

## GIULIO REGONDI

### TWO NEWLY DISCOVERED LETTERS

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Although Giulio Regondi (?1822-1872), the foremost concertina (the “English” concertina) virtuoso and one of the great guitarists of the nineteenth century, has received his due in the literature on both of those instruments, there is much about his life and career that remains obscure.<sup>1</sup> Thus any new sources of information about him are significant and deserve our attention. What follows, then, reports on two previously unnoticed letters, one of which can be placed in its proper context with a high degree of confidence, while the other leaves us with a number of unresolved questions.

<sup>1</sup>There is no comprehensive biography of Regondi. The best starting point is the three-part sketch by Douglas Rogers, “Giulio Regondi: Guitarist, Concertinist or Melophonist? A Reconnaissance,” *Guitar Review* 91 (Fall 1992): 1-9; 92 (Winter 1993): 14-21; 97 (Spring 1994): 11-17; this must be supplemented by Tom Lawrence, “Giulio Regondi and the Concertina in Ireland,” *Concertina World: International Concertina Association Newsletter* 411 (July 1998): 21-25, which presents new documentation for what is now the earliest known material on Regondi as a concertinist; see also, Allan W. Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina in Victorian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 48-54; Atlas, “Collins, Count Fosco, and the Concertina,” *Wilkie Collins Society Journal* 2 (2000): 56-60; Stewart Button, *The Guitar in England, 1800-1924* (New York: Garland, 1989), 100-13, 126-33. For a detailed look at Regondi’s tour of the Continent in 1840-1841, see Helmut C. Jacobs, *Der junge Gitarren- und Concertinavirtuose Giulio Regondi: Eine kritische Dokumentation seiner Konzertreise durch Europa, 1840 und 1841* (Bochum: Augemus, 2001). Two other items, both guitar-centric, are Philip J. Bone, *The Guitar and Mandolin: Biographies of Celebrated Players and Composers*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Schott, 1954), 291-96, and Simon Wynberg, *Giulio Regondi: The Complete Works for Guitar* (Monaco: Éditions Chanterelle, 1981), 7-10, both of which, however, have their share of errors. There is a brief entry on Regondi by Thomas Heck, “Regondi, Giulio,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, rev. ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), xxi, 122 (hereafter *New Grove/2*, and available on line at <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

Although there is a critical edition of Regondi’s works for guitar (see above), there is no counterpart for his compositions for concertina. Needless to say, it would be most helpful to have such an edition, one that considers and comes to terms with the errors and inconsistencies that mar the original nineteenth-century publications, some of which fail even to set the concertina and piano parts in score format (instead they offer separate parts only). Moreover, of Regondi’s two concertos, that in D major was published only in part (second and third movements), and with piano accompaniment only (Wheatstone, 1855), while the other, in E-flat major, was not published at all (see note 28 below). The editions of Regondi’s *Serenade* and *Leisure Moments*, Nos. 1-6, in the Concertina Connection’s *Music for the English Concertina* series simply reproduces the original nineteenth-century publication; see my review in *FRJ* 1 (1999): 81-86.

**Letter 1. To the Rev. Hugh Reginald Haweis<sup>2</sup>**London, 9 December [?1862] (see Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup>

My dear Sir:

I shall have sincere pleasure in playing for the object stated in your very kind note, & shall accept your friendly invitation, having no engagements yet in prospect for so distant a period as February. I leave the choice of the day entirely to your consideration of what will best meet the convenience of the subscribers & other artistes. Only let me know as soon as it is determined, and also if you would like me to play a solo on each of my instruments & a Duett with Deacon on airs from "Oberon".

I shall do whatever you please & think agreeable to the audience, & will give you the names of the Soli accordingly. Meanwhile, with best wishes for your health and strength to be equal to the arduous claims of your vocation.

Believe me ever  
Faithfully yours,  
Giulio Regondi

29 Dorset Place  
Dorset Square N.W.  
December 9th

Clearly, Haweis had invited Regondi to participate at a concert, and Regondi here expresses his willingness to do so. As it happens, we may place both invitation and acceptance into a rather more precise context.

<sup>2</sup>Pronounced "Hoyse"; see Bea Howe, *Arbiter of Elegance* (London: The Harvill Press, 1967), 42: "I sprang up, went to the window and saw *him!*... Jane announced—'Mr Hoice'..." (quoting from an entry, dated 10 April 1865, in the journal of Haweis's soon-to-be wife, Mary Eliza).

