

THE LEDGERS

What follows provides a thumbnail description of the nine extant nineteenth-century Wheatstone & Co. sales ledgers (together with a brief note about one ‘production’ book and two books that record wages and other expenditures) that are now housed in the Wayne Archive of the Horniman Museum, London.

C1046 (R156452289A204/1)¹⁶⁰

72 pp. (pp. 69–70, 72 blank).¹⁶¹ Organised in chronological order from 30 April 1839 to 5 April 1848; total number of transactions = 1,195; total number of transactions involving women = 253; total number of individual women cited = 184. The four-columns offer the following information for each transaction (from left to right; see Figure 4): (1) date; (2) number of buttons on the instrument, with an occasional annotation that describes one or another of the instrument’s features (for instance, ‘P’ = Plain in the entries for 13 and 15 May, and ‘S’ = Single action in that for 29 June);¹⁶² (3) name of customer, generally including first name or initial, gender, and, when appropriate, title (see the entries for Sir J. and Lady Staples on 11 May and 26 June, respectively); and (4) serial number of the instrument (though, as Figure 4 shows, this is sometimes missing).

Successive entries for the same buyer are signaled either by a dash or the word ‘ditto’, depending upon which scribe is at work (C1046 has two very distinct hands: A: pp. 1–36, 55–70, B: pp. 37–54, 71).

Finally, it is unlikely that the entries in C1046—or those in any of the other ledgers—were recorded on the spot, that is, as the transactions themselves were taking place. Rather, the ledger was probably compiled retrospectively from loose sales slips or whatever else Wheatstone’s might have used to keep track of sales at the moment they were being made, and was probably begun at a time when Wheatstone’s thought it important to have a permanent, all-in-one-place, chronological record of their sales.¹⁶³

C104a (R15656K2289A204/12)¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ Each ledger has two signatures: (1) that beginning with the letter C is specific to the Wayne Archive proper and reflects the numeration that was already in use when the ledgers were housed at the Concertina Museum, Belper, Derbyshire; (2) that beginning with the letter R is the signature within the Horniman collection as a whole. With the exception of the single reference to each ledger’s R number in this section, I have used the C series throughout both the Introduction and the Inventory on the grounds that it has become commonplace in the literature on the concertina and has been retained as the ledgers’ primary identification tag in the ‘official’ digitised version on the Horniman website, <<http://www.horniman.info>>. A note about the former Concertina Museum: though this was a private museum maintained by Mr Neil Wayne, Neil always granted access to those who were interested in consulting its holdings (including a spectacular collection of nineteenth-century instruments), all of which, like the ledgers, are now in the Horniman Museum’s Wayne Archive. I still look back to his generosity and to my own research there in 1993 with fond memories.

¹⁶¹ This is the only ledger that contains contemporary pagination. I have followed the pagination that appears in the digitised version of the ledgers on the Horniman website.

¹⁶² At the risk of repeating information already given in Table 2 (and to be restated a final time in the ‘Preface to the Inventory’): ‘Plain’ indicates that the instrument has only an undecorated circular opening carved into its wooden ends (to let the sound escape), as opposed to the fancy ‘fretwork’ on more expensive models; (2) ‘Single action’ indicates that the instrument has only one reed per note instead of the customary two reeds (double action), and can therefore produce a sound only with the bellows moving in one direction, with movement in the other direction producing a whisper-like ‘whoosh’. Obviously, single-action inhibits what one can play.

¹⁶³ This is not to say that work on the ledger commenced only after all the transactions that it records were completed. More likely, perhaps, the ledger was begun as the individual records of the transactions began to accumulate, and was then periodically brought up to date. Perhaps the breaks between scribal hands mark the points at which there were stops and starts, with the missing serial numbers and the lack of prices (the latter beginning in C1047, which commences on 1 January 1851) perhaps indicating that these were no longer recoverable.

¹⁶⁴ Clearly, the signature C104a breaks the otherwise straightforward series of numbering. This ledger was improperly catalogued—it simply had no signature—while it was housed at the Concertina Museum in Belper. Thus while all the other ledgers retain their old C numbers, this one was freshly dubbed C104a at the Horniman Museum during the process of digitisation.

