very near the time of his death on 28 December 1892.

His obituary in *The Scotsman* of 29 December 1892 expounded on his experience at the piano before noting his popularity as a concertinist. It stated (p. 4):

> THE LATE MR BRIDGMAN. . . .As a pianoforte accompanist he had few equals, and his services in that capacity were always in request. Indeed it is authoritatively stated that as pianist with concert companies he has visited nearly every town of any importance in Scotland, and had accompanied nearly every artiste of repute. He was also an adept on the English concertina, and made a specialty of a Scottish selection on the instrument which was always popular.

With his passing, his widow, Harriet Bridgman, soon made plans to move back to her native Isle of Jersey.[17] And after lauding so much praise upon him over the years, *The Scotsman* referred to Bridgman for the last time in a classified advertisement on 21 January 1893 (p. 14) in which it

noted the sale of Bridgman's household possessions (under the auspices of F. W. Lyon & Turnbull, Auctioneers and Valuators, 51 George Street):

Within No. 51 GEORGE STREET
On TUESDAY FIRST, 24th JANUARY, at Eleven o'clock
THE ELEGANT AND SUPERIOR HOUSEHOLD FURNISHINGS,
COTTAGE PIANOFORTE, HARMONIUM, ENGISH CONCERTINA,
MIRRORS, CLOCKS, CHINA, ORNAMENTS, &c.
(Which belonged to the late Mr. F. W. BRIDGMAN)

. . . .

BRILLIANT-TONED WALNUT COTTAGE PIANOFORTE
by Collard & Collard; RICH-TONED HARMONIUM, with
17 stops, by Alexandre; FINE ENGLISH CONCERTINA . . . .

There were probably few readers of the advertisement who had a full appreciation of the breadth and depth of talent and experience of the owner of that "FINE ENGLISH CONCERTINA." Frederick W. Bridgman had spent close to two-hundred Saturday nights performing at Music Hall and City Hall concerts, had appeared on stages throughout Scotland, and had taught scores of pupils how to play piano, organ, *and concertina.*

Appendix:
Frederick W. Bridgman's
Concertina Repertory

What follows is a list of pieces that formed at least part of F.W. Bridgman's repertory on the concertina. I have constructed the list from announcements and reviews in newspapers and weekly periodicals, primarily *The Scotsman, The Edinburgh Evening Courant, The Caledonian Mercury, The Glasgow Herald,* and *The Era.*

Because the notices and reviews often refer to the works by title only, it is not always possible to identify the work precisely, since there is often more than one well-known composer/arranger for the concertina who turned out a "Fantasia on. . .," an "Airs from. . .," or "Selections from. . ." this or that opera. In the end, I do not insist on the attributions cited. There is one group of pieces, however, for which I have, when more than one possibility exists, generally favored Richard Blagrove, and those are the works that Bridgman performed with the Lachenal Sisters, since it was with Blagrove that the sisters were closely associated. Dates of publication, when they are provided, follow the dates of acquisition provided by the British *Library's Integrated Catalogue,* available online at http://catalogue.bl.uk. Clearly, however, publication could well have preceded the Library's acquisition of the item. Finally, I have also drawn upon the following sources: *Catalogue of Ewer & Co.'s Universal Circulating Music Library* (London: Ewer & Co., 1860), 232-37; *Catalogue of Augener & Co.'s University Circulating Musical Library with Supplements* (London: Augener & Co., 1861), 3-4 and 7-14; and *A Catalogue of Music for the English Concertina or Aeola* (London: Wheatstone & Co., n.d.),

A. Pieces for solo concertina or concertina and piano

Airs from favourite poems of Robert Burns
Fantasia on airs from Auber's Operas "Le Domino Noir," "Fra Diavolo," and "Masaniello" (Blagrove 1861)
Fantasia on Airs from Donizetti's Opera "Don Pasquale" (Blagrove 1855 or Regondi n.d.)
Fantasia on Airs from Meyerbeer's Opera "Robert le Diable" (Blagrove 1852 or Regondi n.d.)
Fantasia on Airs from Wallace's Opera "Lurline" (Blagrove 1860 or Joseph Warren n.d.)
"Fra Poco". . .from Donizetti's Opera "Lucia di Lammermoor" [possibly Henry Lea's arrangement, which is No. 5 in his *Concertina Gems* (London: H. Lea, 1860)].
Muirland Willie Cam' Here to Woo (Alexander Reinagle, arr. Bridgman)
Obbligato for "Lo! Hear the Gentle Lark" (Henry Bishop, arr. Bridgman)
Rode's Air with Variations (Blagrove 1846 or Warren c.1846)
Scots Wha Hae (arr. Regondi n.d.)
Selections from arrangements by Regondi, Case, and Blagrove (c. 1846)
The Hunter's Prayer, Nocturne for Harmonium (Louis Engel, arr. Bridgman)
The March of the Cameron Men (Anna Caroline Oury, arr. Bridgman.)
The Swiss Boy, Old Tyrolean Air (arr. George Case c.1845)
The Yellow Haired Laddie (traditional Scottish tune, arr. Bridgman)
"Tullochgorum" with bagpipe imitation (James Scott Skinner, arr. Bridgman)
Tyrolean airs with variations (perhaps Warren n.d.)
Will You No Come Back Again (Oury, arr. Bridgman)
Within a Mile of Edinbro' Town (James Hook, arr. Bridgman)