<sup>3</sup>The letter is preserved at the Library of the University of British Columbia (Vancouver), Special Collections and University Archives, Haweis Family Fonds—Hugh Reginald Haweis sous-fonds, Box 2, Folder 9. It measures 24.8 x 20.1 cm, and lacks any trace of a watermark. A catalogue (with some errors) of the entire Haweis Family Fonds, the correspondence in which includes incoming letters only, is available on-line: <<http://www.library.ubc.ca/spcoll/ubc.arch/haweis1.html>>. My transcription of both this letter and the one that follows sometimes emends the punctuation silently and, in Letter 1, creates a second paragraph where it seemed sensible to do so. Readers may compare the transcriptions with the reproductions of the originals in Figs. 1-2. Finally, I should like to thank Mr. Erwin Wodarczak, Records Analyst and Archivist, University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections and University Archives Division, for his very generous help in connection with the letter. I am currently working on an edition and study of the forty-nine music-related letters in the collection.

a.

<p> <i>hopes for your          health &amp; strength to          be equal to the          arduous duties of          your vocation</i>  <i>Believe me ever          Faithfully yours          Giulio Regondi</i>  <i>29 Dorset Place          Dorset Square          W. W.          Dec 9/85</i> </p>	<p> <i>My dear Sir</i>  <i>I shall have sincere          pleasure in playing          for the object which          is your very kind          note, &amp; shall accept          your friendly invitation          having no engagements          yet in prospect for          a distant a period</i> </p>
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b.

<p> <i>in February, Please          the choice of the day          entirely to your          considerations of what          will best meet the          convenience of the          subscribers &amp; the other          artists. only let me          know as soon as          it is determined          and also if you</i> </p>	<p> <i>would like me to          play a Solo on          each of my instruments,          &amp; a Duett with Demare          on airs from "Clerico".          I shall do whatever          you please think          agreeable to the          audience, &amp; will          give you the name          of the Solo second          meanwhile, with</i> </p>
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Fig. 1a-b. Giulio Regondi, letter to the Rev. Hugh Reginald Haweis, 9 December [?1862]: (a) fols. [2v, 1r = pp. 4, 1]; (b) [fols. 1v-2r = pp. 2-3]. (Photo courtesy of Special Collections and University Archives Division, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.)

**The Recipient:** Although Regondi did not bother to name the person to whom he was writing (the envelope, which would have provided that information, is lost), that the letter was addressed to the Rev. Hugh Reginald Haweis is attested by its presence among the Haweis papers at the Library of the University of British Columbia. An advocate of the liberal ideas of the Broad Church movement, Haweis (3 April 1838–29 January 1901) was best known in his own day as the Perpetual Curate of St. James's, Marylebone (from 1866 to his death), where, thanks to his riveting sermons and use of music, his Sunday services customarily filled the church.<sup>4</sup>

But Haweis's talents and interests extended beyond matters theological, and it was about music that he was perhaps most passionate. Indeed, he wrote extensively about it, not only as music critic for such publications as the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Truth*, and *Cassell's Magazine* (of which he was the editor in 1868), but in a series of books that show an impressive range of interests and—in some areas—depth of knowledge:<sup>5</sup> *Music and Morals* (1871), in

<sup>4</sup>There is no extended biography of Haweis. One can piece together the details of his life both from his many writings, especially *My Musical Life* (London: W.H. Allen, 1884) and *Travel and Talk*, 2 vols. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1896), and from the primary documents in the Haweis Family Fonds; see also, the obituary notice in *The Times*, 30 January 1901; the entry in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement, i: 1901–1911 (London: Smith, Elder, 1912/reprint: Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920), 225–27; Rosemary Williamson, “Haweis, Hugh Reginald”, in *New Grove/2*, xxi, 122; Percy Scholes, *The Mirror of Music, 1844–1944: A Century of Musical Life in Britain as Reflected in the Pages of the Musical Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947/reprint: Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1970), ii, 539; and Howe, *Arbiter of Elegance*, which, though a biography of Mary Eliza Haweis—Hugh Reginald's wife and a prominent illustrator of books and writer on interior design and sartorial fashion—contains many references to Hugh Reginald; on his writings about music, see below and the references cited in note 6.

The Broad Church movement was a loose and informal alliance of reform-minded clergymen (sometimes called Latitudinarians) that grew out of the philosophies of, among others, Thomas Arnold (Matthew's father), F.C. Maurice (Haweis's predecessor at St. James's), and Charles Kingsley (who popularized his brand of “Christian Socialism” in his 1851 novel *Alton Locke*), and urged the Established Church to develop a greater sense of social compassion and invest its energy in improving the lives of the poor, especially through education; its liberal views, both theological and social, were most famously expressed in *Essays and Reviews* (1860); see the concise discussion of the movement in Christine L. Krueger, “Clerical,” in *A Companion to Victorian Literature and Culture*, ed. Herbert F. Tucker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 145–48, and, at much greater length, Part I of *Essays and Reviews: The 1860 Text and its Reading*, ed. Victor Shea and William Whittle (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000); see also, Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1866, 1970), i, chap. 5, “Religion and the Labourer,” especially the sections “Religion in the Slum” and “Education” (pp. 325–36, 336–46, respectively).