1841			
Apr 16	44	Mess ^{rs} Wright & Sons	426
May 4	48	M ^r John Adams	434
Apr 30		Breedon Esq ^r	419
May 8	48	Mess Thompson	435
11	32	Lds J Staples	
13	32L	M ^r Binfield	443
15	32L	R Helikon Esq ^r	402
15		M ^r Kingston	
18	44	M ^r Hope	421
June 8	46	W ^m L. Lowndes Esq	432
8	46	Mess barrie	433
16	32	M ^r botiata	365
19	44	M ^r Round	430
26		Lds Staples	452
29	44	M ^r Rodin	358
29	32S	Mess ^{rs} Wood & Co	
29	32	— —	
29	38	Sig^r Bontolini	
29	38	M ^r N ^o Gould	118
8			

FIG. 4: Horniman Museum, London, Wayne Archive, C1046, p. 8; reproduced with permission.

76 pp. (p. 24 blank). Organised by serial number (see below); total number of transactions = 1,495 (including multiple entries for the same instrument); total number of transactions involving women = 278; total number of individual women cited = 215; total number of new women (not accounted for in C1046) = 83.

This is by far the most complex and puzzling of all the ledgers. First, it is the only ledger that is not organised chronologically. Rather, the organisation is by serial number (see Figure 5).

861	48	bocks & Co	W Palmer	29 Nov 44
862	48	Binfield		25 Aug 45
863				
864	48	W. H. Whitbread Esq		12 Aug 47
865		Duck hire		4
866		Mrs Du Bone	Johnson	15 Nov 39
867	48	M. Blaypore		28 Dec 44
868	48	M. Bessner		9 Aug 45
869		Mrs Wilson		24 Jan 45
870	48	M. Moon	Mp Lote	12 Feb 45
871	32	M. St Blair		24 Sep 44
872	32 S	M. & M. Lorne		25 Oct 44
873		Rev H. A. Morrison		21 Oct 45
874	32	M. J. Smith		24 Dec 45
875	32	M. Moon		12 Feb 45
876	32	Boys		
877	32	M. R. Blaypore	96	21 Apr 47
878	32	Mrs Pickering		26 June 45
879	32	M. J. M. Adney		31 July 45
880				

FIG. 5: Horniman Museum, London, Wayne Archive, C104a, p. 45; reproduced with permission.

Second, though the initial plan was clearly to account for all instruments with serial numbers up to 1500, the ledger actually records transactions for only 1,044. The 456 instruments that are unaccounted for fall into two categories: (1) the serial number was entered but without subsequent information about a transaction (see no. 863 in Figure 5); perhaps the instrument had not yet been sold when C104a was being compiled, or perhaps information about the sale was no longer available,

either scenario being more charitable than charging the two scribes (Hands A and B again) with a truly monstrous series of errors of omission; or (2) the serial numbers themselves are missing, though the proper amount of blank space was reserved for them in the pre-determined plan; this is particularly notable in connection with the very earliest instruments, those numbered into the 80s.

On the other hand, C104a is extremely informative, as it often provides the names of two or even three owners of a given instrument, that of the original buyer being entered neatly in ink (and generally with the date), while that (or those) of the subsequent owner(s) is (are) customarily entered in pencil, squeezed in where space permits, and are rarely accompanied by the date of purchase (see, for example, the entry for no. 870 in Figure 5, for which the main entry for Mr Moon on 12 February 1845 is followed by an undated entry for Miss Foote). Finally, although the ledger covers more or less the same chronological ground as C1046 (30 April 1839–5 April 1848), there are sixty-five entries for transactions that antedate 30 April 1839, the earliest of which records the sale of no. 119 on 4 April 1835 (p. 6),¹⁶⁵ and thirty-six entries that post-date 5 April 1848, the latest of these recording the sale of nos. 1499 and 1500 on 3 and 5 April 1849, respectively.¹⁶⁶