B. Concertina quartets (two trebles, tenor, and bass)

Fantasia on airs from Bellini's Opera "Sonnambula" (arr. Richard Blagrove)
Fantasia on airs from Donizetti's Opera "L'Elisir d'Amore" (arr. Blagrove)
Fantasia on Airs from Donizetti's Opera "Lucrezia Borgia" (arr. Blagrove)
Fantasia on Airs from Rossini's Opera "Semiramide" (arr. Blagrove)
Fantasia on National Airs: God Save the Queen and *Rule Britannia* (arr. Blagrove)

Home, Sweet Home (Henry R. Bishop, arr. Blagrove 1865)

Invitation á la Danse (perhaps that by Carl Maria von Weber or, more likely, the very popular piece with that title by Carl Reinecke)

C. Concertina and flute

Auld Robin Gray (William Leeves, arr. Bridgman)
Bonnie Breast-Knots (Scottish ballad, arr. Bridgman)

D. Concertina and harp

L'Italie et et l'Irelande (R.N.-C. Bochsa, arr. Bridgman)

NOTES

1.She later wrote a tutor: *Practical First Lessons on the Pianoforte*, Parts 1-3 (St. Helier, Jersey, 1855); see the British Library *Integrated Catalogue*, online at *http://catalogue.bl.uk*.

2.See the entries for John Eager in *Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. Stephen Leslie and Sidney Lee, 63 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1885-1900), XVI, 311-312; and James D. Brown and Steven S. Stratton, *British Musical Biography: A Dictionary of Musical Artists, Authors and Composers Born in Britain and its Colonies* (London: William Reeves, 1897; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 133-4.

3.John Eager, *A Brief Account, with Accompanying Examples, What Was Actually Done, at the Second Examination of Mr. Eager's Pupils in Music, Educated Upon Mr. Logier's System* (London: R. Hunter, 1819); see also J. B. Logier, *Explanation and Description of the Royal Patent Chiroplast, or Hand-Director* (London: Clementi and Co., 1814).

4.Musard concerts were named for Philippe Musard, a French musician who introduced English-style concerts to Paris before coming to England in 1840 to conduct concerts at the Lyceum Theatre. Bridgman later performed in other Musard concerts, which featured ballad singing, overtures, dance music, and other instrumental pieces.

5.Regondi had previously visited Edinburgh as a nine-year old in March and October 1833; both of those appearances, however, were devoted entirely to the guitar.

6.As far as we know, there were no subsequent lessons.

7.On these concertinists, see Allan W. Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina in Victorian Englan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), Chapter 5.

8.Henry Edward Dibdin (1813-1866) was an Edinburgh-based harpist, organist, composer, editor, and music teacher. He was the grandson of Charles Dibdin (1745-1814), musician, actor, writer, and ballad composer. In the 1880s, Bridgman had a close association with Charles Dibson's great grandson, the singer James C. Dibdin who, like Bridgman, was a Free Mason and a member of the Edinburgh Society of Musicians. "L'Italie et l'Irelande" was originally arranged for flute and harp by Robert Nicolas-Charles Bochsa (1789-1856), harpist and composer. Bochsa had been Henry E. Dibdin's harp teacher. On Henry Edward Dibdin and other Dibdin family musicians, see David Baptie, *Musical Scotland: Past and Present* (Edinburgh and Glasgow: John Menzies and Co.; London: Houlston and Sons, 1894), 43.

9. *Musical Directory, Register and Almanack for the Year 1855* (London: Rudall, Rose, and Carte, 1855), 54.

10. Bridgman had few other credits as composer-arranger of published music. He is known to have arranged another set of pieces: *Old Edinburgh Quadrilles on Scots Airs for Piano* (publisher and date unknown), advertised in *Kohler's Musical Star,* May 1903 (p. 48), and cited in 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. diss., Open University, 1995), Chapter 4, p. 54 n. He also composed the piano accompaniment for "The Tooin' o' Wie Boat" and "A Shetland Song," words by George Stewart and melody by Thomas Manson (announced in the *Aberdeen Weekly Journal,* April 1880). Commercially, his most successful composition was the

music for adaptation of a poem in James Smith's *Poems, Songs and Ballads*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1869), 26-27. Titled "Clap, Clap Handies," the song, which was published in 1866, was originally intended for children, but gained considerable popularity among adults.

11.On the Lachenal Sisters, see Faye Debenham and Randall C. Merris, "Marie Lachenal: Concertinist," *Papers of the International Concertina Association* 2 (2005): 1-17; Randall C. Merris, "Notes on the Lachenal Sisters, Richard Blagrove, Ellen Attwater, Linda Scates, and 'Dickens'," *Papers of the International Concertina Association,* 7 (2010), 20-28: and Robert Gaskins, "The Lachenal Sisters Visit Edinburgh, 1865-1866," available online at *http://concertina.com/gaskins/lachenal-sisters/index.htm.*

12.See also, Debenham and Merris, "Marie Lachenal," 2-4.