<sup>5</sup>Even my qualified reference to Haweis's depth of knowledge would surely have been challenged by some of his contemporaries; see, for example, J.A. Fuller Maitland, *A Door-Keeper of Music* (London: John Murray, 1929), 118–19, who refers to Haweis as “that strange ornament of the Church. . . whose book, *Music and Morals*, has caused some amusement to those who could realise the amount of incorrect information it conveys.” To be sure, Fuller Maitland, who was music critic for *The Times* from 1889 to 1911 and a leading music scholar of the day (cont.)

which he argued that music was primarily an emotional art and that it exerted a direct influence—good or bad—on the moral character of the listener;<sup>6</sup> the partially autobiographical *My Musical Life* (see note 4), and *Old Violins* (1898), an appreciation of the construction and history of the instrument on which Haweis himself once contemplated a career. In all, Haweis was deeply involved with both the music and musicians of his day, and it is fair to say that he knew virtually everyone who was anyone in late-Victorian musical circles.

**The Context:** Haweis assumed the curacy of St. Peter's, Bethnal Green, in late December, 1861.<sup>7</sup> To some extent the parish provided something of a social laboratory, for Bethnal Green was one of the worst of London's East End slums,<sup>8</sup> one in which Haweis could put into practice his ideas about the need for greater social involvement on the part of the church; more specifically, he could test his theories about the power of music to better the morals of the masses. To these ends, he inaugurated a series of concerts, one of which he describes in *My Musical Life*:

Thousands around me were leading dull lives of monotonous toil, with little refreshment or variety, too much shut up to the beer-house or the counter, tempted by want and gin, tempted to all kinds of chicanery and petty theft, and full of sordid aims. I determined to try the effect of music, and good music, upon their narrow, busy, overburdened lives. I invited Mr. C.H. [*sic!*] DEACON, SIGNOR REGONDI—incomparable on the guitar and concertina—and Signor Pezze to come down and give a concert in the national school-room. The prices of admission were low—1 *d.* and 3

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(he served as editor of *Grove's Dictionary*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. [1904-10]), had it in for Haweis, since it was the latter who replaced him in 1884—under strained circumstances (Fuller Maitland was fired)—as music critic of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

<sup>6</sup>Originally published by Longmans, Green, the book was widely read and went through at least sixteen editions during Haweis's lifetime. On Haweis's theory regarding the moral effect of music, see especially, William J. Gatens, *Victorian Cathedral Music in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 34-39; see also, Stephen Banfield, "Aesthetics and Criticism," in *Music in Britain, 5: The Romantic Age, 1800-1914*, ed. Nicholas Temperley (London: The Athlone Press, 1981), 455, 460; John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music, 2: c. 1715 to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 320, and Williamson, "Haweis," 161.

<sup>7</sup>On both that date and that of the letter, see below. We should note that Haweis was associated with another St. Peter's in the East End, that in Stepney (see note 19).

<sup>8</sup>It was home to—and workplace for—a large number of textile workers, approximately half of whom, as Charles Booth would estimate in 1891, barely lived at a subsistence level; see Ben Weinrib and Christopher Hibbert, eds., *The London Encyclopaedia* (Bethesda, MD: Adler & Adler, 1986; originally published, London: Macmillan, 1983), 60-61; see also, Henry B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present: Its History, Associations, and Traditions* (London: John Murray, 1891), i, 177-79.

d. The room was crammed; the music was a little over the people's heads; the respectable element predominated a little too much. . . but the class I aimed at was fairly represented. The audience was hushed, attentive, a little awed, but intensely appreciative. . . (2nd ed. [1888], pp. 116-17).

There can be no doubt, I think, that Haweis is describing the very concert to which Regondi refers in his letter.

**Deacon, Pezze, and the Program:** We can identify the musicians with whom Regondi performed and at least speculate about some aspects of the program.

Though Henry (Harry) Collings Deacon (1822-1890)<sup>9</sup> was best known as a voice teacher (among his students was the famous tenor Sims Reeves) and wrote most of the articles on singing for Sir George Grove's original *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1879-1889), he was also an excellent pianist and often appeared as an accompanist at the Monday Popular Concerts at St. James's Hall. In particular, critics singled out both his so-called "Chronological Recitals" and his playing from memory for special praise.<sup>10</sup>

The Italian-born cellist Alessandro Pezze (1835-1914)<sup>11</sup> emigrated to England in 1857 and joined the orchestra at Her Majesty's Theatre; in 1870, he was named principal cellist at both Covent Garden and the Philharmonic, resigning both of those posts in 1873 after being appointed to the faculty at the Royal Academy of Music. Like Deacon, Pezze also appeared frequently at the Monday Popular Concerts, and, during the 1870s, was one of the "regulars" at the prestigious Orme Square chamber music concerts organized by Edward Dannreuther.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Haweis consistently reverses Deacon's first and middle initials. What follows is based on James D. Brown and Stephen S. Stratton, *British Musical Biography* (London: William Reeves, 1897/ reprint: New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 121; and *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., ed. Eric Blom (London: Macmillan, 1954), ii, 619.

