

Allan W. Atlas

A 41-cent emendation: a textual problem in Wheatstone's publication of Giulio Regondi's *Serenade* for English concertina and piano

In memory of Eric Van Tassel and Jan LaRue

ALTHOUGH the firm of Wheatstone & Co. was the most prestigious manufacturer of the English concertina during the 19th century,¹ its editions of music for the instrument were often less

than satisfactory. One publication in particular, that of Giulio Regondi's *Serenade pour la concertina avec accompagnement de piano forte*, published in 1859 (though the piece was probably composed



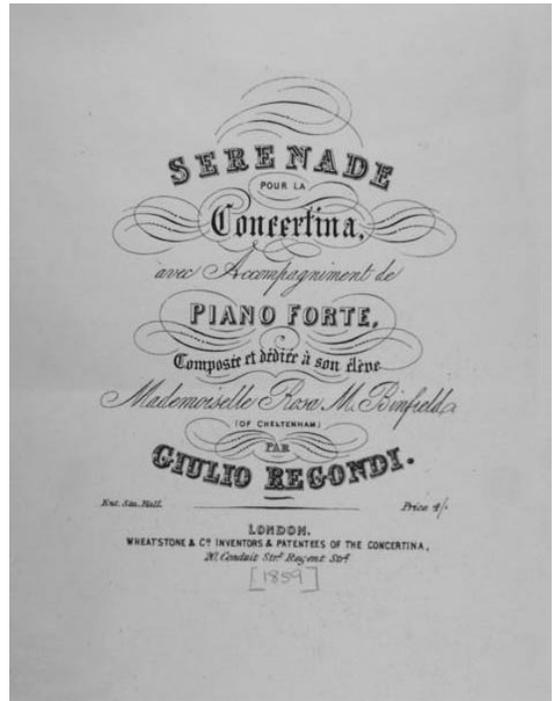
¹ Wheatstone treble, no.5899, with rosewood ends and its original brass reeds and mean-tone temperament still in place (author's collection). The Wheatstone sales ledger C1049, p.92 (Wayne Archive, The Horniman Museum, London), shows that it was sold for the first time on 5 March 1856 to Mr W. Peel, Esq., for 12 12s 0d (and was thus top-of-the-line); there is circumstantial evidence that points to this being William Peel, third son of the late Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel (see Atlas, 'The gendered concertina', in preparation). The extant, 19th-century (and some 20th-century) Wheatstone sales ledgers appear online at www.horniman.info



2 Giulio Regondi (1822–72): lithograph by Edward Gunstone (1852), from a daguerreotype by Laroche (courtesy of Douglas Rogers)

some years earlier),² may serve to illustrate the problems.

First, Wheatstone's issued the *Serenade* in a format that consisted of separate piano and concertina parts only (a practice in which they were certainly not alone), thus requiring those who would have studied the piece closely to go through the laborious task of scoring it up themselves. Indeed, we can only wonder how many Victorian pianists accompanied 'blindly', as it were—that is, without the concertina part in front of them—and with what results (though, to be sure, the interplay between concertina and piano is not complicated). Second, recurring passages often show seemingly 'irrational'—and surely non-authorial—inconsistencies with respect to such matters as phrasing, articulation and embellishments. Ex.1 illustrates those that permeate just one of the *Serenade's* recurring phrases. Finally, though the publication contains no notes that are blatantly incorrect, there



3 Title-page of *Serenade* (Wheatstone & Co., [1859]). Rosa Binfield, to whom the piece was dedicated, was a member of the Binfield family of Reading, a number of whom played and taught the English concertina. Regondi was especially close with the family from no later than 1839, when, probably at the Binfields' invitation, he appeared at the Berkshire 11th Triennial Music Festival at Reading

is one note that is at least highly suspect, and it is on that note—surely the most intriguing wrong or questionable note in the entire repertory of Victorian art music for the English concertina³ (and, in terms of the emendation that I will suggest, one of the most interesting regardless of period or instrument in general)—that I will concentrate here.