In all, C104a seems to have grown out of an attempt to convert the chronologically organised entries of C1046 (plus 101 on either side of that ledger's chronological boundaries) into a list organised by serial number. Yet C104a could not have been compiled directly or only from C1046; though the scribes of C104a certainly drew upon some of the data upon which C1046 depends, they must also have had other materials at their disposal, since C104a (1) contains 101 entries that pre- or post-date the earliest and latest entries in C1046; (2) adds names of second and third owners of individual instruments, usually as late pencil entries, that are not included in C1046; (3) accounts for some instruments and includes entries for some dates that are entirely absent from C1046; (4) sometimes omits information that appears in C1046; and (5) occasionally includes information that simply conflicts with that of C1046. Moreover, though C104a seems to have been written in the same two hands that appeared in C1046, and though each hand is responsible for fairly distinct portions of the ledger, C104a also shows instances in which Hand B seems to weave in and out, as though filling in information that had either escaped or was not available to Hand A.

Finally, C104a is somewhat richer than C1046 in terms of annotations about the instruments; and in addition to the frequent references to 'plain' or 'single-action' concertinas, there are such occasional notes as: 'tenor' (no. 757, p. 39), '½ note lower' (no. 914, p. 47), 'contracted fingering' (no. 1296, p. 66), and 'g to c without Ab & Eb's' (no. 500, p. 26).¹⁶⁷

C1047 (R15646J2289A204/2)

80 pp. Organised chronologically from 1 January 1851 to 23 October 1852; total number of transactions = 1,777; total number of transactions involving women = 293; total number of individual women cited = 174; total number of new women = 147 (this rather high percentage probably results from the loss of a ledger that recorded sales from 6 April 1848 to 31 December 1850; no doubt, more than a few of the 'new' women of C1047 would already have appeared there).

¹⁶⁵ At the very least, the date 3 May 1834 (entered in pencil) claimed for the sale of no. 352 to the Rev. Leach (p. 18) must be regarded as highly suspect (it seems much too early and should probably read 1839, in which year the same Rev. Leach purchased no. 296 on 3 June), while the entry for no. 381, which records the sale of that instrument to one E. J. Webb on '22 Oct 26' (p. 20) is clearly impossible, as it antedates the development of the concertina; in fact, C1046, 51, dates this same transaction from 21 October 1846.

¹⁶⁶ In addition, page 49 records a late pencil entry in connection with no. 943 for a Mr Hownslow that seems to be dated 12 August 1861.

¹⁶⁷ That is, the instrument had buttons only for G sharp and D sharp, and thus lacked the concertina's early characteristic of differentiating (by forty-one cents) between these 'enharmonic' pairs; see note 13, above.

Written in a single hand from beginning to end (Hand C), C1047 introduces a new format (see Figure 6), one that, with only minor changes, will remain in force throughout the next four ledgers.

1851		Paid	
June 5	Leat Clous	6 ⁰⁰ 0 ⁰⁰	£ 3067.
6	Milhouse Esq ^r	5 ⁰⁰ 5 ⁰⁰ 0	£ 3070.
	M ^r Vizard	2 ⁰⁰ 2	£ 3068.
7	M ^r W Prouce		3017.
10	M ^r F. Wastman Jun ^r	7 ⁰⁰ 10 ⁰⁰ 0	3009.
	£	July 14 7. 17. 6	2750
	£		Nov 2719
	M ^r W Prouce	2 ⁰⁰ 12 ⁰⁰ 0	3302.
	M ^r John Haywood		3 ⁰⁰ 18. 9 2921.
12	M ^r Bagley	7 ⁰⁰ 0 ⁰⁰ 0	£ 3050.
13	M ^r Taylor	7. 7. 0	2322
14	Leat Droeer	5 ⁰⁰ 0 ⁰⁰ 0	£ 3015.
	M ^r Peyer		9. 9. 0 3162.
	M ^r Isaac Welles		5 ⁰⁰ 0. 0 3155.
	M ^r Price	13. 6	Nov 2068.
	M ^r Gilbert		£ 3629.
	M ^r Fisher	6. 0. 0	£ 23
16	Lady Louisa Legg (R.B.)	10 ⁰⁰ 0 ⁰⁰ 0	3630.
	M ^r W L Evans		2738
	£	15 ⁰⁰ 15 ⁰⁰ 0	3016.
17	M ^r F. Wastman	7. 17. 6	3014.
	M ^r Collier	9. 9. 0	3646.