<sup>10</sup>See, for example, the review of a recital at Derby in the *Musical Times*, xliii/52 (30 December 1865), 822.

<sup>11</sup>I follow *Grove*/5, vi, 698.

<sup>12</sup>In fact, Deacon and Pezze often performed as a duo, especially during the 1860s; see the many announcements and reviews of their recitals in the *Musical World* for that period. On the Dannreuther concerts, see Jeremy Dibble, "Edward Dannreuther and the Orme Square Phenomenon," in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 273. Further, we should note that Deacon was a particularly good friend and later a member of Haweis's congregation at St. James's, and it was Deacon who introduced Haweis to Pezze when all three were in Milan in 1860 (see *My Musical Life*, 108-11). Moreover, when Deacon was forced to retire from his faculty post at the Royal College of Music owing to ill health, it was Haweis who spearheaded a drive to set up a Fund on his behalf; see Percy M. Young, *George Grove, 1820-1900: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1980), 181.

Although Haweis says nothing about what the musicians played, and though Regondi's letter provides little more than hints in this respect, we can take some educated guesses about his portion of the program. That Regondi offers to perform a solo "on each of his instruments," and that Haweis refers to him as "incomparable on the guitar and the concertina," probably indicates that he performed on both instruments. In addition, his offer to include "a Duett with Deacon on airs from 'Oberon'": this must surely allude to his own *Oberon, Opéra de C.M. Weber, Grando Duo Concertant composé pour Concertina et Piano ou Harpe*,<sup>13</sup> which, as its title implies, has accompaniments for both piano and harp, the latter by the virtuoso harpist Charles (Karl) Oberthür, with whom Regondi collaborated on a number of occasions.<sup>14</sup>

Example 1 provides two excerpts from Regondi's arrangement of *Oberon* (the accompaniment is for piano), and shows his virtuoso approach to the instrument:<sup>15</sup>

*Oberon* also provides us with a good example of the difficulty of establishing a chronology of Regondi's works based solely on their date of publication. Although Schott published *Oberon* in 1868,<sup>16</sup> Regondi and Oberthür would—assuming that I am right about both my identification of the piece as the one that Regondi played and my dating of the letter (see below)—have collaborated on the work at least some six or seven years earlier.

Finally, Regondi might also have performed with Pezze. When, in 1840-1841, Regondi toured central Europe, he did so together with the cellist

<sup>13</sup>See below about its date of publication.

<sup>14</sup>On Oberthür (1819-1895), who emigrated to England in 1848, see Alice Lawson Aber-Count, "Oberthür Charles," in *New Grove* 2, xviii, 255-56. Regondi and Oberthür collaborated on at least five other compositions; see *The Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Library to 1980* (London: K.G. Sauer, 1986), xlvii, 250-52 (now available on-line: <<http://blpc.bl.uk>>). We might note that no less a musician than Hector Berlioz praised the combination of concertina and harp in the second edition of his *Grand Traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes* (Paris, 1855): the concertina "marie aisément avec le timbre de la Harpe et avec celui du Piano" (p. 287). No doubt, Berlioz had heard what might have been the earliest of the Regondi-Oberthür collaborations—one or more of the *Six Lieder ohne Worte, being the Op. 57* [of Felix Mendelssohn] adapted for *Concertina and Harp* (1850)—when he served as a judge of musical instruments at the Great Exhibition of 1851. On this point and the presence of Wheatstone and other concertina manufacturers at the Exhibition, see my *The Wheatstone English Concertina in Victorian England*, 39.

<sup>15</sup>Example 1a quotes the opening of Weber's Overture quite literally; Ex. 1b consists of Regondi's own virtuoso-like variation (marked "Var" in the score) on material drawn from Act III, No. 19, the chorus and ballet of the slaves.

<sup>16</sup>The publication is so dated in *The Catalogue of Printed Music at the British Library*, xlvii, 252. We should remember that English music publications of the period often fail to provide a date on the publication itself, and that *The Catalogue* therefore dates such materials according to the date of acquisition.

a.

*Adagio sostenuto*

Concertina

Piano

*dolce*

*pp*

5

8

b.

*Andante con moto*

Concertina

Piano

*pp*

*crescendo p. rubato*

141

142

146

147

Ex. 1. Regondi, *Oberon, Grand duo concertante*: (a) meas. 1-9; (b) meas. 141-148.



Joseph Lidel (1803-1878), with whom he repeatedly—both on the Continent and after returning to London—played a *Duo concertante* for concertina and cello.<sup>17</sup> In all, a program in which Regondi performed music for both (unaccompanied?) guitar and concertina, collaborating on the latter instrument with both piano and cello, would have gone a long way in providing the kind of variety for which Haweis no doubt aimed.