The note in question—a high *e'''* (marked with an asterisk in ex.2a)—appears as the final semiquaver in bar 159, where it stands as the penultimate note in a sweeping, two-octave ascent of uninterrupted semiquavers that reaches its climax on the downbeat of bar 160, on yet another *e'''*. Ex.2a provides the entire passage as it appears in the

Ex.1 Giulio Regondi, *Serenade*: a recurring phrase in the concertina part, with three different sets of indications for phrasing, articulation and embellishments: (a) bars 55–8; (b) bars 63–6; (c) bars 105–8 (repeated at bars 113–16)

Ex.2 Giulio Regondi, *Serenade*, bars 158–61: (a) reading in Wheatstone's publication; (b) suspect note emended to read $f^{\#\prime\prime}$; (c) suspect note emended to read $e^{\prime\prime\prime}$

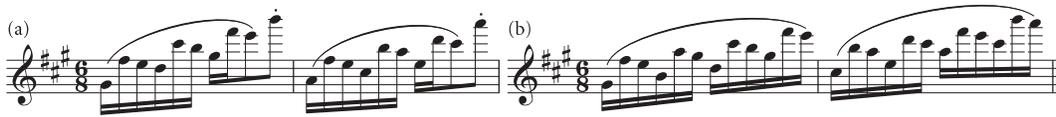
Wheatstone publication, together with the bar that immediately follows it.

The problem as I see it is this: would Regondi have undercut and thereby deadened the climactic $e^{\prime\prime\prime}$ on the downbeat of bar 160 by anticipating it with the very same note just one semiquaver earlier? Though the Dutch concertinist Wim Wakker and I each permitted the questionable $e^{\prime\prime\prime}$ to stand in our respective editions of the piece, Regondi, I think, was too good a composer to have ended the phrase as if hitting a wall. It is almost as if he miscalculated

the number of notes needed to make a clean sweep to the downbeat of bar 160; and I would now suggest that the $e^{\prime\prime\prime}$ at the end of bar 159 stands in need of emendation.

How, though, should we emend it? One possibility—already suggested (though in the form of a question) in the critical notes to my edition—would be to replace the $e^{\prime\prime\prime}$ with a note a whole step higher, that is, with an $f^{\#\prime\prime\prime}$, so that we approach the climactic $e^{\prime\prime\prime}$ from above (see ex.2b, where the emendation is marked with an

Ex.3 Giulio Regondi, *Serenade*, recurring instances of the falling 2nd on various scale-steps including $\hat{6}-\hat{5}$: (a) bars 59–60; (b) bars 67–8



asterisk). This emendation has three things to recommend it: (1) the $f\sharp'''$ makes perfectly good musical-grammatical sense, as we hear it as a fleeting added 9th above the dominant-7th chord that itself sounds over a tonic pedal (or, in terms of melodic function, an ‘incomplete’ upper-neighbour);⁴ (2) Regondi used that figure (a falling 2nd after an upward leap) throughout the *Serenade*, even if in different contexts (see ex.3); and (3) it falls nicely under the concertinist’s fingers, more so, perhaps, than the successive e''' s. Finally, we can easily imagine a printer’s fair (or not-so-fair) copy in which the placement of the $f\sharp'''$ at the end of bar 159 was just a bit off the mark. Perhaps the note-head intersected (if even slightly) with the leger line instead of resting entirely upon it, and thus led the printer to take it for and print it as an e''' .