13.See *First Report of the Royal Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the Endowed Schools and Hospitals (Scotland), with Evidence and Appendix* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1873); and "Mary Erskine" at *http://esms.edin.sch.uk/ME-History.aspx.*

14.Its current name, The Mary Erskine School, dates from 1944.

15.At the time, his fellow Music Masters were Walter Hately, A. C. Mackenzie, and William Addington. Their salaries of £320 contrasted with the £250, £210, and £200 earned by the Masters of Singing, English, and Arithmetic and Mathematics, respectively. See *First Report of the Royal Commissioners*, 13-16.

16.Bridgman had contributed his talents to earlier Railway Guard's annual concerts, along with his many contributions to annual benefit concert series of the Edinburgh and Glasgow chapters of the Total Abstinence Society, the Ancient Order of Foresters, and other such annual events. He also performed at many "one-off" charity events; thus he played concertina at a January 1865 concert in the Music Hall to aid in the recovery from the recent fire at the Theatre Royal.

17.Bridgman's will named his wife Harriet Bridgman "sole Executor" (Edinburgh Sheriff Court Wills, Ref. SC70/4/265). The inventory of his personal estate had a net value of just under £3000 (Edinburgh Sheriff Court Inventory, Ref. SC70/1/315). Bridgman, then, died a relatively wealthy man.

PICTURE GALLERY

Concertinas in Black Face

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY RICHARD CARLIN

As Dale Cockrell points out in his excellent book *Demons of Disorder: Early Blackface Minstrels and Their World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), performing in black face has a long tradition in folk cultures, dating back hundreds of years. In England, black face performers were part of the Morris Dance tradition, with the comic "black-a-moor" figure participating in the general revelry around the dance. In the late 1840s/early 1850s, a new figure—the American black face minstrel—hit the English stage, and was an immediate sensation. Both professional and amateur minstrel style troupes—sometimes blending Morris and other folk traditions with banjos and other instruments from the American minstrel tradition—remained popular well into the twentieth century.

The four photos in our Picture Gallery illustrate this popularity. The first image (Fig. 1)—from a stereopticon card—shows professional Minstrel performers playing bones, concertina, and banjo. Their costumes are typical of early minstrel performers, many of whom began their careers performing in circuses. The mismatched outfits, tight overcoats, and striped trousers are all typical of circus clown garb of the era. It's difficult to tell the exact type of concertina being played, although it is probably either an Anglo or Duet keyboard judging from the hand straps. Though there are some images of American minstrels playing melodeons, it is unusual to see a concertina in their midst. Although the provenance of this image is unknown, it is likely to be from England because of the use of the concertina, and likely dates from the 1860s-1870s.

Minstrel performers like these were enormously popular, and it wasn't long before amateurs tried to get into the game. The second image (Fig. 2) shows a group of young ladies from the town of Chester, England. Note that they are playing the same instruments that the professionals are using: concertina, banjo, and bones. In this case, the instrument is clearly an English concertina. The fact that minstrel style music was acceptable in "polite" society shows how quickly the music was absorbed into popular culture. I have no further information on who these musicians are, but the photographer, Horace G. Pike, was active in Chester during the final two decades of the nineteenth century.

The final two images show how amateur performing troupes would blend various different cultures and traditions. The third photo (Fig. 3) shows a group of performers from the town of Shipley, in Western Yorkshire (northwest of Leeds). This motley crew includes a man dressed in women's clothes (far left, holding what appears to be a mop or broom), a policeman, a military drummer, a clown, and a masked figure. All are in various types of black face. The concertinas here are probably Anglos or Duets, although again it is hard to be certain, and the photo probably dates from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

The last image (Fig. 4) shows another odd grouping of performers, seemingly mixing Morris and minstrel traditions. The blackface banjo players clearly come from the American minstrel tradition, as does the central figure holding bones, but the two fiddlers—one in a wizard's hat and costume, the other in a top hat with a garland or ribbon on it—could be from the Morris tradition. In the center front, a man holds what appears to be an English concertina, but again it is difficult to be certain.

(Thanks to Bob Carlin and Perry Werner for the loan of their original images.)