**The National School-Room:** Briefly, Haweis is referring to the network of schools that had been set up for the children of the working classes by the Church of England National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church (established 1811). In effect, these were schools run by the Anglican Church for the children of the poor; and by the early 1860s, the period about which Haweis is writing, there were approximately 7,000 such schools with an enrollment of about 1.5 million pupils. And though the main financial support from the schools came from congregational subscriptions—hence the term “voluntary” schools—parents had to pay a nominal fee, a tactic that not only helped defray the costs, but was seen as a means to building moral character.<sup>18</sup>

**Dating the Letter:** Although Regondi dates the letter “9 December,” he neglects to include the year, which, however, we can determine with a fair degree of confidence. The concert at which Regondi performed took place while Haweis was curate at St. Peter’s, Bethnal Green, a position that he held officially from 22 December 1861 to 22 December 1863. Two documents establish these dates: (1) a license dated 22 December 1861 grants Haweis the authority “to perform the office of assistant Stipendiary Curate in the Church of the Perpetual Curacy of Saint Peter’s Bethnal Green in the County of Middlesex,” and (2) a “Declaration of Conformity to the Liturgy” dated 22 December 1863 and being “previous to his [Haweis] being licensed to perform the office of Curate in the Church of the Perpetual Curacy of St. James the Less, Westminster”; and though the license for the curacy at St. James the Less is missing, this would customarily date from

<sup>17</sup> For instance, they played the piece at the Hanover Square Rooms on 9 June 1841; the program for that concert is reproduced in Rogers, “Giulio Regondi,” Pt. III, 12. I have not been able to identify the piece more precisely, and we must at least consider the possibility that it was originally for violin and cello; see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina in Victorian England*, 50, and Plate. 10; Rogers, “Giulio Regondi,” Pt. III, 12, points out that it seems never to have been published and apparently has not survived.

<sup>18</sup> See F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 143-46. A parallel network of schools was established at just around the same time by the British and Foreign School Society, these being run by the so-called “dissenting” sects.

the same day as the “Declaration” (as does that for St. Peter’s, Bethnal Green, two years earlier).<sup>19</sup>

Now, while the letter could conceivably date from December 1861, 1862, or 1863, the two outer years seem just a bit less likely: 1861—were the letter to date from this year, it would mean that Haweis had invited Regondi to perform at Bethnal Green even prior to taking up his official position there (as even Regondi’s response antedates that event by almost two weeks); 1863—were the letter to date from this year, it means that Haweis was scheduling concerts for a time—February 1864—at which, as he would surely have known, he would no longer be at the Bethnal Green parish. On the other hand, dating the letter from 9 December 1862 places the entire sequence of events—Haweis’s invitation, Regondi’s undoubtedly quick response, and the concert itself—wholly within a period during which Haweis was present at Bethnal Green.<sup>20</sup>

**Regondi’s Career (1):** Although Regondi was the foremost concertinist and one of the great guitarists of his day, he no doubt faced a problem common to many of those who performed on instruments that stood—then as now—on the “fringe” of the art-music tradition: earning a living. Surely this is attested by Regondi’s willingness to leave the choice of date for the concert entirely up to Haweis on the grounds that he had “no engagements yet in prospect” for a period only two months down the line. In fact, we might even speculate that, while Haweis no doubt invited Regondi to perform out of respect for his playing (he does, after all, refer to him as “incomparable”),<sup>21</sup> he might have had an-

<sup>19</sup>Both documents are preserved in the Hugh Reginald Haweis sous-fonds (see note 2), Box 21, Folder 1, “Licenses and Certificates—Pertaining to the Ministry (1861-1876)” Again, my thanks to Mr. Erwin Wodarczak (see note 2) for answering my questions about Haweis’s residency at St. Peter’s and for calling my attention to these documents and transcribing them for me.

As noted above (note 7), Haweis was also associated with another St. Peter’s, this one in Stepney. There is, however, nothing in the “Licenses and Certificates” that pertains to that appointment, and he might have served there in on-and-off fashion while holding the curacy at St. James the Less; see the sequence of events described in Howe, *Arbiter of Elegance*, 43 (at pp. 37-38, however, Howe incorrectly has Haweis going from St. James the Less to St. Peter’s, Bethnal Green); see also, Haweis, *My Musical Life*, 118, where he relates that he was at St. Peter’s, Stepney, “for a short time.” During his career, Haweis sometimes took up temporary curacies at one church or another, and this is probably the case with the stint at St. Peter’s, Stepney.

<sup>20</sup>We might note that each of the three possible years squares nicely with Regondi’s known residence as listed in the 1861 census: 29 Dorset Place; see Rogers, “Giulio Regondi,” Pt. II, 20, note 15.