FIG. 6: Horniman Museum, London, Wayne Archive, C1047, p. 19; reproduced with permission.

What is now a five-column arrangement provides the following information: (1) date; (2) name of customer; (3–4) information about the price of the instrument and status of the payment; and (5) serial number. A word about columns 3–4: pages 1–67 devote two columns to financial matters; the first of these is headed ‘paid’, while the second lacks a heading; thus when a figure is entered in the ‘paid’ column, we may presume that the buyer paid when purchasing the instrument; on the other hand, when the price appears in the second column, it seems likely that payment was made only later. Beginning on page 68, the two columns that deal with prices are headed ‘Amount’ and ‘when paid’, with the latter sometimes blank, sometimes with a date anywhere from a few days to a few weeks after the date of the transaction, or sometimes with the remark ‘same time’, which clearly means that payment was made at the time of the transaction. What is no longer recorded in C1047 (or any of the subsequent ledgers) is the number of buttons on each instrument, surely a sign that the forty-eight-button instrument had now come to account for the vast majority of sales. Finally, beginning with C1047, the ledgers are heavily sprinkled with annotations about exchanges, loans, and rentals.

C1048 (R15647K2289A204/3)

80 pp. (pp. 4–5 blank). Organised chronologically from 23 October 1852 to 21 March 1854; total number of transactions = 1,711; total number of transactions involving women = 228, of which sixteen include the names of two women; total number of individual women cited = 173; total number of new women = 128.

The data for the transactions is organised in the same five-column format as C1047, with columns 3–4 adopting the ‘Amount’ and ‘when paid’ rubrics introduced toward the end of that ledger (the two ledgers are also written in the same hand). Perhaps the most striking feature of C1048 is the appearance of a greater number of sales of concertinas made by other manufacturers. Thus there are transactions for instruments made by Scates, Case, Chidley, Simpson, and Keith, Prowse, evidence that Wheatstone’s did indeed—as they stated in their advertisement in the *Daily News*, 21 November 1851—trade in instruments made by other manufacturers (see note 120).

C1049 (R15648L2289A204/4)

96 pp. Organised chronologically from 21 March 1854 to 4 April 1856; total number of transactions = 2,330; total number of transactions involving women = 375; total number of individual women cited = 264; total number of new women = 200.

The format remains the same as that in the two previous ledgers. After recording the entries on pages 1–5, Hand C gives way to a new scribe, Hand D, who was responsible for the remainder of the ledger. If there is anything about C1049 that catches the eye, perhaps it is the 209 transactions for which the serial numbers go unrecorded, with the omissions often coinciding with multi-instrument sales to a single buyer, whether a private individual or a commercial firm. Thus there are no serial numbers for any of the eight concertinas sold to Harraden & Co. on 4 October 1855 (p. 71), for the five sold to Mr M. Moses on 6 February 1857 (p. 88), or for the six purchased by Mr Harvey on 20 February 1856 (p. 90).

C1050 (R15649M2289A204/5)

96 pp. Organised chronologically from 5 April 1856 to 4 November 1857; total number of transactions = 2,014; total number of transactions involving women = 233; total number of individual women cited = 154; total number of new women = 113. Once again, the format remains the same, with Hand D responsible for the entire ledger.

C1051 (R15650F2289A204/6)

88 pp. (pp. 87–8 blank), with 1 inserted leaf (= pp. 33–4) that replaces an original, now-missing leaf. Organised chronologically from 4 November 1857 to 21 October 1859; total number of transactions = 2,045; total number of transactions involving women = 226; total number of individual women cited = 167; total number of new women = 102.

In its current state, C1051, written by Hand D in the customary five-column format, is missing the leaf that would have constituted pp. 33–4, with entries skipping from 14 July (p. 32) to 4 August 1858 (p. 35). This leaf was detached from the ledger in the 1950s by Mr Harry Minting, the last sales manager of Wheatstone & Co., who presented it as a gift to Father Kenneth Loveless, the first president of the International Concertina Association, one of whose own instruments was listed there. Though Minting removed the leaf, he copied its contents onto the two sides of a brown envelope (Figure 7 opposite), which now replaces the original.¹⁶⁸

C1052 (R15651W2289A204/7)

96 pp. Organised chronologically from 21 October 1859 to 30 April 1864; total number of transactions = 2,012; total number of transactions involving women = uncertain; total number of individual women cited = uncertain; total number of new women = uncertain.