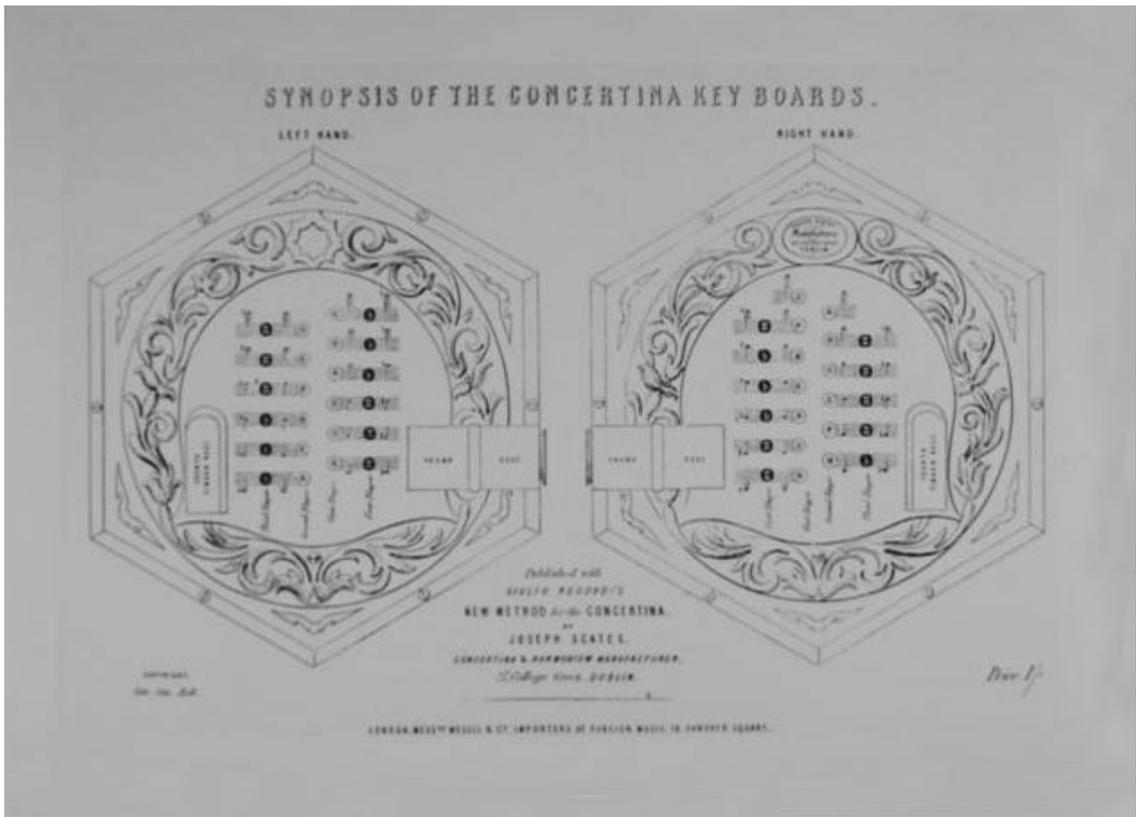
Yet plausible as this emendation might be—both musically and in terms of accounting for the printer’s likely error⁵—I think Regondi might have had something else in mind. More specifically, I think that we might be dealing with a typographical error of omission rather than one of commission; and more specifically still, I think that a clue to a more likely emendation lies in the prevailing temperament to which manufacturers of English concertinas tuned their instruments at the time.

Briefly, from the time Charles Wheatstone developed the English concertina in the late 1820s to some hazy and uncertain point in the mid-1850s or early 1860s, Wheatstone’s and other manufacturers utilized a mean-tone temperament in which they divided the octave into 14 notes and, in split key-like fashion, distinguished between the pitches of—and provided separate buttons for— $G\sharp$ and $A\flat$, on the one hand, and $D\sharp$ and $E\flat$, on the other, with the latter note of each pair sounding 41 cents—or approximately a quarter tone—higher than the former (see illus.4).⁶

That the manufacturers of what was in effect a new instrument opted to outfit it with a seemingly outmoded temperament should not surprise us. First, England was relatively slow to adopt equal temperament; and it was not until 1846, for example, that the firm of Broadwood adopted equal temperament as the standard tuning for its pianos, while churchgoers could still hear the occasional mean-tone or well-tempered organ for another 40 or so years after that.⁷ Second, Charles Wheatstone was a physicist—not, as far as we know, a practical musician—and his main interests in music lay primarily in the field of acoustics. In fact, his *Harmonic Diagram* of 1824 (see illus.5) and the published ‘Explanation’ that accompanied it betray a mind still intent on dividing the whole tone into a number of microtonal parts.⁸

What, then, does all of this have to do with our problematic e''' ? I would suggest that we might emend that note simply by inserting a flat in front of it, thus exploiting the $D\sharp/E\flat$ dichotomy and altering the passage to read as shown in ex.2c (the emendation marked by an asterisk). The benefits of this emendation are at least fourfold: (1) it keeps the ascending scale passage intact right up to the very end (unlike either the $e\sharp'''$ or the $f\sharp'''$); (2) it produces the ‘tightest’ possible leading note to the climactic e''' on the downbeat of bar 160; (3) if the fair copy had the flat in front of the e''' , it charges Wheatstone’s printer with a less egregious error—one of omission—than does the emendation that calls for the $f\sharp'''$; in fact, we might excuse it altogether on the grounds that the printer’s eyes may have rolled upon seeing $d\sharp'''$ and $e\flat'''$ in succession; and (4) it too lies nicely under the fingers.