<sup>21</sup>Haweis had already praised Regondi in the earlier *Music and Morals*: “The harmonium and the concertina force themselves upon our attention. There are certain perfect forms and perfect players of both these instruments; but we deal not now with the master workmen, the Regondis, the Blagroves. . .” (I cite the edition marked “22<sup>nd</sup> impression” [1912], 511.) Blagrove is Richard Blagrove, another concertina virtuoso; see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina in Victorian England*, 54-56.

other motive for doing so: his view that the concertina had a place in music's wider role as a "civilizing" force. As he put it in *My Musical Life*:

Let the heaven-born art of music spread; let it bless the homes and hearths of the people; let the children sing, and sing together; *let the concertina* [my italics], the violin, or the flute be found in every cottage. . . thus let the factory girl forget her toil and the artisan his grievance, and Music, the Civiliser, the Recreator, the Soother and Purifier of the emotions, shall become the music of the future for England (p. 161).

It was, after all, to raise the moral character of his Bethnal Green parishioners that Haweis inaugurated the concert series in the first place.

To return to Regondi's career: Regondi, as did so many other musicians, supplemented his income from concerts by teaching, and just how far from London he sometimes went in this respect becomes clear from Letter 2.

**Letter 2. Recipient unknown [Henry or William Sudlow?]**

**[Liverpool?], 2 December [1847?] (see Fig. 2)<sup>22</sup>**

Dear Sir:

I quite forgot last night that besides my evening lesson I had a party to attend at in [sic!] Birkenhead which precludes the possibility of my accompanying you to Mr James Rhoden's tonight. Enclosed is a note to him which you will oblige me by handing to him.

Believe me

Dear Sir

Your's most truly

Giulio Regondi

December 2—  
4 Alfred Street

Innocent though the letter is in its thoroughly social content, it leaves us with a number of unanswered questions.

<sup>22</sup>The letter is preserved at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Mary Flagler Cary Music Collection, MFC R343.S943 (Bennett). It is written on fols. 1r and 1v of a single bifolio (fols. 2r-2v are blank) and measures 17.3 x 11.5 cm. Looking at the letter through fol. 2v, one sees the upside-down remnants of a watermark at the top of the page: "jwh" (the three letters measure 6.5 cm across, while the two capital letters stand 2 cm tall); this refers to the paper-making firm of J. Whatman, whose paper was ubiquitous throughout England (and forged on the Continent); yet without more of the watermark being visible—namely, the date, which often appeared below the name—it offers little help in pinning down the provenance of the letter (see below).

The letter is cited without further comment in J. Rigbie Turner, "Infinite Riches in a Little Room": The Music Collections in the Pierpont Morgan Library," *Notes* 55/3 (1999), 576. I am grateful to Mr. Turner, who, upon publication of his article, immediately supplied me with a xerox reproduction of the letter.

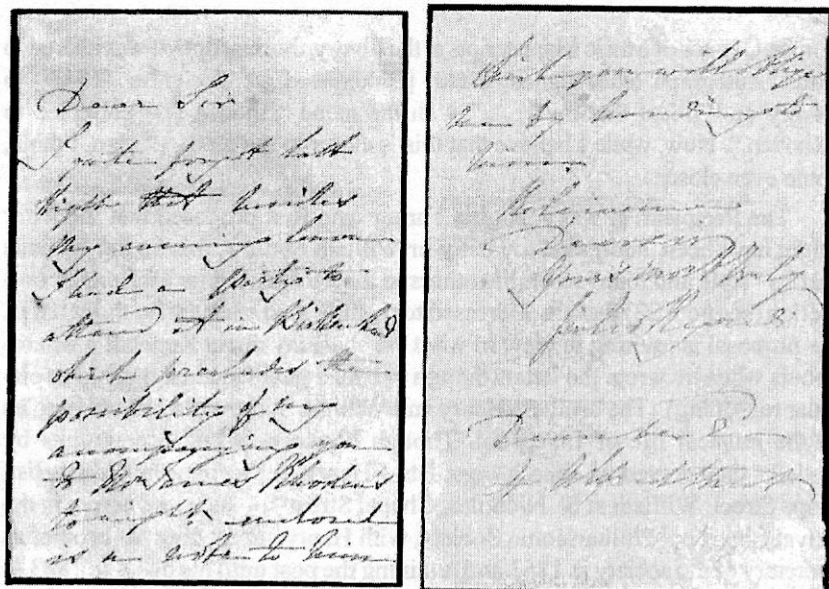


Fig. 2. Giulio Regondi, letter to an unidentified recipient, 2 December [?1847], fols. 1r-1v.

(Photo courtesy of the Trustees of the Pierpont Morgan Library, Mary Flagler Cary Music Collection.)

**The Sequence of Events:** Owing to Regondi's use of the word "had" in the passage "I had a party to attend. . .," it is possible to confuse the sequence of events: to think that the party to which he had to go preceded the writing of the letter. Rather, I understand the sequence to be as follows: December 1st—Regondi had spent the evening with the addressee and had agreed to accompany him or her to visit a Mr. James Rhoden the next evening; December 2nd—Regondi writes the letter and excuses himself from that obligation on the grounds that he must give an evening lesson (at the place from which he is writing?) and attend a party in Birkenhead. In other words, "had"—clearly used in the sense of an obligation still to be carried out—would have been clearer as "have" or, even better, "must."