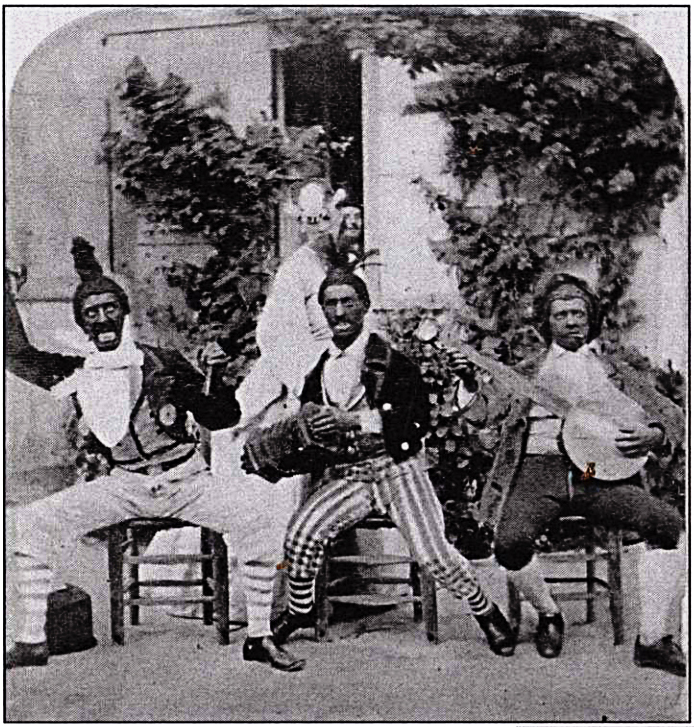


Fig. 1 (above) Detail of stereopticon card of minstrel musicians, c. 1870-1880. Courtesy of Perry Werner.

Fig. 2. Victorian women playing concertina, bones, and banjo in Chester, England, c. 1870-1880. Courtesy of Perry Werner.

Fig. 3. Theatrical troupe from Shipley, England, c. 1890. Courtesy of Perry Werner.

Fig. 4. Unidentified English mummers, c. 1890. Courtesy of Perry Werner.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENT

Adverts in the Times: January 1855

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY ALLAN ATLAS

It was probably during the 1850s that the English concertina peaked in terms of finding a welcoming home in British art-music circles. This is evidenced by the Wheatstone sales ledgers, by the interest shown in the instrument by such mainstream composers as John Barnett, Julius Benedict, James Harcourt, George Alexander Macfarren, and Bernhard Molique, by the amount of music that was published for the instrument, by the favorable reviews garnered by the likes of Giulio Regondi and Richard Blagrove, and by the number of concertina-related advertisements that we find in the press, both musical and general.

What follows reproduces those advertisements in the *Times* that dealt with the concertina during the month of January 1855. In all, there were fifteen such advertisements, all but one of which were placed by manufacturers of/publishers for the instrument. As we might expect, some of the later advertisements duplicate earlier ones, and I have included the duplicates in abbreviated fashion.

Tuesday, January 2nd

NEW DRAWING ROOM CONCERTINA, by RUDALL and Co.—This concertina possesses a softer and richer tone than the ordinary one, and the difficulty hitherto experienced in keeping the concertina in tune, the only defect of this popular instrument, is remedied. The price is not increased.—Rudall and Co., 100, New Bond-street, and 20, Charing-cross, of whom concertinas made expressly for extreme climates and every other kind may be had.

The reference to Rudall is to George Rudall (1781-1871) and more precisely to the firm of Rudall Rose Carte & Co., as they were known from 1852 to 1871; prior to that, the partnership was between Rudall and J.M. Rose (circa 1820-1852). Manufacturers mainly of wind instruments, the firm specialized in—and was famous for—the manufacture of flutes With roots going back to the mid-eighteenth century, the company lived into the middle of the twentieth, when they were absorbed by Boosey & Hawkes in 1955.

CASE'S CONCERTINAS.—Messrs. BOOSEY AND SONS have the honour to announce that they have completed arrangements with Mr. George Case, for the exclusive SALE of celebrated CONCERTINAS. The Personal attention of this imminent professor will be given to the manufacture of these instruments, every one of which will bear his name. A large stock of second-hand concertinas, for sale or hire, may be had of Boosey and Sons, 28, Holles-street.

George Tinkler Case (1823-1892) was active as a concertinist on five fronts: (1) as a manufacturer, beginning in 1850-1851, when he took over the business of Joseph Scates when the latter moved to Dublin at that time; (2) as a performer; (3) as a teacher; (4) as the author of no fewer than five tutors for the English concertina, including *The Baritone Concertina* (1857), with its valuable insights into the use of that instrument in small parish churches; and (5) as an arranger-transcriber for the concertina.

Saturday, January 6th

CASE'S INSTRUCTIONS for PERFORMING on the CONCERTINA, commencing with the first rudiments of music and proceeding through a progressive course of study to the most difficult and elaborate style of performance; comprising examples exercises, and explanations, composed, compiled, and arranged by GEORGE CASE. Price 10s. 6d. Boosey and Sons, 28, Holles-street.

This was the earliest of Case's tutors for the English concertina, having been published by Wheatstone & Co. in 1849; subsequent editions were issued by Boosey and Sons, with an enlarged 4th edition appearing circa 1875.

NEW MUSIC for CONCERTINA and PIANO, by G. REGONDI:--Lucia di Lammermoor, in 2 books, 4s. each; Puritani, in 2 books, 4s. each; Les Huguenots, in 4 books, 3s. each; Robert le Diable, in 3 books, 3s. each; La Sonnambula, 6 books, 3s. each; Rigoletto, 3 books, 3s.; Ernani, 3 books, 3s. each; Linda, 3 books, 3s. each. Boosey and Sons, 28, Holles-street.

Giulio Regondi (1822-1872) needs no introduction; the operas cited are: Lucia di Lammermoor (1835) and Linda di Chamounix (1842), by Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848); I Puritani (1835) and La Sonnambula (1831), by Vincenzo Bellini (1801-1835); Les Huguenots (1836) and Robert le Diable (1831), by Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791-1864); Rigoletto (1851) and Ernani (1844), by Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901).