Finally, among composers who wrote for the English concertina, Regondi was not alone in exploiting the 41-cent difference in pitch between the $D\sharp/E\flat$ or the $G\sharp/A\flat$ that the combination of



4 The button board of a 48-button treble concertina (after Giulio Regondi, *New Method for the Concertina* (Dublin: Joseph Scates, 1857)). Note that all notes written on the lines (or leger lines) of the staff appear in the left hand, while those in the spaces appear in the right hand. The two inner vertical rows in each hand give the white notes of the keyboard, the outer rows, the black notes. Thus the $g\sharp$ is the next-to-lowest button in the innermost row of the left hand, while the $a\flat$ is the third button from the bottom in the innermost row of the right hand; the buttons directly above those give $d\sharp$ (left hand) and $e\flat$ (right hand) respectively. Among the pairs of notes in the $D\sharp/E\flat$ and $G\sharp/A\flat$ complexes, only the high $g\sharp$ (highest button in the outermost row in the left hand) lacks a complementary $A\flat$

Ex.4 George Alexander Macfarren, *Barcarole*, bars 3–6 (repeated at bars 65–8)

Andante quasi Allegretto

Ex.5 Joseph Warren, *Grand Fantasia*, bars 148–9 (asterisks mark the $d^{\#'''}$ and $e^{\flat'''}$)



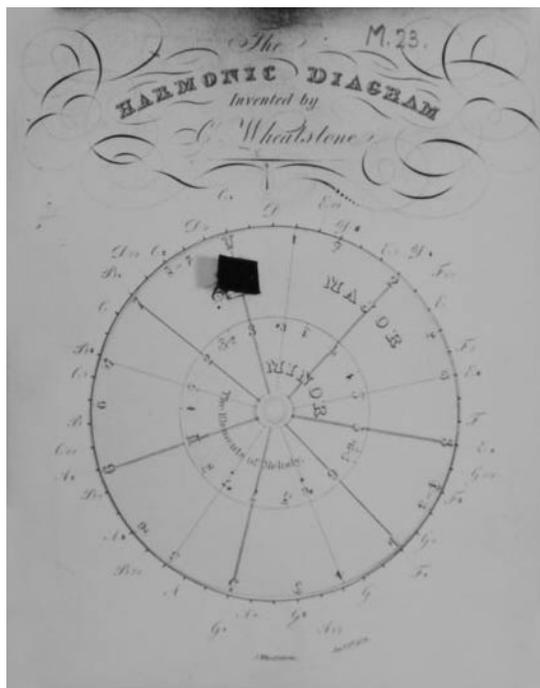
mean-tone temperament and 14-note octave made possible. And though I cannot claim to have seen every last one of the hundreds of pieces written for the English concertina during its ‘mean-tone period’, I can point to at least two other instances in which composers wrote for the instrument with an ear toward that temperament.

The later of these appears in George Alexander Macfarren’s *Barcarole*, which, like Regondi’s *Serenade*, was published in 1859 (but, unlike it, was probably composed either that same year or only shortly before then). In fact, as ex.4 shows, Macfarren was rather more daring than Regondi, as he has the concertina lean heavily on an a^{\flat} that serves as a high-and-tight (and somewhat dissonant) leading note to an a^{\sharp} while the piano (by now presumably in equal temperament) arpeggiates a G^{\sharp} -filled C-augmented chord (and the G^{\sharp} could not have been in tune with the concertina’s A^{\flat} that will resolve to a triad on F.⁹

The earlier instance occurs in Joseph Warren’s *Grand Fantasia in which is Introduced “Deh Conte,”* from Bellini’s *Opera Norma*, which, though not published until 1855, was one of the two pieces with which the 15-year-old Regondi put the fledgling English concertina on the map as a concert instrument when he performed the piece at the Birmingham Festival in 1837.¹⁰ And here even the context is similar, as the movement from $d^{\#'''}$ to $e^{\flat'''}$ makes the chromatic scale even more ‘colour-filled’ than equal temperament would allow (see ex.5).