With C1052 and C1053 (seemingly in two new Hands, E and F, respectively), the ledgers introduce a new and unfortunate policy: only rarely—indeed, very rarely—do they indicate gender or provide first names or even initials. Moreover, the two ledgers together explicitly record a total of only three titled customers: the Countess of Denbigh (Inv. 240), Sir William Ball, and the German Prince Leiningen (see Table 1). Yet there are entries for women besides the countess: at least fourteen others. For ten of these women, transactions appear in conjunction with similarly named men, though with the gender of only one member of the pair explicitly indicated. One example will suffice: on 21 March 1860, C1052, 16, records an entry for ‘Drake’, without indicating gender; the very next entry, however, on 22 March, is specifically for a ‘Mr Drake’, and I assume, therefore, that the first one was for the Mrs Drake who had already figured in the ledgers on nine occasions during the 1850s (see Inv. 256). In two instances, we can identify women based upon the instruments involved: (1) the ‘Bulteel’ who bought no. 11278 on 8 August 1860 (C1052, 28) is Lady Emily (Inv. 127.09) on the grounds that the instrument bears her initials (see above, §IV, 2, a); and (2) the concertina that was rented to ‘Mildmay’ on 3 January 1870 (C1053, 61) likely went to Miss C. Mildmay (Inv. 600.08), since it is marked ‘small bass’, that is, a bass concertina specifically designed for a woman (see above, §V, 2). Finally, I would speculate that the ‘Dulken’ for whom there are transactions recorded on 4 April and 14 May 1862 (C1053, 68, 70) is likely Isabelle Dulken (Inv. 267), though by then she had been absent from the ledgers for seven years, while the ‘Thomas’ who figures in C1052 (5) on 15 December 1859 may well be the Mrs Thomas of Lambeth Palace (Inv. 863) to whom R. Sidney Pratten dedicated his *Francesca: Romance* that very same year (see Table 10, A).

In the comments that appear in the Inventory, I have noted all instances in which a name in C1052 and C1053 that is not accompanied by an indication of gender matches that of one of the 978 women, without, however (except in the instances just cited), drawing conclusions about their being one and the same.

¹⁶⁸ On Minting, who salvaged and saved the ledgers when Wheatstone’s was taken over by Boosey & Hawkes and eventually passed them on to the Concertina Museum in Belper, see Wayne, ‘Concertina Book’, 140–1.

1858				
July 24.	Palmer	li.	3. 7. 00	8788.
26.	Hood.	Captw.	13. 13. 0	10661.
	Donville	lin.	4. 4. 0.	9921.
	Bro Binfield.		7. 7. 0.	9892.
29.	Lyster.		—	—
	Hornblaw	li.	9. 9. 0.	10389. -
31.	Halsen	w.	13. 13. 0.	10659.
	Manton	li		7728
Aug 2.	Wells.	w	3. 15. 0.	7380.
	Lean. McLady.			10663.
	Brooks.	li.	4. 10. 0.	5097.
3.	Adkison.	li.	3. 0. 0.	10446
4.	Woodroffe.	w.	5. 0. 0.	9547.
	Dodd.		} 12. 8. 0.	9775/81
				9802/5
				7381/2
July 15.	Whitman		3. 7. 0.	10432
	Hallett.		7. 7. 0.	9892.
16	Chappell.			10319.
	Kelly.		5. 5. 0.	10320.
			6. 6. 0.	7671.
	Garratt.		3. 3. 0.	10449.
	Tarrett.		12. 12. 0.	9570.
	Dempster.		10. 10. 0.	6490.
2.	Griffiths.	Cptw.	12. 12. 0.	9422.
	Fishes.	Lauti.	10. 10. 0.	7747.
17.	Alexander.	w	3. 3. 0.	9868

FIG. 7: Horniman Museum, London, Wayne Archive, C1051, p. 33, the first side of the replacement leaf written and inserted by Mr Harry Minting; reproduced with permission.