Tuesday, January 9th

CASE'S CONCERTINAS. . .[see Tuesday, January 2nd]

PATENT CONCERTINA IMPROVED.—WHEATSTONE and Co. again find it necessary to state that the sole patent for the invention, as also a subsequent one for improvement, 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, and are the only description used by Signor Regondi, Mr. Blagrove, and other imminent performers, being so constructed as not to require tuning, with proper usage. Very superior concertinas may now be had, new, with 48 keys, double action, from £5 5s., according to finish.—20, Conduit-street, Regent-street.

The firm of Wheatstone is railing against its competitors; to tell the story from Wheatstone's point of view: having patented the English concertina in 1829 and having renewed that patent in 1844, all other manufacturers were violating the law on the grounds that each of those patents had a life span of fourteen years.

Friday, January 12th

CASES'S INSTRUCTIONS. . .[see Saturday, January 6th]

Saturday, January 13th

CONCERTINAS for the DRAWING ROOM.—Messrs. KEITH, PROWSE, and Co., manufacturers, 48, Cheapside, London, solicit the attention of purchasers to their new improved CONCERTINAS, which for touch, richness of tone, and extreme durability stand unrivalled. Also in stock a variety, same as used by Regondi, Case, and all the leading artistes. Concertinas lent on hire, repaired, or exchanged.

The firm of Keith, Prowse & Co. was formed by Robert William Keith (1767-1846), a composer, organist, and instrument maker, and William Prowse (1801-1886); in addition to their involvement with the manufacture and sales of instruments, they gained fame as a ticket agency, in which capacity the firm continued to function until 2010.

PATENT CONCERTINA IMPROVED. . .[see Tuesday, January 9th]

Tuesday, January 16th

NEW MUSIC for CONCERTINA and PIANO. . .[see Saturday, January 6th]

CASE'S INSTRUCTIONS. . .[see Saturday, January 9th]

Saturday, January 20th

MRS. ARTHUR STONE begs to announce she continues to give LESSONS in SINGING, the Guitar, and Concertina.—88, Great Portland-street, Portland-place.

Mrs. Stone is listed in the Wheatstone ledgers as follows: 31 July 1847, 4 November 1853, 26 June 1854, 15 February 1855, 25 June 1856, 28 June 1856, 31 December 1856, and 1 July 1859; the *Musical Directory, Register and Almanack* for 1855 lists her as Professor of concertina, guitar, and voice; she is likely related to the Mr. Stone (no first name given) who purchased concertinas on 13 June and 8 September 1854.

CASE'S CONCERTINAS, four guineas.—These celebrated instruments (which are quite unrivaled in quality and price) have the full compass of notes and double action, and are beautifully finished in mahogany. Case's concertinas are sold exclusively by Messrs. Boosey and Sons, 28, Holles-street.

This is a variant of the Case advertisements that had appeared on 2 and 9 January.

THE PATENT DUET CONCERTINA, price £1 11s. 6d. and £2 2s., with box complete.—This novel and extraordinary instrument comprises two concertinas in one, each having [type face broken] notes, enabling a single performer (without difficulty) to play duets or melodies with an insulated accompaniment. It is also admirably suited to the voice, and comprises results not to be obtained in any diatonic instrument of the description. Inventors, WHEATSTONE and Co., 20, Conduit-street, Regent-street, the original patentees of the concertinas as used by the most celebrated performers at the public concerts.

One of the earliest advertisements for the Duett concertina; at the very least it was preceded by an add in *The Scotsman* on 20 December 1854; a slightly later add in the *Daily News,* 13 March 1856, repeats this text almost verbatim.

Thursday, January 25th
THE CONCERTINA MISCELLANY.—Just published, price 2s 6d., the first number of the CONCERTINA MISCELLANY, a new periodical of popular music for Concertina Solo, and Concertina and Pianoforte. To be continued every month. Subscriptions, per annum, 21., or postage free 27s. The number for January contains a Fantasia on Masaniello for Concertina and Piano, by George Case. Boosey and Sons, 28, Holles-street.

A monthly publication that ran from 1855 through 1858 and was briefly revived in the early 1860s; at least 53 issues appeared; the publication was subtitled: "a periodical of standard and modern music, arranged for the concertina and concertina and piano-forte. (Composed, arranged and fingered by G. Case). . ."; the reference to Masaniello is to the opera *La Muette de Portici* (also known as *Masaniello*) by the French composer Daniel-François-Esprit Auber (1782-1871), which opera deals with the Masaniello-led insurrection of 1647 against the Spanish rulers of Naples; premiered in 1828, it ushered in the period of "French Grand Opera."