In all, I would not be surprised if Regondi had Warren’s piece in his ear when he chose to exploit the 41-cent difference between D^{\sharp} and E^{\flat} .

IN conclusion, I rather expect my proposed lemmendation to be greeted with yawns. After all: (1) the English concertina was, in terms of its role in art-music circles, a marginal instrument even during its mid-19th-century heyday, when it was a familiar sight and sound in London’s leading concert halls and a most fashionable instrument among the upper- and upper-middle classes as a whole, the titled aristocracy very much included;¹¹



5 Charles Wheatstone’s *Harmonic Diagram* (1824) (British Library, Music Division, M.23)

(2) Regondi is not a giant among composers (though his contributions to the repertoires of both the English concertina and the guitar are seminal); and (3) the focus of Wheatstone & Co.'s publishing activity was extremely narrow. And yet, there is something rather special about this little 41-cent

emendation. For as far as I can tell, it is the only instance—regardless of period or instrument—in which what is likely the correct emendation of a wrong (or at least suspect) note is driven entirely by the temperament/tuning of the instrument for which it was written.

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An earlier version of this paper was read at the Society for Textual Scholarship Thirteenth Biennial International Interdisciplinary Conference, New York University, 17 March 2005.

1 The firm was also known as C. Wheatstone & Co., after the family's most illustrious member, the physicist Sir Charles Wheatstone (1802–75), who is best known for his role in the development of electric telegraphy and, among musicians, for having developed the English concertina in the late 1820s, and W. Wheatstone & Co., first after Sir Charles's uncle, William Wheatstone (1775–1854), and then after his brother, William Dolman Wheatstone (1804–62), with the two Williams seemingly having run the day-to-day affairs of the business during their lifetimes; perhaps Sir Charles took an active interest in the company from the time of his brother's death until it was purchased by the Chidley family (related to the Wheatstones through marriage) c.1870. In addition to manufacturing concertinas, Wheatstone's also produced flutes (at least early on) and seraphines/harmoniums, and published a large amount of music, mainly for the English concertina. On the firm of Wheatstone, see P. Kidson and W. C. Smith, revised P. Ward Jones, 'Wheatstone', *New Grove II*; W. Waterhouse, *The new Langwill index: a dictionary of musical wind-instrument makers and inventors* (London, 1993), p.426; N. Wayne, 'Concertina

book—final edit' (1986), pp.29–51 (an unpublished manuscript of which there is a copy in The Horniman Museum, London); N. Wayne, 'The Wheatstone English concertina', *Galpin Society journal*, xlv (1991), pp.117–49 (now online at www.free-reed.co.uk/galpin/gl.htm; all online citations last accessed 28 March 2005); W. Williams, 'The concertina history resource', online at www.lvcott.fsnet.co.uk/events.htm, which offers an authoritative timeline of the main events in the firm's history; S. Chambers, 'Some notes on Lachenal concertina production and serial numbers', *Papers of the International Concertina Association*, i (2004), pp.19–20, n.18 (the title refers to Louis Lachenal, Wheatstone's main competitor from the late 1850s on; available online www.concertina.org/pica/). The standard biography of Sir Charles is Brian Bowers, *Sir Charles Wheatstone, FRS, 1802–1875*, rev. edn (London, 2001), which treats mainly of his scientific work, as does S. Dostrovsky, 'Wheatstone, Charles', *Dictionary of scientific biography*, ed. C. C. Gillispie (New York, 1976), xiv, pp.288–91. On the 'English' and other kinds of concertinas ('Anglo-Continental' and 'Duet'), see A. W. Atlas, *The Wheatstone English concertina in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1996), and 'Concertina', in *New Grove II*; M. Dunkel, 'Harmonikainstrumente', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*,

ed. L. Finscher (Kassel, 1996), Sachteil, iv, cols.167–210, esp. 175–6.