**The Citation in the Morgan Library Catalogue:** When, in March 2001, I consulted the letter "in the flesh" for the first time (after previously working only from a xerox reproduction), the Morgan Library catalogue (unpublished) described it as follows: "Autograph letter signed, dated: [London], 2 December [n.y.], to [Henry Sudlow?]. . .," while the person to whom Regondi refers in the course of the letter was cited as "James Bhoden [?]" After consultation with Mr. J. Rigbie

Turner, Curator of Music Manuscripts at the library, the description was altered to read: "Autograph letter signed, dated: [Birkenhead], 2 December [1847], to [Henry or William Sudlow?]. . .," with the name "Bhoden [?]" corrected to "Rhoden." Now, while I believe that this is closer to the mark, we can, I think, come even closer.

**The Recipient:** It was J. Rigbie Turner who first proposed that the letter might have been addressed to Henry or William Sudlow, this on the grounds that its "style and tone" resemble others in the Morgan Library's Bennett collection (see note 22) that are addressed to them.<sup>23</sup> And speculative though it is, the proposal is inviting in view of what we shall say about Regondi's whereabouts when he wrote the letter (though we must guard against the trap of circular reasoning). The brothers Henry and William Sudlow played active roles in the musical life of Liverpool. Though bookkeepers and accountants by trade,<sup>24</sup> they served as church organists—Henry at St. John-the-Evangelist, Hope Street, William at St. Nicholas, Chapel Street<sup>25</sup>—and were active in the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Society, with Henry succeeding his brother as secretary of the society in 1853 and retaining the post until his death in 1883.<sup>26</sup> The Sudlows, then, were certainly the right kind of people for Regondi to have been socializing with, and the likelihood that he wrote the letter in Liverpool (see below) makes either one of them a plausible addressee.

**The Place of Writing:** Since the proposal that the letter was addressed to one or another of the Sudlows and that Regondi was in the company of one of them the previous evening remains conjectural, we cannot let that influence our judgment about where Regondi wrote the letter. There is, however, one piece of evidence that points to the letter's place of origin as Liverpool, and that is the passage about Birkenhead—"I had a party to attend at in [sic!] Birkenhead"—which lies just across the Mersey River estuary from Liverpool and was just a short ferry ride away. Here, then, I part ways with the revised entry for the letter in the Morgan Library catalogue, which has Regondi writing the letter from Birkenhead itself, for it strikes me as unlikely that Regondi would have written that he had to be at Birkenhead if he were actually writing from there. Would he not have been more likely to say either that he had to be

<sup>23</sup>Personal communication, March 2001.

<sup>24</sup>See *Gore's Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, editions of 1832 (p. 317), 1841 (p. 442), 1851 (pp. 546-47), and 1853 (p. 568). I am grateful to Prof. Michael Talbot of the University of Liverpool for consulting *Gore's* for me. (The precise title of the 1832 editions reads *Gore's Directory and View of Liverpool*. . .)

<sup>25</sup>*Gore's Directory of Liverpool*, editions of 1851 and 1853.

<sup>26</sup>See Stainton de B. Taylor, *Two Centuries of Music in Liverpool* (Liverpool: Rockliff Brothers, [1976]), 10, 12, 16; Fritz Spiegl, "Liverpool," in *New Grove/2*, xv, 17-18. We should note that there was another musician in the general vicinity named William Sudlow; he was active as a composer, organist, and cellist at Manchester, and died there in 1848; see Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 400; the date of death is confirmed in a notice in *The Musical World* xxiii/37 (9 September 1848), 579-80, which cites an obituary in the *Manchester Courier* as its source.

“here”—with “here” immediately understood by the addressee to be Birkenhead—or that “I am in Birkenhead” (or something to that effect) and then perhaps, even go on to mention Birkenhead below the street address?

As for the Alfred Street address: there is—and there was in the nineteenth century—an Alfred Street right in the heart of Liverpool; it is a short street (no more than about 150 yards in length) that runs north-south, bounded by Great George Street (at its southern end) and St. James’s Road (at its northern), in an area just below St. James’s Cemetery and not far from the present-day Metropolitan Cathedral.<sup>27</sup> In all, I believe that Regondi most likely wrote the letter in Liverpool, a contention further supported by the circumstances that bear upon our dating of the letter.

**The Date of the Letter:** Regondi dates the letter only “2 December,” without reference to the year. Yet if Regondi wrote the letter while in Liverpool—or even Birkenhead, for that matter (and again, we run the risk of circular reasoning)—the most plausible year is 1847, when he performed at Liverpool’s Concert Hall on at least three occasions during November and December: November 16th and December 14th and 30th.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, it is quite possible—perhaps even likely—that he remained in the area throughout this six-week period, since, in addition to performances that might have gone unrecorded, he also performed at a well-publicized concert in nearby Manchester at the very end of November or beginning of December.<sup>29</sup>

In all, I find the combination of Liverpool and 1847 the most promising answer—circumstantial though it must be—to the question of the letter’s provenance.