C1053 (R15652X2289A204/8)

80 pp. (pp. 68–80 blank). Organised chronologically from 30 April 1864 to 23 May 1870; total number of transactions = 1,338; total number of transactions involving women = uncertain; total number of individual women cited = uncertain; total number of new women = uncertain. See the comments about C1052.

In addition to the nine sales ledgers, the Horniman Museum's Wayne Archive houses three additional sources that shed light on Wheatstone's day-to-day business activities.

C1054 (R15653Y2289A204/9)

This is a copy of the 266-page *Harwood's Diary, containing an Almanack for 1864, with a Useful Compendium of Commercial Information* (published by Alexander Cowan & Sons), in which the 125 pages that were left blank for the owner's personal use record the production—with a brief description—of instruments with serial numbers running from 18061 (March 1866) to 21353 (December 1891). Though the information given for each instrument can vary, it generally includes the number of buttons, the type and quality of both the reeds and the wooden ends, and the identification of instruments other than trebles. Unfortunately, it lacks the names of those who bought the instruments.

C1055 (R15654A2289A204/10)

80 pp. (1 blank). This ledger records salaries and other expenditures from 25 January 1845 to 1 August 1846.

C1056 (R15655J2289A204/11)

80 pp. (1 blank). Like C1055, this ledger lists salaries and expenditures, now from 1 January 1848 to 30 January 1849.

PREFACE TO THE INVENTORY

Format

The Inventory accounts for the Wheatstone sales ledgers' 978 women (listed in two alphabetical sequences: Nos. 1–971 and, as addenda, Nos. 972–8) and the 1,769 transactions that they generated. It is arranged in an eight-column format:

Column 1: the Inventory number assigned to each woman; when a woman generated more than one transaction, the first entry consists of her Inventory number plus '.01', followed by as many like numbers as there are subsequent transactions (thus .01, .02, .03, etc);

Column 2: the woman's surname, the designation Miss, Mrs, or title, and the first name or initial if given; any material that appears in brackets is editorial;

Column 3: the date of the transaction;

Column 4: the serial number of the instrument;

Column 5: the number of buttons on the instrument, this information appearing only in the transactions recorded in C1046 and C104*a*; though transactions recorded in C1047 and later ledgers fail to provide this information, we may assume that the vast majority of instruments from that time on (1 January 1851) had forty-eight buttons;

Column 6: the price paid for the instrument (beginning with transactions on 1 January 1851 in C1047);

Column 7: any annotations that appear in the entry, that is, whether the instrument is being rented, exchanged, loaned, etc.; these are given exactly as they appear in the ledger (see below for a list of the ledgers' abbreviations);

Column 8: the ledger(s) and page number(s) for each transaction.

If for a given entry a column is blank, it means that the ledger failed to provide that information.

Many of the entries are followed by comments that cut across the columns. These are admittedly rather miscellaneous in nature, and deal with such matters as: the identification of the women, often with such hedge-like qualifiers as 'likely' or 'perhaps'; family relationships, both among the women themselves and between them and the men who appear in the ledgers; possible identifications with those recorded in the genderless ledgers C1052 and C1053; quirks in the manner in which the transactions themselves are recorded (late entries, pencil entries, strike-outs, conflicts between C1046 and C104*a*, etc.); instances in which a woman is the dedicatee of a piece for the concertina; notes about likely student-teacher relationships; and notices and reviews in the press about those women who performed in public. As noted above (§IV, 1), my speculative identifications lean toward Victorian England's 'rich and famous', who, as I have tried to show in the Introduction, were very much the target of Wheatstone's and other manufacturers' marketing strategies.