2 The publication itself bears no date, with 1859 being that assigned to it (on the basis of its date of deposit) by the British Library's online Integrated Catalogue (blic.bl.uk); the piece was reprinted—without alteration, but with the plate number 1209 added (the 1859 publication has no plate number)—in 1905 or shortly thereafter. (The new title-page bears the address 15, West Street, Charing Cross Road, to which location the firm moved at that time from its longtime home at 20 Conduit Street.) There are two modern editions of the piece, both based on the unaltered, but currently more widely-circulated publication of circa 1905: Atlas, *The Wheatstone English concertina*, pp.124–37 (with critical notes on pp.80–81, 86); W. Wakker, in the series Concertina Connection Music Publications (Helmond, NL, n.d.), no.80309 (bars 1–6 and 55–60 can be seen online at www.concertinaconnection.com/music%20editions.htm). The piece has been recorded by Douglas Rogers (English concertina) and Julie Lustman (piano) on *The Great Regondi: original compositions by the 19th century's unparalleled guitarist and concertinist* (The Regondi Guild, Bridge Records BCB 9039, issued 1993).

On Regondi (1822–72), the 19th century's great virtuoso on the instrument (and one of its leading guitarists), see T. F. Heck, 'Regondi,

Giulio', *New Grove II*; D. Rogers, 'Giulio Regondi: guitarist, concertinist or melophonist: a reconnaissance', *Guitar review*, xci (Fall 1992), pp.1–9; xcii (Winter 1993), pp.14–21; xcvi (Spring 1994), pp.11–17; T. Lawrence, 'Giulio Regondi and the concertina in Ireland', *Concertina world: International Concertina Association newsletter*, no.411 (July 1998), pp.21–5 (also online at www.ucd.ie/pages/99/Articles/Lawrence.pdf); H. C. Jacobs, *Der junge Gitarren- und Concertina-virtuose Giulio Regondi: eine kritische Dokumentation seiner Konzertreise durch Europa, 1840 und 1841* (Bochum, 2001); Atlas, *The Wheatstone English concertina*, pp.48–54; 'Giulio Regondi: two newly discovered letters', *The free-reed journal*, iv (2002), pp.70–84; and 'Collins, Count Fosco, and the concertina', *Wilkie Collins Society journal*, n.s., ii (1999), pp.56–60 (the last two articles also available online at www.concertina.com/atlas/index.htm); on Regondi as guitarist, see S. Button, *The guitar in England, 1800–1924* (New York, 1989), pp.100–113, 126–33; and a series of five articles by A. B. Amisich, the first four of which appeared in *Il 'Fronimo'*: 'Giulio Regondi: un bambino prodigio', xi/45 (Oct 1983), pp.32–4; 'Giulio Regondi: la carriera concertistica negli anni '40', xv/58 (Jan 1987), pp.34–43; 'Giulio Regondi: compositore e concertista', xvi/62 (Jan 1988), pp.28–40; 'Giulio Regondi: dieci studi ed una foto', xix/76 (Jul 1991), pp.38–45; and 'Where was Giulio Regondi born?', forthcoming in *Papers of the International Concertina Association*, iii (2006). There is a modern edition of Regondi's works for guitar in *Giulio Regondi: The complete works for guitar*, ed. S. Wynberg (Monaco, 1981), which, however, must be supplemented by *Giulio Regondi: Ten etudes for guitar*, ed. J. Holmquist (Columbus, OH, 1990); unfortunately there is no such edition of his much more substantial output for English concertina. Finally, for the very plausible suggestion, based on stylistic criteria, that the *Serenade* was composed as early as the 1840s, see Rogers, 'Giulio Regondi', pt. 2, p.17, n.12.

3 The repertory was extensive, and the 1860 *Catalogue of Ewer & Co's Universal*

Circulating Music Library (London, 1860), pp.232–7, accounts for no fewer than 447 items for the still relatively new instrument (Nos.31395–842). Briefly, there are concertos, sonatas and a series of wonderful 'character' pieces by such mainstream composers as George Alexander Macfarren (see ex.4), Julius Benedict, John Barnett and Bernhard Molique, as well as original compositions and droves of 'fantasias' and variations on popular melodies (opera arias, 'national' songs, etc.) and arrangements for various concertina ensembles by the likes of Regondi, Richard Blagrove and other virtuosos and 'Professors' of the instrument; on the repertory, see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English concertina*, pp.58–72; and A. Atlas, 'The Victorian concertina: some issues relating to performance practice', forthcoming in *Nineteenth-century music review* (2006).