**James Rhoden:** Perhaps the key to the precise origins of the letter—place, date, and context—lies in the identity of the one person that Regondi mentions by name: Mr. James Rhoden. Unfortunately, his identity remains elusive, in part, at least, because the name Rhoden—more often spelled “Roden” or even

<sup>27</sup>I have consulted two nineteenth-century maps of the city: *Liverpool from an actual Survey made in the Year 1833* and *Philip’s Plan of Liverpool* (c. 1860), both housed at the New York Public Library, Map Division. My thanks to Mr. Lawrence Shuster, a doctoral candidate in the Ph.D. Program in Music, The Graduate Center, The City University of New York, for locating the maps and making copies for me.

<sup>28</sup>See Button, *The Guitar in England*, 112; Button reproduces the program of all three concerts as Plates 18–20. We might note that Regondi played both concertina and guitar on all three occasions, and that the concerts of November 16<sup>th</sup> and December 14<sup>th</sup> included one of the two concertos that he wrote for the concertina, either the one in D major or that in E-flat major; see Atlas, *The Wheatstone English Concertina in Victorian England*, 60, and note 1, above.

<sup>29</sup>There is a notice about the Manchester concert in *The Musical World* xxii/49 (4 December 1847), 772–73. Regondi was back in London at some point in January 1848; see Button, *The Guitar in England*, 112. Regondi performed at both Liverpool and Manchester again in April 1861; see the reviews in *The Musical World*, xxxix/16 (20 April 1861), 252; xxxix/17 (27 April 1861), 269–70, for Liverpool and Manchester, respectively.

“Rowden”—is fairly common throughout the Lancashire district.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, a search through the on-line International Geneeological Index for the period 1830-1870 turned up a slew of people so named. And while no one who could be even a remote possibility used the spelling “Rhoden,” we might note that a James Roden was married (to one Maria Smith) on 10 August 1851 in the Church of St. Nicholas, Chapel Street, Liverpool,<sup>31</sup> that is, the very church in which William Sudlow was then organist. Could this be our Mr. “Rhoden”? Did Regondi misspell the name? Did the James R(h)oden-William Sudlow connection extend to the social sphere? And was it in that circle that Regondi was circulating? For now, the questions remain unanswered.<sup>32</sup>

**Regondi’s Career (2):** As Regondi himself points out in the letter, he was obliged to give a lesson (either on the concertina or the guitar) on the evening of December 2nd. And while it is well known that Regondi had a steady stream of students on both instruments in London, it is, perhaps, surprising to find him giving lessons in the Liverpool area, for he could only have done so on a temporary basis. Thus we might liken his situation to that of many present-day performers who, when their touring schedule permits a short respite in one location, sometimes settle in as “artists/teachers-in-residence” for a while. In fact, perhaps it was the opportunity to earn money giving a highly concentrated series of lessons that caused Regondi to linger in the area as long as he did.

In the end, the web of circumstances—circular though it may be—points to Regondi having written the letter at Liverpool, most likely in 1847, and possibly to one or another of the brothers Henry and William Sudlow.

To conclude: the two letters shed at least a little new light on Giulio Regondi’s career. He was obviously held in high esteem by no less a figure than the soon-to-be-famous (beginning in the 1870s) Hugh Reginald Haweis, who, though certainly not one of the “make-or-break” critics of late-Victorian musical life, nevertheless stood close to its center and exerted at least some influence on it. As for the Liverpool letter (and I shall assume that that is its provenance): this brief note shows that Regondi’s activity as a teacher was not, as might have been expected, limited to London and its environs; and we can only wonder just how geographically far-flung his circle of students was.

<sup>30</sup>Communication of 5 July 2001 from Prof. Michael Talbot, who adds that the name is also found frequently in Cheshire.

<sup>31</sup><<http://familysearch.com/Eng/search/frameset/search.asp>>. *Gore’s Directory of Liverpool* edition of 1851, 478, lists a Richard Rhoden (boot and shoemaker) and a William Rhoden (“victualler”) as residing in Birkenhead (they continue to be listed in the editions of 1853 and 1857). Again, my thanks to Prof. Talbot.

<sup>32</sup>I might note that there is no James Rhoden (or Roden or Rowden) among those listed in the Wheatstone & Co. sales ledgers around the time in which we are interested. The ledgers are currently preserved in the Wayne Collection, The Horniman Museum, London; I am grateful to Dr. Margaret Birley and her staff for searching the ledgers for me prior to my having obtained copies of my own. Of course it is possible that the Regondi-Rhoden (Roden) association centered about the guitar, or had nothing to do with music at all.