Abbreviations in the annotations column

The annotations listed in column 7 often appear as abbreviations. Though most are self-explanatory, and though I have already alluded to two of them—'P' and 'S' in both Table 2 and in the description of C1046 (note 162)—I provide a complete list here for the sake of convenience:

<i>B</i>	= Blagrove (more often abbreviated RB for Richard Blagrove, see below);
<i>Ex/Exd</i>	= exchanged;
<i>Miss P</i>	= Miss Catherina Josepha Pelzer (Inv. 672);
<i>P</i>	= plain (an instrument that lacks fancy fretwork in its wooden ends);
<i>Pd</i>	= paid;
<i>PS</i>	= plain and single action (see below);
<i>QY</i>	= query (?), only in C104a, and seemingly in connection with problematic entries;
<i>RB</i>	= Richard Blagrove;
<i>retd</i>	= returned;
<i>S</i>	= single action (sound is produced only when the bellows are pushed in);
<i>SH</i>	= second hand.

Finally, there are what my colleagues (in the Concertina Research Forum, see note 1) and I have referred to among ourselves as the ‘mystery numbers’ of ledger C104a. Thus the transaction for Miss Abbott on 22 May 1838 (Inv. 1.02) contains the numeral ‘64’, while an undated entry for Lady John Beresford (Inv. 69.01) records the number ‘39’. As Wes Williams has speculated, these numbers might be analogous to the ‘batch’ numbers—stamped inside the instruments in order to keep their parts together during the course of assembly—that appear consistently with that meaning in Wheatstone’s twentieth-century ledgers.¹⁶⁹ In the end, though, they remain enigmatic.

The Appendices

The Inventory is followed by three appendices; these reorganize the information of the Inventory as follows: Appendix I lists all the transactions in chronological order; Appendix II lists them in order of instrument serial number; Appendix III lists those transactions that provide prices from the most expensive to the least expensive instruments.

Sources cited and their sigla

The Inventory refers to the following sources:

AtlasLAI	Atlas, Allan W.: ‘Lord Arthur’s “Infernals”’: Authur James Balfour and the Concertina’, (forthcoming)
AtlasWEC	Atlas, Allan W.: <i>The Wheatstone English Concertina in Victorian England</i> (Oxford, 1996)
Atlas1851	Atlas, Allan W.: ‘Who Bought Concertinas in the Winter of 1851? A Glimpse at the Sales Accounts of Wheatstone & Co.’, in <i>Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies</i> , i, ed. Bennett Zon (Aldershot, 1999), 55–87
AtlasGR	Atlas, Allan W.: ‘Giulio Regondi: Two Newly Discovered Letters’, <i>The Free-Reed Journal</i> , 4 (2002), 70–84; also online at < http://www.concertina.com/atlas >
AtwoodFC	Atwood, William G.: <i>Fryderyk Chopin: Pianist from Warsaw</i> (New York, 1987)
BaileyDLFC	Bailey, John, ed.: <i>The Diary of Lady Frederick Cavendish</i> , 2 vols (New York, 1927)
BartlettLDN	Bartlett, David W.: <i>London by Day and Night</i> (London, 1852); online at < http://www.victorianlondon.org/publications/dayandnight-11.htm >
BashfordJE	Bashford, Christina: ‘John Ella and the Making of the Musical Union’, in <i>Music and British Culture, 1785–1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich</i> , ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford, 2000), 193–214
BDE	<i>Brooklyn Daily Eagle</i> , online at < http://www.brooklynpubliclibrary.org/eagle/index/htm >
BLIC	<i>British Library Integrated Catalogue</i> , online at < http://catalogue.bl.uk >

¹⁶⁹ Communication of 28 October 2003. There are five extant Wheatstone production books from the twentieth century; these were donated to the Horniman Museum by Mr Steve Dickinson, the present-day proprietor of what might be called a ‘resurrected’ Wheatstone & Co. The books are housed in the Horniman Museum, Dickinson Archive, with the signatures SD01-05, and are available online at <<http://www.horniman.info>>. Although these production books provide valuable information about the date of manufacture and various features of the instruments, they do not contain information pertaining to sales.

- Boyle's/1847* *Boyle's Fashionable Court and Country Guide and Town Visiting Directory Corrected for April 1847* (London, 1847)
- Brown/StrattonBMB Brown, James D. and Stephen S. Stratton: *British Musical Biography: A Dictionary of Musical Artists, Authors and Composers Born in Britain and Its Colonies* (London, 1897; reprint: New York, 1971)
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