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: On the firms of Rudall, Rose, Carte & Co. and Boosey and Sons, see *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* rev. ed. online at *www.oxfordmusiconline.com.;* all entries in the Wheatstone ledgers for Mrs. Arthur Stone are listed in Allan W. Atlas, "Ladies in the Wheatstone Ledgers: the Gendered Concertina in Victorian England, 1835-1870," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle,* 39 (2006); online at The Concertina Library, *www.concertina.com/atlas/ladies/index. Htm; The advertisements for the Duett Concertina in The Scotsman and the Daily News are printed in the Concertina Library, www.concertina.com/duett/index.com.*

REVIEWS

A Victorian Romance: Music for the English Concertina. Joseph Petric, accordion; Boyd McDonald, fortepiano. Astrila Records AST 232652-2 (2010)

REVIEWED BY WIM WAKKER

The nineteenth century was probably the most fruitful period in terms of the invention of new musical instruments. The new production methods, allowing shops to produce hundreds, sometimes thousands of instruments per year, coupled with the rise of the "amateur musician," mainly among the upper classes, resulted in the development of dozens of new musical instruments all over Europe. The free-reed instruments were also part of this surge. While most of Europe concentrated on accordion-type instruments, England saw the invention of the concertina, an instrument based on the imported German harmonica. Although accordion and concertina followed very different paths during the nineteenth century, this CD brings them close together again, as Joseph Petric adapts concertina music for the accordion..

An important factor in the success of a new musical instrument is the quality of its repertoire. The compositions presented on this CD are what many would argue to be among the best works written for the Victorian concertina. Both of the featured composers on this CD, the German-born Bernhard Molique (1802-1869), who settled in London in 1849 (he returned to Germany in 1866), where, in addition to composing, he enjoyed an enviable reputation as a violinist; and the incredibly prolific Sir George Alexander Macfarren (1813-1887), who turned out no fewer than eight symphonies, ten full-fledged operas, and twenty-five anthems, and still found time to serve as Director of the Royal Academy of Music beginning in 1875 (he was knighted in 1883), were highly respected and were well connected with the musical centers of nineteenth century Europe.

The recording opens with Molique's *Flying Leaves,* Op. 50 (1856), a set of six short, untitled character pieces that are especially interesting with respect to the interaction between the concertina and piano. Unlike so many pieces for the instrument from this period, which consist mainly of a virtuoso solo part supported by a simple piano accompaniment, Molique here creates a dialogue between the instruments. In all, the six miniatures are fascinating musical portraits, each with its own distinct character, developed melodic lines, and interesting harmonic progressions.

Although I originally had my doubts about combining a modern accordion with a mid-nineteenth-century fortepiano, the instruments complement one another beautifully. There is a natural-sounding balance between them. Moreover, Petric's adaptation of the concertina part for the accordion also works quite well. And though his Niemi accordion features a "manual III"-type free-bass keyboard, Petric uses mainly the right-hand keyboard. The chosen registration also works well, and suggests that Petric did not intend to imitate the sound of the concertina; in fact, the often-used double 8' and 16+4' are arguably the least concertina-like sounds that the accordion can produce.

The 1851 wooden-framed Streicher fortepiano sounds beautiful in this combination, though it certainly isn't the obvious choice for a recording of this repertory. English piano makers, especially the firm of John Broadwood & Sons, played a leading role in the development of the piano during the nineteenth century, and were already using metal bars in their grands as early as the late 1820s. And by the mid-1850s, from which time the works on the recording date, grand pianos in England had a full cast-iron frame with a very powerful tone, much different from the delicate-sounding Streicher fortepiano.

Molique's Sonata [in B flat], Op. 57 (published c. 1860, but already premiered by Richard Blagrove in 1857), is my favorite composition for the English concertina. It is certainly the most technically demanding work on the recording. I have performed it myself for many years and know it well. Petric and McDonald play the work with clarity and nuance. And if the tempos of the first and third movements seem a bit on the slow side, with the rubatos of the first movement affecting its continuity a little, it can all be chalked up to personal interpretation.

What struck me most about the recording is the completely different "atmosphere" that the accordion creates. I personally know these pieces only as played on concertinas, whether vintage Victorian or modern instruments. The balance between a concertina and piano creates a certain tension, which becomes quite dramatic and intense at the musical climaxes, especially those in the first movement of the Sonata. I am convinced that Molique chose his voicing deliberately to take advantage of this phenomenon.

To my surprise, though, none of this tension survives when the concertina part is transplanted to the accordion. All the notes are there, and they are played very well, at that, but there is no emotion, no drama. To be sure, this is not Petric's fault, but is a characteristic of the accordion, on which, as on all low-pressure free-reed instruments, changes in dynamics effect only the volume, not the intensity of the sound. Instead of an emotional rollercoaster with moments of real tension, it ends up being emotionally flat.

The third and final work on the CD, Macfarren's *Romance* (1856), is played well, and with the same ear for detail and nuance as in the previous works. On the other hand, though it stands as a nice example of the mid-Victorian concertina repertory, it is not (in my opinion) of the same caliber as the Molique compositions. Petric uses the same registration for the Macfarren piece as he did for the compositions by Molique, a choice that works well. However, I would have preferred a performance without the tremolo, which, to my ear, distracts from the musical lines. In fact, Giulio Regondi argued against the use of this technique in his *New Method for the Concertina* (1857).