4 My thanks to William Rothstein for the terminology, which uses 'incomplete' on the grounds that while the $f\sharp''$ resolves to the e'' , it did not leave from that note.

5 I consider an emendation plausible only if it meets both of those conditions. Thus while we could fashion the clean sweep to the climactic e'' quite simply by changing either the first, seventh, or 11th semiquaver of bar 159— e'' , b'' , $d\sharp''$, respectively—to a quaver note, none of these alterations can logically be reconciled with the passage as it was ultimately printed, and none of them is likely either to have been in the fair copy or to represent Regondi's intentions.

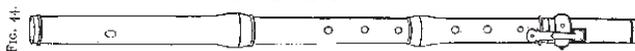
6 About the use of mean-tone temperament on the English concertina, see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English concertina*, pp.39–47, and, in greater detail, my forthcoming 'The Victorian concertina'. We do not know just when the conversion from mean-tone to equal temperament began, and it seems safe to assume that it took place gradually; indeed, there is abundant evidence that the systems overlapped.

7 See A. C. N. Mackenzie of Ord, 'The well-tuned organ: an introduction to keyboard temperaments in 18th- and 19th-century England', *British Institute for Organ Studies journal*, iii (1979), pp.56–72, and 'The adoption of equal-temperament tuning—a performing imperative or a fashionable fad?', *British Institute for Organ Studies journal*, xxvii (2003), pp.91–111.

8 The 'Explanation' is printed in Charles Wheatstone, *The scientific papers of Sir Charles Wheatstone* (London, 1879), pp.14–20. Wheatstone's use of mean-tone temperament drew the condescending wrath of Hector Berlioz, who, after praising the timbre of the English concertina in his *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes* (Paris, 2/1855), p.287, wrote that the instrument's temperament 'se conformant ainsi à la doctrine des acousticiens, doctrine entièrement contraire à la pratique des musiciens'. Berlioz became familiar with the English concertina when he served as one of the judges for musical instruments at the Great Exhibition of

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1851, at which Wheatstone's and a number of other concertina manufacturers exhibited; see *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations, 1851: Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* (London, 1851), pp.469-70; *Musical instruments in the 1851 Exhibition*, ed. P. and A. Mactaggart (Welwyn, Herts, 1986), p.60; and the *Illustrated London News*, supplement to vol. xix, no.512 (23 Aug 1851).

9 On the problem of the mean-tone English concertina against the equal-tempered piano, see Atlas, 'The Victorian concertina'.

10 There is an edition (with a reproduction of the title page) in Atlas, *The Wheatstone English concertina*, pp.87-107, which also discusses the piece, the performance, and Warren's prolific concertina-related activities (pp.49, 57, 76-7); on the performance, see also J. T. Bunce, *A history of the Birmingham General Hospital and Music Festivals, 1788-1873* (Birmingham, 1873); on Warren, see W. H. Husk and B. Carr, 'Warren, Joseph', *New Grove II*; J. D. Brown and S. S. Stratton, *British musical biography: a dictionary of musical artists, authors and composers born in Britain and its colonies* (London, 1897; R/ New York, 1971), p.434; *The dictionary of national biography*, 22 vols., ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee (Oxford, 1885-1891), xx, p.874; A. Hyatt King, *Some British collectors of music, c.1600-1960* (Cambridge, 1963), *passim*.

11 On the instrument's close association with these circles, see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English concertina*, esp. pp.1-7; A. Atlas, 'Who bought concertinas in the winter of 1851?: a glimpse at the sales accounts of Wheatstone and Co.', *Nineteenth-century British music studies*, i, ed. B. Zon (Aldershot, 1999), pp.55-87; and A. Atlas, 'The gendered concertina in Victorian England: ladies in the Wheatstone ledgers' (in preparation).

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Registration, information

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