In the end, this recording is a "must have" for anyone interested in either Victorian concertina music or the accordion. It shows how wonderful the combination of accordion and piano can sound, and at the same time offers a glimpse into the largely-forgotten nineteenth-century English concertina repertory. And though not intended as an authentic rendering of this repertory (the differences between concertina and accordion are vast), Petric brings a fresh interpretation to the music, one not weighted down with historical ballast. As such, the recording is a great success.

Music from Sliabh Luachra. Jackie Daly, Anglo concertina and accordion. Topic Records TSCD 353 (2009)
Steel Skies. Alistair Anderson, English concertina. Topic Records TSCD 427 (2009)

REVIEWED BY SARAH GRAVES

Both of the CDs reviewed here were reissued by Topic Records in 2009 as part of its celebration of its 70th anniversary.

When Topic Records originally released the debut album of the Cork musician Jackie Daly in 1977, it was widely regarded as a landmark recording. Not only was Daly a great exponent of both the accordion and the Anglo concertina, but he also represented the distinctive regional style of music from the area known as "Sliabh Luachra," the mountainous area that forms the border between Cork and Kerry.

Since Daly is best known as an accordionist, tracks featuring that instrument outnumber those with concertina. As an Anglo player, Daly demonstrates a kind of simplicity which is satisfying both rhythmically in particular and musically in general. Yet the term "simplicity" is not meant in a derogatory sense. On the contrary, it points to a musician in complete command of his instruments, one who knows just where he wants every note to be, one who is in complete control of embellishments, in terms of the melody itself and in the use of bass notes.

Since the concertina was a late arrival in traditional Irish music, players inevitably drew upon the techniques and stylistic characteristics of other instruments: triplets, rolls, and other ornamentation from the fiddles, crans and drones from the pipers. This is quite apparent in Daly's playing, in which the ornamentation never interferes with the rhythm, but gives it a sense of lift. Sliabh Luachra music is largely dance music for sets, and Daly's playing captures that dance feel perfectly.

As regards the types of tunes represented, all the usual suspects are here: polkas, slides, hornpipes, and reels, many of which have passed into the repertory of players around the world. In addition, Daly includes a number of slow airs in which he displays a soulful sensitivity.

In all, this recording rightly deserves its "second coming," and will hopefully inspire another generation of players to enjoy the distinctive and delightful music of Sliabh Luachra.

I first heard *Steel Skies* when it was premiered at the Purcell Room, London, in November 1982. Having been playing the English concertina for about five years at the time, I was keen to hear what was obviously going to be an ambitious musical project by Alistair Anderson, generally acknowledged as one of the finest exponents of the English system. And that Topic records recognized the importance of the event is attested by their having issued the work both on LP and in score in conjunction with the premiere.

Briefly, *Steel Skies* is an original composition by Anderson that takes the form of a suite-like sequence of tunes: jigs, reels, slow airs, hornpipes, and marches. And though Anderson himself has stated that he never actually regarded the work as "folk music," it is deeply rooted in the

traditional music of northeast England. Moreover, while scored for English concertina, Northumbrian pipes, flute, mandolin, whistle, fiddles, and viola, the piece is generally melody-based, though it incorporates such contrapuntal techniques as counter-melodies and imitation. Yet even with these contrapuntal touches, I think that some chordal underpinning, either from a guitar or piano, or a bass line from, say, a 'cello would have added significantly to the overall colour and texture of the work.

Anderson's playing is both crisp and expressive, and employs his characteristic ornamentation. He includes long triplets and effectively combines rolling one note on top of another with "hot buttons." In addition, the combination of the concertina with string and reed instruments works very well.

Whether or not *Steel Skies* will influence a new generation of musicians is open to debate, but at least they now have the chance to hear and enjoy this music in an easily accessible format. Topic Records should be applauded for reissuing the work, which surely represents one of the defining albums in its notable history.

God Speed the Plough. John Kirkpatrick,
Fledg'ling Records, Fled3084 (2011).
REVIEWED BY ROGER DIGBY

Bald, bold statements can be controversial, provocative, even antagonistic, but I don't think anybody will argue with the simple statement that John Kirkpatrick stands head and shoulders above all other Anglo players in his technical virtuosity, his knowledgeable interpretation of traditional music, and his professional performance.

The truly remarkable thing about that statement is that it could have been made any time in the last forty years and still holds good at a time when the Anglo is enjoying a popularity which is probably unequalled since its Victorian heyday and with a number of players who are performing at a very high standard in a wide range of ambitious styles.

Add to this the fact that John can also play the ..... (insert almost any instrument here), and it's no surprise that he is the first choice for a music director who wants a squeezy sound on a film soundtrack, a radio programme, a stage play, or a rock CD.

John's latest exploit in this world has been as the person who turns up with a song, a tune, or a bit of ancient rustic wisdom on BBC TV's "Victorian Farm," and it his work in this production that lies behind his performance and CD *God Speed The Plough.* I have not seen this series of programmes. I don't watch TV. My annual exception is the Rugby 6 Nations (when I need another member of the family to turn the set on for me and find the right station).

As background to this review, I have researched widely and even found a regular viewer of the programme (oh yes!) and I have reason to believe that this series was both popular and well-reviewed. Even so, coming up with an item that fits the latest episode must be difficult, and I enjoy imagining John, up to his eyes in cobwebs, searching on dusty library shelves lest there may be somewhere a forgotten song about "Grebe-Nurdling." No such luck! That was not his approach. Here is a well-researched selection of songs based largely on recent traditional sources with some interesting and sensitive rebuilds rubbing shoulders with some very well-worn

favourites, though I must admit that when I was being enjoined to drink the health of the various body parts of farm animals (e.g. "Here's a health unto Fill-pail and to her left ear") I did wonder whether the Victorian Farm had morphed into the Funny Farm! I suspect that there are a few songs here that won't have a permanent place in John's performance playlist!

All the songs on this CD, whatever their subject, are performed with such infectious commitment and joyous vitality that you are left with the impression that the Victorian Farm was a bosky, bucolic paradise where honest, stout-hearted sons of toil laboured cheerfully for a benign master who wasted no opportunity to gather them round a barrel of beer while they sang about what a fine fellow he was. Now if singing about what a fine fellow somebody is increases the number of times he invites you to gather round a barrel of beer, I can see the sense in this, but the truth is, of course, that the life of a farm worker until quite recent times was full of unpleasant, even dangerous, tasks of backbreaking intensity and mind-numbing monotony. But who wants grim reality on T.V. when you could be watching an aproned Lovie from Central Casting playing happily with her mangle? (I told you: I've done the research!)

Incidentally, while I agree with those who say that it's only in old songs that we can sometimes hear the authentic voice of the unchronicled worker, it always seems to me that one of the truly remarkable things that come from these songs is the resilience with which the worker lives with what cannot be changed. I sometimes think that traditional songs are a window into the souls as much as the lives of their creator....but I digress.

Amongst the well-worn songs that John revisits ("Farmer's Boy," "Drink Boys Drink") is the wonderful "What's the Life of a Man?" This reminder of our mortality has a simple dignity in both the words and the tune, and John and Sally's performance brings this out perfectly. Like me, John will have heard this song from Jim Small, the traditional musician from Cheddar in Somerset, during the many musical gatherings that took place in that village in the late 1970s. "If you look in the churchyard," sing John and Jim, "There you will see, those that have passed like the leaves from the tree," and if you look for Jim Small in Cheddar churchyard, there you will also find Andrew Blakeney-Edwards, the 18-year-old Anglo player who might, just might, have gone on to become John's equal, at least in technical wizardry. I have a clear memory of a late summer's evening at one such musical event with John and Andrew standing across from each other on a dilapidated garden wall, lit by the flames of torches, playing a morris tune to the delight of the company. Andrew told me it was the proudest thing he'd ever done. A few months later, John was writing the tune which he played by the graveside at Andrew's funeral. He told me it was the hardest thing he'd ever done. "What's the life of a man any more than a leaf?" Not sure about that one.

The performance and CD of *God Speed The Plough* feature more Anglo-playing than is usual from John these days, and his distinctive approach comes over clearly. Generally, John likes to start a bar with a bellows change. He continues this bellows direction through the bar, employing some dextrous cross-rowing, until changing direction at the start of the next bar, and so on. This means he is pulling when most of us would be pushing and vice versa. The effect is that the rhythm is supported at the beginning of the bar while the rest of the bar flows smoothly with the cross-rowing often providing counter melodies. This trademark approach is markedly different from the usual in and out/up and down the rows with a few additional harmonies in the left hand and results in a song having a true accompaniment rather than just a manner of support.

I hope you've all had that experience when a song or a tune that has been so done to death that you feel you'll never again listen to it with any interest is so transformed by a brilliant performance that it is as if you were hearing it for the first time. I'm thinking of Geoff Ling in the Blaxhall Ship, singing "The Larks They Sang Melodious" or Ruth Askew and George Privett playing "The Happy Wanderer." John's performance here of "Speed The Plough" on a one-row melodeon is such a moment! Everyone knows that the one-row melodeon is an instrument with unavoidable physical limitations, but you'd never believe that to hear this track. The tune here is a slight variant of the usual one and varies a bit more as it proceeds. Not for the first time I found myself smiling at John's playing; he is a genuinely humorous man and can even get jokes into his playing. I've no idea how he does it, but he's The Guv'nor—he can do anything.

CONTRIBUTORS

Allan Atlas (aatlas@gc.cuny.edu) teaches music history at The Graduate Center of The City University of New York; when not playing the concertina, he listens to a lot Ralph Vaughan Williams.

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Sarah Graves lives in Sussex, where she is active as a concertinist.

Randall C. Merris (merris@merris.org) has contributed a number of biographies to *PICA:* biographies of Marie Lachenal (vol. 2, with Faye Debenham), "Dutch" Daly (vol. 4), Tommy Elliot (vol. 5, with Viona Lane and Chris Algar), Carlo Minasi (vol. 6), and the "ensemble" of the Lachenal Sisters, Richard Blagrove, Ellen Attwater, Linda Scates, and "Dickens" (vol. 7).

Wim Wakker (info@concertinaconnection.com) is head of Concertina Connection, which, with its Clover, Elise, Jack, Jackie, Phoenix, and Rochelle models, is the largest manufacturer of concertinas in the world.

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